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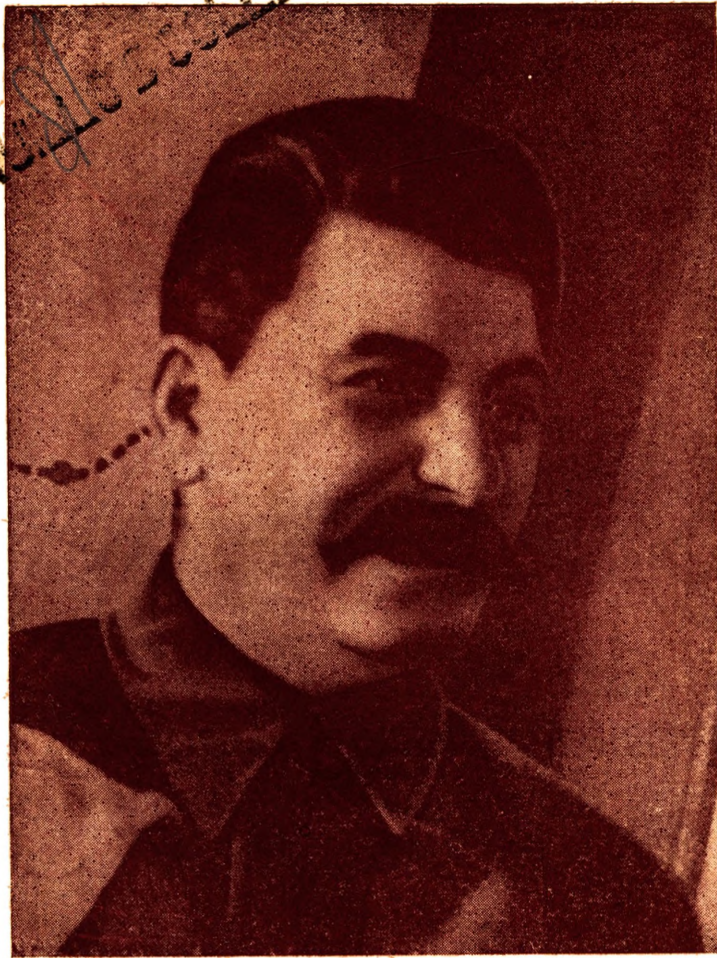
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(For Tagalog Section See Page 15)

# SOCIALISM

(A Monthly Illustrated Journal Devoted To Socialism And Its International Movement)

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JOSEPH STALIN (1879 - )

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August, 1936

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A Monthly Illustrated Journal devoted to Socialism and its International Movement.

Central Office: No. 1041, Plaza Leon XIII, Manila, P. I.

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# JOSEPH STALIN

*The Story of a Life that Rivals a Fascinating Detective Romance*

There is perhaps no world figure so little known as Stalin, the present ruler of Russia. To-day he is the most powerful personality in Communism. His life story rivals the most dangerous and fascinating detective romance. Born in 1879, he has crowded into his life more fighting action than any other serving ruler in the world. As a political revolutionist under the Tsar's régime he was arrested six times, escaped five, and spent seven years in jail or exile. Few newspaper correspondents have ever seen him. His mother is a woman of unusual power. She said that her husband had been a Georgian of peasant origin who worked in a shoe factory. The family name was Dzhugashvili. They had four children, but three died in infancy. Stalin, who was the youngest, was therefore in effect an only child. He was not physically strong. The family was not prosperous, the food was poor, and he was often sick. At seven he had small-pox, which left his face pitted. In spite of all this he was first in his studies, and his mother proudly declared that he was ahead of all the boys in everything. His mother was a devout Christian and had literally prayed her son into theological seminary, hoping he would serve her country as a priest.

Nothing interested the youth quite so much as ideas and reading. His father did not care for politics, but even as a youngster the son managed to join a secret political circle. When he was ten his father died. The family was left penniless, but the mother, often sitting up until two or three at night, sewing, earned the necessary livelihood, and set aside every penny that could be saved for the religious education of the boy.

After finishing the local religious high school at fourteen, Stalin was sent to the theological seminary at the capital in Tiflis. At that time the institution was a hotbed of revolutionary doctrine, both nationalist and Marxist, and Stalin soon became the leader of the Marxist circle. In touch with the illegal Social Democratic organizations of the city, he distributed revolutionary literature and attended secret meetings of the railroad workers. In 1898 the authorities searched his room, found a copy of Marx, and promptly expelled him. It was a great blow to his mother, although she had feared it; for, although Stalin never talked politics at home, she had seen him hiding illegal

journals. Still she did not dream that he was really against the Czar, and it was not until his arrest in Baku that comrades explained all to her. Finally, in 1905, after her son had repeatedly been arrested and her prayers had remained unanswered, she lost her faith in God, dimly realizing then that the priests were supporting the Czar and betraying the people.

As a result of his expulsion from the seminary as a boy of nineteen he had firmly resolved to devote the rest of his life to the overthrow of the Czar's régime, and after examining all the different political parties had decided to join the Social Democrats.

The older revolutionists in Tiflis had been content with secret propaganda. Now came Stalin to champion the young, restless radicals who wanted to plunge into mass demonstrations and parades, as well as to distribute to the masses illegal leaflets on popular contemporary issues; and Stalin won over the majority. In 1900-1902 he engineered mass strikes in Tiflis, and on the first of May a great political demonstration. Immediately the party headquarters and his own apartment were raided. Stalin began to live under assumed names and to move every few days. He successively became known as David, Koba, Nisheradze, Cheshehoff, Ivanovitch; but the name which finally stuck was Stalin, or "Steel," not inappropriate in view of his present position.

Stalin next became a professional paid agitator for the party, and was transferred to Baku. He organized successful strikes in two of the oil plants, and a grand political demonstration in February, 1902. In March he was arrested and imprisoned until the end of the next year, when he was exiled to Eastern Siberia. Within a month he had escaped and returned to Tiflis.

While in jail in Baku, Stalin had learned of the fight between Lenin, representing the Bolsheviks (Majority), and the Mensheviks (Minority) of the party, and had become a strong supporter of Lenin and the policy of direct action. After his escape he organized the party all over the Caucasus in support of Lenin. He edited illegal Bolshevik papers, such as "The Proletariat Struggle" and "The Baku Workman," and wrote many pamphlets, such as "A Summary of the Party Split," "Anarchism" and "Socialism," and so forth. In 1905 he attended the party conference in

Finland, and in 1906 began to edit a weekly, *Time*. The same year he attended the Stockholm congress and another in London. On his return from London, he once more organized the workers of Baku.

His former associates say that there was no one quite so effective as Stalin in interesting the workers and making them see the injustice of their condition. Illegal meetings were organized in the evenings, to which the workers were invited, and Stalin would talk. He was particularly effective in arranging strikes. Many a time at a secret meeting one of the older workers would express doubts as to the advisability of such a dangerous course, but his argument would be swept aside by the clear, insistent plea of Stalin. Constructively, Stalin managed to conclude effective agreements with the oil magnates, improving working conditions, and this enormously increased his prestige with the workers.

In 1908 he was arrested a second time, being implicated in the work of the Baku committee, and after some time in the local prison was again exiled, this time to Irkutsk. His wife, whom he had married in 1905, did not survive the rigors of exile. One boy, the survivor of this union, is now studying at Moscow.

In 1909 Stalin again managed to escape and again returned to Baku. He plunged at once into the work of organizing every single oil plant in the city. He was in the room. It was, therefore, almost inevitable that inside of a year he faced prison and a six-year exile. But again in less than twelve months he had escaped and made his way in disguise to St. Petersburg. Barely six months later he was arrested while at work for the Central Committee of the party, but the Czar's police did not know him, and he was exiled for only three years, managing to escape in 1911.

Stalin at this time was either exceptionally clever or exceptionally lucky, for the Czar's police always accused him of relatively minor crimes: of being the organizer of some street parade, the editor of some illegal publication, the leader of a strike, and so forth. Consequently, while he was always in trouble, his sentences were relatively light. In April, 1912, he was again arrested and exiled. In September of the same year he escaped across the border into Cra-

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# THE SOVIET STYLE OF SOCIAL SECURITY

By JILL MARTIN

**F**EAR of what the future may bring, a feeling of financial insecurity, are familiar spectres in the lives of wage-earners. In the Soviet Union, however, these spectres have disappeared.

This year, eight billion rubles are to be spent on Soviet social insurance, representing an increase of more than 19 per cent as compared with 1935. To get the true picture of the growth of social security in the Soviet Union however, this eight billion budget must be compared with those of earlier years. Ten years ago only 923 million rubles were spent on social insurance. Even at the beginning of the first Five Year Plan, the figure was only a little over one billion rubles or not quite a seventh of what it will be this year. The USSR is growing continually more prosperous, and as its wealth increases so do the funds which secure the well-being of the workers who are making this prosperity possible.

The basic principles of social insurance as it should be in a workers' State were laid down by Lenin in 1912, and as soon as the Bolsheviks came to power, one of the first decrees they passed incorporated these basic principles into the law of the land. At first the laws could be but little carried out. Soviet Russia was torn by civil war, blockaded by its enemies, foreign troops were invading the country, famine and disease were prevalent and industry was at a standstill. In 1912, however, began the period of rebuilding, and from that time on the progress of the country has been steady. That this progress should include continued strengthening of the security of the workers was inevitable, as the country is a Socialist State, the sole aim of which is the well-being of the masses making up its population.

Since 1933, the management of the social insurance system has been in charge of the trade unions. Even before that time when the Commissariat of Labor was in charge, the Trade Unions had always shared in the management. In 1933, however, the Commissariat was abolished and its province of work was given over to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. The most direct representatives of the workers—the trade unions—collect the social insurance funds, administer the spending of them, direct and carry out the elaborate system by which the Soviet worker is safeguarded against all hazards.

Eight billion rubles. Where do these funds come from? They come from all employers of labor, whether such employer be a private individual or the State. Every person, every factory, every institution which employs labor, must pay dues to the trade union of its respective workers. In other words the wage-earner, the person who is being insured, makes no contribution to the social insurance fund. The contribution is made entirely by the employer. The employer's salary list is used as the basis for computing how large his insurance dues must be and the percentage used for the computation varies according to the type of work being performed. It is naturally higher for work that entails more chance of accident or injury to health than for work where there is less risk. In 1934 this percentage was nearly 13 per cent for the Union as a whole.

Every person who works for wages is entitled to the benefits of social insurance, whether or not a member of the trade union. This includes industrial, professional and domestic workers as well as those agricultural workers who receive a wage. Workers on state farms or in the tractors stations thus come under the provisions of the insurance laws, but the members of collective farms do not. Members of such farms, where there is of course neither employer nor employee, are taken care of by means of mutual aid societies organized by themselves, on a model established by the government. The fundamental idea of social insurance is that those persons who are dependent for their well-being on the wages they receive for their work, must be insured against all possibilities by which they may be rendered unable to work and thus be deprived of their wage.

For all such possibilities Soviet social insurance makes provision—except for unemployment. Unemployment insurance was discontinued in 1930 as it was no longer needed. Since that time, indeed, the problem in the Soviet Union has been to find enough workers for the necessary jobs rather than to find enough work for its population.

Social insurance in the USSR also gives help in meeting the expense of events which make heavy inroads into a wage-earner's budget, such as birth, illness and death. It, moreover, spends a large proportion of its funds on measures calculated to improve the well-

being and consequently the health of the workers. These measures may be called preventative ones, decreasing as they do the chances of persons becoming incapacitated.

What is the form of all these provisions?

All wage-earners and members of their families receive free medical care, either through the doctors attached to their place of work or through clinics and ambulatoria outside. In 1935, the amount of money delegated to his medical care from the social insurance funds was one and a half billion, more than one-sixth of the whole budget.

If a person is unable to go to work, either through illness, accident, quarantine, or through being obliged to nurse some member of his family, that person is classified as temporarily disabled and receives aid from the first day of his absence until such time as he can return to work or is classified as an invalid entitled to a pension. This aid is paid out at the place of employment. Up to 1931, the size of the aid was the same for everyone, namely 100 per cent of the wages received. In that year, however, this was changed and the proportion now paid out varies according to the type of work performed, both generally and at a given enterprise; whether the person is a member of a trade union, is an *udarnik*, or a young worker not yet working full time. People who are not members of trade unions generally receive only 50 per cent of their wages for the first month of absence from work and two-thirds for the remaining time. On the other hand, *udarniki* who have worked not less than one year, no matter whether in one enterprise or not, receive 100 per cent of their wages from the very first day. In other words, social insurance is used as an incentive for the performance of work that will be most productive. The best workers, those who stick by their jobs and do not contribute to labor-turnover, those who are members of trade unions, those who do the kind of work most necessary for the building of socialism, are given preferential treatment.

In cases of pregnancy, all women employees not only receive aid for temporary absence from work, but are in fact expected to absent themselves for a given period before and after the birth of their child. The total period varies from twelve to sixteen weeks depending on the physical strain of the work that the woman is performing. Most important of all, the job is guaranteed to the woman on her return to work. All women workers and all wives of wage-earners are also given a supplementary benefit on the birth of the child to help pay for the layette and payments are made after

(Continued on page 5)

# Professionals Should Strive For Economic Security

By PEDRO ABAD SANTOS  
National Chairman, P.F.S.U.

The most vital problem confronting the professionals today is that of their economic security. It is an obvious fact that thousands of professionals are unable to secure a decent living in their respective professions, not because their services are not necessary or they lack ability in their chosen careers, for I have seen topnotchers in bar examinations working in law offices at a salary of 50 pesos a month or even less, and while thousands of men and women and children are dying for want of medical assistance, scores of doctors do not earn enough money to pay for their licenses. Also when millions of children are deprived of even primary education, a legion of teachers are unemployed because of lack of government funds.

The same problem confronts the dentist, the pharmacist, the engineer, the writer, the journalist and other professionals.

As the professional workers attending the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance recently held in Washington said:

"The professional worker's relatively privileged status is gone. He now knows unemployment, insecurity, hunger, want. More than half the architects, engineers, chemists, research and laboratory workers in this country have no work. Teachers, nurses, and government employees in general have been let out in increasing numbers. Musicians, artists, dentists, and physicians have suffered a steep decline in income because the great mass of people lack money to buy their services. . . . The numbers of all these groups are being constantly augmented by college graduates for whom there is no future under our present system." And they stated the line of ac-

tion they intended to follow for their security saying:

"The professional worker. . . has been turning increasingly to the promotion of bread. . . groups whose orientation is frankly economic and which seek security for their members through collective action on specific issues and joint action with other workers' groups on common issues."

There is the remedy. We must unite with other workers to improve our common economic condition. So long as wealth is concentrated in the few of the privileged classes, while the great masses of the people, that is, the workers, farm-laborers and all wage-earners, become more and more impoverished, the professional workers cannot have economic security and many will not secure even a decent standard of living. For how can the masses of the people pay for our professional services if they do not earn even enough for their miserable daily food?

If the professionals want to improve their economic condition, they must forsake that old wrong notion that they belong with the privileged classes. On the contrary, we must be convinced that our interests and economic fate are bound up with those of the working class. By workers, I mean all who function in any part of the productive system, and the cultural, professional, technical and scientific services of society. We should not be condemned to a wretched life, while the parasites, who exploit the workers live luxuriously from the profits of their capital.

But we cannot secure these purposes by currying favor with the governing clique, "upholding and

defending the Constitution" and "conducting a campaign of civic information among the masses through public meeting and other means on what the government has done and is doing for the good of the country," as some would have us do. So, we must attain economic security by uniting with other workers in demanding social insurance, better wages and higher living standard for the working class.

There is no other way. As it is now, we the workers are shouldering all the burden of the economic depression and our living standard is going from bad to worse, while the proprietors, hacenderos and capitalists enjoy themselves in luxury. The poor get poorer and the rich richer.

Let us men and women of the so-called liberal professions shake off our middle class prejudices and take our place on the side of the workers in the class struggle. Let us organize or, as they say now, let us have our own racket, but it must be a racket to fight and end the biggest of all rackets, the capitalist racket.

## The Soviet Style . . .

(Continued from page 4)

the birth to provide for supplementary feeding.

In the case of funerals either of an insured person or of a dependent member of the insured's family, aid is given either in the form of money or by the trade union itself undertaking the funeral and charging the cost to the social insurance fund.

Pensions are paid to persons who are permanently disabled either as the result of professional accident, occupational disease or of causes unrelated to his occupation, and the payment of pensions begins as soon as invalidism is established. There is no lapse of time between the stoppage of aid for temporary disability and the beginning of pension payments. The invalids are divided into three groups depending on the extent to which they are disabled. The pension is a percentage of the average salary for the last twelve months of employment. The percentage is determined according to the group of invalids to which the person belongs; by the cause of invalidism; and in some cases by the type of work which

(Continued on page 8)

# The New Giants of Socialist Construction In USSR

## *Volga's Electrification and Irrigation Projects to Dwarf Dnieprostroy*

The proposed Kuibyshev hydroelectric and irrigation scheme, to be situated on the Volga River at the Samara bend, is described in a recent issue of "Za Industrializatsiu," organ of the Peoples Commissariat of Heavy Industry, by Professor A. Chaplignin.

He points out that the Samara bend is the only section of the Volga where a large scale hydroelectric power system can be built in sections as the power is required. The construction of the basic parts of the system can be finished in five years, and the power station will be able to start work after the spring thaws of the fifth year. If the preparatory work is begun in 1937, and the main work after the thaws of 1938, then the station will be able to deliver its first current in 1942-43, and the output will be gradually raised from 800,000 kw. to 2.3 million kw. in 1948-50.

The location of a hydroelectric power system in this district offers numerous advantages. The dam can be built to cover the waters both of the Volga and the Kama rivers, and the power station will be able to utilize the flow from these two rivers almost completely. As a result of this its work during the second half of the summer and the winter will be much more effective than that of stations higher up the rivers. In addition a great source of power will be established near the center of the Volga District, well to the east of the European part of the USSR, at a place where the greatest waterways join the basic railway main lines, and close to the districts of the Volga for which irrigation is proposed.

According to plans the power system will supply the electric pumping and rain-spraying sets of the Trans-Volga District, and power will also be transmitted by high-voltage lines to the central industrial, Volga and Ural districts.

The main territory to be irrigated by the Kuibyshev hydroelectric system lies between the Samara bend and Kamyshin, and the most valuable districts of the Volga will thus be protected from drought. Water sprinkling by electric power can be combined with electric plowing and general electrification of agriculture in the irrigated districts, and the work against drought will be helped by the development of reforestation belts.

### *Composition of System*

This system will be situated 60 km. below the town of Kuibyshev, and will be composed of a hydroelectric station, the capacity of which will be gradually in-

creased from 700,000 kw. to 1.5 million kw., two sets of double locks and an oil pipeline. The latter will annually transmit 18 million tons of oil from Perevolok to the oil harbor at Stavropol on the northern end of the bend. The locks will be designed for a carrying capacity of 80 to 100 million tons annually, and the output of electric power from 1.5 million kw. of plant will be 10,300 million kwh. annually, and from 2.3 million kw. 12,000 million kwh.

