1

*The evolution of the Soviet state therefore proceeds in complete contradiction with the principles of the Bolshevik program. The reason for it is to be found in this, that society, as has already been said, is evolving not towards Socialism but towards the regeneration of social contradictions. Should the process continue in this direction, it must inevitably lead to the rebirth of classes, the liquidation of planned economy and the restoration of capitalist property. The state regime will in that case inevitably become fascist.*

*Leon Trotsky, 20 years of Stalinist Degeneration 1938*

“Twelve voices were shouting in anger, and they were all alike. No question, now, what happened to the faces of the pigs. The creatures outside looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man again; but already it was impossible to say which was which.”

Chapter X, p. 141

2

*Telegram by Stalin to all the regional NKVDs and Party committees: "Some Party Secretaries auditing the NKVD consider tortures as something criminal. In fact torture was allowed by the Central Committee since 1937... The Central Committee considers torture to be in the future a proper way to handle exceptional cases against the enemies of the people."*

*-Stalin, 1939*

“Muriel read the commandment for her. It ran: ‘No animal shall kill any other animal *without cause.”* Somehow or other, the last two words had slipped out of the animals’ memory. But the saw now that the commandment had been violated; for clearly there was a good reason for killing the traitors who had leagued themselves with Snowball.”

Chapter VIII, 92

3

Chapter 7, p. 76

One Sunday morning Squealer announced that the hens, who had just come in to lay again, must surrender their eggs. Napoleon had accepted, through Whymper, a contract for four hundred eggs a week. The price of these would pay for enough grain and meal to keep the farm going till summer came on and conditions were easier.”

“When the hens heard this, they raised a terrible outcry… For the first time since the expulsion of Jones, there was something resembling a rebellion. Led by three young Black Minorca pullets, the hens made a determined effort thwart Napoleon’s wishes. Their method was to fly up to the rafters and there lay their eggs, which smashed to pieces on the floor. Napoleon acted swiftly and ruthlessly. He ordered the hens’ rations to be stopped, and decreed that any animal giving so much as a grain of corn to a hen should be punished by death. The dogs saw to it that these orders were carried out. For five days the hens held out; then they capitulated and went back to their nesting boxes. Nine hens had died in the meantime.”

*In view of the shameful collapse of grain collection in the more remote regions of Ukraine, the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee call upon the oblast executive committees and the oblast [party] committees as well as the raion executive committees and the raion [party] committees: to break up the sabotage of grain collection, which has been organized by kulak and counterrevolutionary elements; to liquidate the resistance of some of the rural communists, who in fact have become the leaders of the sabotage; to eliminate the passivity and complacency toward the saboteurs, incompatible with being a party member; and to ensure, with maximum speed, full and absolute compliance with the plan for grain collection.*

*-RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC AND OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIK) OF UKRAINE ON BLACKLISTING VILLAGES THAT MALICIOUSLY SABOTAGE THE COLLECTION OF GRAIN.*

4

*Those who seek nowadays to prove that the Soviet-German pact changes our appraisal of the Soviet State take their stand, in essence, on the position of the Comintern – to put it more correctly, on yesterday’s position of the Comintern. According to this logic, the historical mission of the workers’ state is the struggle for imperialist democracy. The “betrayal” of the democracies in favor of fascism divests the USSR of its being considered a workers’ state. In point of fact, the signing of the treaty with Hitler supplies only an extra gauge with which to measure the degree of degeneration of the Soviet bureaucracy, and its contempt for the international working class.*

*-Trotsky, on the Soviet-German Pact*

Chapter 8, p. 99

Two days later the animals were called together for a special meeting in the barn. They were struck dumb with surprise when Napoleon announced that he had sold the pile of timber to Frederick. Tomorrow Frederick’s wagons would arrive and begin carting it away. Throughout the whole period of his seeming friendship with Pilkington, Napoleon had really been in secret agreement with Frederick.

5

*Hymn to Stalin*

*I write books. I am an author. All thanks to thee, O great educator, Stalin. I love a young woman with a renewed love and shall perpetuate myself in my children--all thanks to thee, great educator, Stalin. I shall be eternally happy and joyous, all thanks to thee, great educator, Stalin. Everything belongs to thee, chief of our great country. And when the woman I love presents me with a child the first word it shall utter will be : Stalin.*

Thou art the giver of  
All that thy creatures love,  
Full belly twice a day, clean straw to roll upon;  
Every beast big and small  
Sleeps at peace in his stall,  
Thou watchest over all,  
Comrade Napoleon!

Had I a sucking-pig,  
Ere he had grown as big  
Even as a pint bottle or as a rolling-pin,  
He should have learned to be  
Faithful and true to thee,  
Yes, his first squeak should be  
"Comrade Napoleon!"

-Comrade Napoleon, Minimus

6

*NKVD order On* [*Police troikas*](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Police_troika&action=edit&redlink=1) *(Militsejskaya troika), the extrajudicial body with the power to exile or to sentence for up to five years in the labor camps. Police troikas were to process the socially harmful and socially dangerous population (violater of the* [*Passport rules*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Passport_system_in_the_Soviet_Union)*, the unemployed, petty criminals without proven guilt, etc.) More than 400,000 people were sentenced by Police troikas in 1937-1938.*

Chapter 9, p. 122

“The animals crowded round the van. “Goodbye, Boxer!” they chorused, “good-bye!”

“Fools! Fools!” shouted Benjamin, prancing round them and stamping the earth with his small hoofs. “Fools! Do you not se what is written on the side of that van?”

That gave the animals pause, and there was ahush. Muriel began to spell out the words. But Benjamin pushed her aside and in the midst of a deadly silence he read: “’Alfred Simmonds, Horse Slaughtereer and Glue Boiler, Willingdon.’”

7

“By the time he had finished speaking, there was no doubt as to which way the vote would go. But just at this moment Napoleon stood up and, casting a peculiar sidelong look at Snowball, uttered a high-pitched whimper of a kind no one had ever heard him utter before. At this there was a terrible baying sound outside, and nine enormous dogs wearing brass-studded collars came bounding into the barn. They dashed straight for Snowball, who only sprang from his place just in time to escape their snapping jaws… Then he put on an extra spurt and, with a few inches to spare, slipped through a hole in the hedge and was seen no more.”

*Stalin can in no other way explain this banishment and his innumerable arrests, except by accusing the Opposition of preparing an armed struggle. With this monstrous lie he has done enormous harm to the Soviet republic. The whole bourgeois press has discussed the fact that Trotsky, Rakovsky, Smilga, Radek, I.N. Smirnov, Byeloborodov, Muralov, Mrachkovsky, and many others who built the Soviet republic and defended it, are now preparing an armed struggle against Soviet power. It is obvious how such an idea must weaken the Soviet republic in the eyes of the whole world. In order to justify his repressions, Stalin is compelled to compose these monstrous legends, doing incalcu-lable harm to Soviet power. We will remain true to them both to the end—in the Stalinist prisons and in exile.*

*With Bolshevik greetings,*

*Leon Trotsky*