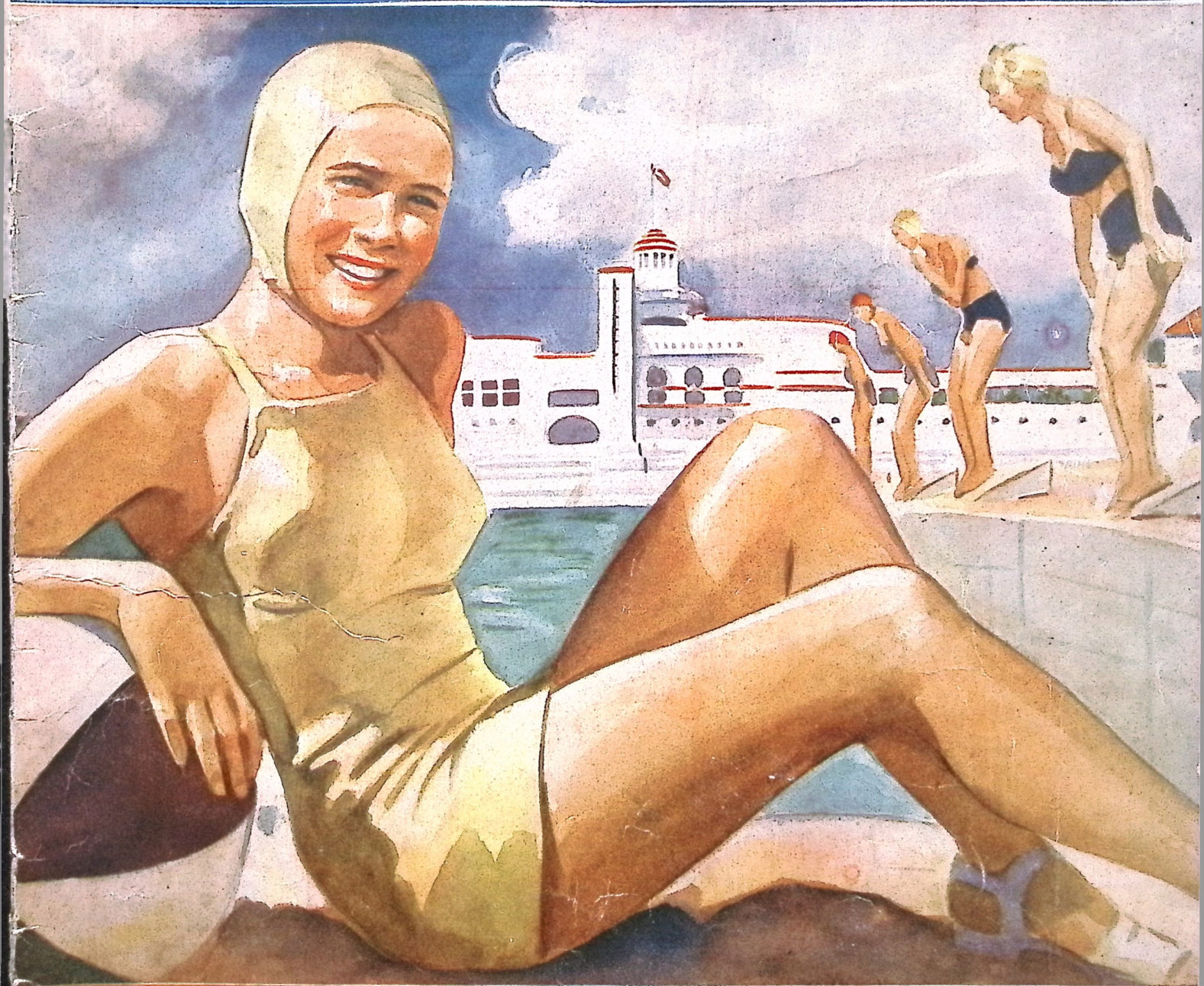


# Soviet Russia Today

AUGUST 1936

15¢



## THE NEW SOVIET CONSTITUTION

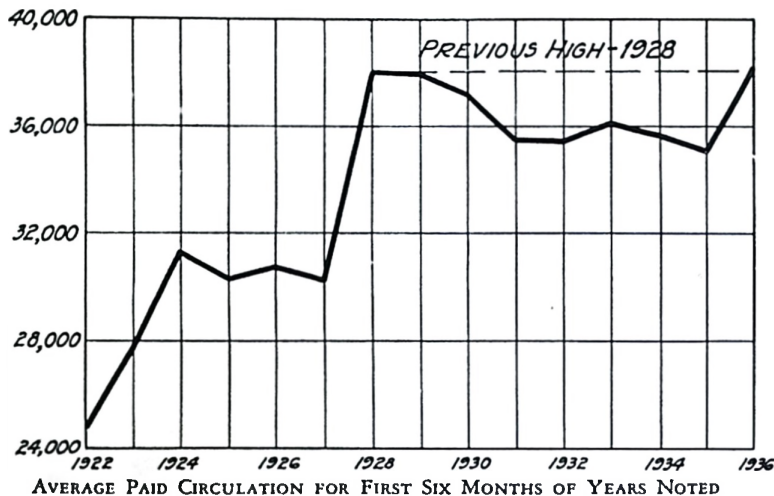
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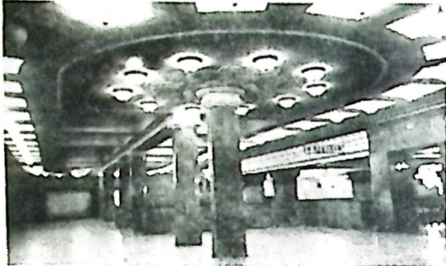
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#### CONTRIBUTORS

Anna Louise Strong, whose most recent book, "This Soviet World," is one of the outstanding books of the year on the Soviet Union, has just returned to the USSR after an extended lecture trip in the United States. She will continue to send us articles as Moscow correspondent of Soviet Russia Today.

John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers and head of the Committee on Industrial Organization made the statement on the Soviet Constitution which we reprint here, in a radio interview. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, famous British Fabians and authors of "Soviet Communism: A New Civilization," cabled their congratulations to the Soviet press on the publication of the draft of the new Constitution, as did Harold Laski, well known British economist and Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics.

Ben Davis, Jr., is a well known Negro attorney and journalist who has been a close friend of Paul Robeson for many years.

G. Ryklin is a Soviet humorist and a regular contributor to the sprightly Moscow satirical journal "Crocodile," from which this sketch was translated.

Charles Kenneck, formerly a tool-maker and now a member of the Executive Board of Local 1555 of the International Association of Machinists, of Philadelphia, A. F. of L. Affiliate, was elected chairman of the F. S. U. May 1st Trade Union Delegation to the Soviet Union. He has just returned from his trip.

Albert Einstein, the world's most famous physicist, now living in this country, an exile from Germany, contributed this important statement on the place of Science in the Soviet Union to Soviet Russia Today after reading J. G. Crowther's book, "Soviet Science."

Alexander Avdeyenko is a young Soviet engineer at Magnitogorsk. "I Love," an autobiographical novel, is his first book.

The cover design this month is by Leslie Norman, a gifted young artist who will be a regular art contributor to Soviet Russia Today.

# SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

August

1936

## "The Ambassador of Peace"

MAXIM LITVINOV, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, was decorated with the Order of Lenin, the highest honor in the Soviet Union, on July 17th, his sixtieth birthday. The Soviet press on that day carried tributes to Litvinov's indefatigable activities as the "Soviet Ambassador of peace" in leading editorials, and Viacheslav Molotov and Joseph Stalin issued a special message in praise of his diplomatic achievements.

Notified of the honor bestowed upon him at Montreux, where he was attending the conference on the Straits, Litvinov said: "I shall continue to fight against the forces of war and aggression and to go ahead with my work for peace, which is the only justification for the activities of a Soviet diplomat."

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY joins in these tributes to the able Soviet Foreign Commissar for his magnificent work in carrying out the peace policy of the Soviet Union and his own signal contributions to world peace.

## The Straits Conference

AS we go to press it is evident that Litvinov's firm stand at Montreux has resulted in a further strengthening of the international position of the USSR. An agreement has been reached by the nine powers attending the international conference called by Turkey on the question of the Straits, granting Turkey the right to defend her own territory by the refortification of the Dardanelles.

The convention grants complete freedom in peace time to the Soviet Navy to leave and enter the Black Sea through the Straits, but nations outside will be limited in the amount of naval tonnage sent through the channel. The Soviet navy will have freedom to leave and enter the Black Sea through the Straits even in case of war, if acting for defensive purposes. During wartime belligerents would be prohibited from using the Straits unless acting for the League or under the obligations of a regional pact of which Turkey was a signatory. The right of the Soviet Union for passage of its warships in either direction, necessary in view of the fact that the Black Sea is a closed sea, was at first opposed by several of the participants, notably



Soviet Students at Kiev University

Sovfoto

Japan, in line with her whole anti-Soviet policy. Great Britain finally conceded this point only after strongly contesting it. Turkey at first proposed restrictions on Soviet naval tonnage leaving the Black Sea, but the strong and unprecedented friendship between Turkey and the Soviet Union and the fact that the USSR is concerned with general security as well as her own, and is developing a navy for defensive purposes only, also brought Turkey around on this question. The League of Nations is strengthened by this convention since it is subordinated to the League Covenant by a blanket clause, it assures League members freedom of the Straits if they are acting against an aggressor and specifically applies Article XVIII of the Covenant invalidating secret treaties.

## Hitler's Latest War Moves

WITH the conclusion of the Austro-German agreement, which, for all its recognition of Austrian "independence," is obviously a step to bring Vienna under complete

Nazi domination, the Hitler regime this month greatly strengthened its position in Central Europe and moved immeasurably closer to Der Tag, for which the German General Staff has long been preparing. Fortified by its alliance with Austria and by its closer relations with Fascist Italy, and openly preparing for the seizure of Danzig, the Nazis are now better prepared to strike their next major blow in Europe. In what direction that blow will fall is yet unknown. Perhaps Czechoslovakia; perhaps France; perhaps the Soviet Union.

Certain it is that the Nazis will soon strike somewhere with sudden speed and ferocity. With frenzied haste they work on all fronts in preparation for the program of conquest outlined in der Fuehrer's "Mein Kampf," which includes a drive against the Soviet Ukraine. Supplementing the intensive construction of armaments and fortifications (including the fortification of Heligoland in the North Sea in violation of the Versailles treaty) is the frenzied construction of an elaborate network of alliances and diplomatic

understandings all aimed at a forcible revision of existing frontiers. Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Esthonia, Finland and now Austria have been definitely brought within the orbit of Nazi influence. Nazi influence has also penetrated deeply in Yugoslavia. And Italy openly flirts with the Hitler regime.

This intricate network extends far beyond the frontiers of Europe and embraces Japan. While the Nazis were negotiating the Austrian agreement, the German military expert General Reichenau was enroute to the Far East on a secret military mission, reported by the Hearst press to be directed against the Soviet Union, and the Japanese were preparing to establish in Helsingfors a diplomatic mission staffed with twenty men—an unusually large “diplomatic” force for so small a country as Finland.

### Japanese Aggressive Policies Continue

MEANWHILE in the Far East the Japanese war-mongers continued what Walter Duranty of *The New York Times* has termed a policy of pin-pricks against the Soviet Union. Bands of Japanese troops repeatedly violated the Soviet frontiers and provoked new border incidents. Simultaneously the Japanese continued to penetrate further southward and westward into China, seizing new territories and consolidating already conquered positions.

As in the case of Germany, the direction of Japan's next major blow is uncertain. Perhaps it will be directed against the Soviet Union; perhaps against the United States, Britain or Holland, all of which possess rich colonial prizes in the Pacific which Japanese imperialism covets. All that is certain is that Japan's aggressive policy of conquest leads inevitably towards a major war in the Pacific.

### Litvinov Points the Way to Peace

IN the face of these open steps towards war by the German and Japanese militarists, what can the peace-loving peoples of the world do? There are many who reply—nothing. This feeling of pessimism and helplessness has grown considerably as a result of Italy's conquest of Ethiopia in the face of League sanctions. Collective security, these pessimists argue, has been tried and has failed. Nothing can be done to halt aggression. Let us sit by quietly and hope that the war, when it comes, will not be too horrible.

This is the gist of much of the newspaper and magazine comment on the outcome of the Ethiopian affair. The liberal weekly the *New Republic* pessimistically remarks that the “sanctions theory . . . probably would not have worked even if it had been given a complete trial.” And the *Nation* asserts that the termination of sanctions

against Italy “marks the end of a valiant but abortive effort to build a system of collective security.”

But the truth is—as Litvinov pointed out in his speech at the League of Nations Assembly on July 1st—that sanctions failed simply because they were not “valiantly” applied; that the “effort to build a system of collective security” was abortive simply because it was carried out in a weak and halfhearted manner, and not because the principle of collective action against an aggressor is unworkable. Four members of the



GEORGE CHICHERIN

GEORGE CHICHERIN, Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs from 1918 to 1930, died in Moscow on July 7 after a long illness, at the age of 64. Chicherin was a member of an aristocratic family, and held a diplomatic post under the Tsar. He early became sympathetic with the revolutionary movement, however, and in 1904 renounced his estates and went abroad to live as an émigré, becoming a member of the Social Democratic Party. For twelve years he lived in different parts of Europe, participating in revolutionary activities. Imprisoned in England during the war for pacifist activities, he was exchanged in January, 1918, for Sir George Buchanan, British Ambassador to Russia, and soon after his return was appointed Foreign Commissar. He handled the foreign affairs of the Soviet Union skillfully in those difficult early days and did much to prepare the way for the strong part his country is playing in international affairs today. He headed the Soviet delegations to Genoa and Lausanne in 1922 and 1923, and concluded the Rapallo Treaty with Germany bringing about the first diplomatic relations with a major power. His ill health began in 1925 and from that time on the duties of his office more and more fell on the shoulders of Maxim Litvinov, who succeeded him in 1930 when Chicherin was forced by his illness to resign. A sincere and devoted revolutionist, a statesman of high intelligence and integrity, a sensitive and unusual person who worked all night and kept a piano in his office to play for relaxation, Chicherin won the love and respect of all who knew him.

League refused to apply sanctions against Italy at all. Seven countries failed to apply the embargo on arms; eight countries ignored financial sanctions; ten countries failed to ban exports to Italy and thirteen countries failed to prohibit Italian imports.

“I claim,” said Litvinov, defending the principle of collective security, “that Article 16 has equipped the League of Nations with such a mighty weapon that if it is set in motion to the full, every aggression can be broken. Furthermore, the conviction alone of the possibility of its being set in motion can destroy the desire in an aggressor to carry out his criminal schemes.

“The sad experience of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict least of all contradicts this assertion. . . . Not only was the whole menacing mechanism of Article 16 not set in motion but from the very beginning a tendency appeared to limit it to minimum measures. Even economic sanctions were limited in scale and in their functioning. And on this limited scale the sanctions were not applied by all the members of the League.”

Litvinov sharply criticized those who used the Ethiopian conflict to propose schemes for “reforming” the League of Nations by weakening it and by dropping the principles of collective security embodied in articles 10 and 16 of the League covenant. The way to promote world peace and “reform” the League, he said, was not to weaken collective security, and thus encourage aggressors, but to strengthen it.

EMPHASIZING the need for a League that will be universal and responsive not to the needs of aggressor nations but to the millions of people in all countries who demand at all costs the preservation of peace, Litvinov said that until such heights of international solidarity could be reached, a system of regional security pacts was necessary to supplement the League Pact. In conclusion he declared:

“If I say all this in the interests of strengthening peace, then I cannot but recall that measure which the Soviet Union has always considered and continues to consider the maximum guarantee of peace, namely, complete disarmament.

“I want to believe that mankind will not have to live through yet another Armageddon, that all nations will come to the same conviction. And until we have this radical measure, there is nothing left for us but to strengthen the League means to hold tightly to the principle of collective security, which is by no means a product of idealism, but a practical measure for guaranteeing the security of all nations. To hold to the principle of the indivisibility of peace! We should

realize that at the present time there is not a single state, large or small, which is not subject to the menace of aggression, and that if the next war spares one or another nation, then it will sooner or later become the object of the lust of the aggressor who emerges victorious from the war.

"The strengthening and the maximum extension of these ideas and carrying them into life will free us from new disappointments, such as those we are now undergoing, will breathe new life into the League of Nations and raise it to the level of the great tasks confronting it. The League of Nations now, more than ever before, is an international necessity; it should live, it should be strong, stronger than ever."

**LITVINOV'S** positive proposals for strengthening the peace forces of the world and for curbing the war-mongers rang out strong and clear in the Assembly hall, rising above the weak and timorous voices of statesmen who proposed to meet aggression by condoning it.

"Three great powers—France, Great Britain and Soviet Russia"—reported Frederick Birchall to *The New York Times*, were all heard from today. Yet except for that of Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet Foreign Commissar, the speeches that came from their representatives could hardly be described as practically helpful." The *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent Elliot wrote: "Litvinov made what was generally regarded as the most constructive speech of the day."

In Litvinov's speech lay the one positive and effective answer to the war-makers in Europe and the Far East—energetic, collective action by all peace-loving people against the aggressors, against those criminals and madmen, who would plunge the world into a war far more horrible than that of 1914.

#### *The Universal Peace Congress*

**A** HOPEFUL move toward mobilizing the peace sentiment of the peoples of the world is the Universal Peace Congress which will open in Geneva September 4, 1936. People's peace organizations from all parts of the world will send their most valiant fighters for the cause of international amity and cooperation to participate in drawing up an international program for peace. The American Friends of the Soviet Union will be represented. **SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY** welcomes this effort toward united international action for peace.

#### *Soviet-American Trade Agreement*

**T**HE trade agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States which was concluded on June 13, 1935, to run for one year, was extended to run for another year through an exchange of notes in Moscow on July 11th between representatives of the two governments. Under the provisions of the pact the Soviet Union undertakes to purchase American goods to the value of \$30,000,000 in this country during the year, while the United States for her part agrees to extend to the USSR the benefits of tariff reductions provided in reciprocal trade agreements with other coun-



*Voroshilov, Soviet Defense Commissar*

tries. Actually under the agreement, the Soviet Union purchased goods to the amount of \$37,000,000 during the period of the agreement, an increase of more than 100 per cent over the purchases of the year before. In its statement announcing the extension of the agreement the State Department expresses the hope that Soviet purchases for the coming year will exceed the minimum amount in the agreement. If satisfactory credits were to be arranged, the Soviet Union would no doubt place very much larger orders in this country for machinery and equipment, since American goods are highly regarded in the Soviet Union.

#### *Walt Whitman's Dearest Dream*

**WALT WHITMAN** wrote this in 1881:

*"You Russians and Americans! Our countries so distant, so unlike at first glance—such a difference in social and political conditions . . . and yet in certain features, and vastest ones, so resembling each other. The variety of stock elements and tongues, to be resolutely fused in a common identity and union at all hazards . . . the grand expanse of territorial limits and boundaries—the unformed and nebulous state of many things, not yet permanently settled, but agreed on all hands to be the preparations of an infinitely greater future . . . the deathless aspirations at the inmost center of each great community, so vehement, so mysterious, so abyssmic—are certainly features you Russians and we Americans possess in common.*

*"As my dearest dream is for an internationality of poems and poets, binding the lands of the earth closer than all treaties and diplomacy—as the purpose beneath the rest in my book is such hearty comradeship, for individuals to begin with, and for all nations of the earth as a result—how happy I should be to get the hearing and emotional contact of the great Russian peoples."*

In 1905, the first translation of "Leaves of Grass" was confiscated and destroyed by the Tsar's police. For translating "Pioneers! O Pioneers!" K. I. Chukovsky was prosecuted by a Moscow court for "subversive activities." In 1911 translations of Whitman were again ordered destroyed in Moscow. In 1913 all public lectures on Whitman were prohibited in Khar'kov, Odessa, Riga and Vilna. In spite of this suppression, Whitman's fame spread underground, because, as his translator observes, the quality of his poetry "made him welcome in the country where an uprising was maturing." One of the first books to be published by the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Petrograd in 1918 was a volume of Walt Whitman. A new translation by Chukovsky was issued recently by the State Publishing House for Belles Lettres, Leningrad, with an introduction by D. Mirsky on "The Poet of American Democracy." The book is being sold in many thousands of copies and Whitman is being taken to the heart of the great Russian people.