The dam system will be constructed on the northeastern part of the bend, 35 to 40 km. above Kuibyshev. It will consist of a watergate about one kilometer long, an earthen dam, a hydroelectric station of 800,000-kw. capacity, and two sets of locks. The power station, locks and watergate will be constructed on rock foundations.

In the opinion of Professor Chaplignin the construction of the Kuibyshev scheme should receive immediate attention, and should be the most important link in hydrotechnical construction of the period 1937-42. Together with the Rybinsk, Perm, and Volga-Don systems it will solve the electric supply, transport and irrigation problems of the period 1945-50. By that time it will be necessary to construct a five-meter deep channel on the Volga-Baltic water transport line. Simultaneously, a high-voltage system will be built, which, with the aid of the Kuibyshev system, will unite the electric systems of the central industrial, Volga, Ural and Stalingrad districts.

The deepening of the Volga to five meters will necessitate the construction of further hydroelectric schemes between the Kuibyshev and Rybinsk systems in the Creboksary and Balakhna districts. The total power of the five hydroelectric systems thus formed will be 5.3 million kw. with an annual output of 31,700 million kwh. The cost of power from the other stations will, however, be higher than that from the Kuibyshev system.

### WORK TO START ON USSR'S BIGGEST BLAST FURNACES.

Construction will soon begin on two of the largest blast furnaces in the Soviet Union, according to D. Raizer, assistant head of the Central Administration of the Metallurgical Industry. The giant furnaces, which will be used in the Zaporozhye Steel Plant and the Krivoi Rog Metallurgical Plant (both in the Ukraine) will each be 1,300 cu. m. in

### BIGGEST COPPER PLANT OF USSR TO BE BUILT IN KAZAKKSTAN

Intensive preliminary work is now in progress for the construction of a huge copper smelting plant with a scheduled annual capacity of 200,000 tons to be completed at Jezkazgan, in the heart of Kazakhstan, during the Third Five-Year Plan period. The site for the construction of this plant has already been chosen by a commission of the Central Administration of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy, headed by E. Gadaryants, director of the state institute for planning the construction of non-ferrous metal enterprises. The commission returned recently to Moscow from Kazakhstan.

The Jezkazgan copper deposits had been explored before the Revolution by an English company of concessionaires who worked only the richest and most convenient layers of ore containing from 10 to 12 per cent copper. According to the calculations of the concessionaires, the copper deposits of Jezkazgan amounted to 61,000 tons, but its copper deposits so far prospected by Soviet organizations run as high as 3.5 million tons of copper with an average content of 1.65 per cent of copper in the ore. Jezkazgan may be considered the richest copper deposits in the world, inasmuch as a tremendous quantity of copper ore is concentrated in one locality, the ore veins are not deep and the hard rocks surrounding them create very favorable conditions for the exploitation of the copper resources, declared E. Gadaryants in an interview.

The copper plant is to be built on the bank of the Kara-Kenghir River. An 84-ft. dam on the river will form a lake 18.5 miles long and up to 1.5 miles wide which will provide water for a concentration plant and a workers' settlement. The sufficient supply of water will make it possible to turn the steppes surrounding the plant with their sharply continental climate similar to that of the state of Arizona, into a prosperous district.

When completed, the new Jezkazgan plant, together with the Balkhash Copper-Smelting Plant with its annual capacity of 100,000 tons of copper, will supply the bulk of copper in the USSR, and Kazakhstan will be promoted to the first place in Soviet copper industry, the Urals being pushed back to second place.

The largest blast furnaces now in use in the USSR are those in Magnitogorsk with a volume of 1,200 cu. m.

The huge blast furnaces should operate  
(Continued on page 8)

# THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO OF 1848

By KARL MARX and FRIEDRICH ENGELS

(Cont. from last issue.)

At this stage, therefore, the proletarians, do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landowners, the non-industrial bourgeois, the petty bourgeoisie. Thus the whole historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie, every victory so obtained is a victory for the bourgeoisie.

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crisis, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The increasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision before hand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battle lies not in the immediate result but in the ever-expanding union of workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by Modern Industry, and that places the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages with their miserable highways required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

This organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset

again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus the ten hours' bill in England was carried.

Altogether collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times, with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education; in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finally, in times when the class-struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class—in fact, within the whole range of an old society—assumes such a violent, glaring character that a small section of the ruling class cut itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movements as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie to-day the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction

their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more; they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.

The "dangerous class," the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

In the conditions of the proletariat, those of the old society at large are already virtually swamped. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; modern industrial labor, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for and insurances of individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where the war breaks out

(Continued on next page)

## The Communist Manifesto...

(Continued from page 7)

into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Hitherto every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule, because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie; in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage labor. Wage labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their involuntary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

### II. Proletarians and Communists

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by

## The Soviet Style ..

(Continued from page 5)

has been done and on the length of time the person has worked. Preference is given to those who have been incapacitated as a result of occupational accident or disease. Such persons if they are completely incapacitated receive 100 per cent of their former wage, no matter how short or how long a time they have been working. Should the degree of a person's disability change, he is transferred to a different invalid group and the pension is adjusted accordingly.

Old age pensions as such only began to be paid in 1928. Before that time, people who were incapacitated by old age were taken care of under the laws for general invalidism. In 1928, however, the payment of pension upon reaching a definite age was established for certain groups of wage-earners, and since then it has been extended until it covers all the main groups of workers. Those who work underground or in other hazardous kinds of work are eligible for pension at the age of fifty if they have worked for a period of twenty years. In other branches of labor, men are eligible at sixty after having worked twenty-five years, and women at fifty-five after twenty years of work. The size of pension varies from 50 to 65 per cent of the average wage for the last twelve months of employment, depending on the type of work that has been performed.

Dependents of insured persons who have died or whose whereabouts is unknown also receive a pension.

It must be noted that in the Soviet Union rent varies with the wages received, so that a person receiving a pension smaller than his previous wage would pay less rent. Also when the cost of bread went up in 1935 at the time of discarding ration cards, pensions were likewise raised. Moreover persons receiving pensions are encouraged to work in addition to their pension, unless the sum of the two exceed the former wage. In that case the pension is decreased.

All these pensions and aids are vitally important, for it is by them that Soviet social insurance protects the worker. Naggng fear of the future is removed.

this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

(To be continued)

## The New Giants . . .

(Continued from page 6)

very efficiently, according to Raizer, who explained that while the largest furnaces of the Makeyevka Plant, each with a volume of 930 cu. m., are smelting one ton of pig iron per 0.80 cu. m. of useful volume of furnace (on the best days achieving a coefficient of 0.77), the new blast furnaces should produce a ton of metal per 0.75 and even 0.70 cu. m.

Though the best technical achievements of other Soviet and foreign blast furnaces will be employed in the new ones, and though their control will be entirely automatic, nevertheless, they will not cost more to build than the Magnitogorsk furnaces.

According to plan, each of the new blast furnaces should produce 1,300 tons of pig iron a day. With the application of Stakhanov methods, however, production from 20 to 30 per cent above plan is anticipated.

The workers are able to face life without dread as to what will happen to themselves or to their family if they fall ill or are injured. They do not have the constant spectre of doctor's bills nor of funeral costs. A woman does not need to be anxious, lest having a baby will cause her to lose her job. A man can work without constant worry as to what will happen to his family if he dies. All this means security. It is an essential part of human happiness, of that joy in life which is becoming so evident in the Soviet Union.

Soviet social insurance does not confine itself, however, merely to taking care of eventualities. It tries to prevent them. It contributes large sums to promoting good health among the workers. Money is set aside for the building and support of rest homes and sanitariums. Large sums are spent on children's camps, nurseries and kindergartens, on providing extra food for school children or milk for babies. There is a special fund for improving housing conditions. All these contributions, as is the money spent by social insurance on medical care, are of course additional to what comes from the government budget for such purposes. It is most noteworthy that the proportion of the social insurance budget that goes to this indirect aid is increasing.

The object of the Soviet State is that the workers therein should be healthy and happy, free of anxiety about the future and so free to develop their manifold creative abilities both in their work and in outside cultural and social activities. Soviet social insurance is one of the paths toward this goal.



# The Draft of the Proposed Constitution of the USSR

*Editor's Note: The approval of the draft of the new Constitution of the U. S. S. R. by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union was reported by the Associated Press not long ago. This report has caused some misunderstanding on the part of the public, the enemies of the Soviet Union taking advantage of the situation to interpret the new basic law from false and mistaken angles. With a view to alleviating the doubts and the fears on the part of some friends of the Soviet Union in this country, occasioned by the most progressive constitution in the world, we are publishing below the organic law in question. For lack of space in any one issue, we are obliged to release it in installments.*

## Chapter I.

### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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

Article 2: The political foundation of the USSR is formed by the Soviets of toilers' deputies which have grown and become strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the conquests of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Article 3: All power in the USSR belongs to the toilers of the town and village in the form of Soviets of toilers' deputies.

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

Article 5: Socialist ownership in the USSR has either the form of state ownership (public property) or the form of cooperative and collective farm ownership (property of individual collective farms, property of cooperative associations).

Article 5: The land, its deposits, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, railway, water and air transport, banks, means of communication, large agricultural enterprises organized by the state (state farms, machine and tractor stations, and so on), as well as the essential part of housing in the cities and industrial centers, are state property, that is, public property.

Article 7: Public enterprises in col-

lective farms and cooperative organizations, with their livestock and implements, products produced by the collective farms and cooperative organizations as well as their public buildings, 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 household and, as individual property, subsidiary establishments on the land attached to the household, a house, productive livestock and poultry, 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 use without time limit, that is, in perpetuity.

Article 9: Alongside the socialist system of economy, which is the dominant form of economy in the USSR, the law allows small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on individual labor and excluding the exploitation of the labor of others.

Article 10: The personal ownership by citizens of their income from work and savings, home and auxiliary household economy, of objects of domestic and household economy 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 national economic state plan for the purposes of increasing public wealth, of a steady rise in the material and cultural level of the toilers, of strengthening the independence of the USSR and its defense capacity.

Article 12: 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." In the USSR the principle of socialism is being realized: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

## Chapter II.

### STATE ORGANIZATION

Article 13: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federal state, formed on the basis of the voluntary association of the Soviet Socialist Republics with equal rights:

Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic,

Krainian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic,

Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,

Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Turkmenian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,  
Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic.

Article 14: The jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its supreme organs of power and organs of state administration, extends to:

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) control of the observance of the Constitution of the USSR and ensuring conformity of the constitutions of the Union republics with the Constitution of the USSR;

e) approval of alterations of boundaries between Union republics;

f) organization of the defense of the USSR and the direction of all the armed forces of the USSR;

g) foreign trade on the basis of the state monopoly;

h) protection of state security;

i) establishment of the national economic plans of the USSR;

j) approval of the unified state budget of the USSR as well as the taxes and revenues entering into the USSR, Union republic and local budgets;

k) administration of banks, industrial and agricultural establishments as well as trading enterprises of all-Union importance;

l) administration of transport and means of communication;

m) direction of the monetary and credit system;

n) organization of the state insurance of property;

o) contracting and granting loans;

p) establishment of the fundamental principles for the use of land as well as the exploitation of deposits, forests and waters;

q) establishment of the fundamental principles in the field of education and protection of public health;

r) organization of a unified system of national economic accounting;

s) establishment of basic labor laws;

t) legislation on judicature and legal procedure, criminal and civil codes;

u) laws on citizenship of the Union, laws on the rights of foreigners;

v) passing all-Union amnesty acts.

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 independently its state power. The USSR protects the sovereign rights of the Union republics.

Article 16: Every Union republic has

# HOUSING IN THE SOVIET UNION

By GORE GRAHAM

In old Tsarist Russia the living conditions of the mass of the people were simply appalling. Had we space in this article we could relate facts about the former housing conditions of Russia that would almost make the reader's hair stand on end with horror. For filth, insanitation and congestion the housing conditions of the people of Tsarist Russia were unequalled.

When the Soviet regime came into being after years of war it had in housing as in other things a sorry state of affairs to contend with. Nearly a half a million houses had been destroyed in the war period. Nevertheless it began at once to tackle the problem. It promptly put an end to landlordism. It abolished the inequality in which the mass of the people were herded in crowded hovels whilst a minority enjoyed the comfort of spacious mansions. It took possession of the big houses and placed

them at the disposal of the needy. In Moscow alone a half a million workers were moved into houses expropriated from former wealthy owners. Five hundred thousand of the biggest, most valuable and best equipped houses throughout the country were taken away from their private landlords and put to the common good.

The Soviet regime also established just principles in the paying of rent. A system was introduced by which houses are let at a rent

merely necessary to cover the cost of maintenance and repair.

In addition rents are fixed in accord with the means of the tenants. A well-paid skilled worker pays more than a young worker or student with a smaller income.

To be sure, the Soviet regime quickly removed from the people that sickening burden of rent.

Then, of course, the Soviet government set about building new houses; and better houses too than the houses of Tsarist Russia.

For the houses of old Russia were of little value. Of the total number of houses only 15% were made of brick, stone or re-inforced concrete. The rest of the buildings were of wood, clay or other cheap materials. Nine-tenths of all buildings consisted of one story.

During the very early years of the Soviet regime, years of war, famine and distress, little could be done beyond repairing the ruins that history had bequeathed the new republics. But between 1924 and 1928 new houses were constructed with 16,700,000 metres of floor space. Two billion rubles were invested in housing construction during those years.

Then came the four years of the first Five-Year Plan. Between 1928 and 1932 four billion rubles were invested in housing. New houses with 27,000,000 square metres of floor space were erected.

Notwithstanding this, however, housing accommodation by no means fulfilled demand. This was the period of rapid industrialisation. In a handful of years the Soviet Union carried through an industrial revolution that elsewhere took many decades. The old towns were inundated with scores of thousands of new industrial workers. Dozens of new cities sprang up in all parts of the Union. Millions of workers settled around newly erected industrial enterprises. The population continued its annual increase of 3-1/2 millions. And the whole country,

of course, laid its prime emphasis on building the industrial bases of the new socialist society.

The second Five-Year Plan, however, revealed the country's ability to think now of reaping the harvest of its sowing during the first plan. Begun in 1932 the second plan began raising the living standards of the whole people.

For housing construction the plan provided no less than 13 billion rubles.

Already the greater part of this housing construction has been completed. The various cities and rural districts are carrying out their own plans for the future. The ten years' plan for the reconstruction of Moscow, for example, will provide 15,000,000 square metres of housing accommodation in houses so finely planned and built as will make Moscow far and away the most beautiful city in the world.

That period of rapid industrial construction when the first necessity was to secure the quickest possible housing accommodation for the millions of workers who were inundating the new industrial areas has gone by. Two years ago the Government passed a decree on The Quality of House Building. This decree insists that all houses shall be built with modern conveniences and with every regard for beauty and planned lay out worthy of the new cultured people of the country.

As M. Stalin said on one occasion:

"Only those who have become rotten and mouldy through and through can console themselves with references to the past. We must set out, not from the past, but from the growing needs of the workers to-day. We have got to understand that the conditions of the life of the workers have changed fundamentally. The present-day worker is not what he once was. The present-day worker, our Soviet worker, wants to live so that all his material and cultural needs are satisfied; in regard to housing and all his other needs. He has a right to it and it is our duty to secure for him those conditions."

Only the evil nature of an opponent or the foolishness of a romantic friend expects that, in addition to performing all the miracles of construction with which the Soviet Union has amazed the world during the past years, it should also have achieved fulfilment of everyone of the demands of the Soviet people; in short have established a paradise in which every human need is faced with a plentitude and perfection of supply.

And when one knows the facts about housing in the USSR how pathetic indeed appear those malicious efforts to belittle the country by people who expatiate on instances where supply has not yet overtaken the growing demand.

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 1: Each Union republic retains its right freely to secede from the USSR.

Article 18: The territory of the Union republics may not be changed without their consent.

Article 19: The laws of the USSR have the same force in the territories of all Union republics.

Article 20: In the event of a law of a Union republic differing from an all Union law, the all-Union law is operative.

Article 21: A single Union citizenship 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 following Territories: Azov-Black Sea, Far East, West Siberia, Krasnoyarsk, North Caucasus; Provinces: Voronozh, East Siberia, Gorky, Western, Ivanovo, Kalinin, Kirov, Kuibyshev, Kursk, Leningrad, Moscow, Omsk, Orenburg, Saratov, Sverdlovsk, Northern, Stalingrad, Chelyabinsk, Yaroslavl; Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics: Tatar, Bashkir, Daghestan, Buryat-Mongolia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Kalmuck, Karelia, Komi, Crimea, Marii, Mordva, Volga German, North Osetia, Udmurt, Chechen-Ingush, Chuvash, Yakut; Autonomous Provinces: Adygei, Jewish, Karachayev, Oirot, Khakass, Cherkess.

(To be continued)

# ECHOES FROM THE FORGOTTEN MASSES OF POLAND

By JOHN L. SPIVAK

WARSAW.

IN THE third-class compartment on the train from Lemberg to Warsaw there was a policeman with his wrist manacled to the wrist of a rather thin man in his early thirties with beady but bright and cheerful eyes. I assumed the prisoner a thief, for it is quite common for policemen, their wrists manacled to those of their prisoners, to be seen walking Polish streets. A woman with a kindly, sympathetic face, a rather cocky self-assured man, my translator and I occupied the rest of the compartment.

"I'm on my way to Koronova to do five years."

"You are well dressed, eh? Then why are you riding third-class, tell me that!"

Before my translator could tell me what he said, the thief continued angrily:

"I am not good enough to be spoken to, eh? But I have been spoken to by teachers—the best of them! By professors and scholars and men who know more than all of you will ever know!" He made a quick motion with his hands and the manacled one fell back.

The cocky man with the contemptuous smile now laughed openly.

"I suppose they invited you to their house for tea?" he asked sarcastically.

"I lived with them!" the thief exclaimed. "In the Lemberg prison!"

"Fine people," the man commented dryly, "to be in prison".

"They were not in prison for stealing," the thief said quickly. "They are not like me. They would not take a groschen from anybody. They are good men, but very unfortunate. They were political prisoners."

"Oh," said the man. "Communists, eh? They—"

"Don't you say a word against them!" the thief interrupted harshly. "They are better men than you and me."

"You got out on parole and now you are on your way to do five years in Koronova. You learned a lot from the Communists!"

"And now I got five years! I have always been very unfortunate. Even when I was in Lemberg and we started a hunger strike because they were beating us I was the one who got the biggest beating!"

"The Communists—" the man began tauntingly.

"I will not hear a word against them," the thief interrupted sharply. "I can tell you do not like them and I will not hear a word against them! They are not like us. When we thieves and robbers went

on a hunger strike against the rotten food and the way we were being beaten, the Communists also went on a hunger strike—just to show their sympathy for us! Tell me, who would do that for a thief? Instead of spitting on us, they used to tell us about the world and the history of the world. They used to tell us more than I ever learned in school—"

The woman nodded her head sympathetically.

"I'm on my way to do five years in Koronova," he continued, turning to her, "to do five years at hard labor. Eh! That's nothing. I do not care. I like to work."

"You'll get a chance to like it," said the man dryly.

"Tell me this," the thief turned upon him. "They give me five years to do hard work. Why did they not give me work when I was free? Tell me that!"

The man stared at him without answering.

"When I was young I got four zloty a week for working and I was hungry, so I began to steal—" the thief continued thoughtfully. "And now that I have grown up I steal because they will not give you work. They give you work only when you steal!"

He shook his head and laughed as though the absurdity of it was terribly funny.

"I wish I were on my way to do five years for doing what the Communists did—to make speeches and organize the workers—instead of stealing," he volunteered. When no one answered him, he shrugged his shoulders and added regretfully, "But I am a dark man and I do not know enough; but they are good men, those Communists."

The policeman, who had not opened his mouth, let the prisoner talk. As the train entered the Warsaw station, the thief laughed cheerfully.

"Change for a five-year ride," he called loudly. He bowed with exaggerated deference to the man who had aroused his ire. "Good day to you, sir" he said, holding his left hand to his heart.

The policeman, whose stolid expression had not changed during the entire ride, now turned to his prisoner.

"We shall have to walk through the streets," he said. "I do not want to shame you by having these handcuffs on your wrist. If you will give me your word not to try to escape I will take them off."

The thief looked at him in astonishment.

"You will take my word—a thief's word?"

"If you give it," said the policeman solemnly.

"I give it," said the thief. "See, you"—he turned upon the cock man—"follow us and see whether a thief can keep his word! When you talk to me like that," he said, turning to the policeman, "I would walk all the way to Koronova without a guard and appear at the prison walls. That's the way to talk to a thief!" he said loudly, turning again to the man who had irritated him. "Human, this policeman—almost like a Communist!"

LEFT him and went wandering to the great market at Hale Miroskie, where the people came to buy from the little traders, those who can afford only a little stall or unable to afford even that, stand about on the curb so closely together that they form a solid line of humanity. One old woman stood at one of the street corners clutching seven thin radishes in her hand. It was obviously all she had to sell and as I passed she held them out, calling, "Prosha pana."

"I don't want any radishes," I said, shaking my head.

She smiled a friendly little smile.

"But they are good radishes," she protested, holding them toward me. "And only five groschen for one."

"I am not buying radishes," I explained, "I just wanted to see how you live and work in this market."

"I was not always like this," she said quickly. "Once when I was young I was a servant girl in a grand house. Then I was happy and had a place to sleep in all my own and all I wanted to eat." She looked at radishes and smiled a little wistfully. "But that was long ago. I married a man and so I lost my nice place to live."

"And your husband? You are still with him?"

"No. He is dead. But I have two daughters. One is in America and the other is in Lodz but I never hear from either of them. I do not know if they are living or dead."

"Then whom do you live with?"

"I have a son. But he is not working. He cannot find work—"

"Do you live in Warsaw?"

"No," she shook her head, "I live seven miles from Warsaw in a little village."

(Continued on page 13)

# Why Crime Is Decreasing in the Soviet Union

By A. SHLYAPOCHNIKOV  
Assistant Director of the Scientific Research Institute of Criminal Policy

THE SOVIET UNION is converting into reality the age-long dream of the best minds of mankind: the building up of a classless socialist society. In solving this task, the Soviet Union, simultaneously with the abolition of classes and survivals of the past in the minds of people, is abolishing crime—one of the worst survivals of the past.

The October Revolution, which led to a radical break-up of old productive relations and to the elimination of private property in the means of production, could not but give rise to embittered resistance of all the forces of the old society, which were ready for any crime that might stop the victorious march of socialism. This resistance has found its expression not only in counter-revolutionary crimes, directly expressing the struggle of the remnants of hostile classes and their agency, but also in general crimes which equally reflect the traditions of the old order are a heritage of the past.

The tremendous successes of socialist construction could not but bring about a considerable limitation in the scope of crime. The improvement in the living conditions of the masses, the immense growth of culture, the abolition of unemployment and the elimination of poverty in the village resulted in a sharp reduction of crime.

Statistics conclusively substantiate this. Taking the number of persons convicted of criminal acts in the RSFSR during the first half of 1933 as 100, the number dropped in the second half to 93.1; at the end of 1934, the number of cases dropped to 69.9; in the first half of 1935 it fell to 60.7.

In the Ukraine, the number of persons convicted of criminal acts declined in the last quarter of 1935 to one-fourth the number in the first quarter of 1933. In Soviet White Russia, this number declined by 57.1 per cent. A similar picture of the reduction in crime is to be observed during the past three years in the other republics of the Soviet Union.

THE NUMBER of convictions in various categories of crime shows more clearly, perhaps, the sharp decrease in crime in the USSR. Thus, there has been a marked decline in the number of persons convicted for breaking the law of Aug. 7, 1932, on the protection of socialist property. Taking the number of convictions under this law during the first

half of 1933 in the RSFSR as 100, they dropped to 27.9 in the first half of 1934 and to 9.6 in the second half of 1935. In the Ukraine, the number of similar cases fell even more. A further drop is shown by statistics of succeeding periods.

Property crimes, particularly theft, which constitute more than 70 per cent of this category of crime, have declined equally sharply. Statistics show that convictions for theft declined 61.4 per cent in the first half of 1935 in comparison with the same period in 1933.

A striking reduction in the number of crimes against the person is also shown by figures. In 1926, the proportion of these acts in the total number of criminal convictions amounted to 26 per cent in the RSFSR. Beginning with 1929, the percentage decreased year by year until in 1934 it dropped to three per cent. The number of convictions for sexual crimes in the RSFSR today has dropped to 25 per cent of the number in 1929. During the same period, the number of cases of bodily assaults dropped 40 per cent and murder convictions 50 per cent.

The main sources of juvenile crimes were homelessness, neglect and adults' instigation and recruiting of children for criminal acts. The decision of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the USSR and the Central Committee of the Party of the USSR on the "Abolition of Child Homelessness and Child Neglect," and also the law of April 7, 1935 on the "measures of fighting against crimes among juveniles" played a colossal role in reducing children's crimes. The law is directed most sharply against adult instigators and against those juvenile law-breakers closely connected with a criminal environment.

In the courts of Moscow Province, 54 cases of juvenile crime were tried in May 1935, in November the number dropped to 23 and in December to 21. In Voronezh Province, 88 were convicted of juvenile crimes in the second quarter of 1935, 77 in the third quarter of that year, and 34 in two months of the last quarter. A similar reduction in juvenile crime is observable in other districts of the country.

THUS, as a result of the decisive successive successes of socialism in our country, the enormous rise in the standard of living and culture of the masses, and the elimination of hostile class elements, the Soviet Union has achieved a

## Defending the Workers and National Defense

Working men of England have their own idea of National Defense. In his maiden speech in the House of Commons, William Gallacher, representing the miners of West Fife, has this to say:

"There were over 1,000 men killed in the pits last year and nearly 200,000 injured. Have you defended them?"

"Come with me to the mining villages, day after day you can see the terrible tragedy of the pit, and the tragedy of the mines' homes.

"Have you defended the miners' families in Wales, Lancashire, on the North-east coast and in Scotland? Have you defended these places—go and look at them—which give the appearance of a country that has been devastated by the enemy? Have you defended the miners?"

"We say not a penny for armaments. It is a crime against the people of this country to spend another penny on armaments.

"Every penny we can get should go in wages for the miners, towards the health and well-being of the mothers and the children and adequate pensions for the aged and infirm. We require every penny we can get to make life better for the working class.

"If the seven billion pounds which we spent during the war in ruin and destruction had been spent in making life brighter and better for the workers of this country what a difference it would have made."

To hospitals of the big mines of the Philippines every day brings its train of ambulances bearing bleeding bodies of the maimed, the dying and the dead. Is our government defending these men and their families?

Socialists in England don't like to see school boys performing military drill. Since Socialists are now in control of the Council of the City of London military men are refused the use of elementary school buildings for company training.

They have abolished O T C and Cadet Corps from all schools under their charge. School children are forbidden to attend Navy League lecture. Also, when an Anti-air-craft Brigade planned a march to stimulate recruiting the Council refused permission to use Battersca Park for this purpose.

substantial reduction in crime. The decrease should be specially noted in the rural districts as an evidence of the rooting out of petty proprietorship habits resulting from the strengthening of the collective farm order and the whole process of remaking the minds of these people.

The sharp reduction of crime, however,

## ECHOES FROM THE FORGOTTEN . . .

(Continued from page 11)

"How did you get here?"  
 "I walked, of course," she said. "At two o'clock this morning I got up and with my radishes walked to Warsaw because everybody comes to buy here on Tuesdays and Fridays. These are the big market days and I had to be here at five o'clock. It takes me longer," she added apologetically, "because I am old now and cannot walk so well."  
 "But it snowed and rained last night —"

"Yes. It snowed and then it turned to rain. Just before I got to Warsaw it turned to rain and the roads were very muddy and it was hard walking."

"And you stay here how long?"

"All day until it gets dark and then I walk back to my village."

"How much do you make after a day's work like that?"

"Sometimes a zloty and fifty groschen and sometimes two zloty and sometimes not even fifty groschen."

"And on that you have to live half the week?"

"Me and my son. He is ill now and cannot get up from bed or he would be helping me," she added quickly.

does not in any way signify a tendency towards laxness in this field. Today, side by side with the struggle with acts against public property, which is the main force of resistance of the remnants of hostile elements, special attention is devoted to the fight with crimes against the person. In the Soviet Union, where the human being is looked upon as the most valuable capital, the person of the citizen, his property and his rights are placed under special protection. This is precisely the reason for the measures for punishing more severely certain categories of crimes such as ruffianism, wilful refusal to pay alimony and similar cases. The unusual results in the Soviet Union's struggle against crime have been obtained on the basis of the abolition of exploitation of man by man, the abolition of poverty and unemployment, and the rise in the standard of living and the culture of the population.

A tremendous role in the effectiveness of the Soviet juridical policy is played by the principles of coercive labor, the whole idea of which consist in changing the minds of people, who, in the past were enemies of a socialist society and, under the Soviet system of education, have largely become converted into new people who have forgotten their previous customs and habits.

We are confident that this fight with crime will, as a result of the victory of Communism, lead to the final and complete abolition of crime in the land of the Soviets.

"When you have so little, what do you eat?" I asked.

"Bread and potatoes. What else is there to eat? Potatoes are very cheap but the bread is dear. Sometimes if I make only fifty or sixty groschen after all day here I buy only potatoes and we have them. But if I am lucky to make a zloty, then we can have a bread too."

I had been taking her time which she might have used to sell her radishes and I gave her a zloty. She offered me the seven radishes she held in her hand.

"No, no," I said. "I have taken up your time so you keep this zloty."

"The whole zloty!" she exclaimed, holding it in her hand and looking at it with unbelieving eyes.

"Yes, of course. You keep it. Put it away. I guess you can use it. Life is pretty hard, isn't it?"

And suddenly those old eyes filled with tears and she began to cry.

"Ai, pana, pana," she sobbed, "no one knows how hard our life is".

THE desire for "something to happen—anything"—is widespread and there is a whole vast area in Poland extending from 100 to 200 miles from the Russian border and running about 1,000 miles from the northern frontier of Czechoslovakia to the southern frontiers of Lithuania and Latvia where the "anything" is being translated into action with organization behind it. This is the "pacification area," so named because Poland is trying to "pacify" the peasants. How the peasants feel and how they are being "pacified" is not being made public by the government or by the Polish press nor does the iron censorship permit news of it to seep out if it can be stopped.

"Pacification" first began in 1913 in the region immediately north of the Carpathian-Russ section of Czechoslovakia and has become increasingly brutal and ruthless. The men and women, both radical and conservative, who told me what is being done to the peasants there were as frightened as those who speak in Italy or Germany, for in Poland the authorities need only to suspect that you talked of these matters to find yourself on the way, without a trial, to the concentration camp at Bereza Kartuska.

Not far away was the Soviet Union where the peasants had been miserable but now news was seeping across the frontier that Russian peasants were eating again, that they had salt for their potatoes, that they ate meat, that they had bread, that things were getting better while in Poland life for the peasants was steadily growing worse. Peasants turned their eyes eastward where Soviet soil now offered a haven of plen-

ty. A strong Communist sentiment developed and this resulted in the effort to "pacify" the region.

Battalions of soldiers swarmed on villages seeking the leaders but the peasants refused to surrender them and in desperate efforts to root out the "Reds" the officials introduced the custom of "common responsibility." This procedure is quite simple, soldiers surround a village where a Communist is suspected of being active and line up all village residents. The officers then announce that the village is "commonly responsible" for the existence of a Communist in their midst and unless he is surrendered within one our every fifth person, man, woman or child above fourteen, chosen at random, will be placed under arrest, beaten severely and then imprisoned on suspicion of being themselves Communists.

On my way to the village of Kolki in the Volhynia district, where I had heard children had been "pacified" for asking for free schools I talked with peasants who told me many things with anxious pleas not to tell that they had talked with me, pleas as anxious as any I encountered in Italy or Germany. Even government officials in Warsaw, sick of the occurrences in the "pacification area" talked. And I heard tales like the one when the military swept upon and surrounded the little village of Bobraka where a Communist was active. The threat of "common responsibility" was made and either because the peasants were terrified or because there was an informer in their midst the Communist was found and taken away to prison "and the *izba* (peasant hut) where he had lived was burned to the ground and over the cold ashes plows were drawn and the land was plowed so that no one would ever know even the ground where a Communist had lived."

There were many such tales as I went wandering around the Volhynia district, stopping at *izbas* that sagged from the weight of their snow-covered straw-thatched roofs and then I came to Kolki where an old and bearded peasant told me of what happened on May Day of 1935.

The new Polish Constitution had guaranteed free schools and there had been joy in the hearts of the "dark people". The illiterate and hungry peasants had heard that the educated did not hunger and they wanted to see their children educated so they "would not hunger as we are hungering." When no schools were built the peasants began to demand them and at first shyly and with many apologies and then a little irritably they asked why the schools were not being built for the children and the

authorities had no answer. On May Day of 1935 a twenty-two-years-old Communist, the local school teacher, organized the peasants from the neighboring farms and led a May Day march on the village. They carried a red banner inscribed with the words "Give Us Schools for Our Children" and well over a thousand peasants, ancient Poles whose ancestors had tilled the soil for generations, their wives, younger folk and children of school age, marched upon the village of Kolki. There was a picnicky air about it. The long winter was over. May and the sun and warmth were here and to most of the gay and laughing line it was a great big party to be enjoyed, a sort of communal celebration. The young teacher led the procession and as they approached the long, level road leading to the village they met a group of policemen obviously on their way to intercept them.

"Where are you going?" the police demanded.

"To the village to ask for free schools," the teacher responded gaily.

"Our children will not be as dark and ignorant as we," said several peasants crowding around the police.

"You cannot march on the village," said the police.

"But the new constitution has guaranteed us free schools," the teacher protested.

"You will have to disperse," said the police. "You cannot march on Kolki."

"But all that these peasants and children want is to ask for the free schools the constitution has guaranteed them," the girl protested.

The police officer shook his head angrily and spread out his arms to signify that the road was barred. The girl turned to the peasants and waving the red banner with the words "Give Us Schools for Our Children" she called. "We have the right to march to Kolki and we are marching."

The policeman slapped her and in a few moments the gay and happy peasants and their wives had so set upon the police, kicking and cuffing them, that they beat a hasty retreat.

"Ah," sighed the old peasant, "we laughed—even the children laughed when we saw them running back to Kolki; and the teacher laughed and said that that showed what we could do when we were determined, that a few policemen could not stop us."

They marched on again, singing the International, laughing and joking about how the police had run away.

And then they saw a detachment of soldiers in the distance and an old peasant, wise in the ways of the military, called a halt.

"They are there to stop us from going

to Kolki," he said. "They will threaten us."

"We are not children to be frightened," said another. "I have been a soldier and I am not frightened so easily."

They placed the children in the front line so that the soldier could see they were on a peaceful mission, placed them right behind the teacher who was leading them and carrying the red banner asking that the children be not allowed to grow up in the darkness of their elders.

The officer in command of the soldiers shouted to them to stop. The teachers' face flushed as red as the banner she carried and she turned to the peasants behind her.

"Let us sing!" she called loudly. "All together—as we go to demand the end of darkness for our children!"

She waved the red banner and her voice came strong like a challenge to battle:

"Arise! Ye prisoners of starvation—"

The children who had learned the song joined in. Quavering peasant voices picked it up and then the voices were drowned out by a burst of machine-gun fire.

Nineteen were killed. Twelve little children who had gone to plead for free schools that they might not grow up in the darkness of their elders, the teacher, still clutching the banner even in death and six peasants. They had been "pacified."

"We could not even bury our dead," said the old peasant, rubbing a grimy hand over his nose. "We were told that here and there they are buried, the teacher and the children. There were many wounded and when we fled we carried them with us to our homes."

Not a word of the massacre was published. The organ of the Socialist Party, *Robbotnik*, learned of it and tried to publish an account of what had happened and the issue was promptly confiscated.

"And now?" I asked.

He stared at the floor.

"Now we remember our dead," the old peasant said quietly.

We sat silent for a while, none of us feeling much like talking after this tale.

"Some day," said the peasant slowly, "where those children died and where that teacher lies buried, blood will run like a river in the spring and it will not be the blood of peasant children."

"They will shoot you down as before," I said.

"They will shoot many of us down," he returned quietly, "but there"—he motioned to the east—"not a two-day's journey by even a starving horse, are soldiers of the peasants. They are our soldiers. And they will come to help us."

## JOSEPH STALIN

(Continued from page 3)

cow, in Austria, and was able to take part in the conference of the party with Lenin, when he was elected a member of the Central Committee.

Some Russian revolutionists of this period spent considerable time abroad studying in comparative security. Not so Stalin. He was always at the most dangerous front, giving himself unsparingly to the illegal work of his party. In 1913 he took part in the elective campaign for the fourth Duma (congress) and became leader of the Bolshevik faction. At that time he was also one of the editors of the illegal Bolshevik papers, "The Star" and "The Truth." In February, 1913, he was arrested for the sixth time and exiled under a heavy guard. This time he did not escape and was freed only by the February revolution.

In the Bolshevik Revolution Stalin was one of the committee of five who managed the uprising, working shoulder to shoulder with Lenin and strongly favoring the seizure of power, in opposition to Zinoviev and Kamenev, who cautioned delay. From 1917 to 1923 he was People's Commissar of Nationalities, the man who initiated the successful policy of giving cultural autonomy and local freedom to the nationalities within the Union. Besides this, from 1919 to 1920, he was People's Commissar for Workers and Peasants Inspection, and from 1920 to 1923, a member of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic.

The intervention in Russian affairs of England, France, Japan and the United States threw him into the civil war. He was sent from one front to another, serving against Udenitch, Denikin and the Poles, and, for his heroism he was decorated with the highest Soviet order of the Red Sign.

It is always the custom for the Red Army soldiers to greet a commander with a cheer. On the front near Petrograd one December, Stalin noted that the soldiers did not greet him with enthusiasm. Halting one whose tightly compressed lips indicated complete silence, Stalin asked, "Why?" The man pointed to his own feet, clad only in straw sandals. Stalin immediately took off his own fine leather boots, gave them to the soldier, and took in return the straw sandals, which he wore all winter, sharing the deprivation with his men.