So one step towards Whitman's dearest dream.

# A NEW CHARTER OF FREEDOM

by  
ANNA LOUISE STRONG

THE proposed new Soviet Constitution flashes a brilliant light on the widened human rights which become possible under Socialism. No attempt of enemies to distort it, to make it appear a "concession by Stalin," or a faltering approach to "our American democracy," can prevent the constitution's own words from shouting aloud to the peoples of the world that here is a democracy far in advance of any that has appeared on earth before.

This new Constitution marks no sudden change in Soviet policy. It represents the conscious achievement of nineteen years of Soviet power. For nineteen years the Soviet state has striven towards the goal of Socialism, i.e., a classless society based on full democracy of worker-owners, citizens who both toil and own all the resources of the state. Now after nineteen years, the Soviet Union enters into the full achievement of Socialism, and a new Constitution is drafted suitable to that condition.

This Constitution is designed to supersede the one which was drawn up in 1923, and which was based on the decision of four Soviet Republics, Russia, the Ukraine, White Russia and the Caucasus, that a "Union" should be formed. The form of government of this Soviet Union has until now been termed both a "workers' dictatorship" and a "Soviet democracy," according to which aspect of government it was desired to emphasize. Under this Soviet democracy even in past years there has been the largest voting body of citizens anywhere in the world, who have not only elected their officials, but also directly initiated tens of thousands of governmental decisions in every election. This Soviet democracy, even before the new Constitution, was claimed by Lenin to be "a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy." Hundreds of competent observers,—Sidney and Beatrice Webb among others—bore witness to the vital energy and self-expression of Soviet democracy even of those days.

This Soviet democracy was also a "workers' dictatorship." This phrase has been deliberately misused by the capitalist press of the world. It means



*"Worker-Owners of the total means of life"*

*Sailing in Leningrad Harbor—workers can get boats free of charge at the club for water transport workers.*

basically that state power was concentrated in the hands of workers. This was secured by several means. Voting took place by factories and organized groups of working-people. Persons living by rent, interest of profit were disfranchised. City workers had a greater proportional representation than had the rural districts,—a disproportion which, incidentally, exists in the reverse direction in most voting for state legislatures in the United States. This disproportion in the Soviet Union, is usually incorrectly stated as 5 to 1; it was however, actually 2.7 to one as the representation in cities was calculated on the basis of one deputy per 25,000 adult electors, while in rural districts it was based on one deputy per 125,000 of the population.

Obviously such safeguards were necessary in the beginning. To grant political rights to capitalist groups in the early stages of "building socialism" might, it was feared, strengthen the forces of capitalism unduly. Moreover in those days the peasants formed a mighty mass of illiterate

people, whose instincts were for private property, and who might easily have swamped the Socialist state. Certain precautions in those days therefore limited the full practise of democracy, but by no means destroyed it. Workers' meetings from the very beginning showed an energetic zeal in governing all aspects of the country's life.

Soviet democracy was, moreover, a growing democracy. This was a chief characteristic. Each year it included more voters and more aspects of the citizens' life. This was due to the steady increase of Socialism, i. e. of the publicly owned properties, and with it the increase of the proportion of people who worked in them. Year by year the publicly owned enterprises crowded out the last remnants of private capital, until today practically all the basic means of production are socially owned and the entire Soviet population now rates as worker-owners of their total means of life. Even the farmers and small handicraftsmen are organized now for the most part in cooperative groups which own their means of production collectively. Furthermore a new generation has grown up which has no urge to return to capitalism.

These are the facts which made the Soviet Congress in early 1935 decide that the time had come for a new Constitution which would abolish all distinctions and give even the former disfranchised groups of citizens the right to vote. (As a matter of fact, the number of disfranchised was already approaching the vanishing point—being only 2½ per cent of the adult population in the elections of 1934). For more than a year social scientists in all fields have been at work drafting this new Constitution. They studied not only all existing forms of government, but all past forms, both of governments and of voluntary societies, in an attempt to draw up the most perfect form for complete and adequate representation of the popular will.

Besides the granting of the vote to formerly disfranchised groups, certain technical improvements were made in the procedure of voting, which was formerly in open meeting by show of hands and limited to electing deputies to the village or city soviet, from

*(Continued on page 30)*



# THE CONSTITUTION

## CHAPTER I.

### Social Organization

**Article 1:** The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

**Article 2:** The Soviets of Toilers' Deputies, which developed and grew strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the winning of the dictatorship of the proletariat, constitute the political foundation of the USSR.

**Article 3:** All power in the USSR belongs to the toilers of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies.

**Article 4:** The socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the implements and means of production, firmly established as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the annulment of private property in the implements and means of production, and the abolition of exploitation of man by man, constitutes the economic foundation of the USSR.

**Article 5:** Socialist property in the USSR has either the form of state property (property of the whole people) or the form of cooperative and collective farm (*kolhoz*) property (property of individual collective farms and property of cooperative associations).

**Article 6:** The land and all that is beneath it, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, railways, water and air transport, banks, means of communication, large state-organized agricultural enterprises, such as state farms (*sovhoz*), machine and tractor stations and the like, as well as the principal dwelling fund in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is, the property of the whole people.

**Article 7:** Public enterprises in collective farms and cooperative organizations, with their livestock and implements, products raised or manufactured by the collective farms and cooperative organizations, as well as their public structures, constitute the public, socialist property of the collective farms and cooperative organizations.

Each collective farm household has for its own use a plot of land attached to the house and, as individual property, an auxiliary establishment on the plot, the house, produce, animals and poultry,



Sovfoto

*We reprint here the complete official text of the new draft Soviet Constitution which is now being discussed widely by the people of the Soviet Union prior to the convening of a special Congress of Soviets next November for its final adoption. Comments and questions on its provisions from readers of Soviet Russia Today will be welcome.*

and minor agricultural implements—in accordance with the statutes of the agricultural artel.

**Article 8:** The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them for perpetual use, that is, forever.

**Article 9:** Alongside the socialist system of economy, which is the dominant form of economy in the USSR, the law allows small private farms and other enterprises of individual peasants and home-workers based on their personal labor and precluding the exploitation of the labor of others.

**Article 10:** The personal property of citizens in their income from work and in their savings, in their dwelling house and auxiliary household economy, domestic articles and utensils as well as objects of personal use and comfort is protected by law.

**Article 11:** The economic life of the USSR is determined and directed by the state plan of national economy for the purposes of increasing the public wealth, of steadily raising the material and cultural level of the toilers, and of strengthening the independence of the USSR and its defense capacity.

**Article 12:** In the USSR work is the duty of every able-bodied citizen, according to the principle: "He who does not work, shall not eat."

In the USSR the principle of socialism is being realized: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

### Freedom of Speech—Freedom of Press —Freedom of Assemblage

*The people of the Soviet Union are exercising fully these rights in their discussions of the fundamental law of the land which they themselves are helping to make. The picture shows the members of the Gorky collective farm in Moscow Region discussing the draft during a rest hour.*

## CHAPTER II.

### State Organization

**Article 13:** The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federated state, formed on the basis of the voluntary association of the following Soviet Socialist Republics possessing equal rights: The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic; the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; the White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic; the Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic; the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic; the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic; the Turkoman Soviet Socialist Republic; the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic; the Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic; the Kazak Soviet Socialist Republic; the Kirgiz Soviet Socialist Republic.

**Article 14:** The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its highest organs of power and organs of state administration, has charge of:

A: Representation of the Union in international relations, conclusion and ratification of treaties with other states;

B: Questions of war and peace;

C: Admission of new republics into the USSR;

D: Supervision of the observance of the Constitution of the USSR and insurance of the conformity of the Constitutions of the Union Republics with the Constitution of the USSR;

E: Ratification of alterations of boundaries between Union Republics;

F: Organization of the defense of the USSR and the direction of all the armed economy of the USSR;

G: Foreign trade on the basis of a state monopoly;

H: Safeguarding the security of the state;

I: Determining the plans of national economy of the USSR;

J: Approbation of the unified state budget of the USSR as well as of the taxes and revenues which go to form the Union, Republican and local budgets;

K: Administration of the banks, industrial and agricultural establishments and enterprises and trading enterprises of all-Union importance;

L: Administration of transport and communications;

M: Direction of the monetary and credit system;

N: Organization of state insurance of property;

(Continued on next page)



## JOHN L. LEWIS

The President of the United Mine Workers of America comments on the Soviet Constitution in a radio interview.

Q—"I was wondering if you would care to say something for example, about the demand that the U.S. Government withdraw its recognition of the Soviet Union."

A—"I find myself in complete opposition to that demand on the part of President Green and the Executive Council and I do not know where President Green and the Executive Council derived their authority to now make that demand upon President Roosevelt and the Democratic Congress. As a matter of fact I think it absurd. I think right now that the United States of America has a sufficiently important problem that will take all the energy and strength and intelligence of its citizenship and its leaders to escape from the economic and social conditions in which we now find ourselves. I am quite willing to leave Russia to govern itself according to the ideas of the people who live in Russia.

"It is rather an interesting commentary that just today there was printed in the New York Times a complete text of the new Constitution of the Soviet Republic. Perhaps those who read it may, some of them, decide that that Constitution is not comparable to our own Constitution, but I rest with assurance that that Constitution is probably satisfactory to the Russians who are going to live under that Constitution, and as Constitutions go, considering our recent experience with our Constitution, and with the interpretation placed upon it by our Supreme Court, I'm not sure that we have any particular reason to criticize the Constitution of the Soviet Republic which has just been promulgated."

## SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB

"The proposed new Constitution of the USSR is an achievement. The USSR now realizes that it has overcome its numerous difficulties. The infant born in the revolution of 1917 has now grown up and feels its maturity. In the draft of the new Constitution there are three points which attract special attention: 1) Its universality—both sexes and all races from the most primitive and numerically small up to the highly cultured inhabitants of Moscow or Kiev are granted identical political, economic and social rights; 2) the fact that the draft is presented for consideration by the entire population, irrespective of the color of their skin, language, age or social condition; thus the whole people from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean are called upon to participate in formulating their governmental structure; 3) the guarantee of four fundamental rights of man—the right for all to work, the equally firm right to leisure, the no less clearly defined right to education and the guarantee of economic independence to women equally with men. "No Constitution in the world has ever before contained these important provisions."



(Text of Constitution continued)

O: Contracting and granting loans;  
P: Establishment of the basic principles governing the use of land and the exploitation of all that is beneath it, as well as of forests and waters;

Q: Establishment of the basic principles in the spheres of education and public health;

R: Organization of a single system of national economic accounting;

S: Establishment of the principles of labor legislation;

T: Legislation governing the judicial system and judicial procedure; criminal and civil codes;

U: Laws governing citizenship of the Union; laws governing the rights of foreigners;

V: Passing of amnesty acts for the entire Union.

Article 15: The sovereignty of the Union Republics is restricted only within the limits set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR. Outside of these limits, each Union Republic exercises state power independently. The USSR protects the sovereign rights of the Union Republics.

Article 16: Each Union Republic has its own Constitution, which takes into account the specific features of the Republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the USSR.

Article 17: Each Union Republic reserves the right freely to secede from the USSR.

Article 18: The territories of the Union Republics may not be altered without their consent.

Article 19: The laws of the USSR have equal force in the territories of all Union Republics.

Article 20: In the event of a discrepancy between a law of a Union Republic and the law of the Union, the all-Union law prevails.

Article 21: Uniform Union citizenship



### "The right to education—including higher education"

Students in a military aviation school who are paid by the government while they study

is established for all citizens of the USSR. Every citizen of a Union Republic is a citizen of the USSR.

Article 22: The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic consists of the Azov-Black Sea, Far-Eastern, West Siberian, Krasnoyarsk, and North Caucasian Territories; the Voronezh, East Siberian, Gorky, Western, Ivanovo, Kalinin, Kirov, Kuibyshev, Kursk, Leningrad, Moscow, Omsk, Orenburg, Saratov, Sverdlovsk, Northern, Stalingrad, Chelyabinsk and Yaroslavl Regions; the Tartar, Bashkir, Daghestan, Buryat-Mongolian, Kabar-

dino-Balkarian, Kalmyk, Karelian, Komi, Crimean, Mari, Mordvian, Volga German, North Ossetian, Udmurt, Chechen-Ingush, Chuvash and Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics; the Adygei, Jewish, Karachal, Oirat, Khakass and Cherkess Autonomous Regions.

Article 23: The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the Vinnitsa, Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, Kiev, Odessa, Kharkov and Chernigov Regions and the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Article 24: The Azerbaidjan Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region.

Article 25: The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Abkhazian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the Adjar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the South Ossetian Autonomous Region.

Article 26: The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Article 27: The Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic includes the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region.

Article 28: The Kazak Soviet Socialist Republic consists of the Aktyubinsk, Alma-Ata, East Kazakstan, West Kazakstan, Karaganda and South Kazakstan Regions.

Article 29: The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, the White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Turkoman and the Kirgiz Soviet Socialist Republics contain no Autonomous Republics, Territories or Regions.

### CHAPTER III.

The Supreme Organ of the U.S.S.R.

Article 30: The highest organ of state power of the USSR is the Supreme Council (*Verkhovny Soviet*) of the USSR.

Article 31: The Supreme Council of the USSR exercises all rights conferred upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in accordance with Article 14 of the Constitution, in so far as by virtue of the Constitution, they do not come within the competence of organs of the USSR which are accountable to the Supreme Council of the USSR, i.e., the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the People's Commissariats of the USSR.

Article 32: The legislative power of the USSR is exercised exclusively by the Supreme Council of the USSR.

Article 33: The Supreme Council of the USSR consists of two Chambers: the Council of the Union (*Soviet Soyuz*) and the Council of Nationalities (*Soviet Narodnostei*).

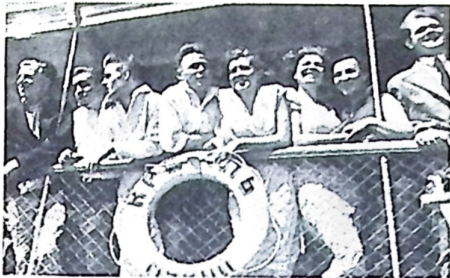
Article 34: The Council of the Union is elected by the citizens of the USSR on the basis of one deputy for every 300,000 of the population.

Article 35: The Council of Nationalities consists of deputies selected by the Supreme Council of the Union and Autonomous Republics and the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of the Autonomous Regions; ten deputies from



each Union Republic, five deputies from each Autonomous Republic and two deputies from each Autonomous Region.

**Article 36:** The Supreme Council of the USSR is elected for a term of four years.



Gilmore

**"Citizens of the USSR have the right to rest and leisure—"**

**Article 37:** The two Chambers of the Supreme Council of the USSR, the Council of the Union, and the Council of Nationalities, have equal rights.

**Article 38:** The Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities enjoy an equal right to initiate legislation.

**Article 39:** A law is considered adopted if passed by both Chambers of the Supreme Council of the USSR by a simple majority in each.

**Article 40:** Laws adopted by the Supreme Council of the USSR are published over the signatures of the Chairman and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR.

**Article 41:** Sessions of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities begin and terminate simultaneously.

**Article 42:** The Council of the Union elects a Chairman of the Council of the Union and two Vice-Chairmen.

**Article 43:** The Council of Nationalities elects a Chairman of the Council of Nationalities and two Vice-Chairmen.

**Article 44:** The Chairmen of the Council of the Union and of the Council of Nationalities preside over the meetings of the respective Chambers and are in charge of the procedure of these bodies.

**Article 45:** Joint sessions of both Chambers of the Supreme Council of the USSR are presided over alternately by the Chairman of the Council of the Union and the Chairman of the Council of Nationalities.

**Article 46:** Sessions of the Supreme Council of the USSR are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR twice a year.

Special sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR at its discretion or on the demand of one of the Union Republics.

**Article 47:** In the event of disagreement between the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities the question is referred for settlement to a conciliation commission established on a parity basis. If the conciliation commission does not arrive at an agreed decision, or, if its decision does not satisfy one of the Chambers, the question is considered for a second time by the Chambers. Failing an agreed decision of the two Chambers, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR dissolves the Supreme Council of the USSR and fixes new elections.

**Article 48:** The Supreme Council of the USSR elects, at a joint sitting of both Chambers, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, consisting of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, four Vice-Chairmen, the Secretary of the Presidium and 31 members of the Presidium.

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR is accountable to the Su-

preme Council of the USSR for all its activities.

**Article 49:** The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR:

A: Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Council of the USSR;

B: Interprets existing laws by issuing appropriate instructions.

C: Dissolves the Supreme Council of the USSR in conformity with Article 47 of the Constitution of the USSR and fixes new elections;

D: Holds popular consultations (referendums) on its own initiative or on the demand of one of the Union Republics;

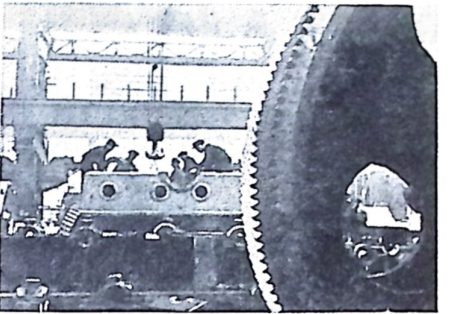
E: Annuls such decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Council of People's Commissars of the Republics as do not conform to law;

F: In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Council of the USSR, relieves of their posts and appoints People's Commissars of the USSR at the instance of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Council of the USSR;

G: Awards decorations of the USSR;

H: Exercises the right of pardon;

I: Appoints and removes the High Command of the armed forces of the USSR;



Sofoto

**"Citizens of the USSR have the right to work—"**

J: In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Council of the USSR, proclaims a state of war in the event of armed attack on the USSR;

K: Proclaims general or partial mobilization;

L: Ratifies international treaties;

M: Appoints and recalls plenipotentiary representatives of the USSR to foreign states;

N: Accepts the credentials of diplomatic representatives of foreign states.

**Article 50:** The Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities elect Credentials Commissions which examine the credentials of the members of the respective Chambers.

On the representation of the Credentials Commission the Chambers decide either to endorse the credentials or to nullify the elections of the deputies concerned.

**Article 51:** The Supreme Council of the USSR, when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of inquiry and investigation on any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of these commissions and to submit to them the necessary materials and documents.

**Article 52:** A deputy of the Supreme Council of the USSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Council of the USSR, and in the period when the Supreme Council of the USSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR.

(Continued on page 24)

## HAROLD LASKI

**"IN the constitutional field the new draft Constitution of the USSR is the most stupendous event since the Constitution of**



Gilmore

**"The right to rest and leisure is insured by . . . annual vacations with pay"**

the Paris Commune. The effect of this Constitution will unquestionably be tremendous. It marks an extraordinary advance. The draft shows clearly that the development of economic security and abundance have as their consequence a greater extension of freedom.

From the point of view of political science the draft Constitution is interesting for the following reasons: Firstly, it should be noted that this draft restores and makes more real the classic rights (freedom of conscience, freedom of assemblage). That eminent jurist, the late Lord Darling, revealed the very essence of capitalist democracy when he compared justice with the Hotel Ritz in these words—"It is accessible to everyone who can pay for it." But the Soviet Constitution, for example, not only gives its citizens the right to arrange meetings but also places at their disposal the halls for such meetings. Therein lies the basic difference between bourgeois democracy and real Socialist democracy.