One of his comrades, Sturo, told his adventures during the direst days of the civil war, when it was a race between starvation and defeat at the Allies' hands. Stalin was food dictator. Said Sturo:

"I was commissioned to secure food for Baku. At the time Baku had a

(Continued on page 27)

## (TAGALOG SECTION)

## ANG SOSYALISMO NGAYON

*(Isang Pahayagang Buwanan hinggil sa Sosyalismo at ng kanyang Kilusang Pangdaigdig)*

Taon I, Blg. 4

P. O. Box 885, Maynila, K. P.

Agosto, 1936

**JOSE STALIN*****Ang Kasaysayan Ng Isang Buhay Na Lipos Ng Pakikibaka at Panganib***

Si Walter Durranty, ang beteranong manunulat ng pahayagang "New York Times" sa Moscow, Unyong Sobyet, ang nagpalagay na si Stalin ay siyang pinakamagiting sa lahat ng mga estadista sa sangdaigdig. Ang kanyang pasyang ito ay doon nababatay sa pambihirang pagkakaunlad ng isang kabuhayang sosyalista na naitayo sa Unyong Sobyet sa pamamatuogot ng di matutularang lider na ito ng mga anak-pawis, na ang buhay ay isang aklat na napaka-romantiko sa lahat ng mga lider ng himagsikan sa Rusya. Maaaring mayroong ilan, lalo na ang kalaban ng Unyong Sobyet, ang hindi sasangayon sa pasyang ito ni Walter Durranty, nguni't hindi maitatakwil na ang pangalan ni Stalin ay siyang pangunahin ngayon sa kilusang sosyalista sa buong mundo, at sunod sa kay Lenin ay siyang pinakadakilang lider ng himagsikang sosyal ng Rusya.

Si Stalin ay ipinanganak ng taong 1879 sa lalawigan ng Georgia, Rusya. Ang kanyang mga magulang ay galing sa mga magbubukid, kahit na ang ama niya ay naging manggagawa sa isang pabrika ng mga sapatos, na namatay ng si Stalin ay sampung taong lamang. Ang tunay na apellido ng kanilang pamilya ay Dzhugashvili. Nagkaroon sila ng apat na anak, ngunit si Stalin lamang ang nabuhay, at ito ng maliit ay masasaktin pa at dahil sa bulutong ay nagparumi pa ito sa kanyang mukha.

Ang mga magulang niya ay mga mahirap, at madalas ay kulang sila sa pagkain. Ang mga paghihirap na ito ay hindi naging balakid kay Stalin para manguna sa kanyang mga pagaaral, at sapagka't ang kanyang Ina ay isang banal siya ay lagi ng nananalangin na si Stalin ay maging pari at sa isang habito ay makapagsilbi sa kanyang bayan.

Ng maiwan ang pamilya ng kanilang ama, sila ay lalong nagkahirap-hirap. Ang kanyang Ina hanggang hating gabi ay makikitang nananahi para humanap ng kanilang ikabubuhay at makaimpok ng kamuntik para si Stalin ay makapagaral sa pagpapari, ngunit si Stalin naman na hilig sa pagbabasa ng kung ano-anong mga babasahin ay doon nahilig sa politika at bata pa ay nakuhang mapasama sa isang lihim na samahang pambayan.

Pagkatapos niya ng "high school" sa kanilang lugal, siya ay ipinasok sa isang seminaryo sa Tiflis. Ng mga panahong yaon, ang lugal na ito ay isang tinggallan ng mga simulaing mapanghimagsik, nasyonalista at Marxista, at hindi natagalan si Stalin ay siyang naging Lider ng mga Marxista doon. Nakikipagunawaan sa Pangkating Sosyal Demokrata noon ng ciudad, siya ay nagkakat ng mga babasahing mapanghimagsik, at dumalo sa mga miting ng mga manggagawa ng perokaril. Ng 1898, ang mga alagad ng ba-

tas ay hinalughog ang kanyang tirahan, nakakita dito ng isang aklat ni Marx, at kapagdaka ay pinalayas siya sa ciudad na iyon. Ang bagay na ito ay labis na dinamdam ng kanyang Ina sapagka't may suspetsa na si Stalin ay nagbabasa ng mga malalayang pahayagan. Gayon pa man ang kanyang Ina ay naniniwala na si Stalin ay hindi kalaban ng Tsar, at ng si Stalin ay dakpin na lamang sa Baký at paliwanagan siya ng mga kasama ni Stalin ay natanto niya ng ganap ang buhay na mapanghimagsik ng kanyang bunso. Ng 1905, pagkatapos na ang kanyang anak ay paulit-ulit na dinadakup at ipinipiit ng may kapangyarihan, at sa palagay niya na ang kanyang mga dalangin ay hindi pinakikinggan ng Diyos, ay nawala ang kanyang pagasa sa pagtawag na sa Diyos na ito, sakbibi ng isang paniniwala na ang mga pari ay katulong ng mga Tsar at ipinagkakanulo ang bayan.

Ng si Stalin ay paalisin sa Seminaryo, ang naging pasiya niya sa buhay ay ang paglabang mahigpit sa Tsar at ang pagbabagsak sa kapangyarihan niya, at pagkatapos na suriin ang lahat ng mga lapiang pambayan sa kanyang bansa ay ipinasyang sumapi sa Pangkating Demokrata-Sosyal.

Ang matatandang manghihimagsik sa Tiflis ay nagkakasiya sa mga lihim na pagpapalaganap laban sa kagustuhan ng kabataan. Si Stalin ay nakipanig sa kabataan, mga *(Nasa pahina 2 ang karugtong)*

# ANG SOSYALISMO AT ANG MITHIIN NG INTERNASYONALISMO

*Paliwanag ng Patnugot: Ang sumusunod na artikulo ay isang panayam na binigkas ng isa sa mga Patnugot ng Sosyalismo Ngayon sa pulong ng kapisanang may pamagat na "Ningas Kugon," isang malusog at malaking samahan ng mga mamamayan sa Sta. Mesa at kalapit lugal ng Maynila. Ang mga nakinig sa panayam na nasabi ay lubhang nasiyahan sa linalaman nito, at marami ang humiling na ipalathala ang artikulo, at sapagkat ang paksa naman ay tiyak na hinggil sa Sosyalismo, ay minarapat ng Patnugutan na bigyan ang artikulo ng pitak sa "Sosyalismo Ngayon."*

## Mga Giliw na Kasama:

Ang paksa ng INTERNASYONALISMO ay sadyang napakatayog, at sa isang isipang malululain na gaya ng inyong lingkod, ay labis ang kanyang pangamba na hindi niya maliming mabuti ang kalawakan nito. Hindi kakamuntik na sandali ang kanyang nagamit sa pag-iisip na palitan ang paksang ito, ngunit sa tuwing maiisip niya na ang pansin ng kanyang mga kasama ay dito na napakako, siya ay napilitang magtiyaga sa pagtitipon ng mga watak-watak niyang kaalaman sa bagay na ito.

Ang Internasyonalismo ngayon ay hindi na isang pangarap ng mga taong lagging magiliwin sa pagsulong at sa pagkakapatiran ng tanang sangkatauhan, sapagkat hindi matututulan na ang Nasyonalismo ay nakalagpas na sa kanyang katanghalian. Hindi maikakait na ang Internasyonalismo ay na sa bahay-bata na ng pamumuhay na ito, at pagdating ng kanyang kabuwanan o takdang araw ng kanyang pagsilang, walang salang ito ay hindi maluluwal sa sangmaliwanag. Sinabi ko na ang Internasyonalismo ay na sa bahay-bata na ng nasyonalismo na namamayani sa kasalukuyan sapagkat ang mga tala at uri ng panahong ito ay maliwanag na nagpapahayag ng kanyang paglililihi at pagdaramdam. Akin munang babanggitin ang mga silahis ng panahon na nagbabadha ng kanyang pagdating, bago ko tukuyin ang mga kilusang nagsasabalikat para maging isang katotohanan sa mundong ito ang Internasyonalismo.

Ng matapos ang digmaang pangdaigdig, dahil sa salanta at pangamba na inabot ng buong sangkatauhan, ang lahat halos ay umaase na ang digmaang yaon ay isang digmaan na hindi lamang magbibigay ng ganap na kalayaan sa lahat

ng lahi at sa lahat ng tao, kungdi isang panghuling digmaan na tatapos at magwawakas sa lahat ng pagpupuksaan ng mga tao. Dahil sa kalagayan ni Woodrow Wilson ng matapos ang digmaang yaon, siya ang naging katawan ng mga matatayog na mithiing ito, at hindi ilan ang nagpapalagay na siya ay isang Bagong Mesias na magbibigay sa sangkatauhan ng walang katapusang kapayapaan at pangmalagiang pamamayani ng ganap na kalayaan at katarungan sa mundo. Ngunit sa dagling masulat ang Kasunduan ng Kapayapaan at maitayo ang tinatawag na Samahan o Liga ng mga Bansa na siyang magbibigay ng lunas sa mga sakit na dinaranas ng daigdig, marami sa mga mapagkuro-kuro ang nagkaroon agad ng alinlangan. Ang kasunduan sa kapayapaan at ang liga ng mga bansang natayo ay isang malaking kabiguan. Ang batayan ng kasunduang ito ay hindi ang mga simulain ni Pres. Wilson kungdi ang dating mga pag-iimbot at paghihigantihan ng mga bansa. Ang ligang natatag ay anino lamang ng isang samahang pangdaigdig na binalangkas ng kanyang ama, at sa lugal na maging isang kasangkapan ng kapayapaan at katarungan, ang naging uri nito ay hindi malaki ang agwat sa samahan ng mga bansang itinatayo ng si Napoleon ay magapi ng kanyang mga kalaban. Gayon pa man, hindi natin dapat na ipanglungkot ang mga ganitong pagkabigo sapagkat kung ito man ay malaki ang pagkukulang sa pangangailangan, ang balangkas na natayo ay malaki ang kabutihan kay sa mga nauna, isang pasulong na hakbangin tungo sa ideal ng internasyonalismo. Na ang mga ganitong pangamba ng mga kaibigan ng internasyonalismo ay nababatay sa matitibay na saligan, ay pinatotohanan ng mga pangyayari. Hindi lamang ang panahon ngayon ay sadyang mapanganib na nagbabadha ng isang digmaan higit ang laki at kapusukan kay sa nagdaang digmaan, kungdi ang katatapos na kasaysayan lalo na ng Etiopia at ng Mantsuria ay nagpapahayag ng kasawian at pagkawalang saysay ng liga ng mga bansa.

Isang tiyak na talinghaga ng kabihasan na ang saligan daw ay ang pagkakapatiran at pagmamahalan na iniyaral ng isang dakilang Kristo, ang kasalukuyang tinginan at paguunawaan ng mga bansa. Kung susuriin ay tiyakang makalilito ng pag-iisip, na ang magkakapatid sa dugo, sa balat, sa pananampalataya, sa kabihasan, sa karunungan, at sa lahat halos ng pamumuhay sa mundong ito, na liliapat lamang ng isang hindi naman mali-

naw na guhit ng hangganan, ang ibayo nito ay iyong kaaway o kung hindi man ay iyong kinapopootan. Anong katwiran mayroon o maipaglalaban ang mga kampon ng nasyonalismo na labas ng hangganan ito ay matwid o makatarungan ang patayin mo ang iyong kapuwa sa pamamagitan ng isang pagpuksa na hindi lamang isa-isa, kungdi sa pakyawang walang habag at taros, na ginamitan ng mga huling yari ng sandata at kasangkapan sa digmaan? Ang isa pang kahidwaan nito, ang mga yuta-yutang kawal na nagpupuksaan ay ginagawa ito ng hindi nalilinanaw ang bagay ng sigalot, at sa udyok lamang ng ilang mga pinuno na siyang nakatatalos ng tunay na kadahilanan ng paglalabanan. Mayroon pa bang naniniwala na ang nagdaang digmaan ay para palayain ang mga bansang maliliit o upang ang demokrasya ay mamayaning payapa sa mundong ito? At ang lalo pang nakatatawa, ang dalawang panig na naglulusuban ay kapuwa tumatawag sa iisang Bathala, bumibigkas ng iisang panalangin at hinihingi ang iisang tagumpay, alang-alang din naman sa iisang katarungan. At pagkatapos ng digmaan, sa paniniwalang nalutas na ang kanilang ligalig, ang ginagawa ay ang lalong paghahanda para paibayuhin ang panggagahaman sa kapuwa bansa at lahi. Ang pihikang nasyonalismo na walang mabuti at makatarungan kungdi ang akin o ang atin ay isang mana ng sangkatauhan sa isang pamumuhay na buhat sa pagbubukang liwayway ng kasaysayan, o ng barbarismo.

Hindi kalabisan sabihin na sa ating pamumuhay ngayon ay namamayani ang internasyonalismo. Ang mga bansang may mga mararahas at matatayog na uri ng nasyonalismo ay siyang unang masasalanta kung ang pagka nasyonalista nila ay tutularan ng ibang bansa. Ang Hapon na ang pagtangkilik sa sariling kalakal, ugali at angking kabihasan ay hindi mauunahan ay siyang unang mamatay kung ang kanyang mga kalakal ay hindi ipagbibile at bibilhin sa ibang bansa. Ang kalakal ng Alemanya ay pangdaigdig rin ang uri at ang Italya na isa pang bansang pinag-haharian ng marahas na pagibig sa sarile ay hindi nangiming balaan ang mundo ng isang digmaan kung siya ay hindi pagbibilhan ng mga pangunahing kagamitan sa pamumuhay, gaya baga ng langis, bakal, karbon at iba pa, sapagkat siya ay tiyakang pulubi sa mga kagamitang iyan.

(Nasa pahina 24 ang karugtong)



# Ang Mga Bagong Karapatan Ng Mamamayan Sa Unyong Sobyet

Sa pangkat ng Ingles ng Sosyalismo Ngayon ay inilalathala namin ang panukalang Saligang Batas ng Unyong Sobyet. Ang batas na ito hangga ngayon ay balak pa lamang sapagka't ito ay pagpapasyahan pa ng isang Pangkalahatang Kongreso ng mga Sobyet ng buong bansa na magtitipon sa ika 25 ng Nobiyembre ng taong ito. Malaki ang aming pagasa na ito ay pagtitibayin ng nasabing Kongreso, sapagka't ang nilalaman ng nasabing Saligang Batas ay pagbibigay bisa lamang sa mga tagumpay ng mga Katayuang Sosyalista na naisagawa sa Unyong Sobyet buhat ng himagsikang ng Nobiyembre, 1917. Sa kasalukuyan, hindi lamang buong bansa ng Unyong Sobyet, na nagtitipon sa lahat ng kanilang mga lugal na tipunan, gaya ng mga pabrika, talyer, bukid ng bayan, pagsasakang samahan (farm collectives), mga eskuelahan at iba pang pagawaan at mga institusyon, kungdi halos sa buong mundo na, ang saligan batas na ito ay pinaguusapan ngayon dahil sa malaking pagkagiliw ng mga anak-pawis sa kasalukuyang kabuhayang itinatag sa Unyong Sobyet.

Ang lahat ng mga pahayagan ay naglalathala ng mga balita hinggil sa Saligang Batas na ito na nagpapakilala ng malaking interes sa sangdaigdig sa pinaka maunlad (progressive) sa lahat ng saligang batas na umiiral. At gaya ng dapat na asahan, ang paghahayag na ito ay naging isang bagong butas na naman para sa mga kalaban ng Unyong Sobyet, para awiting muli ang dati nilang kantahin na paninirang puri, gaya baga na doon ay walang kalayaan ang mga mamamayan, lalo na sa pananampalataya. Mayroon din silang dating tugtugin na lahat ng bagong hakbangin na isinasagawa sa Rusya ay panunumbalik sa Kapitalismo, at kung ano ano pa na mahirap ulitin dito, at ang bagong konstitusyong ito, sa kanilang pakahulugan ay isang pabalik na naman sa pamumuhay ng mga kapitalista.

Ang pahayagang ito, na siyang unang nakatatalos ng kanyang kaliitan at kahirapan, ay hindi mapauunlakan na sagutin ang lahat ng mga ganitong upasala. Bilang katugunan dito, ang aming gagawin na lamang ay ilathala ang nasabing Saligang Batas, at walang mabuting katibayan at kasagutan sa ganyang mga kasinungalingan higit ha Batas na ito, sapagka't iyon ngayon ang pinagbabuhatan ng mga upasala.

Ang saligang batas na ito ay napagti-bay na ng Presidium ng Lupong Panggi-

na at Tagapagpaganap ng Unyong Sobyet, at may pagasa na ang batas na ito ay iiral sa papasok na taon sa malawak na lupain ng Unyong Sobyet na umaabot sa ikaanim na bahagi ng buong sangdaigdig. Ang artikulong ito ay isang maikling lathala sa mga bagong karapatan ng mga mamamayan sa Unyong Sobyet, mga karapatan na doon lamang makikita at matatamo sa isang pamahalaang ganap na sosyalista at pinamamayanihan ng mga manggagawa at magbubukid.

Ang kauna-unahang artikulo ng Saligang Batas ay naghahayag na ang Unyong Sobyet ay isang bansang sosyalista ng mga manggagawa at mga magbubukid, na naitayo naman (sangayon sa ikalawang artikulo) sa pamamagitan ng kanilang diktadura. Ang lahat ng kapangyarihan sa Unyong Sobyet (sangayon sa ikatlong artikulo) ay nasa sa kamay ng lahat ng mga anak-pawis ng mga siudad at mga nayon, sa pamamagitan ng kanilang mga halal na sobyet o lupon. Ang saligan naman ng Unyong Sobyet sa kabuhayan ay isang sistemang sosyalista ng pamumuhay, isang pagsasabansa ng lahat ng mga kasangkapan at kagamitan ng produksion, na naitayo sa pamamagitan ng pagwawasak sa sistemang kapitalista, ang pagaalis sa pagaaring pangsarile ng mga kasangkapan at kagamitang ito sa pamumuhay, at ang pagputol sa pagsasamantala ng tao sa kanyang kapuwa. Ang lahat ng lupa, ang kayamanan nito, tubig, kagubatan, mga pabrika, mina, perokaril, mga sasakyan sa tubig at sa hangin, mga bangko, at lahat ng mga sasakyan at pahatiran, malalaking sakahan na itinayo ng bansa, at ang mga tirahan sa siudad at mga bayan na kinatatayuan ng industriya, ay pagaari ng bansa, sa isang salita ay pagaari ng boong bayan.

Iyan ang mga saligan sa kabuhayan at sa pangkapisanan ng bagong pamahalaan sa Unyong Sobyet. Iyan ang mga matitibay na muog ng kanilang pamumuhay, bunga ng isang himagsikang walang kaparis sa kasaysayan ng buong sangdaigdig. At buhat ng himagsikang iyan ng 1917, sa ilalim ng isang pangbihirang pakikitunggali laban sa lahat ng uri ng kaaway, na likha ng tao at ng katalagahan, ang malakas na pagunlad ng kanilang mga katayuang sosyalista ay isang tagumpay na kagulat-gulat, at naitayo sa ibabaw ng pananalat ng mundo ng kapitalista. At ang bagong saligan batas na iyan ay isang talaan ng kanilang mga tagumpay sa larangan ng kanilang bagong kabuha-

yan.