"With regard to the social aspect of the Constitution, the right to work and the right to education are examples of rights that could not be granted even under the most ideal form of bourgeois democracy, because the granting of these rights under capitalism would have to be accompanied by such high taxation that it would destroy the privileged position of the capitalists, which is based on control of the means of production.

"I personally noted with satisfaction that any manifestation of race hostility is recognized as a crime. This makes a very strong impression in view of the contrast with the situation in Nazi Germany.

"I think it is desirable that students of constitutional problems and administrative law, should work on the Constitution of the USSR instead of the American or the Weimar Constitution."

## THE NEW MASSES

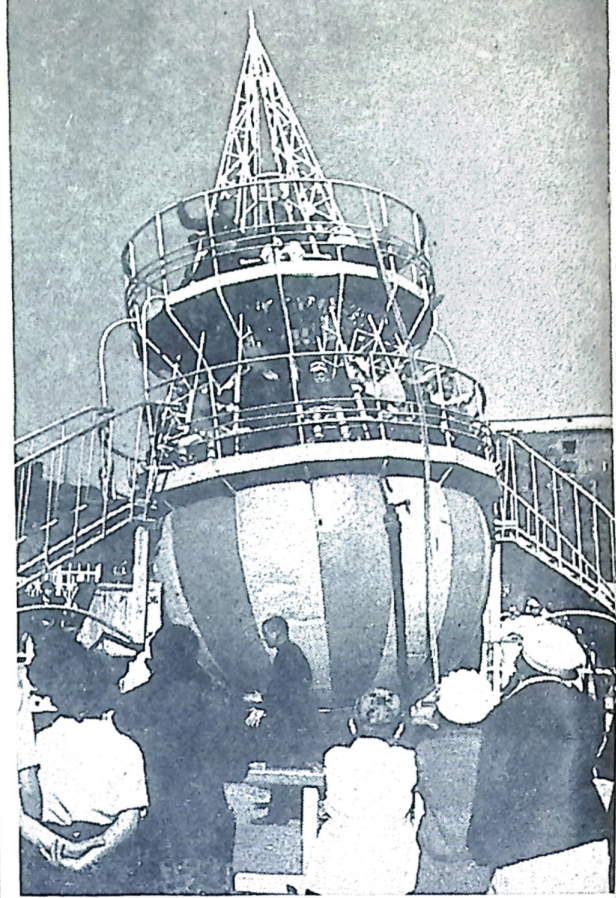
From an editorial

**"THE whole point about the Soviet system is that power has never been the private property of individuals; it has been so far the prerogative of the working-class in alliance with the farmers. And the object of that power has been to create a fuller and freer life for all. In emancipating the individual economically and socially, in expanding his political rights and his cultural attainments, no one gives up anything in the Soviet Union, for no man exploits another. The new Constitution, like everything else in the Soviet Union, is not a surrender but a fulfillment; it is the triumph not only of a new society but of the new individual who, working collectively, is today the freest individual in the world."**

## IN THE GORKY PARK OF CULTURE and REST

The pictures on the left and right were taken by John Gilmore, assistant editor of Soviet Russia Today, who has just returned from a visit to the Soviet Union. On the left is one of the parachute towers which have become a feature of all Soviet amusement parks; on the right is a new laughter-provoking device in the "children's city" of the Park of Culture and Rest in Moscow.

"I visited the Park the first time on the day before rest day," says Gilmore, "and then I went back as often as I could, there was so much to see. There is none of the sensational bally-hoo you associate with amusement parks—but you have a sense of people really enjoying themselves. There is music everywhere. In one section there will be a great crowd of people singing, perhaps just learning a new song; in another, a mass of people will be doing folk dances. For those who want to learn modern dancing, there are special studios. I went to the open-air movie, the largest in the world, the screen is gigantic, and the theatre seats 20,000. Besides, there are several smaller movie houses, several legitimate theaters and a circus. There are libraries, cafes, exhibits—it's impossible to enumerate everything!"



Gilmore



Gilmore

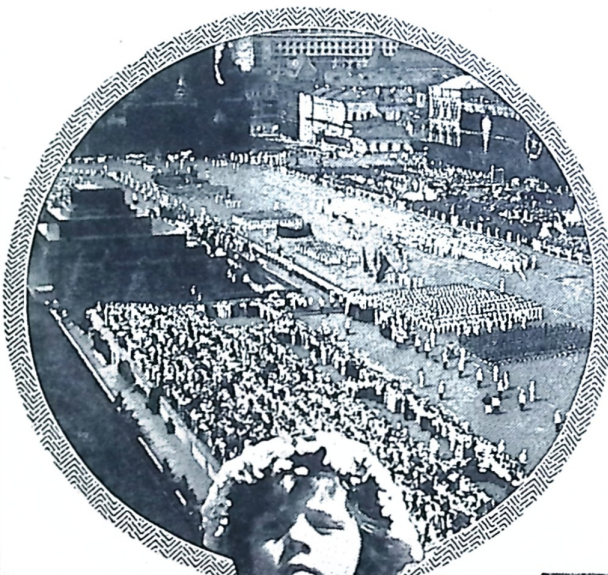
## PARADE THE ANNUAL SPORT

The pictures in the circle and below show the great parade of physical-culturists held in Moscow on July 6. It can best be described in the words of Walter Duranty who wrote about it in The New York Times as follows:

"Moscow staged a superb pageant of sport in the Red Square today when 75,000 members of Moscow sports organizations marched past for hours with incredible variety and richness of color.

"As Stalin took his place on the Lenin Mausoleum the square looked like an immense garden brilliant with flowers. In the middle there were a dozen white-clad bands with different colored berets, red, green, blue and maroon of the Young Pioneers, some of whom were little bigger than their shining instruments.

"The hot sun glittered on the lance points of javelin throwers in a dense column behind the bands. Fully 10,000



## A SUPERB PAGEANT OF COLOR

young athletes, 8 to 25 years old, lined three sides of the square, carrying great banners and small flags. Each group wore costumes of a different hue and when the parade began the square became a kaleidoscope of swiftly changing colors.

"In spaces and streets north of the square, miles of light-clad youngsters waited in orderly ranks. A feature of the pageant was a great number of floats and other devices typifying the different branches of sport or factory organizations to which the bearers belonged . . .

"After the parade the square was given up to athletic exhibitions, running, gymnastics, dancing and a miniature football match on a thick green carpet. . . .

"There are 10,000,000 members of athletic organizations in the Soviet Union, not counting children under twelve."

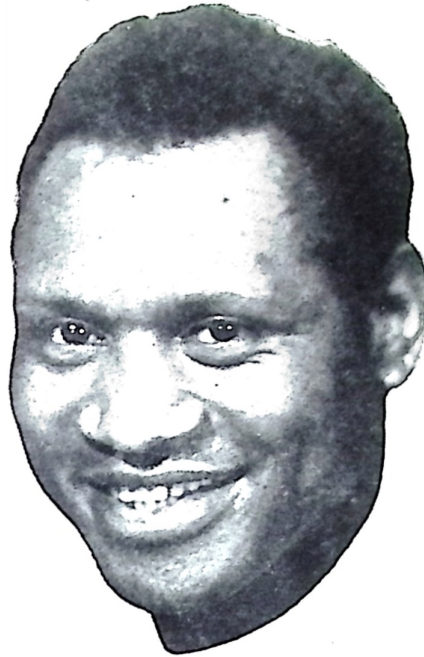


Sovfoto

# PAUL ROBESON

by

BEN DAVIS, JR.



**P**AUL ROBESON, the world's most famous Negro artist, is such an enthusiastic admirer of the Soviet Union that he doesn't want to live there! That is, not for a while, anyway—although he does plan a visit there this summer.

This seems paradoxical, so perhaps Paul, himself, had better clear it up at the outset.

During his last stay in America (he is now residing in London) he said to me:

"The Soviet Union is the only country I've ever been in, where I've felt completely at ease. I've lived in England and America and I've almost circled the globe—but for myself, wife and son, the Soviet Union is our future home.

"For a while, however, I wouldn't feel right going there to live. By singing its praises wherever I go, I think I can be of the most value to it. It's too easy to go to the Soviet Union, breathe free air, and live 'happily ever afterwards.'"

And how he can sing its praises! Paul possesses one of the finest of deep baritone voices, together with a number of other accomplishments.

While at Rutgers College, in New Jersey, he was awarded Phi Beta Kappa, with one of the highest averages in the history of the institution. Walter Camp, the late football authority, selected him as an All-time All-America end. He was a brilliant student at Columbia University Law School, and later secured a position in one of New York City's prominent law firms where he remained until discrimination and jim-crowism disgusted him—and he quit.

In recent years, Paul has become distinguished not only as a singer but as an actor. Not so long ago in England, he played, with excellence, the leading role in Shakespeare's *Othello*.

I was quick to ask Paul what he was doing to sing the Soviet's praises. Continuing in his heavy booming voice, he stated:

"Of course, I'm a member of the Friends of the Soviet Union in London. But I'm not very active because I'm away so frequently either singing or acting. One thing I always try to do is to help make people understand the importance of the Soviet peace policy.

"But the thing that won me over to the Soviet Union, more than anything else, is its policy on national minority groups. I am very interested in seeing the rich culture of my people developed, both in Africa and America. I have been to Africa, and there the culture of the African native is stifled

by imperialism in his own country. In America, it's all the Negro people can do to exist, with discrimination, lynching and oppression following their every step.

"But in the Soviet Union, the contrast is amazing. Every small nation has its own culture flourishing side by side and yet independently. They have separate and distinct songs, dances, languages and customs and yet they are an integral part of the whole Soviet Union."

When Paul visited the Soviet Union he was the guest of Sergei Eisenstein, internationally known Soviet film producer. He was eager to tell his experiences and observations.

"I talked with a number of youngsters, born since the 1917 revolution. Many of them had no idea what I meant when I told them of the treatment of the Negroes in the United States. They understand the basis of this treatment, but not having lived during the Tsarist days, they didn't seem to be able to picture such treatment in their minds. Here before my eyes was living testimony of this new type of human being growing up in the Soviet Union—and I couldn't get away from that fact!

"I also went among the Russian peasants. And I found that any number of their folk songs were very much

like the Negro spirituals, which also arose out of the oppression of a peasant people. This is particularly true in Uzbekistan. I even find I can express myself more clearly in Russian than I can in English. Russian seems to fit me."

Paul stated that one of his "fondest hopes" is to give a lecture-recital in America to illustrate the similarity between the Negro spirituals and Russian peasant songs.

In Moscow Paul took occasion to visit a number of Soviet Workers' homes. His wife, the former Eslanda Goode of New York City, famous in her own right as an outstanding Negro chemist, has two brothers living in Moscow. One of them, John Goode, is employed in Moscow as a mechanic and bus-driver. The other, Frank Goode, also has a job there. Through them, Paul has a chance to observe intimately the lives of Moscow workers.

Describing his visits to workers' homes, Paul said:

"I was very anxious to see with my own eyes just how the average worker in the Soviet Union lived. I wanted to see homes of some of the workers who were not so famous as Eisenstein. Take my brother-in-law, John, for example. He lives in a comfortable airy apartment, plenty of sunlight, surrounded by a number of other workers who had places of the same sort. I don't say everything's perfect, but they're building, improving all the time."

Then I chimed in, calling his attention to stories carried in the Hearst press in this country about wholesale "starvation and misery" in the Soviet Union.

"What else do you expect people like Hearst to say?" he replied.

"One good thing, they have no Hearsts in that country. I saw plenty of food everywhere I went. Maybe it wasn't always the most select food—but it was wholesome and there was plenty of it. A person couldn't help contrasting conditions in the Soviet Union with the situation in America—particularly, the Negroes in the South and in Harlem, where I spent most of my early years."

"What about the principles underlying the Soviet Union?" I asked.

"I think those are proven over and over again by simply observing what's going on in the world today. I think the time is rapidly coming when the people will have to choose between fascism and the way of the Soviet Union. I don't see how one can come to any other conclusion than that the Soviet way is the only way. Certainly it isn't

(Continued on page 29)

**F**ORGIVE me, please, if I bore you with my personal, one might say my family affairs. Have patience with an old man, and listen to me with all the attention you can muster, my young friends. I like to talk to people, you know, whose heads have not yet acquired the wisdom of the bald. But that is not the point.

I want to complain to you about my children, Borka and Klava. I myself am a teacher. Nothing out of the ordinary. For thirty years now I have taught arithmetic to young folks in school. I know my business. It is very peaceful work. Five times five is twenty-five. Seven times seven—forty-nine. Cleverly devised. The same abroad as with us. Under any government five minus five equals zero.

Or so it seemed to me before. That's how it looks on the face of it. But actually it is not so. Under the Soviet government figures somehow have changed. Five minus five is zero? But the whole question is, who gets the five and who is minus the five? But that's not the point.

I shall not tell you my real name. Not because I am ashamed or expect to change it. All my life my name has been a modest one. No Beethoven nor Heine. But recently my name has become very troublesome. No sooner is it mentioned than—loud applause! "Hurrah!" Really, there's no way to protect oneself. They begin to shout. "There goes the father of Boris and Klavdia!" Now, I ask you, what of it? Ah, these new times. People used to hang portraits of their ancestors on the walls. And now we decorate our apartments with portraits of our descendants. People used to say: "You know who that is? That is the son of the Governor General, or that is the nephew of banker so-and-so." But now-a-days: "You know who that is? That is the father of Kamanina, that is the mother of Maria Demchenko, that is the grandfather of Stakhanov!" And that isn't all. They used to say: "There goes the wife of Turgenev, the writer, there goes the wife of Minister of Finance." And now you hear: "That is the husband of the famous weaver so-and-so." Really, everything is topsy turvy. But that is not the point.

So, I shall go back to my complaint about my children, Borka and Klava. I shall begin with Klava. She has a friend, Marina. That Marina cannot sit quietly in one place for a single minute. Almost all her free time she is off up there somewhere, beyond the stars. She flies. And she jumps. She flies up there, the devil knows where, where not only no human being but not even a bird has ever been before. Then she jumps out of the sky and, as if nothing has happened, goes to the movies.

Now my daughter Klava didn't spend her time jumping out of the

# BUT THAT'S NOT THE POINT!

by

G. RYKLIN

A Sketch from "Krokodile,"  
Soviet Humorous Weekly.

skies. I was very grateful to her for this. In our family no one has ever flown or jumped. We have always lived peacefully. Klava works in a factory, in the laboratory. She is a chemist. Everything was fine. Only I was somewhat troubled about my son, Borka. The boy, one might say, had descended to the very depths. You see, he is a diver. Don't think that I am afraid of the water. But it should be taken in moderation. Two or three dips, and then to the shore, where one can dry off with a towel. And especially in summer, when it's very hot. But this Boris walks around on the bottom of the sea for days at a time. I have said to him over and over: "Borka, stop soaking yourself in cold water. Choose a drier profession for yourself." And he looks at me and laughs. If you could only see how nicely he laughs! You don't know, by the way, why it is that our children can laugh so well these days, no? But that is not the point.

Let us return to Klava. One day I am sitting at home, drinking my tea, and looking over my notebooks. Suddenly there bursts into the room a very strange young person. Some kind of a Zulu or wild Indian. Breeches to the knees, and in a sort of a cage. A huge cap, with the visor not in front, but in back. Some extraordinary kind of shoes. And besides all this, this savage looking stranger is armed from head to foot. All kinds of straps, holsters, packs. I look at him gaping with astonishment. Suddenly this wild savage says to me in perfect Russian:

"Permit me to introduce myself, kino-operator Albert Pyzhikov. You are the father of the famous chemist Klavdia so-and-so? Permit me to take

your picture." And so he begins to whirl me around and torment me. First I must smile—that means I am rejoicing at my daughter's successes. Then I must look sad—that means I am grieving for my own ruined youth. But that is not the point.

Klava comes home, and I hear the big news. She has made some kind of a scientific discovery. She has become a heroine. And I, incidentally, have become the father of a heroine. The newspapers are full of Klava's picture and her biography. Congratulations pour in. She gets all kinds of prizes. Certainly I am not opposed to this. To tell the truth, I am even glad. As long as she doesn't fly and jump.

Listen further: Once, on a rest-day, Marinka and Klava come running into my room. They beg me to go to the airdrome with them. There will be some interesting jumping there today, they tell me. So I go along. Only I make Marinka promise not to jump while I am there. She is a close friend of my daughter's you see, almost one of my own family. And I have a weak heart—I cannot look even when some friend or relative jumps from a street car. But that isn't the point.

So I stand at the airdrome and watch the airplanes rise upward. A beautiful sight! My old heart beats with joy for these winged people, our flying youth. I look around and see that Klava is not beside me. Marinka says: "She'll be right back. She saw some friends from the factory and went with them."

But people have started jumping out of airplanes. What is going on? Suddenly Marinka seizes me by the hand and shouts at the top of her lungs: "Come on—let's run!" It's all very well for her to say "Let's run!" Who does she think I am, the Znamensky brothers?\* She pulls me by the hand. I can hardly keep up with her. But I run.

We come to some kind of field. An airplane is flying over it. Marinka explains to me: "There—a girl has jumped with a parachute. Such a wonderful girl!" Well. I don't deny that. Maybe she is a wonderful girl. I stand there thinking of just one thing: "If that wonderful jumper has a father I don't envy him." I hardly have time to finish the thought than this same girl is already on the ground and is running right toward us. I look at her and my blood runs cold. When I come to myself I shout at her: "And who gave you permission to gad about up there in the clouds!" She laughs. She has such a nice laugh. And I shout again: "But you are a chemist, Klava, why must you start parachute-jumping too?" She answers: "Our country needs both good chemists and good parachute jumpers." My agitation does not leave me. I continue to fume

(Continued on page 31)

\* Two famous Soviet athletes.

# KHARKOV — CITY OF YOUTH

by WILLIAM REZNIKOFF

ALL that is new, modern and youthful in the Soviet Union is epitomized in Kharkov as perhaps in no other city in the land. A rather sweeping statement in regard to any one city in a country which radiates the spirit of youth at almost every step of its vast stretches. And yet, in no other way is it possible to describe the dominant, all pervading characteristic that distinguishes Kharkov from other large cities.

Leningrad is somber and imposing—as if conscious of its distinguished record before, during and after the revolution; Moscow is a beehive—busy shedding its old clothes to acquire a new appearance worthy of a new world; Kiev is like a person awakened in midday—trying to make up for lost time in resuming the position which history and tradition have given it. But Kharkov is serene and carefree, gawky and handsome as only youth can be. It has fewer historical traditions, an exciting present and a glorious future.

The post-revolutionary history of Kharkov reads almost like a formula which can be applied to hundreds of cities in all parts of the Soviet Union with only a variation of the figures. From a dusty, sprawling provincial town of some 200,000 before the revolution it has grown into a metropolis of almost three quarters of a million in population, with well-paved streets, beautiful public buildings and modern apartment houses, department stores, sports stadia, etc. It now ranks third in importance, after Leningrad and Moscow, as a great industrial center.

The physical newness of the city is impressed upon the visitor before he has set foot in it. As the train approaches it, the geometrically arranged buildings of the great tractor plant can be seen rising out over the plain. Within the immediate vicinity of the factory are blocks of apartment houses—a whole city of them—the dark red brick and white window casements gleaming in the sun, a symbol of the well-being that has already come to the Soviet workers. As the city comes into full view however, the scene is dominated by the towers of Dzerzhinsky Square—the crowning glory of Kharkov, and in itself well worth a long trip.

The square, actually a huge semi-circle, presents what is probably the most striking ensemble of modern architecture in the world. The effect created by the two largest office buildings in Europe (whose towers we saw rising above the city's sky-line), rang-

ing pyramidically in height from six to fourteen stories is well-nigh breathtaking. Their superb simplicity, their graceful lightness makes them appear floating in the air, and yet strong and solid. By themselves, they leave a lasting impression on the onlooker's mind of the grace, strength and buoyancy of a new Soviet city.

But it is the people of Kharkov, the creators of the city, who lend to it its dominating trait. During the day they may be found working in the factories lining the "Avenue of Giants" leading to the tractor plant. There is the great locomotive works, the bicycle works, the dynamo plant (largest in the world) and, of course, the tractor plant. The bulk of the workers in these plants are young men and women, most of them recently arrived from their villages. Within a few years they have become the skilled workers, technicians and foremen who man Soviet industry today. They have also retained the effervescence which distinguishes the Ukrainian, as a man of the South, from his more somber brother of the North.

It is these youths who set the tone of the city. Towards evening, they will be found, dressed in their best, walking arm-in-arm in the numerous parks, filling the shaded alleys with laughter and banter; here and there a group will gather to watch one of their number do a folk dance to the music of a harmonica; near-by an ice-cream booth or American style hot-dog stand will be doing a thriving business. Thousands of these young

people will enjoy the games and sports facilities of the great "Dynamo" stadium; listen to an open-air concert or take in a movie or play.

They are also seen along the city's boulevards, examining the show windows of the specialty shops for the new things that are appearing on the market daily; crowding the ice-cream parlors and confectionary shops. Hundreds of bicycles race by, the young riders trying to slip by the watchful militiamen directing traffic at the busy intersections.

In the very heart of the city stands an imposing mansion, dazzling in its whiteness. It is the Palace of the Pioneers, largest of its kind in the country, given over to the organization of Soviet children of school age. At one time the governor's residence and only recently the seat of the government of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, this block-long building now houses the most complete facilities for the entertainment and instruction of young boys and girls.

It is easy to become trite in describing one's reactions upon witnessing young people having a good time. Nothing, however, in this writer's experience compares with the dignity, restraint and utter joyousness with which the youth of Kharkov rules the day. They communicate this spirit to the city, investing its architecture, its parks and amusement places, its shops, its very pulse with their brightness and charm.



# CHARLES KENNECK

## ON THE USSR

**R**EADERS of SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY and workers everywhere should be interested in the progress of Russian workers, as we members of the American First of May Delegation to the Soviet Union, were given a first hand opportunity to observe it. It is true that in a trip through Russia of only four weeks, we could only scratch the surface, but with the cooperation of the Soviet Trade Unions, we were enabled to learn some of the methods by which Soviet workers have advanced so far in such a comparatively short time. It must be borne in mind, always, the tremendous odds that had to be overcome, the great sacrifices on the part of the individual that have been necessary and are still being made for the good of the whole and for the fulfillment of a plan, providing security for the workers.

As a delegate of a metal workers' union, I, of course, was particularly interested in that field of activity. I was able to gather very accurate statistics through the courtesy of our always ready interpreters, the members of the trade unions, and through the cooperation of plant directors, whose patience seemed inexhaustible, and which I am sure we frequently taxed to the breaking point with our questions. No question seemed too trivial for them to answer, and I suspect that they sympathized with us, probably knowing our problems far better than we ourselves knew them.

The first large plant that we visited was one which is taken up entirely with the building of machine tools, especially lathes of various types and sizes. Until a few years ago, this machinery was all bought outside of the Soviet Union, and often at prohibitive prices; but the necessity for tools of all kinds was so great, they had no other recourse. Included in the now famous Five Year Plans, however, were provisions to engage and

*New Building of Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, taken from the roof of the new Moscow Hotel (right)*

*A well-known Philadelphia trade unionist gives his views on Soviet trade unions. Charles Kenneck, a member of the executive committee of Local 1555 of the International Machinists Union, was elected chairman of the FSU May First Delegation. He has just returned from his trip to the Soviet Union and tells what he saw in this article.*

train workers in special fields. So also in this plant, we found that the great majority of the workers, were being trained in special production work and making a decidedly good job of it, acquiring sufficient skill to make machinery equal to the standard of what was previously imported. It might be said here that this particular plant was not one of the more modern, and not especially built nor adapted for the work they were producing.

We found in this plant that 20 per cent of the workers were women, and even the assistant director of supplies, if you please, was a woman, and a most intelligent and efficient and very courteous person, too. It was a strange sight to me, having worked in various cities and shops in America, to see women producing along with men, doing the same kind of work under the same conditions and earnings. This novelty was, however, soon to wear off. As we advanced on our journey, we found women working at all occupations which we Americans are so prone to believe can be only done by men.

To those readers who are members of trade unions, it will probably be interesting to know that these workers, men and women, are practically all members of unions. The only expense for the workers in connection with the unions is one per cent of their earnings for dues. Every enterprise automatically pays a sum amounting to an average of about 18 per cent of its payroll for social insurance. The sum total of these payments represents the social security fund of the nation. In addition a certain percentage of the profits of each industry is set aside for housing, clubs and other special funds to improve the conditions of their own workers, and the federal government gives special help where required. All such funds are administered through the trade unions.

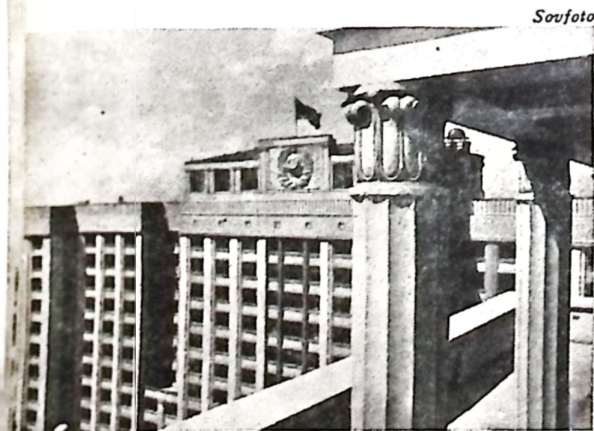
Because of this immense interest in their welfare the workers of the Soviet Union are well taken care of and are

happy at their work. Some of my readers may ask as we did, why is it necessary for women to work at these tasks, which we associate only with male workers. Is it not injurious to their health, do not children suffer from lack of home influence, and the mother hand, and home life? The answer can be found in the comparison with our own women, who are forced by circumstances to eke out an existence, sometimes with the burden of three or four children, who must shift for themselves during the mothers' absence, with no guidance, while the Soviet women take their children with them to the factory creches, or kindergartens, leave them in the hands of trained and efficient teachers, in well equipped rooms designed especially for these purposes, taking them home later when their work is done.

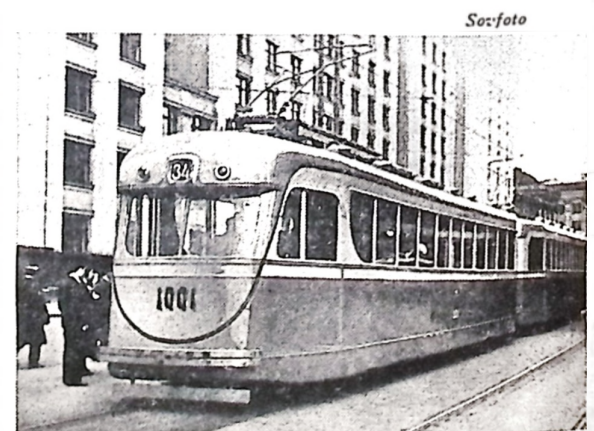
Another reason for the necessity of women workers in all fields, is the fact that there is such a tremendous amount of work to be done under the Five Year Plans and the scarcity of skilled labor is so great that anyone who has the desire, or shows ability in any certain kind of work is pressed into service and given special training to help in the work of building a new State. It must not be forgotten either, that no woman not physically fit for the work, will be permitted to be placed in any position beyond her capacities and there can therefore be no injurious results either to her or her family. In the case of child-bearing, women receive the greatest consideration. No expectant mother is permitted to work for two months before and two months after delivery. During this time she is paid her regular wages and in addition receives a monthly stipend for her child until it is nine months old. Another factor in the welfare of all workers is the seven hour day. No one works more than

*(Continued on page 29)*

*The first of the new gray and red streamlined street-cars to appear in Moscow—run by the most powerful motor of any street car in the world.*



*Sovfoto*



*Sovfoto*



# The New Soviet Marriage and Family Laws

## ARTICLE II

by

JESSICA SMITH

Editor of SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY



IN the last issue I discussed the draft of the new law on abortions, increased aid to mothers and changes in divorce legislation. At that time the draft was before the country for discussion. The content of the law had in fact been under discussion for many months. Special medical commissions had considered the effect of repeated abortions on the health of women, the whole question of marriage and divorce was being aired widely in the press and through public and private discussion. The people of the whole country were urged to discuss the new law, which they did freely. Factory workers, collective farmers, students, engineers, artists—all held meetings, passed resolutions. Letters offering comment and recommendations flooded the newspaper offices and government bodies.

On June 28th the law was passed, with a few changes. The new law provided for the prohibition of abortions except in those cases when pregnancy endangers the life or seriously threatens the health of the woman and when a serious disease of the parents might be inherited. Although the letters and discussions printed in the press revealed considerable sentiment for restriction rather than prohibition of abortions, there were thousands of resolutions urging complete prohibition. The step was favored by thousands of women whose nerves and whose health had been so undermined by repeated abortions that they felt women must at all costs be protected from this hazard. It was favored by thousands of others to whom the contrast of bringing up children under the Soviet regime to the remembered horrors of rearing families in the old days is so great that they feel only the joys of motherhood and not its burdens.

Those who urged restriction rather than prohibition argued crowded housing conditions, the still insufficient supply of contraceptives, difficulties for students to raise families while continuing their studies, and many other reasons. But considerations of the extent to which the legalization of abortions had been abused outweighed these arguments. No doubt the framers and supporters of

the law felt that the practice of abortions had come to be taken so lightly that only by the most severe corrective methods could an equilibrium be established. Even before the law went through an increased interest in the use of contraceptives was to be noted. Certainly the enlightened women of the Soviet Union will now pay more attention to this means of determining if and when they shall be mothers than ever before. If after a period of trial the tide of popular opinion is turned sufficiently from the attitude that abortions are to be taken as lightly as pulling teeth, and if the law proves too hard on women, it will no doubt be changed again. Soviet law is flexible and realistic. It is designed to meet immediate conditions and to prepare the way to the ultimate goal of the greatest happiness for all. If this present law overreaches its purpose it will be discussed again and if need be changed.

Since I went rather fully into the background of the situation concerning abortions in the previous article, let us turn to the other provisions of the law. The new law provides enormous extensions to the already unpar-

alleled State benefits for mother and child. Thus the special payment given to mothers to help outfit the newborn infant and the extra allowance paid to the nursing mother are increased. Office workers whose maternity vacation with pay formerly amounted to six weeks before and six weeks after childbirth are now given the same period as industrial workers—sixteen weeks altogether. Refusal to employ a woman or reduction of her wages on account of pregnancy, becomes a criminal offence; when necessary for the pregnant woman to be transferred to lighter work, her wage level must be preserved. A special state allowance is established for mothers of large families on the basis of an annual allowance of 2,000 rubles for five years for each child after the sixth. For mothers having ten children there is to be a state allowance of 5,000 rubles on the birth of each subsequent child and an annual allowance of 3,000 rubles for a period of four years following the child's first birthday. That this provision is not to be considered in the sense of a premium for large families but as a necessary measure to lighten the economic burden and equalizing material conditions is evident from the fact that the law is effective for those families already having more than six children.

It is the aim in the Soviet Union to provide hospital care for all maternity cases. This has been very nearly achieved in the cities, and facilities in the country have been greatly increased. Now there are to be 11,000 more maternity beds added in the cities before 1939, in addition to 4,200 already provided for this year, and 32,000 maternity beds established in rural districts in the same period in addition to 9,300 already provided for in 1936.

Accommodations for 400,000 more children in the day nurseries of the cities, 500,000 more in the permanent day nurseries of the collective farms and four million more in the seasonal day nurseries—this is the program to extend day nursery facilities for all working mothers. In addition the day nurseries are to be put on a two-

(Continued on page 33)

*These husky youngsters are taken from a series of pictures of Soviet babies of all nationalities snapped at various day-nurseries.*



# SCIENCE FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL

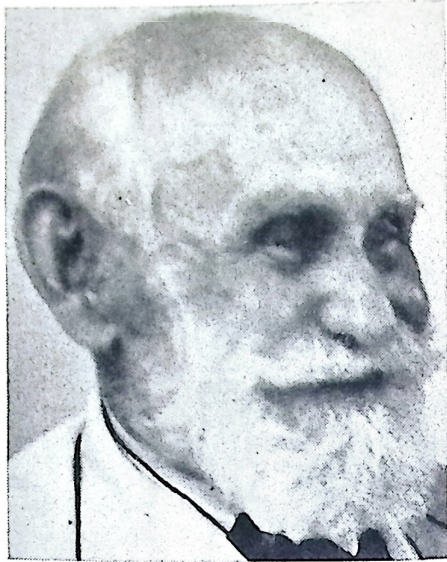
## PAVLOV'S MESSAGE—

“WHAT do I wish for the youth of my home country who are devoting themselves to science?”

“First of all, consistency. About this all-important condition of fruitful scientific work, I cannot speak without inner emotion. Consistency. Consistency and once again consistency. Accustom yourselves from the beginning of your work to the most rigorous consistency in accumulating knowledge. First of all, master the basis of science, before you try to rise to its heights. Never do anything without having first mastered what has gone before. Never try to hide your lack of knowledge by riddles and hypotheses, however clever they may be. However consoling the soap bubble may be, it will burst, and nothing is left but confusion.

“Accustom yourselves to reserve and to patience. Learn, in science also, to do laborious work. Examine the facts, put them together and collect them.

“However complete the wing of a bird may be, it can nevertheless never rise in the air without supporting itself on the air. Facts are the air of the sciences. Without such facts, you can never rise upwards. Without them your theories will be castles in the air. But with study, with experiment and with observation, you must strive not to remain on the surface of the facts. Do not become archivists of facts. Try to bore into the secrets of their origin, and research obstinately for the laws which govern them.



**IVAN PAVLOV**

*The great Russian physiologist whose death last February was a loss to the entire world. Pavlov was keenly interested in the youth of his country and addressed to them, a short time before his death, the inspiring message we reprint here.*

*Concerning the Soviet Union in its political aspect, opinions may differ, but there is no room for difference of opinion as to this one matter: The Soviet Union, more than any other government of today, is earnestly devoting itself to the development of general education and of scientific research, to the benefit of all its citizens.*

*To my own knowledge, Russia has called young research workers from other lands, selected only because of their contributions to scientific work. To me it is significant that in instances that I know personally, this call has come to workers the value of whose labor lies in the realm of knowledge and understanding and not in its relationship to practical application.*

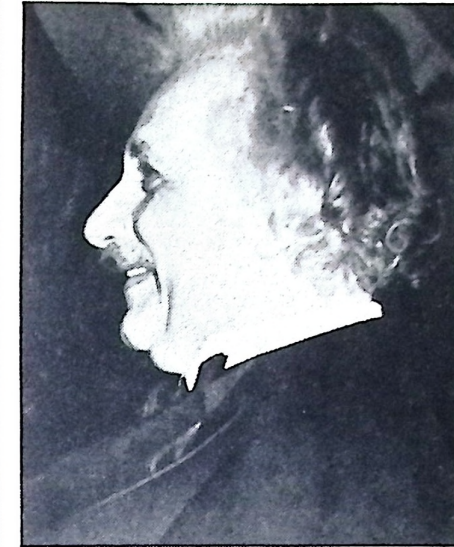
*This attitude shows an appreciation of cultural values, that must inspire the respect of all.*

*I have just finished reading "Soviet Science" by J. G. Crowther.*

*This book pleases me because of its honest simplicity.*

*Insofar as this report deals with work in the field of my own activities, I can testify that the exposition is a true presentation of the facts.*

*A. Einstein.*



**ALBERT EINSTEIN**

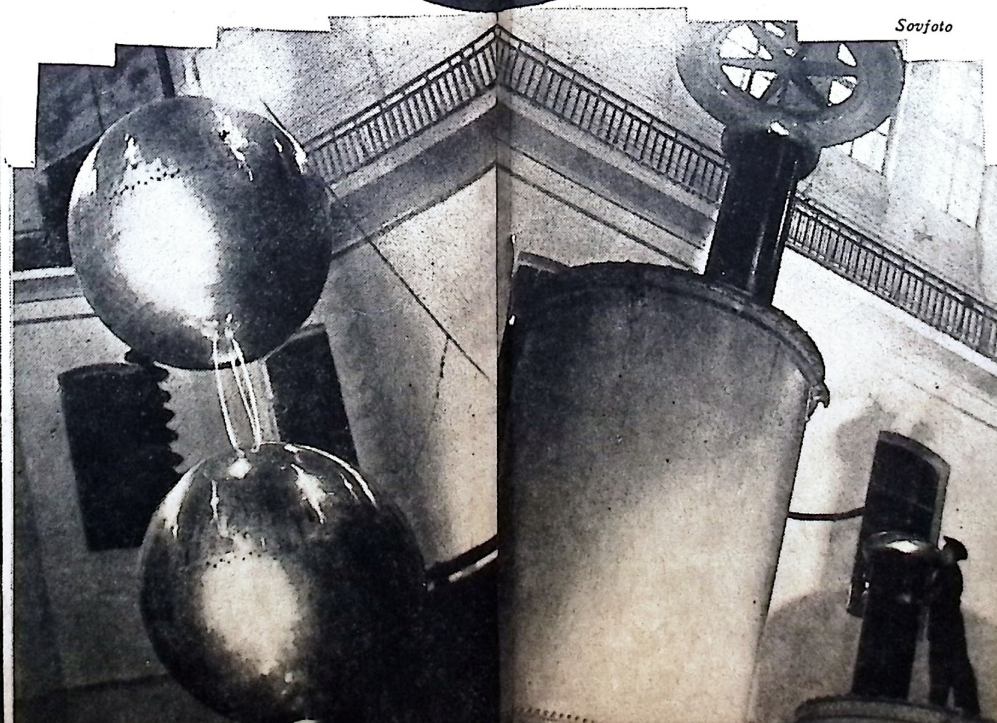
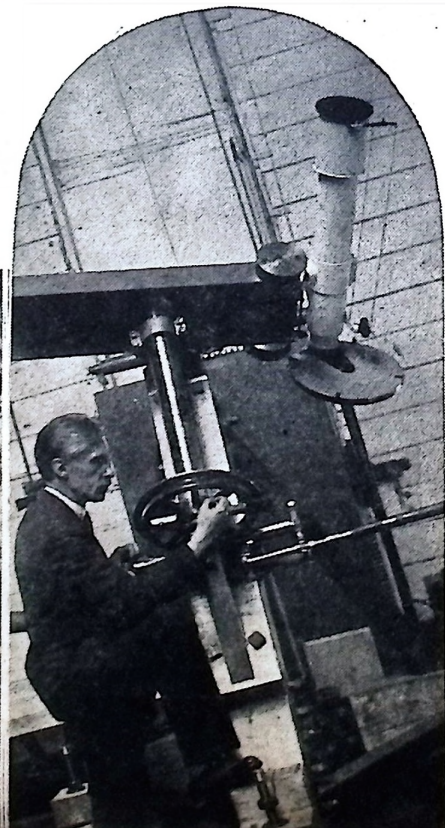
*The great German scientist, now living in America because of the racial oppression and stifling of all advanced scientific thought in his own land, follows closely the progress of science in the Soviet Union. Soviet Russia Today takes pleasure in presenting to its readers this important statement by Professor Einstein.*

Below—Professor Balanovsky of the Pultovo Observatory, near Leningrad, is shown regulating the triple short-focus coronagraph of original design made especially for photographing the sun's corona in the recent eclipse. The next picture shows the protective apparatus for measuring high tension at the famous Lenin Electrotechnical Institute in Leningrad. The young woman on the right is a scientific worker in the Moscow Brain Institute.