Ang mga karapatan ng mga mamamayan sa Unyong Sobyet ay doon lamang matatagpuan sa isang bansang sosyalista. Ang mga karapatang iyan ay pambihira sa alin pa mang listahan ng mga saligang batas. Isa-isahin natin ang mga saligang batas na batay sa pamumuhay na kapitalista at tayo ay walang makikitang mga kagaya nito. Ang mga kilatis at uri nito ay pang unyong-sobyet lamang, isang angking tatak ng sosyalismong natatayo sa bansang yaon, na ang saligan ng kabuhayan at ng pamahalaan ay gaya ng mga nabanggit sa itaas, isang kapisanan ng tao na walang uri-uri, walang pagsasamantala ng tao sa kanyang kapuwa, na ang industriya at ang pagkakalat ng mga nayayari nito ay para sa kagamitan ng lahat at hindi sa kapakinabangan ng iilan, sa pamamagitan ng isang maayos at siyentipikong balak taon-taon.

Ang pinakamahalagang karapatan ng tao sa Unyong Sobyet ay mababasa sa artikulo 118 ng Saligang Batas. Mula natin ang mga karapatang ito sangayon sa nasabing Saligang Batas.

Art. 118. Ang mga mamamayan sa Unyong Sobyet ay may karapatan sa paggawa—isang karapatan na tumanggap ng isang tiyak na gawain na may kabayaran sangayon sa dami at uri ng nagagawa.

Ang karapatang ito sa paggawa ay inilalaan ng isang katayuang sosyalista ng pamumuhay ng bansa, ang patuloy na pagunlad ng mga lakas ng produksion ng mga samahang sobyet, ang kawalan ng krisis o pananalat, at ang pagalis ng desempleo o walang hanap-buhay.

Art. 119: Ang mga mamamayan sa Unyong Sobyet ay may karapatan na mamahinga. Ang karapatang ito ay nailalalaan dahil sa pagpapaiksi ng araw ng paggawa sa pitong oras para sa karamihan ng mga manggagawa, ang pagbibigay ng mga bakasyong taunan na may sahod at isang paglalaan ng maraming sanatoria, mga pahingahang bahay at mga klub para kumandili sa mga manggagawa.

Art. 120: Ang mga mamamayan sa Unyong Sobyet ay may karapatan sa kapanatagan sa kabuhayan, hindi lamang sa kanyang katandaan kungdi gayon din sa pagkakasakit at pagkawala ng kaka-yahan sa paggawa. Ang karapatang ito ay nailalalaan sa isang malawak na pagpapairal ng mga seguro sosyal ng mga manggagawa na nasa pananagutan ng

(Nasa pahina 25 ang karugtong)

# Nakita Ko Ang Pagunlad Ng Sosyalismo

*Sinulat ni META BERGER*

## *Panang Salita*

Ako ay napatungo sa Rusya na kimkim ang pagkamuhi sa dikta-dura at sakbibi naman ang pagka-giliw sa demokrasya. Ako'y napatungo na taglay ang gunita ng pagkakabilanggo ng mga kasama ng aking asawa, gaya rin naman ng pagkakausig sa kanya. Napatungo ako ng tigib ng kasiyahan sa karang-yaan ng kabihasan ng bayang Amerika—mga paliguan, masasarap na pagkain, malinis na tubig, kaakit-akit na mga tahanan. Napatungo ako sa Rusya na sadyang nananalig sa kapayapaan, sa pagsasalong ng mga sandata, na nasisindak at namumuhi sa patayan, gaya ng mga taong nagdanas ng pahirap dahil sa pagsalungat laban diyan ng panahon ng digmaan.

Ng ako ay mauwing galing sa Rusya ay nag-ibayo pa ang aking pag-ayaw sa pagtitigis ng dugo, pang-aapi at digmaan; nagibayo rin ang aking pagkagiliw sa magang na kabuhayan at sa kalinisan. Subalit ako ay umuwing taglay ang buong pitagan at paghanga sa paraan ng mga Ruso at sakbibi ang buong pagmamahal at pag-aalang-alang sa sangbayanang Ruso.

Nananalig akong naituro ng Rusya sa sangkatauhan ang paraan ng kaligtasan. Malaking di hamak ang kanilang isinukli sa kanilang mga nagawa at pag-asa. Nagtiis sila ng gutom, ng pahirap, ng kamatayan. Nguni't nakamit nila ang isang tagumpay na karpapatdapat hangaan ng mga ibang bansa. Nailigtas ng mga Ruso ang kabihasan para sa kanilang mga inanak.

Marami akong mga kapanalig sa Amerika na naniniwalang nabili ng mga Ruso ang kanilang kaligtasan ng di matutumbasang halaga. Ayokong magsabi na mayroon akong nalalamang daang lalong madali at magaang na tungo sa kanilang pa-

mumuhay na tulongtulong. Ako'y nanalig'ng buong puso na ang himagsikan ay hindi siyang paraan lamang upang matamo ang kapayapaan, ang kaginhawahan at buhay ng mga manggagawa. Nguni't ako'y napipi sa aking namalas sa Rusya—manapa ay naisip ko na iyon ay hindi mabuti at malayong matapos.

Sa wari ko'y ang isang lalong mabuting paraan upang mapagpasiyahan ang kahalagahan ng isang pagsubok sa pamamaraang bayan (ipagpatawad ang pagkakagamit ko ng salitang "pagsubok"—labis ang kahigitan niya diyan) ay ipareho siya sa ibang pamamaraan. Ipareho ang Rusya ngayon sa Rusya ng bago dumating ang himagsikan. Ipareho ang Rusya ngayon sa Europa at Amerika ngayon. Ipareho ang magiging huling araw ng Rusya sa magiging huling araw ng ibang bansa ng sangdaigdig.

Gawin ang pagpapareho ng walang pakundangan. Huwag ng isalang-alang na sa 160 angaw na Ruso ay mahigit sa 100 angaw ay hindi mga marunong sumulat at ang karamihan nito ay namumuhi ng buhay-gubat bago dumating ang himagsikan. Huwag ng isalang-alang na ang Rusya ng panahon ng mga Tsar ay kakaibangkakaiba sa Amerika ng panahon ni Woodrow Wilson, gaya ng pagkakaiba ng kariton sa tren. At matapos na iyong magawa ang matamang pagsuri, ay iyong makikita na yaong mga tao na ng kamakaylan lamang ay mga mulala, mapamanhiin, walang mga gusali at kasangkapan, walang mga kalzada, ni paaralan, ni mga libro, ay tinitingala ngayong isang bayang mabihasa na may magandang araw sa kinabukasan.

## *Sukatan ng kabuhayan.*

Ang sukatan ng kabuhayan ng lahat na mamamayang Ruso ay mababa sa sukatan ng kabuhayan

ng manggagawang Amerikano. Nguni't taon-taon ay tumataas. Ang sukatan ng kabuhayan ng manggagawang Amerikano ay bumababa naman taon-taon. Sa Rusya ay makapupong igi ngayon kay-sa ng bago sumapit ang himagsikan. Ang mga ganahan ay pataas ng pataas. Hindi matingat ang bilis ng pagtatayo ng mga tahanan. Maging sa labas ng bayan, ang mga kubong tahanan ay pinapalitan sa isang bilis na maaaring gawin ng tig-dadalawang kamay ng 160 angaw na mga Ruso, gaya rin naman ng pagtatatag ng mga pabrika, makinarya, gusaling panglikha ng ilaw elektrika, mga bahay paaralan, bahay-pagamutan, mga aklatan, kalsada at ng di mabilang na mga pagawaang pangbuhay sa Uryong Sobyet.

Maliban pa sa pangkaraniwang mga pagkain na ikinabubuhay ng mga Ruso, sila ay lumalasp na rin ng ilang karang-yaan sa kagamitan sa kabuhayan—gaya halimbawa ng maiiging damit, mabubuting tahanan, pagpapahingalay na may sahod, mahuhusay na pagkain. Para sa marami sa kanila, ang mga ito ay bagong karanasan. At tangi pa sa mga bagay na ito, sila ay mayroon ding laganap na dinadamang katatagan sa kabuhayan; sila ay hindi nangangambang magkasakit, tumanda o mawalan ng hanapbuhay; sila ay ginagamot at pinatitira sa mga ospital ng walang bayad, at pinepensyonan kung dumaring sa edad na di na makapagtrabaho. Ito ay mga-biyayang karapatan na di maaaring ipagkait (inalienable rights) sa kangino pa mang Ruso.

## *Itinatatag na mga gusali.*

Sa Leningrad lamang ay mayroong 45 mga bahay-paaralan na itinatayo. Naglalakihang mga parke, isang estadyum na mapanonoo-ran ng 100,000 katao, mga balongpalanguyan, mga bahay-liwaliwang walang kasing-ganda ang pagkakayari at mga kagamitan ang ngayo'y pinagsusumakitang mayari agad. Mga bahay-tahanan ng mga manggagawa, mga teatro, museo, biblioteka, paaralan, ay binabalak na itayo ng buong dingal at

lakas ng loob na sa Europa at Amerika ay sadyang itinataan lamang para gawin ng mga taong partikular. Ang pagkilos, pagyayari, ang buhay, ay patuloy gabi't araw. Ang mga pabrika ay tumatakbo ng walang patid. Ang mga manggagawa ay nagsisipagtrabaho ng halinhinan tuwing pito o walong oras. Ang mga daan ay puno ng mga taong naglisaw, maging gabi at katanghalian; ang hangin ay nagsisikip sa pag-unlad. Ang pagtatayo ng bagong kabuhayan ay patuloy na iyong mamamalas. Araw-araw, mga bagong bagay ay nalilikha, mga bagong bagay ay sinisimulan. At lahat ng mga ito ay sa kapakinabangan ng lahat at hindi ng iilan.

#### Paaralan.

Sa larangan naman ng pagpa-paaral at karunungan, ang mga nagawa ng mga komunistang Ruso ay lalong katakata. Ang di karunungan sumulat ay ganap na nabigyang hangga. Ang pagpa-paaral sa kabataan ay walang bayad at sapilitan. Ang bagay na ito ay sadyang pinalalaganap. Ang baw't pabrika ay sinasangkapan ng mga kuwartong sadyang ginagamit nung mga manggagawang nais na matutuo at at makapagaral. Pinasasahod ng buo yaong mga manggagawa sa pabrika na naggugugol ng panahon sa pag-aaral sa mga kolehyo tekniko. Ang mga doktor at siruhano ay sapilitang pinababalik sa kani-kanyang paaralan tuwing ikatlong taon, upang ang kanilang kaalaman ay di mahuli sa mga bagong tuklas na paraan ng panggagamot. Ang pagaaral ay isang bagay na patuloy at di maikakaila. Mawiwikang ang buong Rusya ay nagaaral. Wala isa man na nakatapos. Napakarami ang matutuhan, napakarami ang pinag-aaralan. Nagsisimula sa mga batang mura pa ang isip. Nakita ko ang napakaraming paaralan para sa mga batang mura pa ang isip (nursery schools) na kasing-husay ng mga nursery schools na natatatag sa Amerika. Nakararami ang Rusya sa mga paaralang ito kay sa Amerika. Ipi-

*Nasa pahina 26 ang karugtong)*

## Ang Kalayaan Ng Pananampalataya Sa Unyong Sobyet

Buhat ng lumabas ang pahayagang ito, ang maraming alinlangang nasasambit hinggil sa kalayaan sa Unyong Sobyet ay ang natutungkol sa pananampalataya. Sa palagay ng marami, ang Unyong Sobyet ay isang bansang walang Diyos, na pinamamahalaan di umano ng isang hindi matututulang lakas ng isang lapian ng mga komunista na walang relihion. Sa paniniwala ng marami, sa Rusya ngayon ay walang nabubukas na simbahan sapagka't ito ay sinamsam na lahat ng pamahalaan. At ng magpahayag ang panukalang konstitusyon ng Rusya na ngayon doon ay magbibigay ng malayang pananampalataya sa mga mamamayan ay para nga namang pinatotohanan na sa ngayon o bago umiral ang bagong saligang batas na ito ay walang kalayaan ng pananampalataya sa Rusya. Ito ay aming paguukulan ngayon ng pansin.

Ang unang susuriin natin ay ang nilalaman ng kanilang saligang batas sa bagay na ito. Sa isang artikulo sa pahayagang ito, ay nababangit ang Art. 124 ng bagong konstitusyon ng Unyong Sobyet tungkol sa kalayaan ng pananampalataya. Nguni't ang tuntunin bang ito ay bago, at ngayon lamang iiral sa Unyong Sobyet, kung knya't hanggang hindi ito umiiral ay walang kalayaan ang pananampalataya sa bansang ito? Ang ginawang lathala ng mga pahayagan na parang lumilitaw na sa pagiral lamang ng bagong saligang batas ay doon magkakaroon ng kalayaan sa relihion ay lihis sa mga tunay na kalagayan. Ang katotohanan, ang tuntunin 124 ng balak na Saligang Batas ay hango lamang sa tuntunin 133 ng Kapitulo V ng matandang Saligang Batas ng Unyong Sobyet na pinagtibay ng isang Pangkalahatang Kongreso ng mga Sobyet noon pang Julio, 1918. Ang tuntunin ito, para gawin natin ang paghahambing sa panukalang saligang batas ay nagsasaad ng sumusunod:

"Para mabigyan ang mga manggagawa ng isang wagas at ganap na kalayaan ng budhi, ang simbahan ay inihihawalay sa pamahalaan, ang mga paaralan, sa simbahan, at ang kalayaan ng mga propaganda para sa relihion at laban sa relihion ay ganap na ipinagkakaloob sa baw't mamamayan." (Art. 13, Saligang Batas na pinagtibay noong Julio 10, 1918).

Gaya ng makikita sa itaas, kung ang tuntuning ng matandang konstitusyon ay ipaparis sa panukalang saligang batas ang dalawa ay halos walang pagkakaiba.

Ang ganito ring tanong hinggil sa ka-

layaan ng pananampalataya sa Unyong Sobyet ay napagukulan ng sagot sa isang kauring pahayagan sa Amerika. Humigit kumulang ay ganito ang kanilang paliwanag at ulitin namin dito sa kasiyahan ng aming mga mambabasa na may alinlangan sa bagay na ito.

Sa Unyong Sobyet ay may ganap na kalayaan ang baw't mamamayan sa pananampalataya. Ang simbahan ay ganap na nakahiwalay sa pamahalaan. Ang batas ng Unyong Sobyet ay nagtatakda ng pagpapantay-pantay ng lahat ng simbahan at pananampalataya at pinawi ang dating mataas na kalagayan at pagkilala sa opisyal na simbahan ng Tsar, ang Iglesia Catolica Griega, at iniyalis nila ang pakiling na pagtingin laban sa ibang pananampalataya, gaya bago ng Catolico Romano, ng Protestante, ng mga Mahometano, ng mga Hudyo, ng mga Budista at iba pa. Ang mga simbahan ay pinahihintulutan sa malayang pagkilos, nguni't kinakailangan lamang na ang kanilang mga gawain ay natutungkol lamang sa pananampalataya. Ang mga simbahan ay maylayang gumanap ng lahat ng kanilang seremonia at pagsamba ng hayagan, sangayon sa mga patakaran ng kanilang relihion.

Walang pagtatangi-tangi sa kanino man dahil sa pananampalataya kahit sa anong bagay at paraan. Ang mga pananampalataya ay naisasagawa nila ang lahat ng kanilang karapatan sa pagkamamayan at maaaring mahalal o humawak sa ano mang tungkuling pambayan.

Kahit na ang mga paaralan ay ganap na hiwalay sa mga simbahan, ang mga bata ng mga pananampalataya sa ano mang relihion ay hindi itinatangi sa mga eskuelahan ng bayan, unibersidad o ano mang mga bahay para sa pagpapatalino. Walang anomang itinuturo sa mga eskuelahan hinggil sa pananampalataya. Gayon pa man, ang mga magulang ay hindi binabawalan na turuan ang kanilang mga anak sa kanilang tahanan ng kanilang pananampalataya. At ang pagtuturo ng relihion ay pinapayagan para sa kanino mang may mahigit sa 18 taon gulang sa mga paaralang sadyang nagtuturo para sa kailangan ng pananampalatayang kinauukulan.

Ang mga simbahan ay hindi tumatanggap ng ano mang tulong o abuloy sa pamahalaan, nguni't ang relihion ay pinapayagan na gamitin ang mga gusali ng simbahan para sa kanilang kailangan ng walang bayad na alkiler, nguni't may impuestong itinatakda ang batas. Walang gusali ng simbahan ang napinid la-

ban sa kagustuhan ng mga mamamayan sa lugal na kinalalagyan ng gusali. Ang alin mang gusali ng simbahan ay maaari lamang iyukol sa ibang kagamitan ng bayan kung ipapasya ng nakaraming boto ng bumubuo ng nayon na kinatitirikan ng gusali, o kung sa lugal na nasabi ay walang pulutong ng mga tao na gustong tumangkilik sa simbahan.

Ang kalayaan ng budhi sa Unyong Sobyet ay iginagawad din doon sa mga malalaya ang kaisipan (free thinkers and atheists) na magpalaganap ng kanilang mga paniniwala. Hindi ikinakaila na sa Unyong Sobyet ay may isang malakas na kilusan ng mga malalayang kaisipang ito, na marami ang kasapi lalo na sa kabataan. Ang mga taong ito ay gumagawa ng isang mabisa at pambihirang kampanya laban sa relihion, isang kampanya sangayon sa siyensiya, at para sa bagay na ito ay nakapagtayo sila ng maraming museo laban sa relihion, mga pahayangan, kasama ang iba pang uri ng pagpapalaganap ng kanilang simulain.

Maaari ring aminin na ang karamihan sa mga namumuno sa Rusya at gayon din ang opinyon publiko ay sangayon sa mga malalayang kaisipan at laban sa mga dating uri ng pananampalataya. Ang mga ito ay naniniwala na ang pagunlad ng kanilang bagong paniniwala ay matatamo sa pamamagitan ng makatuwirang panghihikayat at silang lahat ay mahigpit na nagsisitaliba upang ang lahat ay magkaroon ng ganap na kalayaan sa pananampalataya o budhi.

Na ang ganitong kalayaan sa pananampalataya ay ganap sa Unyong Sobyet ay mahihinuha din natin sa sumusunod na pahayag ni Romain Roland, isa sa mga lalong tanyag na manunulat ng Pransiya (ang may bahay naman ni Roman Rolland ay Ruso sa kanyang Ama at Pranses sa kanyang Ina, at sa Rusia laging naninirahan buhat ng himagsikan) na may naalaman siyang mga matatanda na hindi naghihinto sa pagdalo ng pagsamba sa kanilang simbahan, at maski na kailan ay hindi napapakialaman o napapansin man, lamang ng may kapangyarihan dahil sa kanilang pagdalo. Ang mga ginagawang pagsamba sa loob at labas ng mga gusali ng simbahan ay may pangangalaga ang pamahlaan, at siño mang makikialam sa kanilang ginagawa ay walang salang mapaparusan ng mga maykapangyarihan.