Below is another picture of the Lenin Electrotechnical Institute in Leningrad, where scientific research is carried on in the service of the electrical and power industry. The picture shows a transformer for testing insulators. In the next picture a doctor is shown demonstrating the use of a Galdan apparatus to examine exhalations of a patient, while students of a medical school look on.

*A tremendous airplane fleet is at the service of Soviet science*



*Hundreds of scientific expeditions explore the secrets of the Soviet Arctic*



## TO SOVIET YOUTH

“The second most important thing is modesty. Never think that you know everything. Always have the courage, however highly men may estimate you, to say to yourselves that you are ignoramuses.

“Do not let pride get you in its grip. It will only lead to your being obstinate where you should give way. Pride has as its result that you are to be deprived of useful advice and friendly help, that you lose the measure of objectivity.

“In the collective which I have to lead, atmosphere is everything. We are all out for a common cause and each one advances this in the measure of his power and ability. And so no distinction can be made between what is ‘mine’ and what is ‘yours’; thus the common cause alone gains.

“The third is passion. Remember that science demands from a man his whole life. Even if he had two lives, it would not be enough. Science demands from them great exertion and great passion. Be passionate in your work, in your efforts.

“Our country opens great perspectives for scientists. And it must be admitted that she brings science right into the life of our country. Greatly done on a great scale.

“What can one say about the position of the young scientists here? Here everything is so clear. He is given much, but much is demanded from him. And for the youth as for us, it is a matter of honor to justify those great hopes which our home country puts in science.”

## THE STORY THUS FAR:

The story opens with a picture of the desperate misery of a Donbas miner's family in old Russia. Nikanor, grandfather of the hero, continues to work in the mines even after being badly hurt in a cave-in, until finally he goes mad, accidentally knocks down his wife, who is killed, and later he himself dies of a stroke. His son Ostap works in the rolling mill where conditions are very bad. Ostap's oldest son Kozma and his daughter Yarka also work in the mill. The three younger children, Mitka, Nyurka and Sanya, the hero, collect scrap iron. The family lives in a hut in a filthy settlement nicknamed "Dog Kennels."

Kozma, urged on by the toothless furnaceman Garbuz, a leader among the workers, takes part in strikes, loses an arm in an accident, and is sent to Siberia for strike activities. Sanya's mother drinks herself to death. Yarka, the older daughter, becomes a prostitute in her efforts to get things to help her family. Ostap is killed in an encounter with Butylochkin, the foreman of the mill, his lifelong enemy. The three younger children, orphaned, are left alone in the house, destitute. Mitka and Nyurka die of hunger. Sanya is picked up by "Auntie Dura" who gets him to help her sell buns in the market.

Word of the Tsar's overthrow finally reaches the Dog Kennels. The Cossacks attack the people as, led by Garbuz, they are celebrating the revolution. Kozma, who has just returned from Siberia, is killed. Sanya runs away and is picked up by Wings, a disreputable character who lives by thieving. He teaches Sanya and Moon, another youngster, all the tricks of his trade. Sanya thus becomes one of the army of homeless waifs who in earlier years ranged up and down the country, a prey to the most vicious elements of the population, and themselves a menace to the community. He is picked up and taken into one of the children's homes established to solve this problem, but runs away because he finds the life dull after the wild life of the road. He is picked up by an armored train operating against the Poles who are fighting the new workers' republic. Garbuz, former Donetz metal worker, is commander of the train. Sanya becomes engine driver Bogatyrev's assistant. The train is transferred to Eastern Bokhara to put down the bandits who are overrunning the country. The train is wrecked. Sanya is expelled from the detachment because he is found with a bottle of vodka Bogatyrev has given him. He meets Wings again and together they start robbing the trains. Wings tries to keep all the swag for himself. In a fight over some loot Sanya stabs Wings in self-defense. He is picked up unconscious and comes to himself in a Commune for Homeless Waifs of which Anton Fedorich, called Antonich by the boys, is the head. Boris, who sleeps in the next bed, becomes Sanya's best pal and teaches him to read and write. At first Sanya is delighted to be clean and comfortable. But soon he tires of the routine. . . .

### Now go on with the story

LIFE is dull. I am sick of this white marble house with the lions at the head of the stone steps that lead up to high doors of polished walnut. The order of the place makes me sick. In the early morning, while the clotted darkness is still hanging from the branches of the firs, I am aroused by a blast of a brass trumpet. I have hardly time to yawn, and get my eyes well open before my neighbors from the other cots are already on their feet, have aired their beds and made them and, with towels over their shoulders, are already running off shouting and laughing to the washroom. I am only just washed by the time they have finished their morning exercises and are

# I LOVE

## An Autobiographical Novel

by **ALEXANDER AVDEYENKO**

going up to the dining-room. Formerly I never lagged behind, it was all a novelty to me—but now—the rising at the same hour every morning, the same exercises, the breakfasts, the workshops, the social evenings in the club—everything so regular, so exactly the same as the day before; God, I'm sick to death of it; I could cry out of sheer boredom.

I would have run away long ago, but the pity of it is nobody would stop me from doing it. We seem to be the freest of the free. No locks, no bars, no roll call. The commune is under the patronage of the railway workers. They have fitted up the workshops for us. There are seven turning lathes for cutting parts of steam-engines. Boris has been working there over a year already and seems quite satisfied. I have been working there two weeks and see nothing in it. I just get more and more bored. The motors buzz like flies over a dung heap, the belts go clop, clop. I warm my back against the casing of the motor and stand there poking my nose. My lathe is forgotten. There it stands in the far corner of the workshop, small and humpy. Its gears are broken-toothed, smeared with oil, dusty. There is only one bright clean spot on it—the red plate bearing my name. But how can it be mine when I only work on it about once a week?

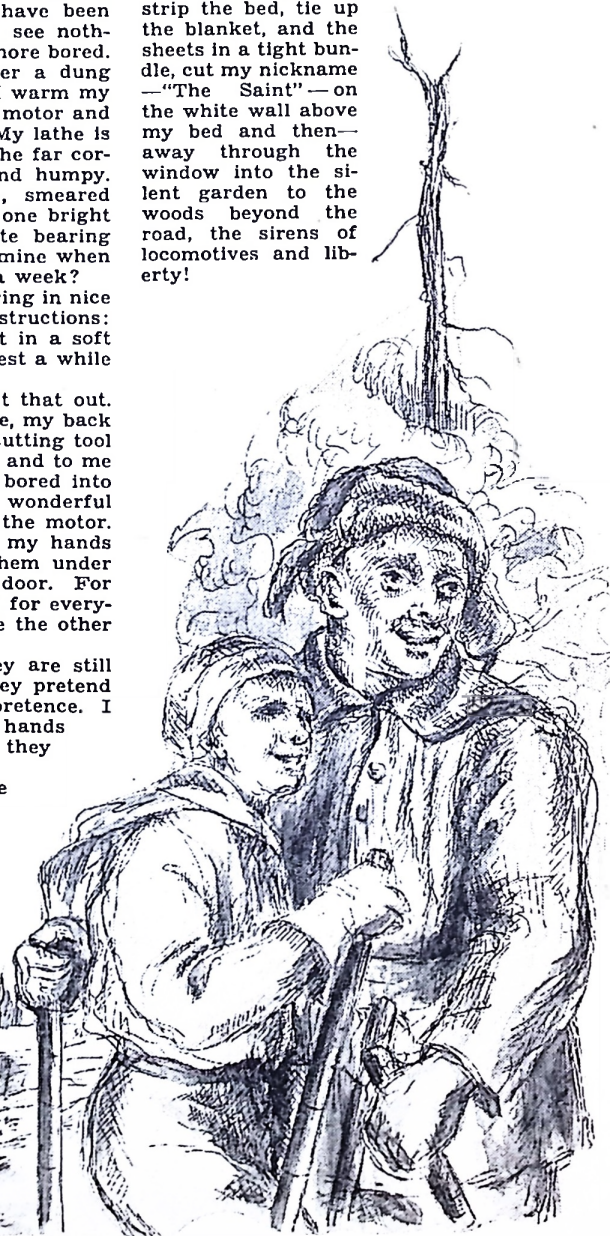
Over my head is a board bearing in nice white letters the following instructions: "If you feel tired, go and sit in a soft armchair in the Red Corner, rest a while and read."

It was a clever chap thought that out. Here I am standing at my lathe, my back nearly breaking in two. The cutting tool chirrup on the white cylinder, and to me it seems as if an awl is being bored into my brain. I glance up at the wonderful advice on the board, and stop the motor. The cutter is silenced, I wipe my hands on some cotton-waste, wash them under the tap and hurry out of the door. For although the rule is written up for everyone, still I feel ashamed before the other lads.

I am clearing out while they are still bending over their lathes. They pretend not to notice. It is only a pretence. I can see by their twitching hands that they have noticed and they feel my going.

Well, it's all the same to me

now. I'll get out of this soon. I can't make up my mind, that's all. I never seem to choose the proper night for it. It looks as though I might try tonight though. I lie down in bed, fully dressed, my boots hidden under the blanket. The room is empty. The windows look as though thick tar had been painted over them outside. Voices float in from the Red Corner. Some sort of classes are going on there. I pretended to be sick, groaned a bit, and left them. The wolf's thought still sticks in my head; I'm going to leave this miserable commune once and for all. It seems as though the right opportunity has come at last. There is not a sound, the voices in the Red Corner have ceased. Not a rustle in the parquetry corridor. Now I must get up, strip the bed, tie up the blanket, and the sheets in a tight bundle, cut my nickname—"The Saint"—on the white wall above my bed and then—away through the window into the silent garden to the woods beyond the road, the sirens of locomotives and liberty!



It looks good. But why doesn't my head want to raise itself? It seems a bit heavy. Maybe I'm really sick, after all? I jump out of bed in a fright, and look about me. Then it suddenly dawns on me, why I did not want to get up just now. I am sorry to leave this room. I must have got used to it. There is Boris's bedside table with books on it. Whenever I feel lonely or bored, he reads to me. I doze off with his voice buzzing gently in my ear. Often in my sleep I feel him shut the book, tuck the blanket round me and go back to his bed in his stocking feet. At dinner time I gobble down my share before anyone else and start licking the plate, but Boris, although he is as thin as a rake and needs three times as much as he gets, Boris gives me half of his dinner and says:

"You can have my glass of milk at breakfast every day, Sanya, it's bad for my bowels."

I drink it and forget even to thank him. I thought at first he was just trying to get round me, the slimy cuss. Just now, I feel I'd like to have another look at him, see the two rows of teeth, shining like maize grains, stroke the thick brows that meet above his nose and arch away like wings.

I am sorry, too, to leave all the freshness and cleanliness that impressed me so much when I was getting well and lay wrapped in bandages. My lathe among the spider's webs in the corner of the work-shop seems lonely too.

The mood lasts only a moment. What rubbish! I dash over to the nearest bed, tear off the blanket, flap it in the air like a banner and then come to a dead stop, thinking—"But that's Boris's bed, and he'll be cold without his blanket."

I go over empty-handed to the window, slide back the bolt, and let in the cold wind and the snow. The frost clutches at me like a hand. I shiver and then step out on the windowsill. A powerful hand draws me firmly back.

I turn and see Antonich's bristly moustache.

He lets go of me and whispers confidentially:

"Why through the window, Sanya? Go out through the door. The lions are only stone; they'll let you pass all right, and there's nobody else to stop you."

The electric switch clicks. Antonich and the whole commune headed by Boris are standing there. The electric light dazzles me.

Antonich turns to the boys and says: "Go and see Sanya down to the gate, boys."

That is enough for me. I make a dash for the door and run full speed down an endless corridor.

No one chases me. I can just hear a thin voice, far away:

"Chuck him out, we don't want his kind."

It is Pockmarked Petka's voice. I hide in the washroom and sit down on the windowsill driving out splinters off the frame with my nail. The salt tears smart in my eyes.

How soon the night is over. I have hardly had time to close my eyes. How long is it since I slept as much as I wanted? When was it? It must be about a month ago—no, it seems years, ages since my attempt to run away from the commune. I am the only one who remembers it. All the others have forgotten. For three days I never stirred from my cot, but kept my head under the bedclothes. Boris brought me up my dinner, he never asked me a single question. He's a real decent chap.

On Saturday the boys ran into our room and dragged me out to make a slide. On

Sunday we slid down it all day on our sledges. And the next day Boris handed me my jacket as he was dressing. So back I went to my lathe at last, after all this time. As I walked past the boys in the workshop, no one paid the slightest attention to me; it was just as if I had never been away.

I spent the whole day cleaning the lathe. I washed it with kerosene, dried it with swabs of cotton-waste, and polished it with sandpaper. I was afraid to raise my eyes.

I never leave my lathe till dusk is falling. Then I go back to the bedroom, throw myself down without undressing and pray passionately, as I doze off, that when it is time to get up I may suddenly fall ill or lose the use of a leg or arm.

It seemed to me one night that I saw Antonich sitting on my bed with the boys around him. He nodded in my direction and said:

"It's hard on him yet, but he'll get used to it. You must help to knock the corners off Sanya, lads, and polish him up a bit."

Yesterday was Saturday. I lay down to sleep happy at the thought that the next day was Sunday and that I could sleep all day. I forgot that I had made an appointment with Antonich to get up at daybreak and go skiing to the village the commune had taken under its patronage.

... Antonich was holding my head in his big hands and rocking it to and fro.

I pulled on my boots, my woollen sweater and fluffy woollen helmet. I felt as if I was all coated with thick, sticky jam, even my tongue, my eyelashes, my head and feet.

As soon as we got outside the railings, the wind struck us in the eyes and brought tears to them. A dry, sharp snow dust powdered us, our legs straightened, and found their customary agility. Antonich raised his ski sticks, grunted and glided away into the dim depths of the forest, the taiga.

"Come on, Sanya. Catch up with an old man," he flung back challengingly.

It was Boris who had taught me to ski. Soon I was ahead of my teacher. I was more agile than the rest at diving into the snow, at trying new jumps. So I did not hurry after Antonich, but drew on my mittens leisurely. While I was getting ready to follow, I heard Antonich's laugh right in the woods. I followed him, but in the forest twilight I could not see his tall fur cap.

Suddenly the taiga disappeared and I caught sight of Antonich on a high ridge of land. Behind him the dawn spread along the blue horizon. I caught up to him and wiped my wet brow. Antonich threw his arm around my shoulders and looked into my eyes for a long time, as if trying to see all that lay behind them.

"Isn't this grand, Sanya, eh?"

"Grand, Antonich."

"Well, now, my lad, you should value life. Keep yourself well in hand."

He gazed for a long time away to where the taiga flamed in the sunrise. Then he jumped up on his skis once more, turned their noses to the steep slope of the hill, and glided down, leaving two dusty furrows behind. I descended in his wake, and found it easy enough to avoid the bushes, avalanches of snow and old tree stumps. I could see his broad back always before me. The elasticity of his arms seemed to transfer itself to mine. I tried to swing my sticks as he did. He sped onwards without once looking back; planted his sticks at a wider angle, threw his head up and tested my strength.

"I won't give in, Antonich, I'll keep myself in hand."

The skis played on the frozen crust of

snow and their music could be heard at the other side; every pine had taken it up. And in my breast was a song and a joy as limitless as the taiga.

"Go on, Antonich. I'll not lag behind."

We leaped up on the ridge. Columns of smoke from the well-heated Sunday stoves in the village supported the sky, the wide sky of the Siberian taiga, where three suns in coral crowns glowed. And from each of them stretched a broad road into the taiga—broad enough for all the people in the world to walk upon.

Antonich took off his fur cap; his hair steamed, his mittens were trodden into the snow. But he could not take his eyes from the three great paths, and stood there silent. My head ached, I was growing cold, and still he stood there staring. He felt for my hand and said softly, forcing out the words one by one:

"There are three toes missing on my right foot—frozen off. And there are bullets in my backside to this day—I can feel them when the weather's bad. It was three years ago—the Japanese didn't notice that the commander of the detachment of partisans wasn't quite dead. They went away after finishing off the detachment. They were quite sure that none of the forty men would ever get up again. But I did. I started off alone into the taiga. I lived on nuts and bark for a week, and left bloody tracks behind me. . . . And that time I saw three suns and three paths leading down from them, just like today."

The mirage faded. Antonich put on his cap reluctantly. He gave a shudder as he suddenly felt the cold, and started off lazily on his skis to the village.

As soon as he met the peasants, however, he cheered up. He slapped soundly on the shoulder a bearded fellow with small Kirghiz eyes, and a hareskin cap, and burst out laughing.

The man shook his head reproachfully and said rapidly but in a kindly tone:

"Ah, Antonich, so you've started to make fools of folks in your old age, have you? That'll never do. You promised to come last Sunday and never showed up. And I'd saved some honey for you. And the old woman made hominy especially for you. You didn't finish telling us about the fellow in the Stone Age, and you said you'd tell us where the Food Tax went. The men waited about all day, hoping you'd come. Well, come along into the house now, old chap."

We did not return to the Commune till dinner time.

I burnt myself with the hot soup this dinner time, I was in such a hurry to get up to bed and rest. But when the rest hour came round I lay there with wide open eyes, thinking about Antonich.

He came up quietly and sat down on my bed. Then he drew out an old newspaper with worn-looking edges and laid a thick blue packet on his knees.

"Read it, Sanya."

I tried to spell out the words, stammering with embarrassment. Then I laid down, hid my face in the pillow and said in an apologetic tone:

"I've forgotten how to read, Antonich."

(Continued on page 32)



# FACTS and FIGURES

**HARVESTING IS IN FULL SWING** in the southern districts and republics of the USSR. The North Caucasus reports the biggest harvest of recent years. Despite heavy drought in southern Ukraine the yield of collective farm winter crops is above the average even there.

**MAXIM GORKY'S WORKS** were published in 102 editions, totalling 799,880 copies, in the years from 1893 to 1916, under conditions of Tsarist censorship. Since the revolution, 558 editions have been published, totalling 30,907,100 copies.

**THE RISE IN LIVING STANDARDS** may be gauged by the fact that in the first half of 1936 220,000,000 yards more of cotton goods, 6,500,000 yards more of woollens, 6,000,000 yards more silks, 11,500,000 more pairs of stockings and one third more pairs of shoes were produced than during the same period of 1935.

**SOVIET RAILROADS** fulfilled the semi-annual plan on June 13, 17 days ahead of time. During this half-year period, the average daily carloading was 84,948 as compared with a 60,547 average last year, a rise of over 40 per cent.

**A HUGE HOTEL**, the first section of which contains 346 rooms, has been completed and opened in Rostov. Each room has a telephone, and 40 per cent of the rooms have private baths.

**FIVE HUNDRED SUMMER COTTAGES** are being built this summer by Moscow factories for their outstanding workers. Most of these cottages will go to Stakhanovites of the plants.

**THE COLLECTIVE FARMERS** of Lagodekh district in Georgia, are building 200 modern homes. Eight collective farms are constructing clubs. Each village has a sanitary inspector who looks after hygiene and sanitation. An agricultural center is being built at

the county seat which will provide lecture halls, laboratories and testing grounds for agricultural research and information.

**THE IMPROVEMENT IN RAILROAD TRANSPORT** is being reflected in better passenger service in more ways than one. The conductors on a Moscow-Leningrad train attended a few lectures at the Geographical-Economic Institute to learn more about the part of the country through which their particular train was passing and hung out signs inviting the curious passengers to ask questions. The results have been gratifying to everybody.

**THE FIRST THOUSAND LOCOMOTIVES** of the powerful "FD" type had been built by the Voroshilov works by June 15th. The honor of driving the specially decorated and painted 1000th locomotive was given to the most efficient engineer on the line.

**OPEN-AIR CAFES** will become a common sight in Moscow this summer according to the plans of the city's restaurant trust. Three new cafes are being opened on the principal thoroughfares, each with a seating capacity of at least 200.

**FRESH FRUITS** brought to Moscow from distant regions will be several times more plentiful this year than last. There will be 40 million more melons, 20 thousand tons more of apples, twice as many cherries, apricots, strawberries and grapes.

**EIGHTY-NINE PER CENT** of all the peasant households in the Soviet Union were collectivized by April of this year. This marks an increase of eight per cent since the same time a year ago. A number of districts and regions are now nearly 100 per cent organized in collectives.

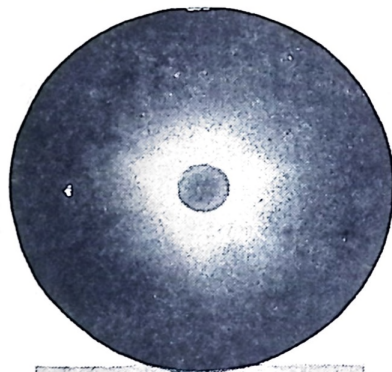
**INDIVIDUAL HOMES** are being built by the workers of the Gorky Automobile Plant with the aid of credit granted by the factory. During this year 200 such homes will be built.

**AIR-CONDITIONING**, patterned after America's latest methods, will be installed in two Moscow soft-drink parlors. It is expected that in the near future all such shops will be air-conditioned.

**AGRICULTURAL HIGHER SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES** in the Soviet Union graduated 22,709 men and women specialists this summer.

**TWENTY-THREE CHILDREN'S PARKS** were opened in Moscow this season, establishing a record not only in number but in size, organization and equipment.

**AN ATHLETIC STADIUM** seating 25,000 was opened in Odessa in May. The stadium offers facilities for many forms of athletics and is situated on one of the city's most beautiful spots, overlooking the sea.



*The Harvard-M.I.T. solar-eclipse expedition breakfasting at Ak-Bulak, near the border of Kazakstan. This was one of the forty expeditions to observe the eclipse in the USSR. At the back of the picture are Dr. Donald H. Menzel, head of the Harvard expedition, and his wife. Above is a picture of the sun's corona taken at the moment of total eclipse by a Soviet photographer.*

# = LETTERS =

## TO THE EDITOR

### AFSU Branches, Please Copy!

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

Santa Monica chapter, A.F.S.U., several months ago entered subscriptions to S. R. T., for our main public library and also for Ocean Park branch library. Since that time, and for more than a year prior thereto, copies of S. R. T., have been on the reading tables of our libraries. Every A. F. S. U. chapter should take similar action in their communities. No other action could have wider educational influence. If pressure is necessary—use it. We did, and got results.

Accept my congratulations for a steadily improving and invaluable magazine.

*A. H. Reed.*

Santa Monica, Calif.

### From a Railroad Brother

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

I like the articles in your magazine as a pleasant contrast to the radical and labor periodicals of our country, which of necessity and from the point of truth must portray conditions in a cheerless and despairing though constructive fashion.

Besides, there is plenty of material in your periodical to confound critics who either quote conditions of some years back or who repeat the brazen and provoking lies of the pious fiend of San Simeon.

*Nathan Burn.*

*Chairman Protective Committee, Lodge No. 1069, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks.*

Bayonne, New Jersey.

### In Praise of Romain Rolland

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

The extract from Romain Rolland's article "In Defense of Peace" expresses what all friends of Soviet Russia feel.

I wish the whole article which appeared in the French paper *Vendredi* could be translated and published by you in pamphlet form for your readers.

It would be valuable propaganda for peace, and would also explain why all F. S. U. members can think of nothing and talk of nothing but Russia.

This paragraph all should read; "The Soviet Union is the fruit of the most radiant hopes of the peoples of the world, it is the living incarnation of our dreams. —Since I have entered in direct contact with the USSR—I have felt freed of the pessimism which all my life, has mingled its taste of ashes with my bread. I have become young again."

*Earl Minnick.*

Los Angeles, Calif.

### Price Increase Justified

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

First let me congratulate you on a fine magazine with a fine purpose producing fine results. I was especially pleased with the May issue, which showed a remarkable improvement that more than justified the increase in price.

I have a few suggestions to make. One is that, in harmony with the suggestion made in your "Letters" Department by Richard Engdahl, you deal a little more

in detail with the unsolved problems that the Soviets are coping with. Naturally, the great strides made by the USSR are well worth studying but we all realize that there are still seamier sides. Your question-and-answer department conducted by Mr. Bayer deserves very favorable comment.

From your LETTERS section, one gets a good view of the general intelligence of Soviet Russia Today's readers. Without a doubt, your magazine is read by intelligent people.

May you have continued success as you are playing a vital part in the reconstruction of a dismal world.

*Jerry De Kater.*

Newark, New Jersey.

### From Our Fan Mail Bag

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

My father and I consider Soviet Russia Today the best magazine published on the subject. We read each issue from cover to cover and then pass it on. Some of those we have lent it to ask us each month for our copy because they are so interested, but can't afford to subscribe.

*Hazel Lehman.*

Olympia, Washington.

### Constructive Criticism Welcome

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

You have asked for suggestions as to how to improve Soviet Russia Today as a magazine for the dissemination of the truth about the USSR.

Personally I am a professional man and although I realize that you have to keep your material from becoming too technical and statistical so that it will be of interest to the general public, I would like to see one or two articles monthly of a special and technical nature which over a period of time would cover all fields of technical and professional work.

To elaborate upon this idea, I am a veterinarian and have been following closely all Russian and Communistic literature here for the past two years and, although I see the word occasionally mentioned in connection with other scientific workers on some project I have yet to see my first comprehensive report of veterinary activities in the USSR in all its phases.

I would like to see articles on the medical, dental, veterinary, and allied professions. You must remember that some of our professional periodicals in this country, Dr. Fishbein's *American Medical Journal* for instance, have carried some very derogatory articles and editorials on the Soviet system. Their criticisms have been correct in many instances but they fail to elaborate upon them by mentioning that in a socialized system improvement will be constant.

I pass my Soviet Russia Today along to persons that need a little Hearst anti-toxin and it has done wonders to make them at least neutral in their outlook. I know that a little more technical information therein will help even more as most of my friends are professionals and they certainly need educating when it comes to economic lines.

*H. G. Tully.*

North Hollywood, Calif.

### Regarding "Ornery Cusses"

TO SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY:

I agree with Mr. Fleming on the fact that there are plenty of "ornery cusses" among the workers, being a worker myself and having associated with workers all my life, I ought to know. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the average worker is at heart a pretty good scout, and in the main would rather do a kindly act than a cruel one, that is if it were left entirely to his own free choice.

It is a well known fact, accepted as a truth by most reasonably well educated people, that practically everything, ourselves included, is the product of our environment; so in view of that, it should not be difficult to understand the change that is taking place in the Russian people, because there is no particle of doubt but that the environment of the Russian people has been changed, so that it brings out the best that is in them.

The mistake that Mr. Fleming makes in my estimation is this: he evidently sees the marvelous change which is taking place in Russia, but he looks upon it as a whole; forgetting that even collectively owned Russia is made up of 180 million individuals, and as no two things in nature are alike, there must naturally be differences; and I have no doubt but that there are hates and jealousies still in the land of the Soviets, the same as anywhere else, for we must not lose sight of the fact that human beings are human beings irrespective of whether they live in a capitalist or a Socialist land.

Real education, and by that I mean real solid understanding of nature and man's place in it, will tend to lift humanity above emotional disturbances, relative to adolescence, and in respect to the difference which I believe to exist between the new man developing in the USSR and the type which develops under the chaos of capitalism. Please do not forget that they are just really starting, and the difference lies in the fact that Russians are taught that their duty is to help each other (as Walter Duranty quotes in his book "I Write as I Please")—"Not mine for me, but ours for us," whereas in capitalist countries, it is, "get all you can," no matter where or how, and to ease our conscience we beg charity later on, to help those whom we trample underfoot in the mad scramble.

As an illustration, I will quote a little experience I had while fooling around in my garden a year or two ago. I had a lot of fruits, vegetables and flowers coming along fine, and I happened to notice a wooden box lying upside down over in a corner, so I went over to it and threw it aside. Well, there was a plant growing there, a fairly big one, probably a weed, but it was so white and spindly that I remember being shocked at the difference the lack of sunlight made between it and the rest of my garden, and that is just about how I see the difference between Russia and capitalist lands. They are letting the sun of common sense and human intellect shine on the Workers' Fatherland, but we are still under the box.

*A. McKean.*

Detroit, Michigan.

WHILE it has been known for some months that the new constitution would be more democratic than the old and that it would abolish the inequalities and discriminations which were necessary in a transitional period, no one expected changes as fundamental as those he describes.\* What we have, in effect, barring last-minute changes, is a liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the civil sphere and its replacement by constitutional democracy.

Of course the Soviet system has always contained far more genuine democracy than outsiders have realized. It is true that the open ballot and indirect election made popular control over the governmental apparatus somewhat remote. But the essential power in the Soviet Union has never rested entirely with the government. A considerable amount of influence has been wielded by organizations of producers—trade unions, collective farms, and the planning agencies—by cooperatives, and especially by the Communist Party. The village soviets have been largely autonomous and have exercised far more power than similar units in the United States. All these organizations, the Webbs point out in their monumental work, have been subject to a large degree of popular control, which leads them to conclude that the essential government of the USSR "has been the very opposite of a dictatorship . . . a government by a whole series of committees."

In the past the active anti-Soviet elements—kulaks, priests, former bourgeois, and members of the old aristocracy—have been almost totally excluded from this arrangement. They had no vote; they were not members of trade unions, cooperatives, or collective farms; they were barred from the Communist Party. The important new fact is that the majority of individuals in these groups will now receive the full privileges of Soviet citizenship.

Some conservatives in this country have already hailed the new trend as evidence that the Soviet Union is at last moving toward sanity, while radicals have naturally been suspicious of changes which seemed to introduce some of the most unsatisfactory elements of our own system. Both have overlooked the fact that the form of government is relatively immaterial; the real power in each case is to be found in the ownership and control of the economic organization.

\* The reference is to an article by Louis Fischer

A worker's family enjoy the out-of-door restaurant in the Moscow Park of Culture and Rest



# The Constitution

(Continued from page 11)

**Article 53:** On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Council of the USSR, or after the Supreme Council has been dissolved prior to the expiration of its term of office, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR retains its powers until the formation of a new Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR by the newly elected Supreme Council of the USSR.

**Article 54:** On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Council of the USSR, or in the event of its dissolution prior to the expiration of its term of office, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR appoints new elections to be held within a period of not more than two months from the date of expiration of the term of office or the dissolution of the Supreme Council of the USSR.

**Article 55:** The newly elected Supreme Council of the USSR is convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, not later than month after the elections.

**Article 56:** The Supreme Council of the USSR at a joint sitting of both Chambers, forms the Government of the USSR—the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR.

## CHAPTER IV.

### The Supreme Organs of the Union Republics

**Article 57:** The highest organ of state power of a Union Republic is the Supreme Council (*Verkhovny Soviet*) of the Union Republic.

**Article 58:** The Supreme Council of a Union Republic is elected by the citizens of the Republic for a term of four years.

The ratio of representation is determined by the Constitutions of the respective Union Republics.

**Article 59:** The Supreme Council of a Union Republic is the sole legislative organ of the Republic.

**Article 60:** The Supreme Council of a Union Republic:

A: Adopts the Constitution of the Republic and amends it in conformity

with Article 16 of the Constitution of the USSR;

B: Ratifies the Constitutions of the Autonomous Republics belonging to it and defines the boundaries of their territories;

C: Approves the plan of national economy and the budget of the Republic;

D: Has the right to amnesty and pardon citizens sentenced by judicial organs of the Union Republic.

**Article 61:** The Supreme Council of a Union Republic elects a Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union Republic consisting of: the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union Republic, Vice-Chairmen, and members of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union Republic.

The powers of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of a Union Republic are defined by the Constitution of the Union Republic.

**Article 62:** The Supreme Council of a Union Republic elects a Chairman and Vice-Chairman to conduct its meetings.

**Article 63:** The Supreme Council of a Union Republic forms the government of the Union Republic—the Council of People's Commissars of the Union Republic.

## CHAPTER V.

### Organs of Administration of the USSR

**Article 64:** The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR.

**Article 65:** The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR is responsible to the Supreme Council of the USSR and accountable to it.

**Article 66:** The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation, and supervises their execution.

**Article 67:** Decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR are binding throughout the entire territory of the USSR.

**Article 68:** The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR:

A: Coordinates and directs the work of the All-Union and Union Republic People's Commissariats of the USSR and of other institutions, economic and cultural, under it;

B: Adopts measures for the fulfillment of the plan of national economy and the state budget and for strengthening the credit and monetary system;

C: Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for safeguarding the rights of citizens;

D: Exercises general control in the sphere of relations with foreign states;

E: Determines the annual contingent of citizens to be called up for active military service and directs the general organization and development of the armed forces of the country.

**Article 69:** The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR has the right, in respect to those branches of administration and economy which come within the competence of the USSR, to suspend decisions and orders of the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union Republics

and to annul orders and instructions of People's Commissars of the USSR.

**Article 70:** The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR is formed by the Supreme Council of the USSR and consists of: the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR; the Vice-Chairmen of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR; the Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the USSR; the Chairman of the Commission of Soviet Control; the People's Commissars of the USSR; the Chairman of the Committee of Agricultural Stocks; the Chairman of the Committee of Arts; the Chairman of the Committee of Higher Education.

**Article 71:** The Government of the USSR or a People's Commissar of the USSR to whom any question of a member of the Supreme Council of the USSR is addressed, is obliged to give a verbal or written reply in the respective Chamber within a period of not more than three days.

**Article 72:** The People's Commissars of the USSR direct the branches of state administration which come within the competence of the USSR.

**Article 73:** The People's Commissars of the USSR issue, within the competence of the respective People's Commissariats, orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation and also of decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and supervise their execution.

**Article 74:** The People's Commissariats of the USSR are either All-Union or Union-Republic Commissariats.

**Article 75:** The All-Union People's Commissariats direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them throughout the territory of the USSR either directly or through bodies appointed by them.

**Article 76:** The Union-Republic People's Commissariats direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them through People's Commissariats of the Union Republics bearing the same name.

**Article 77:** The following People's Commissariats are All-Union People's Commissariats: Defense; Foreign Affairs; Foreign Trade; Railways; Communications; Water Transport; Heavy Industry.

**Article 78:** The following People's Commissariats are Union-Republic People's Commissariats: Food Industry; Light Industry; Timber Industry; Agriculture; State Grain and Livestock Farms; Finance; Internal Trade; Internal Affairs; Justice; Public Health.

## CHAPTER VI.

### Organs of Administration of Union Republics.

**Article 79:** The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of a Union Republic is the Council of People's Commissars of the Union Republic.

**Article 80:** The Council of People's Commissars of a Union Republic is responsible to the Supreme Council of the Union Republic and accountable to it.

**Article 81:** The Council of People's Commissars of a Union Republic issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation in the USSR and the Union Republic, and of decisions and orders of the Council of

*"The equality of the rights of citizens of the USSR irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an immutable law."*

*Article 123*

People's Commissars of the USSR, and supervises their execution.

**Article 82:** The Council of People's Commissars of a Union Republic has the right to suspend decisions and orders of Councils of People's Commissars of Autonomous Republics and to annul decisions and orders of Executive Committees of Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of Territories, Regions and Autonomous Regions.

**Article 83:** The Council of People's Commissars of a Union Republic is formed by the Supreme Council of the Union Republic and consists of:

The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union Republic; the Vice-Chairmen; the Chairman of the State Planning Commission; the People's Commissars of: Food Industry, Light Industry, Timber Industry, Agriculture, State Grain and Livestock Farms, Finance, Internal Trade, Internal Affairs, Justice, Public Health, Education, Local Industry, Municipal Economy, Social Maintenance; a representative of the Committee of Agricultural Stocks; Chief of the Office of Arts; representatives of the All-Union People's Commissariats.

**Article 84:** The People's Commissars of a Union Republic direct the branches of the state administration which come within the competence of the Union Republic.

**Article 85:** The People's Commissars of a Union Republic issue, within the competence of the respective People's Commissariats, orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the USSR and the Union Republic, of decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Union Republic, and of orders and instructions of the Union-Republic People's Commissariats of the USSR.

**Article 86:** The People's Commissariats of a Union Republic are either Union-Republic or Republic Commissariats.

**Article 87:** The Union-Republic People's Commissariats direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them, and are subordinate both to the Council of People's Commissars of the Union Republic and to the corresponding Union-Republic People's Commissariat of the USSR.

**Article 88:** The Republic People's Commissariats direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them, and are directly subordinate to the Council of People's Commissars of the Union Republic.

## CHAPTER VII.

### Supreme Organs of Power of the Autonomous Republics.

**Article 89:** The highest organ of state power of an Autonomous Republic is the Supreme Council (*Verkhovny Soviet*) of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

**Article 90:** The Supreme Council of an Autonomous Republic is elected by the citizens of the Republic for a term of four years at the ratio of representation determined by the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic.

**Article 91:** The Supreme Council of an Autonomous Republic is the sole legislative organ of the Autonomous Republic.

**Article 92:** Each Autonomous Republic has its own Constitution which takes into account the specific features of the Autonomous Republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the Union Republic.

**Article 93:** The Supreme Council of an Autonomous Republic elects a Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic and forms a Council of People's Commissars of the Autonomous Republic, in accordance with its Constitution. (Continued on next page)

## THE NEW REPUBLIC

*An Editorial*

THE announcement of Soviet Russia's proposed new constitution could hardly have come at a more dramatic moment. Political democracy is at a heavy discount in many countries throughout the world today. Theorists have been telling us that it provides an inadequate answer to the problems with which the nations are now confronted. Yet the proposal that has been made for the USSR, and will undoubtedly be accepted, goes a long distance toward liberal, democratic organization on the model of the United States or Great Britain. It gives powerful ammunition, just at the moment of greatest need, with which to answer the fascist theorists of Italy and Germany.

*(The main provisions of the draft Constitution are here enumerated.—Ed.)*

While these changes are of profound significance, they are of course less sweeping than much of the comment that has been made outside the USSR would imply. It was never true that Soviet Russia had a one-man dictatorship, as hostile critics have maintained, and even the dictatorship of the proletariat, operating chiefly through the Communist Party, has been much exaggerated both as to its efficiency and the ruthlessness with which it has carried out its aims. Some of the provisions of the new Constitution have been foreshadowed, and even partly effectuated, years ago.

The new proposal embodies no retreat from the program of socialism. The right of property will still not include the use of private capital, or the exploitation of another's labor. The guarantee of religious freedom means in essence the same situation that now exists, with churches tolerated but with only a decreasing and insignificant part of the rising generation embracing the old doctrines. Freedom of speech and of the press does not mean that advocates of private capitalism will be permitted to engage in public propaganda; it means increased emphasis on self-criticism within the assumption that the ideal toward which to work is a classless society and common ownership of the means of production. The Russian Communists will continue to believe that political liberty without economic security and justice is a delusion, and to safeguard their experiment at any cost.

The new proposals, in fact, are not an acknowledgment of failure but a demonstration of success. Marxian theory has always held that the dictatorship of the proletariat was merely a transitional stage in the movement toward completely democratic socialism. Over and over again the Russian leaders have emphasized that they were in the "war phase of communism," an interim period that was still at least as far from the ideal toward which they were working as it was from the imperialism and capitalism of the days of the Tsars. If today they are able to relax the restrictions of the past, it is because the first phase of their work is largely completed. They began in a society that had never known liberty at all, a society 90 percent of whose members were the children or grandchildren of serfs. Today there are millions of adult men and women who have no memory of anything else than the socialist state. Of all the revolutions that have been going on simultaneously in Soviet Russia in the past eighteen years, none is more remarkable than the revolution in the outlook of a whole generation.

*"Citizens of the USSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work . . . insured by social insurance at state expense." Article 120*



THE Soviet Union is about to adopt a new constitution, which will extend to the people in the Union a larger measure of democratic rights and civil liberties than they have been enjoying under the constitution now in force. . . .