## Bayang Walang Diyos!!

Tula ni PEDRO V. DEL ROSARIO

*Dati ay imperyong ang lupaing sakop pati mamamayan  
Ay aliping lubos at aring sarili ng iisang angkan,  
Doon ang palagay sa mga mahirap ay tila hayop lang,  
Parang kalakaling naipagbibili't naipamimigay,  
Doon ang sabihit anumang utos ng naghaharing Sar  
Ay utos na parang nanggaling sa Diyos na hindi masuway.*

*May busal ang bibig ng uring mahirap at di makakibo,  
Hamak-hamakin man ng uring mayoma'y kimit nakayuko,  
Nguni, palibhasa'y may wakas ang lahat sa mundong baligho't  
Ang sangkatauhan habang tumatanda'y tungo sa pagtino,  
Sa uring mahirap ay may dalwang pantas at dakilang gurong  
Nagturo ng landas sa mga maliit upang mapaanyo.*

*Sina Marx at Engels ang mga bayaning nag-alis ng takip  
Na nakabalot sa pabalintunang demokrasyang burgés,  
Demokrasyang bulok na sa mga dukha ay lasong mapait,  
Subali at nektar sa mga mayaman na uring malupit;  
Itinuro ni Marx na ang KALIGTASAN ng mga maliit  
Ay nasa kanilang maka-uring hanay na mapanghimagalik.*

*Si Nicolas Lenin sa simulaing iya'y siyang nagsagawa,  
Sa Rusya'y binuklod ang mga aliping kawal ng paggawa,  
Siya ang nanguna sa wastong paraan ng pakikidigma  
Upang maibaysak ang pangaalipin na kasumpasumpa;  
At sila'y nagwagi...! Ang palalong uri'y bumagsak na bigla,  
Ang kapangyariha'y nahulog sa kamay ng nasa ibaba.*

*Ang uring alipi'y nang magpakatibay sa pagkakaisa  
Ay nailugpo nga sa Rusya ang uring mapagsamantala,  
Doo'y naitayo ang isang dakila't tanging Republikang  
Uring manggagawa ang namamahala't siyang nagdadala...  
Isang Republika na ang simula'y dakila't maganda:  
Ang isa'y sa lahat at ang lahat naman ay para sa isa.*

*Doon ay linipol ang uring gahaman, sakim at maimbot  
Na sa sambayana'y walang inisip kungdi ang manghuthot,  
Uring mapang-api, mapagbalatkayo at mapangbusabos  
Na salapi lamang ang binabathala't tanging dinidiyos,  
Halimaw na uri na may patakarang mosama at buktot:  
Katwiran ng LAKAS, di ng KATARUNGAN yaong sinusunod.*

*Kaunaunahang bansa palibhasa'y pinagtagumpayan  
Ng aliping uring sa mapangalipi'y natutong manglaban  
Kaya't siya ngayo'y bansang namumukod sa sangkalupaan,  
Sa sangdaigdigang mga manggagawa'y tagapagsanggalang...  
Pag-asa ng lahat ng bayang aliping sa paglaya'y uhaw,  
Sa IMPERYALISMONG salot ng daigdig at lasong pamatay...!*

*At ngayon ang lahat ng kapitalistang bansa sa daigdig  
Ay di naghuhumpay ng pag-iirangan at pagkakagalit,  
Nangaguunahan sa muling paglapang sa mga maliit,  
Mahihinang bayang sa lakas at yaman ay kanilang daig;  
At isiping sila'y may kinikilalang Diyos na mabait  
Na nagpaparusa sa sinomang taong sa kapwa'y malupit...!*

*Datapwa't ang RUSYANG kung tawagin nila'y BAYANG  
WALANG DIYOS*

*Ay KAPAYAPAN sa lahat ang tanging lunggating taos,  
Ang pangaalipin ng tao sa kapwa'y binabakang lubos,  
At tinututulan ang pagdidigmaan na likha ng imbot;  
Nais na ang LUPA'Y maging PARAISO na kalugudlugod  
Na siya ring nasa't naging lunggatin ng Dakilang Hesús...!*

# ANG MANIPESTO KOMUNISTA NG 1848

(Sinulat ni KARL MARX at FRIEDRICH ENGELS)

(Karugtong ng labas ng nakaraan buwan.)

Bawat hakbang sa pagkakasulong ng mga burges ay maykatugong pagkakasulong ito sa pulitika. Isang uring api na napapailaliman ng kapangyarihan ng mga maginoong piyudal, isang sandatahan at malayang lipunan sa loob ng samahan ng Edad Media. (medieval commune), na sa Italya at Alemanya ay nakikilala sa tawag na republikang pang-siyudad (urban republic), sa Pransya naman ay sa tawag na pangatlong uring mangbubuwis (taxable third estate); at pagkatapos, ng umiral naman ang panahon ng mga gawaang pabrika, simula ng mapatatag ang mga bagong industriya modern industry) at pamilihing pang-daigdig (world market), ang mga burges ay nakapagtamo ng sariling kapangyarihan sa mga bagong bansa na ang pamamahala ay nasa sa kamay ng mga kinatawan (modern representative State). Ang mga kapangyarihang nabanggit ay nalupig ng mga burges matapos na sila ay gamiting sagkang laban sa lakas ng mga maginoo ng mga bansang makapiyudal (semi-feudal) o ng mga kahariang di matututulan (absolute monarchies); at sa katunayan, sila ang naging batong tuntungan ng mga dakila at lagapan na mga kaharian. Ang panguluhan ng bagong bansa ay isang lupon lamang na tagapamahala ng mga kapakanan nang lipunang burges.

Sa kasaysayan, ang lipunang burges ay nakaganap ng isang tungkuling lubhang napakamapanghimagsik.

Ang lipunang burges, sa tuwing makapangingibabaw, ay nabibigyang hangga ang lahat ng uri ng pagsasamahan na piyudal, panglipi at pang, magandang asal. Kanyang walang habag na naisagawa ang pagkakalaskas sa iba't ibang uri ng pagpapalagayan na ikinatatali ng tao sa kanyang "likas na panginoon" (natural superiors), at walang itinirang bigkis ng tao sa kanyang kapuwa maliban sa hubad na pagmamahal sa sariling kapakanan, sa magaspang na "pagbabayaran ng kaliwaan" (callous "cash payment"). Naisagawa niyang lunurin sa malamig na tubig ng pag-ibig sa sariling kapakanan ang lalong mataas na kaligayahang likha ng pagkagiliw sa pananampalataya, pagkakawang-gawa, o nang pagmamahal sa mga imbing mga damdamin. Nabigyan niya ng halaga ang tao ng kahalagahan sa pagpapalitan (exchange value), at sa lugal ng di mabisang hubad, walang pitagan, twiran at natititik, ay naitatag iyang nag-iisa at walang damdaming kalayaan—ang Mala-

yang Pangangalakal (Free Trade). Sa isang salita, sa lugal ng isang pagsasamantalang napipiringan ng pagkabalag sa pananampalataya ay naipalit ang isang hubad, walang pitagan, twiran at walang habag na pagsasamantala.

Ang kalipunang burges ay nagawang hubaran ng pagpipitagan ang lahat ng hanap-buhay na sa pasimula pa ay dinadakila at iginagalang. Nagawa niyang maging manggagawang upahan ang manggagamot, manananggol, ang pari, ang makata at ang taong paham (man of science).

Ang kalipunang burges ay naihiwalay sa magkakasambahay ang paglilingapan, at nakuhang mapalitan ang pagtitinginan ng magkakamag-anak ng isang pagpapalagayang nababatay sa salapi lamang.

Naipakilala ng kalipunang burges kung papaano nangyari na ang walang awang paggamit ng lakas ng Edad Media, na-tutoong kinalugdan ng may mga makalumang isipan, ay nagbunga ng isang walang kawangis na katamaran. Siya ang unaunang nakapagpakilala kung ano ang ibinubunga ng pagsisikap ng tao. Siya ay nakagawa ng mga himalang higit sa mga Piramide ng matandang Ehipto, sa mga patubig ng mga Romano, at mga sambahang gotika; siya ay nakagawa ng mga paglalakbay higit na di hamak sa mga unang paglilipat bayan ng mga tao o nang pakikipaglaban dahil sa Mahal na Kruz (crusades).

Ang kalipunang burges ay hindi maaring mabuhay na di laging babaguhin ang mga kasangkapan ng produksyon, at sa gayo'y ang mga kaugnay ng produksyon at ang buong pagsasamahan ng mga tao. Ang pagpapanatili ng paggamit sa matatandang paraan ng paglikha ng mga kagamitan sa kabilang dako ay, siyang pangunahing batayan ng kabuhayan ng mga naunang uri ng mga industriya. Ang laging pagpapahusay sa mga paraan ng paglikha ng mga kagamitan, ang walang patid na kagambalaan sa pagpapalagayan ng mga tao, at ang palagiang di pagkatiyak at kaligaligan sa pamumuhay ay naggawad sa panahon ng mga burges ng kaibahan kay sa mga sinundang panahon. Ang lahat na datihan at inaamag na pag-uugali at ang kanilang kaakibat na matatanda at pinagpipitagang mga pamahiin at kurokuro ay nangawala; ang tanang mga bagong kilos ay nagiging lipas na di nakuhang magtining. Ang ano mang matigas ay natunaw sa himpapawid, ang bawat ba-

nal na bagay ay nilapastangan, at ang tao, sa huli, ay napilitang harapin ng buong timpang kanyang tunay na kalagayan at pakikisama niya sa kanyang kapuwa.

Ang pangangailangan ng laging palaking pamilihan para sa kanyang mga nagagawa ay siyang nagtaboy sa lipunang burges sa lahat ng panig ng sangdaigdig. Siya'y kailangang lumimlim sa lahat ng dako; manatili sa lahat ng dako, at makipagpaniigan sa lahat ng dako.

Ang lipunang burges, sa kanyang pagsasamantala sa pamilihan ng sangdaigdig, ay nabigyan ang paglikha at paggamit ng mga kailangan sa buhay (production and consumption) sa lahat ng bansa ng isang uring pangkalahatan. Sa buong pagkahiya ng may mga hilig sa mga lumang ugali, ay kanyang nakuha sa paanan ng industriya ang mga pangbansang simulaing pinagbabatayan nito. Ang mga datihang natatatag na mga industriya ay kanyang sinira o pinagsusumakitang sirain araw-araw. Ito ay hinahalinhan ng mga bagong industriya, na ang pakikilahok nito ay nagiging buhay at kamatayan sa tanang bansang bihasa, mga industriang hindi na gumagamit ng mga katutubong sangkap, nguni't yaong mga kagamitang nanggagaling sa lalong malalayong panig; mga industriya na ang mga nayayari ay hindi lamang ginagamit sa lugal na kanilang kinaroroonan, kungdi sa buong panig ng sangkatauhan. Sa lugal ng mga datihang pangangailangan, na nasasapatan ng mga pagawaan ng isang bayan, ay ating nasaksihan ang mga bagong pangangailangan na, upang maging kasiya-siya, ay dapat masangkapan ng mga bagay na yari sa malalayong lupalop. Sa lugal ng matatanda at katutubong pagsasarili at pamumuhay na magisa ng isang bansa, ay masasaksihan natin ang paglilipat-bayan sa bawat panig, ang buong lagapan na pagasa ng isang bayan sa kapuwa bayan. At kung papaano na ito ay totoong buong-laman (material production), ay gayon din naman sa bungang-isipan (intellectual production). Ang mga bungang-isipan ng isang bansa ay naging pag-aari ng sangkatauhan. Ang makabansang pagkiling sa sarili at kakitirang isip ay unti-unting napaparam, at sa di mabilang na literatura o panitikan ng bawat bansa ay sumipol ang panitikang pangdaigdig.

Ang kalipunang burges, dahil sa mabilis na pag-unlad ng mga kagamitan sa produksyon, dahil sa mga di maturang kaluwagan sa paglalakbay, ay napaglipit ang lahat, maging ang lalong mailap na mga taong gubat, sa kabihansan. Ang kamurahan ng mga halaga ng kanyang bilihan ay siyang mabisang sangkap na kanyang ginagamit sa pagtibag ng matibay na muog ng Tsina at nakapagpalubag sa lalong napakatinding pagkagalit sa mga dayuhan ng mga taong di bi-

## JOSE STALIN...

(Karugtong ng pahina 15)

maiinit na dugo na ang gusto ay mga lantarang pamamahayag, pagkakalat ng mga babasahing labag sa batas hinggil sa mga pangkasalukuyang suliranin, at si Stalin ay siyang nagwagi pagkatapos ng isang halalan. Ng 1900 hanggang 1902, si Stalin ay pinamatnugutan ang ilang aklasan sa Tiflis, at isang unang araw ng Mayo ay pinaanguluhan ang isang kagulatgulat na pamamahayag ng mga anak-pawis. Pagkatapos ng pamamahayag na ito, ang tanggapan ng partido ay sinalakay ng mga pulis, ang kanyang tirahan ay hinailughog. Buhat noon si Stalin ay nagpalipat-lipat ng tirahan at lagi ng nagpapalit ng pangalan. Siya

hasa. Napilit niya ang lahat ng bansa, sa pasakit na paglipol, na tularan ang pamamaraang burges sa paglikha ng mga kagamitan; napilit niyang ipasok sa kanilang lipunan ang kanyang pinanganganlang kabihasan, at ito nga ay ang maging burges din sila. Sa biglang sabi, ang kalipunang burges ay lumikha ng isang daigdig na huwad sa kaniyang larawan.

Nagawa ng kalipunang burges na ang mga nayon ay sumunod sa pangangasiwa ng mga siyudad. Siya ay nakapagtagtag ng naglalakihang mga siyudad at nasikap niya na lumago ng higit ang mamamayang taga siyudad kaysa taga bukid, at sa gayo'y nailigtas ang maraming tao sa kabuhayan. Kung papaano naisagawa niya na ang mga nayon ay mabuhay sa tulong ng mga siyudad, gayon din ay nasunod niya na ang mga bayang walang kabihasan o ang mayroong kaunting kabihasan ay mabuhay doon sa mga bansang bihasa, gaya rin naman ng pag-asa ng mga uring magbubukid sa uring burges, at ng mga taga Silangan sa mga taga Kanluran.

Ang kalipunang burges ay unti-unting pinawi ang pagkakawatakatak na katayuan ng mga mamamayan, ng mga paraan sa paglikha ng mga kagamitan (production), at nalikom ang pag-aari sa kamay ng iilan. Ang naging kinauwian nito ay ang pagkalagom sa kapangyarihan ng ilang mga tao. Ang malalayang lalawigan o iyong mabubuway ang pagtutulungan, na mayroong sariling kapakanan, batas, pamahalaan, at paraan ng pabuwisan ay napagsamasama sa ilalim ng isang bansa na may sariling pamahalaan, sariling batas, makauring damdamin, isang hangganan at pabuwisan sa lunsuran (customs tariffs).

(ITUTULOY)

ay nakilala sa mga pangalang David, Koba, Nisheradze, Chshekoff, at Ivanovitch, nguni't ang pangalan na namalagi ng huli ay Stalin, na ang kahulugan ay "patalim," at dahil sa kanyang ugali at kasalukuyang kalagayan ay bagay-bagay o angkop sa kanya.

Sumunod, si Stalin ay naging upahang ahitador ng partido, at kapagdaka ay pinalipat siya ng Baku. Pinamatnugutan niya dito ang mga welga ng mga manggagawa sa laing, at isang malaking pamamahayag ng Pebrero ng 1902. Siya ay dinakip ng Marso at piniit hanggang sa katapusan ng taon, para itapon naman siya sa silangan ng Siberia. Sa loob ng isang buwan ay nakatakas siya sa Siberya at bumalik na muli ng Tiflis.

Ng siya ay napipiit sa Baku, dumating sa kaalaman ni Stalin ang pagkakahati ng partido sa dalawang pangkat, ang Bolsheviki at ang Mensheviki, at buhat noon si Stalin ay naging taga-tangkilik ni Lenin. Ng siya ay makatakas, kanyang isinaayos ang partido sa boong Caucasus na tagatangkilik ni Lenin. Kanyang inilathala ang mga pahayagang Bolsheviki na labag sa Batas, na may mga pangalan ng 'Ang Pakikilaban ng Mga Anak-pawis' at ang 'Manggagawa ng Baku', at sumulat din siya ng maraming mga babasahin. Ng 1905 siya ay dumalo sa pagtitipon ng partido sa Finlandia, at ng 1906 ay pinamatnugutan niya ang pahayagang 'Panahon.' Ng taon ding ito ay dumalo siya sa kongreso sa Stockholm at isa pa sa Londres. Ng siya ay magbalik buhat sa Londres, ay muling tinipon niya ang mga manggagawa sa Baku.

Ng 1908 siya ay dinakip na muli, dahil sa kanyang pakikialam sa Lupon ng Baku ng himagsikan, at pagkatapos na mapiit ng ilang araw ay muling itinapon siya sa Irkutsk. Ng 1909, si Stalin ay nakuha na namang muling makatakas at bumalik na uli sa Baku. Ginawa na naman niya ang pagtatatag ng mga samahang manggagawa sa bawat pabrika ng la-

ingis sa nasabing siyudad. Napakalakas ang kanyang loob, na kadalasan ay makikita siyang nakikipagusap sa mga manggagawa kahit sino ang mga kaharap, at dahil dito sa loob lamang ng isang taon ay muling napaharap siya sa isang sakdal na kinasuungan niya sa isang mahabang pagkakapiit at muling pagkatapon. Siya ay muling nakatakas at sa pamamagitan ng isang balatkayo ay tumungo ng St. Petersburg. Nguni't wala pang anim na buwan sa siyudad na ito, dahil sa kanyang gawain sa Lupong Panggitna ng Pangkatin, siya ay muling dinakip ng mga pulis ng Tsar doon na hindi siya nakikilala, at siya ay ipinatapong muli sa loob ng tatlong taon lamang, nguni't siya ay muling nakatakas ng 1911.

Ipinalalagay na si Stalin, ay ganap na matalinong gumawa ng paraan o mapalad, sapagka't ang mga pulis ng Tsar ay pinaratanangan lamang siya ng magagaang na sakdal; gaya baga ng mangulo ng isang pamamahayag, mamatnugot sa isang pahayagan, mag-lider ng isang welga, at iba pa. Kahi't na siya ay laging nasasangkot sa gulo, ang kanyang mga kaparusahan ay magagaang. Ng Abril 1912 siya ay muling dinakip at muling itinapon. Ng dumating na Septiembre, siya ay nakatakas muli hanggang sa dumating sa Cracow, Austria, at nakadalo pa sa isang pagtitipon ng pangkatin ni Lenin dito, at sa Lupong Pangitna sa mga manghihimagsik ng Rusya ay nahalal na isa sa mga kagawad ng mga panahong yaon, marami ay nasa ibang bansa at mapanatang na nagaaral. Hindi ganito ang naging buhay ni Stalin. Siya ay laging nasusuong sa mga mahihigpit na labanan. Inilaan niyang lagi ang kanyang buhay sa mga gawain ng kanyang pangkatin na labag sa batas. Ng 1913 siya ay nakilahok sa halalan para sa Ikaapat na Duma, at naging lider ng pangkat ng mga Bolshewiki. Siya rin ang namatnugot sa mga pahayagang ilegal na may pamagat na 'Ang Tala' at 'Ang Katotohanan.' Ng 1913 siya ay muling hi-

nuli (ikaanim na beses), at ipinatapon na tinatalibaan ng maraming sandatahang kawal. Ito ang huli niyang pagkakadagip at hindi na siya nakatakas, at ng siya ay muling lumaya ay ng dumating na ang Himagsikan ng Febrero.