The revolutionary upheaval of 1917 established the proletarian dictatorship. The term implies a system of government in which all power is vested in the representatives of the working people or working class, chosen in one way or another. In the exigencies of the revolutionary situation, of the civil war which followed the revolution, and the reconstruction period, the two Five-Year Plan periods and the like, it came to pass that the proletarian dictatorship was primarily exercised by the Communist party, the one political party which the regime recognized, and the local and national councils of labor and farmer representatives or Soviets co-operated with the party. This now will be changed.

While the constitution will not recognize more than one political party, labor unions, co-operatives, sport and cultural associations, and a variety of other popular groupings will have the right to put up candidates of their own. To people outside of Russia this may appear as a limitation of democratic rights. We have been accustomed to thinking of democracy as exercised by a multitude of political parties. But again, the economic set-up in the USSR is basically different from what it is everywhere else, and the form of politics always reflects the economic system which prevails in the respective country.

The present change in the political arrangement of affairs in the Soviet Union will relieve all friends of real democracy if they ever were anxious about it, of the thought that the dictatorship in Russia might seek to perpetuate its power. It now has been shown that when the time seemed ripe, a decisive step was made toward further democratization of the governmental system. All sincere friends of democracy everywhere will rejoice in the Russian development for another reason. The democratic advance in Russia is certain to have an encouraging effect on the battle against the spread of fascist reaction in the countries that have as yet been spared that plague. Reactionaries everywhere have cited the proletarian dictatorship in Soviet Russia as a justification for their assaults on liberty and democracy, and the argument had weight with those who were unaware of the difference between a Soviet dictatorship and a fascist regime. But of this there will be no more in the future.

The course of the Russian revolution was attacked from many sides because the standard procedures of political democracy and individual civil rights were abrogated. We have never taken part in this criticism because we have always assumed that the Russian people themselves were to be the primary judges as to the manner in which their revolution was to proceed. We have held to the view that a revolution in any country is as little subject to advice from sources abroad as for instance the conduct of a strike by a responsible organization would be considered subject to advice from far-away and different organizations, even if these were presumed to be friendly. We were satisfied to let the matter rest with the workers and farmers of Russia and did not offer them our tutorage. Nor would we call for tutorial advice from abroad if American labor, farmers, and

(Continued on next page)

# The Constitution

(Continued from page 25)

## CHAPTER VIII.

### Local Organs of State Power.

*Article 94:* The organs of state power in territories, regions, autonomous regions, circuits, districts, cities and rural localities (*stanitsa*, village, hamlet, *kishlak*, *aul*) are the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies.

*Article 95:* The Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of territories, regions, autonomous regions, circuits, districts, cities and rural localities are elected by the toilers in the respective territories, regions, autonomous regions, circuits, districts, cities or rural localities for a term of two years.

*Article 96:* The ratio of representation for Soviets of Toilers' Deputies are determined by the Constitutions of the Union Republics.

*Article 97:* The Soviets of Toilers' Deputies direct the activities of the organs of administration subordinate to them, insure the maintenance of public order, the observance of the laws and the protection of the rights of citizens, carry on local economic and cultural construction and draw up the local budget.

*Article 98:* The Soviets of Toilers' Deputies adopt decisions and issue orders within the limits of the powers conferred on them by the laws of the USSR and the Union Republic.

"Propagation of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law." *Article 123*

*Article 99:* The executive and administrative organs of the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of the territories, regions, autonomous regions, circuits, districts and cities are the Executive Committees elected by them, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairmen and members.

*Article 100:* The executive and administrative organs of rural Soviets of Toilers' Deputies in small localities, in accordance with the Constitutions of the Union Republics, are the Chairman and the Vice-Chairmen elected by them.

*Article 101:* The executive organs of the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies are directly accountable both to the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies which elected them and to the executive organs of the superior Soviets of Toilers' Deputies.

## CHAPTER IX.

### The Courts and the State Attorney's Office.

*Article 102:* Justice in the USSR is administered by the Supreme Court of the USSR, the Supreme Courts of the Union Republics, the Territorial and Regional courts, the courts of the Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions, special courts of the USSR, established by decision of the Supreme Council of the USSR and the People's Courts.

*Article 103:* In all courts cases are tried with the assistance of people's assessors with the exception of cases especially provided for by law.

*Article 104:* The Supreme Court of the USSR is the highest judicial organ. It exercises supervision over the actions and proceedings of all the judicial organs of the USSR and Union Republics.

*Article 105:* The Supreme Court of the USSR and the special courts of the

USSR are elected by the Supreme Council of the USSR for a term of five years.

*Article 106:* The Supreme Courts of the Union Republics are elected by the Supreme Councils of the Union Republics for a term of five years.

*Article 107:* The Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics are elected by the Supreme Councils of the Autonomous Republics for a term of five years.

*Article 108:* Territorial and Regional courts, and the courts of Autonomous Regions are elected by the Territorial or Regional Soviets of Toilers' Deputies or by the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of the Autonomous Regions for a term of five years.

*Article 109:* People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the district on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot for a term of three years.

*Article 110:* Court proceedings are conducted in the language of the Union Republic, Autonomous Republic or Autonomous Region, persons not knowing this language being insured every opportunity of acquainting themselves with the material pertaining to the case through an interpreter and the right to speak in court in their own language.

*Article 111:* In all courts of the USSR cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right of defense.

*Article 112:* Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

*Article 113:* Highest supervision over the strict execution of the laws by all People's Commissariats and institutions under them, as well as by official persons and by citizens of the USSR is exercised by the State Attorney of the USSR.

*Article 114:* The State Attorney of the USSR is appointed by the Supreme Council of the USSR for a term of seven years.

*Article 115:* State Attorneys of Republics, Territories and Regions, as well as State Attorneys of Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions, are appointed by the State Attorney of the USSR for a term of five years.

*Article 116:* State Attorneys of Districts are appointed for a term of five years by the State Attorneys of the Union Republics and confirmed by the State Attorney of the USSR.

*Article 117:* The State Attorneys' offices perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever and are subordinate solely to the State Attorney of the USSR.

## CHAPTER X.

### Rights and Duties of Citizens.

*Article 118:* Citizens of the USSR have the right to work—the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is insured by the socialist organization of national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the absence of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment.

*Article 119:* Citizens of the USSR have the right to rest and leisure.

The right to rest and leisure is insured by the reduction of the working day to seven hours for the overwhelming ma-

majority of the workers, the institution of annual vacations with pay for workers and other employees and the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs serving the needs of the toilers.

**Article 120:** Citizens of the USSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work.

This right is insured by the wide development of social insurance of workers and other employees at state expense, free medical service, and the wide network of health resorts at the disposal of the toilers.

**Article 121:** Citizens of the USSR have the right to education.

This right is insured by universal, compulsory elementary education, by the fact that education, including higher (university) education is free of charge, by the system of state scholarships for the overwhelming majority of students in the higher schools, by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language, and by the organization of free vocational, technical and agricultural training for the toilers in the factories, state farms, machine and tractor stations and collective farms.

**Article 122:** Women in the USSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

The exercise of these rights of women is insured by affording women equally with men the right to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education, and by state protection of the interests of mother and child, pregnancy leave with pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

**Article 123:** The equality of the rights of citizens of the USSR irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an immutable law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of these rights, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law.

**Article 124:** In order to insure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the USSR is separated from the state and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.

**Article 125:** In conformity with the interests of the toilers, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and of holding mass meetings, freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These rights of the citizens are insured by placing at the disposal of the toilers and their organizations printing presses, supplies of paper, public buildings, the streets, means of communication and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

**Article 126:** In conformity with the interests of the toilers, and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the USSR are insured the right to unite in public organizations—trade unions, cooperative associations, youth organizations, sport and defense organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically conscious citizens from among the working class and other strata of the toilers unite in the Communist Party of the USSR, which is the vanguard of the toilers in their struggle to strengthen and

develop the socialist system and which represents the leading core of all organizations of the toilers, both social and state.

**Article 127:** The citizens of the USSR are guaranteed inviolability of person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of court or with the sanction of a State Attorney.

**Article 128:** The inviolability of the homes of citizens and secrecy of correspondence are protected by law.

**Article 129:** The USSR grants the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the toilers or for their scientific activities or for their struggle for national liberation.

**Article 130:** It is the duty of every citizen of the USSR to observe the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to observe the laws, to maintain labor discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist human intercourse.

**Article 131:** It is the duty of every citizen of the USSR to safeguard and fortify public, socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperous and cultural life of all the toilers. Persons attempting to infringe upon public, socialist property are enemies of the people.

**Article 132:** Universal military service is a law.

Military service in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army is an honorable duty of the citizens of the USSR.

*"In the USSR the principle of Socialism is being realized.—From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."*

*Article 12*

**Article 133:** To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR. Treason against the country—violation of the oath, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, or espionage on behalf of a foreign state—is punishable with the full severity of the law as the most grievous offense.

## CHAPTER XI.

### The Electoral System.

**Article 134:** Members of all Soviets of Toilers' Deputies—of the Supreme Council of the USSR, the Supreme Councils of the Union Republics, the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of the Territories and Regions, the Supreme Councils of the Autonomous Republics, the Soviets of Toilers' Deputies of Autonomous regions, circuit, district, city and rural (*stanitsa*, village, hamlet, *kishlak*, *aul*) Soviets of Toilers' Deputies—are elected by the voters on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

**Article 135:** Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the USSR who in the year of the elections have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote in elections of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of the insane and persons deprived of electoral rights by sentence of court.

**Article 136:** Elections of deputies are equal; every citizen has the right to elect and be elected irrespective of race or nationality, religion, standard of education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities.

**Article 137:** Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

**Article 138:** Citizens serving in the Red Army have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

**Article 139:** Elections of deputies are direct; all Soviets of Toilers' Deputies, from rural and city Soviets of Toilers' Deputies up to and including the Supreme Council of the USSR, are elected by the citizens by direct vote.

**Article 140:** Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

**Article 141:** Candidates are nominated for election according to electoral districts.

The right to nominate candidates is granted to public organizations and societies of toilers: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

**Article 142:** It is the duty of every deputy to report to the electors on his work and on the work of the Soviet of Toilers' Deputies, and he is liable to recall at any time in the manner established by law, upon decision of a majority of the electors.

## CHAPTER XII.

### Emblem, Flag, Capital.

**Article 143:** The state emblem of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consists of a sickle and hammer against a globe depicted in the rays of the sun and surrounded by ears of grain with the inscription in the languages of the Union Republics—"Workers of the World, Unite!" Above the emblem is a five-pointed star.

**Article 144:** The state flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is of red cloth with the sickle and hammer depicted in gold in the upper corner near the staff and above them a five-pointed red star bordered in gold. The relation of the width to the length is 1:2.

**Article 145:** The capital of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the city of Moscow.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### Procedure for Amending the Constitution.

**Article 146:** The Constitution of the USSR may be amended only by decision of the Supreme Council of the USSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes cast in each of its Chambers.

## THE ADVANCE

(Continued from Col. 1, preceding page)

other progressive forces secured a deciding voice in the conduct of America's social and political democracy.

There has been a certain phase of red-baiting, in vogue among certain people in the labor movement in this country, which derived its potency from the dictatorship regime in the Soviet Union. The persons of that orientation were able to mask their general reactionary bent in words about the destruction of democracy in the country with a Socialist government. With the essence of political democracy restored in the constitutional structure of the Russian state, reactionaries in the labor movement will now have to say plainly what they really object to,—is it the abolition of labor exploitation and economic royalties that they dislike? Brother John J. Lewis, in his radio broadcast, has well stated this point.

We extend our greetings to the people of Russia at this time of their additional progress upon the road of democracy and security.

# Your Questions Answered

by

THEODORE BAYER

**Question 1:** Why is it necessary for the USSR to adopt a new constitution rather than to amend the old one?—J. C. T., New York City.

**Question 2:** Are there no provisions for amendments in both the old Constitution and in the new one?—H. M., Fresno, California.

**Question 3:** What are the salient differences between the old and the proposed constitution?—S. F., Morristown, New Jersey.

**Answer:** These three questions are all interrelated and therefore may be treated as parts of one question. The old Constitution and newly proposed one, both contain provisions for amendments. See Article II of the old Constitution and Article 146 of the proposed draft printed in this issue. If amendments only were desired the All-Union Congress of Soviets could have adopted them, but the last All-Union Congress of the Soviets decided that the old Constitution of 1924 no longer reflected the actual conditions of present-day Soviet life. The economic advance toward socialism since the adoption of the old Constitution, necessitates a corresponding expansion of the political framework of the country. A new Constitution which would fix as a matter of law the new socialist relationships in the town and country, a broadening of the rights and privileges which society today in the Soviet Union can afford to give every member, was called for.

The old Constitution was adopted when the country was just emerging from the Nep (the New Economic Policy) when the process of socialization was of necessity temporarily held in abeyance and when, as in the words of the old Constitution, "The years of war left their trace. The ruined fields, idle factories, shattered productive forces, and exhausted economic resources"—these were the starting points from which the Soviet Union began its reconstruction, its concerted effort for the long program of socialization and collectivization. The old Constitution envisaged the triumph of socialization, but it was not as yet a fact. There was still a considerable amount of private trade and industry in the hands of the capitalist sector of the national economy. Agriculture was largely a system of small farm holdings unaided by modern implements of large scale machinery, dominated economically and socially by the class of kulaks exploiting the poor farming population and even holding the threat of resistance to socialization of both agriculture and trade. The successes of the first and second Five Year Plan and the almost complete collectivization of agriculture changed both the economic and political relationships between town and country. It brought about a complete revolution in mind and habit as a result of experiences in building socialism. On the other hand, the cultural growth of the entire population gave rise to constant demands for opportunities to enjoy greater comforts, greater opportunities for learning and leisure. The draft of the new Constitution summarizes these achievements and gives expression to them. Whereas the old Constitution held out socialism as a goal starting from the point where classes still existed, where productive capacities were small and modern means of production were scarce, differences between

We have received a number of questions pertaining to the draft of the new Soviet Constitution. We invite many more questions, all of which will be treated in subsequent issues. Questions on other phases of Soviet life will be answered simultaneously.

country and city great, this new Constitution is based on socialism as a fact. Accordingly, the new Soviet Constitution establishes a new relationship between the Soviet individual and society as a whole. It defines the mutual privileges and obligations. Society decrees: "Work in the USSR is the obligation of each citizen capable of working according to the principle, 'He who does not work shall not eat.'"

On the other hand society obligates itself as follows: "Citizens of the USSR have the right to work—the right to receive guaranteed work with payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality."

"Citizens of the USSR have the right to rest."

"Citizens of the USSR have the right to material security in old age as well as in the event of sickness and loss of capacity to work"

"Citizens of the USSR have the right to education."

Thus it is obvious that it is the labor of the free individual exercised collectively for a socially useful end that is the spring from which Soviet society derives its sustenance and growth, and that Soviet Society in return guarantees to the individual and to the family a constant and ever increasing return. Human endeavor, labor, is the source of all good. Labor, protected against the "exploitation of man by man," is the only measure of one's worth and the source of all honor. This is what the Soviets understand to be true freedom and equality.

Not all of the provisions of the new Constitution are new. A good many are a repetition of provisions in the Constitution of 1924, but even these provisions are invested with new meaning and enlarged. For example, the right to education was provided for in the former Constitution, but now this right to education is extended and directed towards the elimination of the differences between mental and physical labor. It is important from the point of view of creating an entirely new and different type of intellectuals who are also workers—and, on the other hand, the widest possible spread of education, enlightenment, and training, is the surest weapon against bureaucracy. Complete equality of the sexes is certainly not new in the USSR, but the economic and social base for it as reflected in the new draft furnishes additional and absolute guarantees for it. The peaceful and compatible co-existence of all the peoples comprising the Soviet Union is further developed by the new Constitution. Firstly a number of new republics are added to the Union, secondly, the triumph of planned economy in the Soviet Union

has distributed the returns of this economy in equal measure to all peoples comprising the Union and the new Constitution further consolidates this brotherhood of nations.

Of course there are numerous important changes in the governmental structure made to correspond to the basic changes that have taken place.

Changes in allocation of governmental functions, changes in inter-relation, order of subordination between the government of Union Republic autonomous and regional republics within them and their connections with the government of the Union have taken place. All of these changes were made to facilitate the operation of extended democracy. These will be discussed when we deal with the specific questions.

**Question:** In a discussion of the recently announced conversion of the internal loans of the USSR the following question came up which we would like you to answer. Why is it necessary for the government of the Soviet Union, having a monopoly of finance and credit, to float a loan?—A. W., Memphis, Tenn.

**Answer:** Perhaps the best way to understand the reason for the USSR floating an internal loan is to examine the purposes to which the money so raised are applied. Unlike all other governments the Soviet Union is not using money raised by loans to supplement taxation to cover administrative and budgetary expenses, that is, to help balance the budget. The money that all countries, save the Soviet Union, raise through loans is not employed productively. It is not invested in industry or agriculture for the creation of new productive facilities. It does not enlarge the sources of national income. On the contrary loans become a drain on the national income. The USSR on the other hand uses the borrowed money for direct re-investment in industry, crediting additional income for the improvement in the standard of living of its people. The budget of the USSR is not a budget of administrative expenses only. It includes assignments for socialized industry and agriculture, transportation, mining, public utilities, training, education, social security, etc. The budget of the Soviet Union, which reflects the entire social economy of the country, mobilizes all its resources and acts as a redistributor of the national income according to the plan. All finances and credit in the Soviet Union are part of the plan. The Soviet Union gives its people a chance to spend all their current earnings, to save some of them, or to invest part of them in long term, non-negotiable internal loans which cannot be traded in or redeemed before maturity without special permission. The money so loaned is used for capital investment—therefore the comparatively long term. This investment brings returns. The investor derives a personal benefit by benefiting society as a whole. The Soviet Union does not arbitrarily, without the consent of the individual, use his savings for long term investments. By retiring some of the currency through the loans, the Soviet ruble tends to appreciate, its purchasing power grows, commodity prices decrease, which of course is an additional contribution to the prosperity of the country.

## CHARLES KENNECK

(Continued from page 16)

seven hours, nor more than five days in succession. Workers in such occupations as mining and steel making and other energy taking occupations are only permitted to work six hour days and are given a month's vacation in a rest home, or a sanatorium if their health should require special attention. Workers in the lighter occupations all receive at least two weeks vacation each year in addition to the regular holidays. *All with full pay.*

What, it may be asked, is being done to combat industrial diseases? Suffice it to say that every known medical precaution is taken in each occupation in addition to the supervision by paid and voluntary inspectors in each field of activity. The loss of time due to such cause has been reduced to a negligible minimum. In addition, we found that all dangerous machinery is equipped with guards, to further reduce all hazards to life and limb, of which the toll taken in our own production methods is so great.

It may also be asked, what of the earnings of the workers in the metal industry? This brings us to an interesting phase of the conditions which exist today in all work done in the Soviet Union: the Stakhanov method. This method appears at first to be the old "come on" game played so skillfully by our capitalist bosses for their own gains, and we were shocked to say the least when we found that 88 per cent of the work done in this Moscow plant was at piece work rates. On investigating this angle, however, we found that instead of the returns going into the pockets of non-producers, they accrued to those workers who, through their abilities and natural talent and skill and with the aid of science and mechanical invention were better able to raise the norms of production. Why is this necessary? As I have said the need for products and necessities of life are so great that any effort or plan stimulating production and in any way assisting in fulfilling the planned goal for the country as a whole, is made use of. Thus out-moded, inefficient machinery is scrapped, to make way for modern methods, advantage is taken of those with natural ability to lead, and to assist those less gifted to enjoy a greater collective income.

As an illustration, a worker in this factory under the old methods in 1935 averaged 447 rubles per month, whereas the same worker, with the application of the Stakhanov principles, was able to average 1064 rubles per month in 1936. While every worker is not able to make as good a showing as this, yet with the aid of the leaders, they all enjoy a better income, through the efforts of collective work. We found great enthusiasm among

workers of all classes for this new method, and this was readily understandable, since the rewards accrued to all. This method has favorably affected the people of the Soviet Union as a whole, in that the increased production has reduced living costs, while at the same time the wages of the workers have increased. When the silly program of paying for not producing in America, where living costs are ever increasing, and wages are slashed and hours of labor increased, is contrasted with the Soviet program, it must be conceded by every intelligent worker, that workers of the Soviet Union will soon outstrip us to reach that goal of security and plenty for all which has been the workers' dream for ages.

I have given you here only a few of the more important details connected with work in the Soviet Republic. Let us take a look at what they do with their spare time, since they work only seven hours a day. Do you find them in saloons, gambling halls, or pool-rooms? On the contrary, the opportunities afforded them through their work to advance themselves, have whetted their appetite for more knowledge. They have formed themselves into groups and organized workers clubs. It was my privilege to see them at play and at work, in several of their clubs. The enthusiasm and eagerness with which they pursued their studies in evening courses to satisfy their craving and hunger for learning were amazing. The whole gamut of the liberal arts as well as the field of science is open to everyone, secure in the knowledge that there is a commensurate reward for their extra effort, not to mention the personal satisfaction of achievement. The cultural activities carried on in these clubs, vary of course with the occupation of the workers. Thus, in the Metal Workers' Club in Moscow, their work is along the lines one would expect, related to problems encountered in that field. However, it isn't all work. The social side of these clubs embraces every form of human endeavor; music, vocal and instrumental, theatricals, games, physical culture, and recreation in the full meaning of the word. There is no time and no room for the vicious or indecent. The sex problem, singularly enough, is entirely solved, by the most simple and natural methods. The entire waking day is full of honest work and wholesome recreation. What else need there be? What else is more conducive of happiness in the world?

As I said in the beginning, four weeks tour of the Soviet Union is a pitifully short time to attempt to observe the activities of so large a country. It was our privilege in this short time to travel from Leningrad to the Black Sea and to get lasting impressions of the vastness of the country as

a whole, to meet people of different nationalities that were once separated, now going forward together under one banner, firmly believing they have chosen rightly. It was an ever increasing pleasure to mingle with these kind and lovable people and to learn of their past sorrows, their future hopes and aspirations, it was an incentive to renewed effort to work and further the whole cause of international unity of the workers. I wish personally to thank those of our guides and interpreters as well as the directors of large organizations who gave us of their time without stint, and to the Friends of the Soviet Union, as well as the Soviet trade unions and their capable representatives, I extend my warmest thanks for having made it all possible.

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## PAUL ROBESON

(Continued from page 13)

a matter of one race against another.

"Even Italy's invasion of Ethiopia illustrated that fact. It wasn't merely a matter of white Italians against black Ethiopians. Didn't Italy use the Negro Askari troops of Italian Somaliland to shoot down their black Ethiopian brothers? It was the forces of reaction against the freedom and independence of Ethiopia. Just like it was there, it's the same wherever I've been outside of Russia. The question is which side are you on: the side of the Soviet Union and democratic forces or the side of the oppressors?"

Paul has already made his choice and so have other members of the Robeson family. His young son, Paul, Jr., now a strapping youngster of 9, has the promise of his dad that most of his education will be secured in the Soviet Union. Paul's mother-in-law, Mrs. Goode, is now living in the Soviet Union with her two sons Frank and John.

The freedom, happiness and security of minority nations in the Soviet Union, is rapidly becoming a source of increasing inspiration to the oppressed Negro people in the United States.

We wish to call the attention of our readers to a number of pamphlets on the Soviet Union, published recently by the International Publishers. Each of these pamphlets deals with one particular sphere of the present day Soviet Union. All of them together constitute a pamphlet library on the Soviet Union carrying a tremendous amount of information. The pamphlets are as follows:

Soviet Russia and Religion—by Corliss Lamont, 24 pp., 5¢  
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What is Stakhanovism?—by V. M. Molotov—32 pp., 5¢  
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A NEW CHARTER OF FREEDOM

(Continued from page 8)

which in turn all higher bodies were indirectly elected. This early form of town meeting was not unsuited to the period when a large part of the population was illiterate and totally unacquainted with any officials higher than their immediate locality. Today everyone can and does read, and learns from the press to know the speeches and acts of the high officials, who are henceforth to be directly elected.

The government thus elected by the citizens is a unified system, not one of "checks and balances" like that in America. There is no separate "Supreme Court" with power to nullify the Congress; there is not even a division of power between president and congress. The supreme authority lies in the elected Supreme Council, a body of several hundred deputies, (elected one for every 300,000 population) which acts directly as a legislative body, and also chooses the higher administrative and judicial officers. There is thus a single responsible government, directly elected and directly responsible to the people for laws, administration and judgment—for all the many-sided activity of the state.

Why then has this Supreme Council two houses? This system is not peculiar to the new Constitution, but existed also under the old, having been devised by Stalin, when he was Commissar of Nationalities, for the purpose of safeguarding the cultural independence of minor nationalities. The Soviet Union is composed of more than a hundred nations of greater and less size, ranging from the Russian, which comprises about half the total population, down to small tribes of Eskimo or desert nomads. If the government of these many nations contained only one house based on direct majority vote, the Russian nation would consistently dictate to all the rest. All questions therefore which have to do with national culture, or the rights of small nationalities to different local laws, education, and forms of self-expression, are considered by the Council of Nationalities, in which the various nations, large and small, have more nearly equal rights. All laws must be approved both by the majority of the population and by the majority of the "nations," before they go into effect.

Americans who are accustomed to the two-party system find it hard to understand how democracy exists with only one recognized political party, the Communist. There are, however, very many forms among modern governments known as democratic. Most European nations have a dozen or more parties. In the Soviet Union

deputies to the Supreme Council may be nominated not only by a political party, but by any kind of organization, a trade union, a farmers' cooperative, a youth organization or a scientific society. These are, in fact, the usual sources from which nominations come. The Communist Party acts as a correlating body from all these various groups; it draws up a list of recommended candidates based on all these many suggested nominations—a list which is often modified and not invariably accepted.

The actual technique of Soviet democracy is thus not only fully equal to that of any democracy in the world, but, in some respects it marks an advance. The electorate contains a larger part of the population, since voting begins at 18 years. The elected officials are more directly responsible to their constituents, being unable to evade direct responsibility for the entire apparatus of state; they are also directly recallable by their constituents.

But Soviet democracy is not merely a matter of excellent political framework. The Soviet State gives fundamental rights to its citizens, far beyond what any state has ever conferred on its people. The economic foundation of the Soviet Union consists in the social ownership of the means of production, and the abolition of all exploitation of man by man. It is here that we see the real advance of the Soviet Union. Citizenship in capitalist lands carries no right of social ownership with it. Citizens of the USSR are joint owners of the whole nation's wealth. All the country's mines, factories, and natural resources belong to them. They have not only voting rights for a political head of government, but equal rights in the ownership and management of all the properties of the country. Soviet voting directs the disposal of the country's wealth, choosing the men who shall manage the entire economic plan of the USSR. Every citizen is safeguarded in the personal ownership of the goods he earns and consumes, and has also joint rights to the whole country's productive enterprises.

It is this which makes it possible for the new Constitution to issue its most spectacular chapter, No. 10, on Citizens' Basic Rights and Obligations, in which citizens of the USSR are guaranteed the right to a job, to leisure, to education, to security in illness or old age. Chapter 10 will be more quoted abroad than any other part of the Soviet Constitution. It makes clear that the Soviet system can guarantee to every worker a right to work, since the means of production are always jointly his; that the right to leisure is guaranteed by the seven hour day and vacations on pay, while security in sickness and old age is provided by a nation-wide system of insurance.

This security guaranteed by Socialism coexists with freedom, contrary to the view so often expressed in America of the incompatibility of the two. Citizens are not only granted freedom of conscience, of speech, of press, of assembly and of demonstration, but the material means whereby to exercise these freedoms are given them, a means which under capitalism is reserved only to those who can pay for meeting halls or printing. The Constitution itself places at the disposal of "the toilers and their organizations, printing presses, supplies of paper, public buildings, streets and means of communication," and guarantees the right to combine in trade unions, co-operatives, scientific societies, and other types of organizations "to develop self-expression and political activity." The right of free education including higher education, to everyone, gives added significance to all the other provisions of the Constitution.

The Soviet struggle for peace is shown in several clauses. The preaching of national or racial hates, or even discrimination, is punishable by law. The highest organs of government may declare war only if the country is "under military attack." Every citizen, however, shares the obligation to safeguard the socially owned property of the state, and to defend his country against attack.

The very method whereby the new Constitution is to be adopted is in itself an expression of Soviet democracy. The draft was authorized by a session of the Congress in 1935; it was prepared by a Constitution Commission and approved by the Central Executive Committee of the government, which thereupon published fifteen million copies and distributed them for popular discussion, and called a special congress to be convened November 25, 1936, to consider the Constitution. For months every organization in the country will discuss the proposed Constitution.

Scores, even hundreds of amendments will be proposed by citizens. When the special congress finally adopts it, the constitution will be the self-expression of over 170,000,000 people, who jointly own the resources and productive mechanism of one-sixth of the earth's surface, and are able through the planning and management of these resources to guarantee themselves work, leisure, education, security and the widest self-expression.

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## "BUT THAT'S NOT THE POINT"

(Continued from page 14)

. . . But just the same the little devil made a fine jump! But that's not the point.

The point is that I no longer have a single peaceful day. Four times four—sixteen. Six times six—thirty-six. All this to be sure, is correct. But my head is full of other figures. A jump from 1,000 meters—a delayed jump from 2,500 meters. My mind is not on the multiplication table, but somewhere up there in the skies. Klava comes home, and I ask her: "Well—where have you come from, the laboratory or the moon?" Now it seems—I see this by the papers—she wants to break some kind of a record for delayed jumping. It's easy enough for you to read that in the papers. But I am a father. And I am responsible for Klava. Day and night I am in a fever of anxiety—will she be smashed to pieces or not? Just the same I believe in my daughter. She'll break that record, my Klava! But that's not the point either.

So one day Borka, my diver, comes home. "Well," I ask him, "are you still soaking yourself in water?" He laughs. Let him laugh. But listen to what kind of a joke my children played on me. They persuaded this old fellow to go up in an airplane. I went with Klava to the airdrome. Borka did not go along, he said he had no time. Klava put me in the plane. Something buzzed and roared. And there I am flying over Moscow. If you have not been up there you still do not know how beautiful Moscow is! I thought it would be terrifying. But I look at the back of the pilot, at his hands, and I am calm. There is strength in those hands, and assurance. Bravo, young fellow! But that is not the point.

I look at the aviator and think to myself: "Just the same, it's dangerous work. It's a good thing Borka is a diver. It's a good thing one person in the family doesn't fly. Klava flies, and here I've even begun myself—at least let one of us stay on the earth. . . ." We land. To tell the truth, I am sorry. Six decades of my life have past, and I have only flown once. I get out of the cabin and think: "Now, I must thank the pilot." I go up to him. He looks at me and laughs. He takes off his helmet and his goggles, and . . . Again my blood runs cold. "Aren't you ashamed, Borka!" I cry. "Who then will bother about the bottom of the sea?" "Well," he says, "I can manage both the bottom of the sea and the sky. Our country, they say, needs aviators." I want to yell at him, to be angry. But I cannot. Borka laughs. Klava laughs, and I laugh. And how they can laugh—those youngsters. That's the whole point.

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## I LOVE

(Continued from page 21)

He picked up the paper, laid his heavy hand on my back and leaning over to me read slowly and distinctly into my ear:

"On October 12, between the Wolf's Lair and Forest Station the body of a man was found by peasants. The man had apparently been killed by a frightful stab in the back. The knife had penetrated to the chest and remained in the wound. On the hilt, which was an expensive ivory one, the nickname "Saint" had been cut.

"That same night somewhere between these stations two passengers were robbed in the International Sleeping Car of the Far Eastern Express. Inquiries made seem to point to a connection between these two occurrences. The robbers evidently quarreled over the division of their booty and one of them paid with his life."

Antonich's voice ceased. The rising wind could be heard beating against the window panes.

I buried my head deeper in the pillows. The feathers began to scorch me, the bed seemed plunging into darkness, and a heavy hand weighed on my back and heated it unbearably. As the quiet voice began to speak again, I raised my head to listen.

"The money is in this packet. We found it on you the time you were rescued. Take it to the post office, send it back to the address you see written on it, and mind you're not late for tea."

I took the packet; it was a big heavy thing. I raised my eyes to Antonich's. I did not want to drop them. I was afraid that my eyelashes might hinder me from looking at things clearly, mercilessly, although in my blood, and in my brain there was a whirling storm like that beating against the window panes.

I want to forget my last meeting with Wings, and the worn corners of the old newspaper, and the ivory handle of the knife; I want to out-distance it all on my flying skis.

Today Antonich arranged that I should come face to face with my old life once more. Why did he do this?

The blue packet bulges like a malignant growth under my sweater. I want to forget it, but it burns me and hinders me from moving freely. I swing my sticks slower and slower as I ski down the slope. My clothes feel damp on me, my legs are as heavy as lead.

I stopped. The sticks fell from my hands. I wiped my forehead. The packet kept on burning into me. I pulled it out, laid it on the snow awhile to cool, then stuffed it under my jersey again. I picked up my sticks and swung them more and more powerfully and tore down to the station without pausing for breath.

I walked up and down under the window for about an hour. I was in no hurry to give up the blue packet.

The face of the official behind the grating did not appeal to me; he had watery eyes and no teeth in front. I would wait, I thought, until some other face should come to take its place. None came. People began to gather and a queue formed at the window. I still fidgeted in the narrow corridor. I was very nervous. If I could have just one look at this money that was not mine. I drew out the packet. One corner was wet. I tore it open a little and felt the firm, new notes. Suddenly the commune, and Antonich's eyes, the cleanliness, my lathe and an unfinished cylinder on it arose before my eyes—one after the other. A jealousy came over me when I thought that someone else would finish my job instead of me. I

glanced about me in a fright and ran up to the grating, pushing the people aside. Then I flung the blue packet at the toothless clerk as if it burnt me. He fingered it for some time, wondering either at the address or the color of the wrapping. I immediately regretted having given it to him.

The whistle of an engine sounded not far away. I started. So we had met once more after my long captivity. The whistle brought back memories of my wanderings, of nights spent in dirty cattle cars, of the women peddling food at the stations, of the agreeable drowsiness produced by cocaine and the heartburn that followed on home-brewed vodka, of the armored train and its engine.

The whistle sounded nearer. All at once, with a deafening rattle and a shower of sparks, the train ran past the post office windows and pulled up sharp just opposite. The snow blew into my eyes, my head swam. I leaned against the wall for support. The new green carriages shone tantalizingly. Perhaps they were the same that had once, a long time ago, taken me to Batum, where I had peeled the tender skins from tangerines, sucked their aromatic flesh. I shouted to the clerk nodding drowsily over his table to give me back my packet. His misty eyes stared at me in bewilderment for a moment. He covered his ears with his bony hands while the parting shriek of the train lasted. Then he held out a bit of gray paper, the receipt for my packet, and dropped his heavy head helplessly on to a pile of papers.

I ran over to the window and pressed my face to it as the shadow of the train vanished into the dusk.

Dusk was falling outside the window. A bearded old grandfather was trimming the lamp-wicks. I went up to him, blowing on my cold hands, and asked him for a smoke. He gave me a couple of pinches of tobacco, surveyed me from head to foot and asked casually:

"Have you come from afar?"

I blew out the match quickly, puffed out the grey-blue smoke to hide my face and said hurriedly:

"We're homeless folks"—and turned away into the taiga.

My rolled cigarette had almost burnt down to my lip when I remembered that I had left my skis in the corridor of the post office. I turned back to the station, but instead of going for the skis at once, I went in search of the grandfather. He was at the lamps again. I took hold of the wooden rattle hanging from his coat and said:

"I'm not homeless, Grandad; I'm living in the commune for former waifs, where Antonich is, you know?"

And as I was leaving him, I added:

"Come and see us sometime, Grandad."

(To be continued)

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## NEW MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LAWS

(Continued from page 17)

shift basis and will be open sixteen hours, work-days and rest-days, to meet the demand of mothers for help evenings and holidays. A sum of fifty million rubles is appropriated to train new personnel for the day nurseries, and 800 new dairy kitchens are to be built in the next two years to provide supplementary feeding for a million and a half children. The kindergarten accommodations are to be tripled in the same period. For the above measures the budgetary appropriation is to be increased to 2,174,100,000 in 1936 as against 875,000,000 assigned for these purposes in 1935.

The final section of the law is concerned with stiffening the divorce regulations to an extent which will insure a more responsible attitude toward marriage and family obligations, while in no way interfering with the right of any man or woman to terminate a relation at the will of either. Under the new regulations both the man and the woman are to appear at the registration bureau in order to obtain a divorce and the fact of divorce is to be entered in the passports. The fees for registration of divorce are to be increased to 50 rubles for the first, 150 for the second, and 300 for the third.

In cases of court judgment for alimony in case of divorce, one fourth of the wages of the defendant may be allotted for the maintenance of one child, one third for the maintenance of two children and fifty per cent for the maintenance of three or more children. Payments to collective farm women are to be made in work days (the unit of payment on collective farms) on the same basis.

The provisions of the law concerning divorce regulations and alimony met with general approval. Certainly there is no change in the basic Soviet attitude that any man or woman has a right to terminate a relation that has become distasteful. The point is simply that with divorces somewhat expensive there will be fewer marriages of the kind bound to end in failure. The fees are still by no means excessive. Taking the ruble at its present value of twenty cents, the first divorce will cost \$10, the second \$30, the third \$60.

The purpose of the new law is definitely the strengthening of family relations in the Soviet Union. This is not new, it has been going on for years. Reports to the contrary in the early days were based partly on the fact that conditions themselves disrupted family life in those times of stress, and partly on the fact that old forms of family life which so de-

graded and enslaved women had to be destroyed before new ones could be established. Drastic changes were needed in the laws to make a transition possible. The early laws accomplished this purpose, but inevitably carried with them abuses. In many cases they led to a frivolous, irresponsible attitude. Since divorce was so simple, many men and some women too, for that matter, entered into marriage simply to gratify passing sexual impulses, with no thought of a permanent relation. In some cases abortion was forced on women by men of this type, or if there were children, the men abandoned the women and refused to share the support of the children.

Last summer I sat in the registration bureau while young people came in to be married or divorced. A careful check of the effect of the then existing law was being made at the time. A man or woman seeking divorce was asked by the registration clerk how long their acquaintance had been before marriage, and it was found that a great majority of divorces were the result of marriages based on brief acquaintance. Data of this kind pointed the need for new legislation. Now that conditions of life are becoming normal, sex life is assuming its normal place, and the public attitude is

all for the development of healthy, stable family life.

## RESEARCH BULLETIN ON THE USSR

SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY would like to call the attention of its readers to the Research Bulletin on the Soviet Union, the monthly publication of the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union, Inc. This Bulletin aims to maintain a standard both in factual content and in presentation which will make it of value to professional groups as well as to persons having merely a general interest in the Soviet Union. Each issue contains one or two articles on specialized subjects, which have either an immediate or academic value. In addition there is bibliographical material which includes a selected list of magazine articles appearing in the preceding month which contain information of interest to students of the Soviet Union and an inclusive list of books and pamphlets on the Soviet Union published in the United States. Each Bulletin also contains a monthly summary of news events concerning the Soviet Union.


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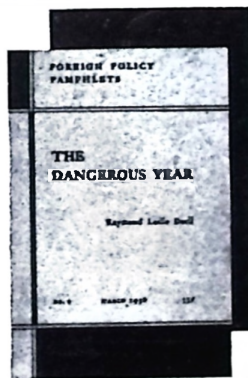
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