Sa himagsikan ng mga Bolsebiki, si Stalin ay isa sa Lupon ng lima na bumalangkas at nañgulo sa pagaalsa, na laging kaulayaw ni Lenin sa pagsamsam nila, ng kapangyarihan. Mula sa 1917 hanggang 1923, si Stalin ay siyang Komisar ng mga Lahi, na nagpauna sa politika ng pagbibigay ng autonomia at kalayaan sa mga iba't ibang lahi sa loob ng Unyong Sobyet. Sa panahon ding ito, mula sa 1919 hanggang 1920, siya ang Komisar ng Pagsisiyasat Ukol sa Mga Manggagagawa at Magbubukid, at ng 1920 hanggang 1923, siya ay kagawad ng mataas na Lupon sa Digmaang Himagsikan ng Republika.

Ng panahon ng digmaang sibil, at ng interbensyon ng Inglatera, Pransya, Hapon, at Estados Unidos, si Stalin ay malaki ang pagsisilbi sa labanan. Dahil sa kanyang kabayanihan, siya ay nabigyan ng pinakamataas na palamuti ñg ipinagkakaloob ng pamahalaan. Ang mga ilang pangyayari ng mga masusungit na panahong yaon para sa Rusya ang makapag-lalarawan ng tunay na ugali ni Stalin.

Minsan isang araw sa isang labanan malapit sa Petrograd, ang mga sundalo niya ay hindi sumaludo kay Stalin. Ng tanuñgin niya ang isa nito kung bakit, ang kawal ay itinuro ang kanyang paa na ang sapin ay hindi sapatos kungdi gulanit na sandalyas na giniikan. Ang ginawa ni Stalin ay hinubad ang kanyang sapatos na balat, ay ibinigay sa kawal, at ang kanyang isinuot ay ang sandalyas na giniikan, at sa buong taglamig ay ito ang kanyang isinuot para maki-hati siya sa mga paghihirap ng kanyang mga sundalo.

Ito rin ang pahayag ni Sturo ng panahon ng digmaang sibil ng si Stalin ay siyang Tagapamahala

ng Pagkain. "Ako (si Sturo) ay nautusan na humanap ng pagkain para sa mga manggagawa ng Baku. Ako ay nakatipon ng mga trigo sa Volga, at dadalhin na sa Baku na natatalibaan ng mga sundalo. Ng lahat ay nakahanda na para isakay sa bapor, ang mga tauhan ni Stalin ay dumating at sinamsam ang mga trigo. Ipina-kita ko ang aking utos sa mga sumamsam. Ang isinagot nila ay hindi kailangan kung sino ang naguutos; ang tutoo wika nila ay kung kami ay walang idadating na mga pagkain kay Stalin sila ay babarilin: Ang mga sumamsam ay marami at kung ako ay ay magmamatigas ay mangangahulugan ng labanan. Ang Baku ay nagugutom at ang kailangan ay kausapin si Stalin.

"Ng panahong yaon si Stalin ay diktador halos ñg pagkain. Siya ay walang tinatanggap na taga labas sa kanyang tanggapan maliban sa kanyang mga utusan, ñguni't sa paraan ay nakuha ko ang makausap siya. Ng dumating ako ay para siyang isang leon na lakad ng lakad sa kanyang tanggapan na parang haula. Ipinaliwanag ko ang aking layunin, at ang mahigpit na kailangan ng pagkain ng mga manggagawa sa Baku, na tiyakang mawawala kung walang darating na pagkain. Ang lahat ñg aking pangangatuwiran ay niwalis ni Stalin sa mga ganitong pangungusap: 'Anong kaululan ang iyong sinasabi. Kung mawawala ang Baku, iyan ay walang ano man. Makukuha natin muli iyan sa loob ng ilang buwan. Kung Moscow ang mawawala, ay natapos at nawala sa atin ang lahat. Ang himagsikan ay sukat na natapos.' Ang mga trigo ay napunta sa kay Stalin at sa Moscow".

Si Stalin minsan ay naging Kalihim ni Lenin at sumunod ay naging Pangkalahatang Kalihim ng Partido Komunista. Sa simula, ang tungkuling ito ay hindi mahalaga, ñguni't sa kanyang kamay ay naging mabisang kasangkapan. Ang tanggapan niya ay siyang naging sentro ng ikinikilos ng partido sa boong Unyong Sobyet. Bi-

nigyan siya ng mabuting pagkakataon na maalaman ang mga kilos ng lapian sa lahat ng dako at ang makilala ang mga tauhan nito. Dahil sa kanyang marangal na pinagdaanan, siya ay namahal sa mga kasapi ng lapian.

Ng si Stalin ang siyang kilalang lider sa Rusya, may ilang pangkat na tagasalungat ang nagtangkang ibagsak siya, nguni't sa lahat ng tunggalian sa partido si Stalin ang lagi ng tumatanggap ng tangkilik sa malaking nakarami. Sa kasalukuyan, walang makatututol sa salita na si Stalin sa boong Unyong Sobyet ay siyang pangunahing lider, nguni't hindi sa uri ng isang diktador o ng isang makaharing pamamahala. Alam ng lahat ng mga kasama niya sa partido na kung siya ang nagkakamit ng tangkilik sa lapian ay sa dahilang si Stalin ay laging nakakabit ang tainga sa mundo ng pangkatin at nalalaman niya kung ano ang kailangan at dinaramdam ng pangkatin niya. Siya ay isang mabuting tagapagsalita ng mga diwa at hangarin ng boong bansa, na nalalaman niya sapagka't ang mga pangangailangan nito ang kanyang lagi ng inaalang, na hindi gaya ng isang diktador na ipinasusunod ang sarile niyang kagustuhan at pasya.

Kahit na mayroon ngayong mga ilang alinlangan na si Stalin ay nagiging isang konserbador, ang katotohanan ay si Stalin ay isang ganap na komunista na naniniwala sa lahat ng mga simulain at tuntunin nito. Ang ilan niyang pamamalakad na nagbibigay ng alanganin ay para pagayusin lamang ang mga simulain sa mga mapapait na katotohanan at pangyayari. Mula ng 1930, si Stalin ay kinikilala na sunod sa kay Lenin at siya ang pinaka dakilang lider ng himagsikang sosyal sa Rusya, at ang pangalan niya ay lagi ng masasama sa mga pambihirang tagumpay ng mga katayuang sosyalista na naisagawa sa Unyong Sobyet, at nagbigay sa bansang ito ng isang matayog na pangalan sa kasalukuyang kasaysayan ng daigdig.

## Ang Sosyalismo At...

(Karugtong ng nasa pahina 16)

Ang Internasyonalismo ay isang mapait na katotohanan sa ating buhay. Ang pamumuhay natin ay batbat ng kanyang mga tatak. Ngayon pa lamang ay naghahanda na tayo sa isang Kongreso Eukaristiko ng mga katoliko ng lahat ng bansa. Kamakailan lamang ay tumulak ang ilang mga manglalaro natin para lumahok sa isang paligsahang pangdaigdig sa palakasan. At sa susunod na pulong ng ating Asamblea Nacional ay paguusapan ang pagpapadala ng mga kinatawan sa isang Kapulungang Pangdaigdig ng mga Bahay-Batasan. At sa lahat ng uri ng pamumuhay ay mayroon ng kaukulang kapulungang pangdaigdig. May kongreso internasyonal ang mga siyentipiko, ang mga manggagamot, ang mga namamahala ng mga piitan, ang mga bankero at mga mangangalakal, ang mga rotario, at kung sino-sino pa. Pati ng mga boy scouts, kailan lamang, ay nagdaos ng kanilang pangdaigdig na Jamboree at gayon din ang mga batang komunista na nagkatipon sa Unyong Sobyet. Halos lahat ng sangay ng pamumuhay ay may katipunang pangdaigdig at ito ay naguusap ng kani-kanilang suliranin na dahil sa pagkalapit-lapit kungdi mang pagkahalo-halo ng mga bansa, ang mga suliraning ito ay hindi natatapos sa hangganan ng kanilang mga bayan.

Walang bansang nabubuhay sa kanyang sarili. Ang malakas na pagkakasulong ng mga sasakyan at pahatiran ay ginawa ang mga bansang nagkakawat-tatak-watak na magkakapit-bahay lamang. Sa lahat ng sandali ikaw ay maaring makipagusp o makipagunawaan sa kabila ng mundo. Sa loob ng isang linggo, sa pamamagitan ng mga makabagong sasakyan, ay makararating ka sa Amerika at Europa. Sa larangan ng pangangalakal ay lalong malawak ang pagsasamahang matalik ng mga bansa dangan nga lamang at ito ay pinuputol ng walang katuturang digmaan ng nasyonalismo. Hindi ko na tutukuyin ng mahaba ito at ang babanggitin ko na lamang sa inyo ay sa pagkagising ko pa lamang ay uminom na ako ng kapeng galing sa Brasil, na isinalata sa Amerika, inilagay sa isang tasang yari sa Hapon, may kaalam na tinapay na ang harina ay galing sa Australia, at ang ibinahid naman mantekilya ay galing sa mga baka ng Holanda. Halos ang lahat ng aking kasu-utan sa ngayon ay galing sa ibang bansa, at sa pagsulat ko sa panayam na ito ang aking ginamit ay isang lapis na galing sa Hapon, sinulat sa mga papel at makinilyang Amerikano at pinirmahan ng isang aserong aleman. At kulang ang isang aklat kung bubulatlatin nating lahat ang pangdaigdig na pangangalakal.

Magpunta naman tayo sa sining at karunungan. Ang mga bagay na ito ay hindi pagaari ng alin pa mang bansa. Halos ang lahat ng bagong laman ng aking pagiisip ay galing sa ibang lahi. Ang siyensiya at literatura ay walang hangganan. Si Shakespeare ay hindi lamang Ingles. Si Beethoven ay hindi lamang Aleman. Si Pasteur ay hindi lamang Pranses. Ang Nolimetangere ay hindi maangkin lamang nga mga Pilipino. Ang pananampalataya ay hindi lamang para sa mga Hudyo o ng mga taga Israel. Ang himagsikan ng Pransia ay hindi lamang para sa mga Pranses. Ito ay inari ng boong mundo at ng 1896 ay inangkin ng mga Pilipino. Ang kabihasan ay para sa buong daigdig, at ang lahat ng mga bagay na iyan para ninyo maino na hindi pagaari ng alin pa mang bansa kungdi ng buong sangkatauhan, sa ngayon ay tayong lahat ang nakikinabang ng mga bunga ng karunungan at siyensiya.

Ang nasyonalismo na nagmamayabang sa mga ankin niyang kabihasan at kaugalian ay isang malaking kabaliwan. Ang nasyonalismo ay isang mabisang panglinlang lamang ng mga mayhawak ng kapangyarihan upang kasangkapan ang bayan sa kanilang mga sariling hangarin at pagiimbot.

Marami ang nagpapalagay na ang internasyonalismo ay kalaban ng nasyonalismo. Ito ay isang maling paniniwala. Kahit na tunay na sagabal sa pamamayani ng internasyonalismo ang pagmamalabis ng mga nagsasamantala sa tinatawag na nasyonalismo, ang internasyonalismo ay hindi katunggali nito, gaya baga na ang isang nayon ay kalaban ng isang bayan o ang isang bayan o lalawigan ay nakakaaway ng kanyang bansa. Ang katotohanan ay ang isang makatwiran at tumpak na nasyonalismo, na sa aking palagay ay ang makatarungang pagpapaunlad ng katutubong karunungan, kaugalian, pamumuhay at kabihasan ng isang bansa o lahi, ay doon lamang yayabong ang pagunlad sa ilalim ng isang mapagkandiling internasyonalismo, na hindi gaya ngayon na ang may nasyonalismo lamang ay ang mga bansang malalaki at malalakas at ang ginagawa pa nila ay ang ipakain ng sapilitan ang nasyonalismo nila sa mga bansang kulang palad. Ang kasaysayan ng nasyonalismo ay isang kasaysayan mahigit pa sa kabalalan ng pananakop ng Roma, sapagkat ang batayan ng nasyonalismo ay ang pangaalipin ng ilan sa maraming bansa at mga lahi. Tingnan ninyo ang mundo ngayon, at makikitá ninyo ang mahigit na kalahati ng daigdig na binubuo ng maraming bayan at lahi ay hindi umunlad ang kanilang talino, ugali at kabihasanan dahil sa pangaalipin ng ibang bansang malalakas. Kailan lamang ay nakita ninyo ang pamamaslang ng nasyonalistang Italya sa Abisinya para dalhin daw ang kabihasan

ng sa bansang ito, at kung sa bagay ay hindi na tayo dapat tumingin pa sa ibang bansa sapagkat ang mabuting halimbawa ay ang atin na ring sarili, na ang kanyang mga katayuang pambayan, sa karunungan, sa pananampalataya, sa wika, sa pamumuhay, at halos sa lahat ng bagay, ay ibinigay ng pilit sa kanya ng kanyang mga naging panginoon.

Na ang Internasyonalismo ay hindi kaaway ng isang wastong nasyonalismo ay doon makikita sa kasalukuyang kasaysayan ng Rusya. Hindi lamang dahil sa kalawakan nito na binubuo ng maraming bayan at lahi, kungdi dahil din naman sa pamamayani ng isipang internasyonalista doon ay masasabing ito ang isang pook ng mundo na pinamamayan nihan ng internasyonalismo. At marami ang tumatawag sa Rusya na isang bansang pangdaigdig. Ng linggong ito ako ay may natanggap na bagong babasahin na nagsasabi na kahit na ang pagibig ng mga mamamayan sa Unyong Sobyet ay lalong nagiiibayo dahil sa isang pambihirang kasaganaan na naghahari doon, ang diwang internasyonalismo na naghahari sa pagiisip ng bawat mamamayan ay lalo pa ring lumalaki. Sa Unyong Sobyet ang lahat ng lahing mga maliliit at mahihina ay hindi lamang husto at ganap ang kanilang kalayaan para gamitin at paunlarin ang kanilang mga katutubong paguugali, kabihasan at pamumuhay, kungdi ang mga ito ay kusang tinutulungan pa ng pamahalaan. Isang halimbawa na lamang ang babanggitin ko sa inyo na sa lahing maliliit sa Unyong Sobyet, ang kanilang mga paaralang bayan at mga aklat ay doon nasusulat sa kanilang mga wika na poong kapanahonan ng Tsar ay kusang sinisiil at inaapi.

Ngayong nasabi ko sa inyo na ang nasyonalismo ay hindi sagabal sa pagwawagi ng internasyonalismo, dapat namang banggitin ko na ang kalaban ng nasyonalismo ay nasyonalismo din. Hindi lamang sa ang mga bansa ay naglalabalan, kungdi ang mga mahihinang bansa at lahi ay kusang pinagsasamantalan ng ibang malalakas at mararahas na nasyonalismo. Ang hindi paggitaw ng ibang bansa na dapat sanang makapagbigay ng kanilang abuloy sa karunungan at kabihasan ng daigdig ay hindi maging isang katotohanan dahil sa pananaklaw ng ibang bansa na walang tama at mabuti kungdi ang sa kanila. Ang pagmamalabis ng nasyonalismo, ang bulag na paniniwala sa anking kabutihan ng kanilang kabihasan at mataas na uri ng kanilang pagkalahi ang siyang nagiging dahilan ng mataas na hangarin nito na sakupin ang buong mundo. Ang panganib na nagdaan at ang panganib na dumarating ay galing diyan sa mga ganyang pagpapanggap. Ng nagdaang digmaan, ang mga Aleman ay bulag na naniniwala na ang kultur nila ang siyang pinakamataas at pinakamahusay, na si-



la ang pling lahi ng Dios, na magbibigay ng kabihasan sa sangkatauhan, at udyok ng mga ganyang simulain ay hindi nangiming makidigma sa buong daigdig sa pamamatuog, na isang baliw na kaiser. At sa ngayon, ang mga Aleman na hindi nalilimutan ang nasyonalismong pumuksa ng milyong-milyong tao at sumalanta ng hindi mapapaniwalaang dami ng pagaari, sa pangungulo ng isang bagong baliw na Hitler, ay nagbabala ng isang panibagong digmaan para bawiin daw ang lupa at lahi na nawala sa kanya ng nagdaang labanan. Ang dalawa pang bansang nahihilo sa nasyonalismo ay ang Italia at Hapon at sa huling panayam na binigkas sa atin ay ang tatlong bansang ito ang uliran ng nasyonalismo. Ang Italia ngayon ay katatapos sa kanyang pamumpksa sa Abisinia, at sa pangunguna ng isang Mussolini, ay nililinalang ang lahat ng mga Italiano sa muling pagtatayo at pagpapalaganap ng dating gloria ng Roma, at lilang araw pa lamang ang nakalilipas ng ang bagong imperio ng mga Italiano ay ipinahayag ng halimaw na ito. Dito naman sa ating tabi ay makikita natin ang Hapon, uliran rin ng pagibig sa kanyang nasyonalismo, na inukit ang Mantsuria sa Tsina, at dahil sa hayagan at patuloy na pamamaslang sa hilaga ng Tsina ay nagbabadha ng isang panibagong digmaan ng dalawang bansa sa silangan kung ang Tsina ay magkakaroon ng lakas ng loob at tuhod na sumasagasa sa halimaw na ito ng silangan. Ang tiyakang hangarin daw ng Hapon ay ang pagkakalat ng mga simulain ng imperio sa patuluyang pagwawagi niya sa mahigit na 2000 taon. Ang tatlong bansang ito na mararahas sa kanilang pagibig at paniniwala sa sarili nilang kabihasan at diwa ay siyang panganyab sa mundo, na naghahasik ng lagim sa puso at panimdim ng buong sangkatauhan, sapagkat ang lahat ay may palagay na ang susunod na digmaan ay sila ang tiyak na pagbubuhatan.

Ang tutukuin ko ngayon ay ang kilusang tiyakang nagsasabalikat na ang mithiing pangdaigdig ay maging isang tunay na saligan ng pagsasamahan ng lahat ng mga lahi at bansa. Nabanggit ko sa unahan na marami ang kapulungang pangdaigdig ng mga bahagi ng pamumuhay ng tao, at sa bawat bansa ay may mga samahang natatatag na ang mga layunin ay labanan ang ano pa mang uri ng digmaan ng mga bansa, at ang pagtatayo ng isang pamahalaang pangdaigdig, ngunit ang karamihan dito ay mga laway lamang o kung hindi ay napakaliit ang ikinikilos para makatawag ng pansin sa labas ng bansang kinatatayuan. Sa unang bahagi ng artikulong ito ay kusang hindi ko tinukoy ang Internasyonal ng mga manggagawa sapagkat ito ay siya kong panghuli dahil sa kanyang kahalagahan. Ang kilusang tiyakang nagsasabalikat ng pantay

ng pantay na pagsasamahan ng lahat ng tao at ng lahat ng lahi, na ang simulain ay yari sa palihan ng internasyonalismo ay ang kilusan ng mga anak-pawis na kilala sa tawag na "Sosyalismo." Buhat ng sulatin nina Karlós Marx at Engels ang Manipesto Komunista ng 1848 na maging bandila ng nanawagan ng pagkakaisa sa lahat ng manggagawa sa sangsinukob, ang kilusang anak-pawis na salig sa sosyalismo siyentipiko ay isang kilusang hindi kumikilala sa guhit ng mga bansa. Ang sosyalismo ay isang pangdaigdig na kilusan. Ang lahat ng lapiang nagbandila ng sosyalismo ay salig sa isang simulain na binalangkas ng isang guro, at ang pangkating sosyalista sa Alemanya, sa Pransia at sa Pilipinas kung nagkakaroon man ng pagkakaisa sa mga taktika at pamamaraan, ay nagkakaisa sa kanilang mga batayan at hangrin, sapagkat hindi lamang iisa ang kanilang simulain kungdi ang lahat ng mga ito ay mayroong pagkakaunawaan sa kanilang katipunang pangdaigdig. At pati ng kanilang himno o martsa para maino ninyo ang kanilang diwang pangdaigdig ay may pamagat ding "Internasyonal" at gayon din ang pamagat ng katipunang pangdaigdig.

Ang kauna-unahang Internasyonal ng kilusang manggagawa ay naganap sa Londres ng 1864, na ang patakaran at palatuntunan din nito ay sinulat ni Marx. Ito ay tumagal hanggang 1876. Ang ikalawang samahang pangdaigdig ng mga lapiang sosyalista, na kilala sa taguring Ikalawang Internasyonal ay natayo ng 1889 at sinalanta ng digmaang pangdaigdig sapagka't nataangay ng malakas na alon ng nasyonalismo noon. Matapos ang digmaan, ang mga radikal na nagbigho sa mga pamamaraan ng Ikalawang Internasyonal ay nagtayo ng 1919 ng ikatlong katipunan na may pamagat na Ikatlong Internasyonal, o Komunista Internasyonal, o komintern. Ang tanggapan nito ay na sa Moscow, Unyong Sobyet, at natatag sa aryaaya ng Partido Komunista sa Rusya.

Iyan ang mga katipunang pangdaigdig ng kilusang manggagawa na ang simulain ay hindi lamang sosyalismo siyentipiko kungdi internasyonal. Sa lahat ng kanilang mga pagtitipon, lagi nilang inihayag ang paghaban nila sa digmaan, ang pagboto ng laban sa mga paglalaan ng salapi para sa mga kawal at depensa nasional, ang pagtatayo ng mga hukumang pangdaigdig na siyang lilitis sa mga usapin ng mga bansa, ang pagaalis ng lahat ng mga kawal ng mga bansa, at ang tanang mamayan ay ang siyang magkaroon ng karapatan sa pagpapasya sa mga suliranin ng digmaan at kapayapaan. At kung hindi inabutan ng digmaan ay paguusapan sana sa Vienna ang balak ng paghahayag ng isang aklasan pangkalahatan kung ang bansa ay nagbabala ng isang digmaan.

Ang ikatlong internasyonal o ang Ko-

## Ang Mga Bagong...

(Karugtong ng nasa pahina 17)  
bansa, ang mga walang bayad na mga pagamutan, at isang paglalaan ng maraming mga lugal sa pagpapaiigi ng katawan ng mga manggagawa.

Art. 121: Ang mga mamamayan sa Unyong Sobyet ay may karapatan sa pagaaral. Ang karapatang ito ay nasisasakaturapan ng isang pangkalahatang at sapilitang pagpapaaral sa mga unang bahang ng paaralan (elementary education) na walang ano mang bayad, kagaya rin ng mga matataas na mga paaralan, sa pamamagitan ng mga pensiyong gawad ng pamahalaan sa karamihan ng mga estudyante sa matataas na paaralan, pagtuturo sa mga paaralan sa kani-kanilang sariling wika, at pagtatayo ng mga walang bayad na mga paaralan sa industriya, teknika at sa pagsasaka para sa mga manggagawa sa mga pabrika, bukid-pamahalaan, himpilan ng mga makina at tractora at mga sakahing tuwangan (collective farms).

Art. 122: Ang mga babai sa Unyong Sobyet ay binibigyan ng pare-parehong karapatan gaya ng sa mga lalaki sa lahat ng larangan ng pamumuhay maging pang pamahalaan, pang kultura, pang sosyal at pang politika.

Ang pagbibigay bisa sa mga karapatang ito ng mga babai ay isasagawa sa pamamagitan ng pagkakaloob ng mga trabaho sa kanila, gaya ng mga lalaki, pagbabayad sa kanilang mga trabaho, at paggawad ng pagpapahingalay, tangkilik sa pag-alis sa trabaho at pag-aaral, tangkilik sa kapakinabangan ng mga inang nanganganak at sanggol nito na nagtatadhana ng bayad para sa mga inang nagbubuntis, at ang pagtataan ng maraming bahay-anakan, andukhaan ng mga sanggol at paaralan ng mga batang bago pa lamang nagkakaisip (kindergartens).

(Nasa pahina 26 ang karugtong)

mintern ay mayroong tayong kamuntik na kaalaman. Ang mga nagtayo nito ay sila Lenin at Trotsky, at siyang nagpapagalaw sa lahat ng pangkating komunista sa daigdig. Ang lapiang sa Pilipinas ay balangay ng Comintern. Hindi ko na dapat pang banggitin ang lakas ng kanilang simulain, ang kalawakan ng kanyang pananagumpay, sapagkat ang Unyong Sobyet na sumasakop ng ikaanim na bahagi ng buong daigdig ay pinamamayanihan ng simulaing nito. At gaya ng nasabi ko na sa inyo, sa bayang ito ay dito lamang makikita natin ang pamamayani ng isang pagkapatiran at mabuting pagsasamahang ng lahat ng uri ng tao at lahi, isang makatarungang nasyonalismo sa ilalim ng isang mithiing pangdaigdig na nagpapayabong at nagpapaulad sa katutubong pag-uugali, kabihasanan at pamumuhay ng hindi kakamuntik na mga lahi at bayan sa loob ng Unyong Sobyet.

Art. 123: Ang pagkakapantay ng mga karapatan ng mga mamamayan sa Unyong Sobyet, na walang pagtingin sa kanilang lahi o balat, at sa lahat ng larangan ng pamumuhay, maging pamahalaan, pangkultura, pangsosyal, at pangpolitika, ay isang batas na walang pasubali.

Art. 124: Para mabigyan ang mga mamamayan ng Unyong Sobyet ng kalayaan sa budhi, ang simbahan sa Unyong Sobyet ay inihihwalay sa pamahalaan, at ang mga paaralan, sa simbahan. Ang kalayaan sa pagtatanghal ng ano mang seremonya ng relihion at gayon din ang kalayaan ng pamamahayag laban sa relihion ay kinikilala para sa lahat ng mamamayan.

Art. 125: Sangayon sa mga pangangailangan ng mga anak-pawis, para patibayin ang mga katayuang sosyalista sa Unyong Sobyet, ang mga mamamayan ay binibigyan:

- a) Kalayaan sa pananalita;
- b) Kalayaan ng pahayagan;
- c) Kalayaan sa mga pagtitipon at pagpupulong;
- d) Kalayaan sa pamamahayag at mga parada o prusisyon.

Ang mga karapatang ito ay pinanangutan sa pamamagitan ng paglalagay sa dispusisyon ng mga manggagawa at ng kanilang mga kilusan, ang mga limbagan, mga papel, mga gusaling pangbayan, mga daan, mga kagamitan ng pahatiran, at iba pang kasangkapan para maisakatuparan ang karapatang ito.

Art. 126: Sangayon sa mga pangangailangan ng mga manggagawa at para paunlarin ang kilusang pangbayan at kamulatan ng mga manggagawa, ang mga mamamayan sa Unyong Sobyet ay may karapatang sumama sa mga samahan at kilusang pambayan x x x x

Art. 127: Ang mga mamamayan sa Unyong Sobyet ay may karapatan na huwag malapastangan ang kanyang pagkatao. Ang sino man ay hindi maaaring dakpin maliban sa pasya ng isang hukuman o sa kaphintulutan ng piskal.

Art. 128: Ang mga tahanan ng mga mamamayan sa Unyong Sobyet ay hindi maaaring malapastangan, at ang lihim ng mga sulat ay ipinagsasanggalang ng batas.

Bukod sa mga ito, ay itinatadhana din ng Saligang Batas na ang karapatang paghalal ay pangkalahatan (universal) sa lahat ng mga mamamayan na may 18 taon ang gulang at hihigit, at may karapatang mahalal din, maliban na laman ang mga nasiraan ng bait o sa pasya ng hukuman ay hawala ang karapatan nilang ito. Ang paghalal at mahalal ay hindi tumitingin sa lahi, balat, relihion, katalinuhan, tirahan, ang pinagmulan niyang uri o lipi, ang kanyang pag-aari o yaman, at ang mga nagdaan niyang mga gawain o kilos. Ang mga babai ay may karapatan na kapantay ng mga lalaki na humalal at mahalal, at

### Nakita Ko Ang ... (Karugtong ng nasa pahina 19)

nagmamalaki kong sabihing ako ay hindi nakakita sa alin pa mang bansa sa Europa o Amerika ng mga batang kasinglusog at sisigla ng mga batang aking nakita sa Rusya. Samantalang ang mga estadistikang aking natunghayan sa Amerika ay nagpapatotoo na sa siyudad ng Nueva York ay libolibo ang mga batang payat at masasakitin dahil sa kakulangan ng makain, at sa gayo'y sila ay hindi makapag-aral na mabuti, ang mga batang Ruso ay siyang pinakamahusay ang pagaalaga at saganang saganang sa mabubuting pagkain. Ang mga batang iyan ay siyang pinaglalagakan nang pagkakandili at pag-asa ng pithaya at hangarin ng bagong pamamaraang isinasagawa sa Rusya.

Ang napakagaling ng mga aklatang-bayan ay matatagpuan ngayon sa Rusya. Walang bayan sa sangdaigdig na nagkaroon ng pagkasabik at pagkauhaw sa drama, tugtugin at sayaw gaya ng bayang Rusya.

Di natin maikakait na ang salitang "propaganda" sa Amerika ay makamandag. Ito ay hindi nangyayari sa Rusya na ang mga lider na komunistá ay natatawa sa ating pagkathapaniwalain. Hindi nila ikinahihiya ang kanilang propaganda. Talagang gumagawa sila ng propaganda, mga propaganda, upang ituro sa kabataan na ang Rusya ay kanila, na ang paggawa ay marangal, na ang kasakiman ay nakapipinsala, na ang karangalan ay para doon sa gumagawa at hindi namamana, na ang kagalingan ay naroroon sa paglilingkod sa mga kasama. Nguni't tayo'y tumutugon. Hindi ba iniaaral natin sa ating kabataan na ang lahat ay mayroong pagkakataon na maging

ang mga sundalo ng Kawal na Pulahan ay may gayon ding karapatan.

Itinatakdá rin na ang lahat ng mga kinatawang inihalal ng mga mamamayan ay may tungkulin na magbigay ng ulat hinggil sa kanyang mga ginawa, at kahit anong oras ay maaaring alisin sa paraang itipatakda ng batas at sa pasya ng nakararami ng sa kanya ay paghalal.

Pang-ulo ng Amerika o maging milyonaryo? Hindi ba iniaaral natin sa ating mga anak na ang kasakiman ay taglay ng ating pagkatao, na ang napakadakilang kagalingan ay ang magpakayaman, na ang pagyukod sa panginoon ay siyang landas tungo sa tagumpay? Nguni't kung kanilang makita sa huling araw na ang kayamanan ay hindi maaaring marating at sila ay mapalad nang makakita ng magagawa, noon lamang natin maaalalang sila ay ating iniligaw. Ang dalawang paraang iyan ng pagtuturo ay parehong propaganda.

Bilang isang magiliwin sa kapayapaan, ako ay nanood na may pitong oras sa Moskow ng pamamahayag na ginanap ng unang araw ng Mayo at aking nasaksihan ang walang kasing-kapal na hanay ng mga sundalo at ang kanilang paglalantad ng kanilang nakahahangang mga kagamitan, mula sa kanilang mga asong Eskimo hanggang sa kanilang mga tangke at aeroplano—isang pamamahayag na masasabi kong napakapula at napakasigla. Nabasa ko ang sumpa ng napatatalang sundalo para sa hukbo at doo'y kanyang ipinangangakong ipagsasanggalang ang Rusya ng kanyang buhay. Nasaksihan ko ang di mabilang na bandilang pula at ang kumukutong tao na nag-aawitan, at ng mga sandaling yao'y ako ay nag-atubili sa aking palagay na doon ay mayroong hinggoismo, na aluluwang baga'y ang mga taong yaon ay magpapakamatay sa pagtuklas ng mga pamilihan para sa kanilang mayamang panginoon. Gayon mang ako ay makakapayapaan, nanalig akong ang buong layunin ng paghahanda sa laban ng mga Ruso ay upang pangatawanang ipagsanggalang ang kanilang itinatatag na kabuhayan, na nagbibigay sa kanila ng kasaganaan sa pagkain, hanapbuhay at pag-asa.

Iyan ang di mga pangbihirang kaluwagan na natatamo sa Rusya, nguni't iya'y mga ganting-palang bunga ng naipagtagumpay. Ang sino mang makapaglingkod ng mataman sa pabrika, sa bukid, sa paggamutan, ay pinagkakalooban ng

## JOSEPH STALIN...

*(Continued from page 14)*

population of 200,000, with 75,000 workers. Grain was collected at the mouth of the river Volga to be distributed all over Russia. I carried my own armed force. After months of desperate work we had 300,000 poods of wheat. Then I had to get boats to ship it to Baku. All was arranged and I was happy, when officers of Stalin's men said, 'It makes no difference what orders you have. If we do not get grain and go back to Stalin with empty hands we shall be shot.' These men had a larger fighting force, and I realized that it would either mean a terrible fight or else surrender. Baku was starving. I decided to appeal personally to Stalin.

"At that time Stalin was virtually a dictator in the matter of securing grain. He almost never received anyone in his room except his lieutenants. He was like a lion in his cage, always pacing up and down. In spite of everything, I managed to get to him and plead for Baku. Stalin brushed the plea aside with the statement, 'What nonsense you are talking. If we lose Baku, it is nothing. We will take it again inside of a few months or a year at the most. If we lose Moscow, we lost everything. Then the revolution is ended.' The grain went to Stalin and Moscow."

Perhaps the most striking military achievement of Stalin was his defense

tanging upuan sa mga tanghalaan ng mga dula o nang sariling pitak sa mga pahayagan, o ng kaunting taas sa kanilang sahod, o nang tanging kagaanan sa paglalakbay, at kung minsan, ng isang automobil at halaga ng sa kanya ay paggamit.

Marami pa sana akong dapat na sabihin, nguni't ito ang aking panghuling wikang masasabi: Ang aking pagkakadalaw sa Rusya ay nakapagbigay sigla sa aking pananalig sa kakayahan ng mga tao, sa kanilang mga hangarin at walang likat na pagsusumakit na nagbunga ng mainam at malulusog na mga balak na maaari nilang isagawa sa pagtutuwangan. Iya'y nakapagpatibay pa sa aking pananalig sa magandang maibubunga ng demokrasya na nababatay sa bagong paraan ng karunungan.

of the town of Tsaritsin, on the lower Volga, against the attacks of the anti-Bolshevik forces. The city has since been rechristened Stalingrad in his honor.

For a time Stalin worked as secretary to Lenin, then later he became General Secretary of the Communist Party. Previously this position had never been considered of central strategic importance, being rather a routine job, consisting of such formal and technical duties as preparing circular letters for the party organizations and outlining programs passed by the Central Committee. Stalin now made it the direct nerve center of the party. It gave him the chance to send out political workers throughout Russia, and to learn from the inside the methods of political organization. His previous heroic work made every one recognize his authority.

Stalin to-day is a man of medium height, erect, well built, with a heavy black mustache, thick hair, dark penetrating eyes and a handsome face. His speech is characteristic of the man, blunt and direct; he does not attempt to hide his meaning. On the other hand, as with so many key politicians, he does not place himself in the spotlight, although in 1930 he has assumed public leadership as never before. Stalin never acted as if the revolution were the opportunity for him to parade his genius. He is not an inspired orator or a brilliant writer, but is a man of iron will, extraordinary energy and an utter lack of fear. There is little question that he is extraordinary skilful and adroit in party politics.

It would be easy to magnify the role which Stalin is now playing. He is easily the most important man in Russia to-day, but the entire theory of Communist tactics is that the individual is nothing, the party is everything. Stalin rules because he has his ear close to the ground and knows what the rank and file of the party want. He has an extraordinary knack of keeping in touch with the changing moods of the common people, especially of the peasants. We have already mentioned the fact that long before he took the reins of power he inaugurated the policy of cultural autonomy for subject nationalities. Stalin insisted that, in contradiction to the policy of the Czar, every subject group could study in their own dialect or language and could have full power to print books and newspapers in their own tongue. In 1924 he insisted on democracy in the villages. He sensed the desire of the peasants for more economic liberty, and was instrumental in passing a law, against party opposition, giving the



**NAKIKIDALAMHATI ANG  
"SOSYALISMO NGAYON"  
AT ANG KUSP SA PAG-  
YAO NG KAIBIGANG  
SUSANO GONZALES**

Sa isang kapasyahan na pinagtibay ng Lupong Tagapagpaganap ng Mga Kaibigan ng Unyong Sobyet sa Pilipinas, ito ay taos na nakikidalamhati sa madaling pagyao ng Kaibigan Susano Gonzales, na sumakabilang buhay noong ika 23 ng Hulio, 1936, sa kanyang tahanan bilang 424 J. Zamora, Pako.

Ang Kaibigan Susano Gonzales ng siya ay nabubuhay pa ay isa sa mga lalong masusugid at masipag na kasapi ng samahan, isang tapat at marangal na kaibigan ng Unyong Sobyet, at isa sa tagapagtanggol ng mga pambihirang kabuhayan at mga simula ng nasabing bansa.

Ang Pahayagang ito at ang Samahang nagpapalabas dito ay nakikidalamhati sa kanyang mga anak at asawang naulila sa pagkawala ng isang kaibigan tapat at dakila.

peasant greater freedom in hiring help.

Stalin is a genuine believer in Communist principles; in spite of all that has been said about his conservatism, he has merely tried to harmonize practice with realities. By 1930 he has come to be recognized as the key figure in present-day Communism and it is now fairly settled that history will rank him, next to Lenin, the outstanding leader in the Russian Revolution. (Adapted from Contemporary Social Movements, by J. Davis).

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