

N. Bukharin: Financial Capital in Papal Robes

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The Indian Revolution and Ghandi's Manoeuvre

By O. W. Kuusinen.

The great revolutionary upsurge in India is proceeding at a tempestuous pace. And in this situation Ghandi comes forward in order, in the name of the slavish principle of "non-violence", to summon the people to boycott the salt monopoly of the British-Indian government. It is not difficult to see the meaning of this manoeuvre.

Ghandi does not put the question of a victory in the fight against the British yoke. He puts the question otherwise: violence or non-violence to British imperialism. He preaches absolute "non-violence". He describes all Indian revolutionary organisations as "parties of violence", and openly writes in his newspaper that he fears these more than the English Viceroy! What is the meaning of that?

Hundreds of millions of Indians are still groaning under the terrible yoke of the real party of violence, of British imperialism, but Ghandi does not fear these predatory, bestial suppressors of India as much as he fears the Indian revolutionaries.

What does he therefore do? He undertakes a national-reformist **manoeuvre**. He submits an ultimatum to the Viceroy. He organises an anti-imperialist sham fight "involving a mad risk", as he himself declaims. For what purpose? In order not to lose all influence over the great national mass movement; in order to secure hegemony in this movement for the **bourgeoisie**. Without an anti-imperialist sham fight it is impossible at present for anybody in India to approach the broad masses of the people if he wants to obtain a hearing. Hence Ghandi's flag of passive resistance. But even this passive (at any price "non-violent") resistance he wishes to limit in a double manner: 1. to limit it territorially in order that the movement shall not be able to spread, and 2. to limit the boycott to the salt monopoly of the government in order to exclude the risk of the movement extending to all taxes, to the ground rent payable by peasants etc., and growing into revolutionary fighting.

International Conference of Friends of Soviet Russia

The "insane risk" consists in Ghandi's playing with the driving forces of the revolution. He wishes to do everything possible to avoid the risk of revolution. The revolutionary mass movement of the workers and peasants of India is to be split and scattered both territorially and in regard to its slogans. It is to be diverted into suitable side-channels, and in any case held up half-way. Instead of rallying and organising the many millions of toilers, who are in a ferment, in a firm revolutionary front, and instead of taking up the real fight with these huge masses against imperialist violence, the development of the revolutionary mass struggles is to be actually stifled and quenched in an impotent cry of pain of the million masses.

That is the objective meaning of the boycott campaign introduced by Ghandi, against the salt monopoly. The Ghandiist boycott is, at bottom, **boycott of the Indian revolution**, and is thereby calculated to help the triumph of the British colonial power in India.

Against this Ghandiist line of the Indian bourgeoisie the young **Communist Party of India** lays down its own line. For the C. P. of India the deciding question in the anti-imperialist fight is: victory or defeat? It is as clear as daylight that in the event of a collision between imperialist violence and colonial "non-violence", the latter can have no hope of victory. India can emancipate itself only by **revolution**. Therefore, the fundamental slogan of the Communist Party of India, for which it is conducting agitation among the masses, is: **Drive out the British imperialists by the democratic revolution of the working class and peasantry of India!**

What is now the immediate, urgent and unpostponeable main task of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement of India?

In the fight against the British colonial regime the victorious strength of the Indian revolutionary movement can lie only in its enormously great masses. It can achieve victory by the overwhelming mass power, not by boycott, not by passive resistance, nor by empty noise. The enormous mass power of the Indian workers and peasants is, at present, very little organised. Therin lies its greatest and most dangerous weakness. Hence the immediate practical task is to **organise the mass forces of the workers' and peasants of India for the approaching gigantic revolutionary fights.**

This is not by any means a task of mere organisational petty work. This is now an extremely important political task in India. All mass actions, all great collisions which are taking place there at present, must be made use of in order with the greatest energy to extend and strengthen the revolutionary mass organisations in town and country, before all the **class trade unions** and the organisations of the revolutionary **youth**, at the same time increasing the recruitment of active workers for the Communist Party. Just as the Bombay textile workers, during their strike, accomplished wonders in the way of organising the masses by building up the "Girni Kamgar" Union, so it is necessary to perform similar and even greater things in other places and in other spheres. It is necessary to organise revolutionary workers' demonstrations with independent class slogans. Workers must be sent into the villages in order to help the peasant masses to take up the fight for the refusal to pay taxes and ground rent, everywhere to form peasant committees and to develop mass education for driving out the landowners and government officials. The striking railway workers must visit all the railway lines, conveying the summons to prepare for the political general strike.

Whoever really desires victory in the fight for the independence of India must now help with all means the proletariat and the masses of the Indian peasantry to organise their revolutionary forces and their mass actions. Whoever sabotages this organisation exposes himself, like Ghandi, as a strategist of the counter-revolution. Ghandi has himself admitted in his "ultimatum" that he could not wait any longer because the revolutionary upsurge in India is growing so threateningly. He fears the revolution — hence his campaign, and behind him stands the All-India National Congress, the representative body of the national bourgeoisie. The strategy of the National Congress is, at bottom, nothing else but the counter-revolutionary strategy of Ghandi, whoever may come forward as advocate of this strategy, whether he be Ghandi

or Javarharlal Nehru or anybody else. The attitude of the Indian Communists to them can only be: **determined fight against the National Congress.**

This does not exclude but presupposes the utilisation of even the sham fights of the Indian bourgeoisie, the utilisation of its narrowly restricted conflict with British imperialism by the Communist Party for the purpose of mobilising the broad toiling sections of the population, and further developing the revolutionary mass movement. But the more the national bourgeoisie attempts to develop its campaign with seemingly "general-national" slogans, the more ruthlessly must the Communists expose the counter-revolutionary class character of the campaigns and slogans of the national bourgeoisie. Only by maintaining complete political independence and a sharp revolutionary class line can the Communist Party successfully lead the Indian proletariat on the way to securing its hegemony in the national emancipation movement, and thereby also secure the victory of the revolution.

The government of Great Britain—the Labour Government as the representative of the imperialist bourgeoisie—is proceeding to arrange, through its authorities in India, the vilest provocations and bloodiest mass slaughters. The English Communists must in good time make the broad working masses of Great Britain aware of the criminal plans and summon them to determined courageous support of the Indian revolution.

POLITICS

The United States at the London Naval Conference.

By P. Lapinsky (Moscow).

The majority of the London newspapers are endeavouring to make France responsible for a possible breakdown of the London Naval Conference. But the "blackmailing policy" and the "sabotage" of the French imperialists could only for a time conceal the quarrel between the most important actors in the tragi-comedy of London, the quarrel between Great Britain and the United States.

When Mr. Stimson, the United States Foreign Minister, hastened to publish his Programme Memorandum, it was only at the first moment that it evoked a favourable response from the British side.

Stimson proposed complete parity in aircraft-carriers and destroyers, and only in regard to submarines confined himself to a more vague expression of the desire to fix a "lowest possible standard of tonnage". In return for this the United States make a certain concession in the question of large cruisers. The question left unsolved at the negotiations which took place between MacDonald and Hoover and Dawes, whether the United States should possess 21 or 18 large cruisers, has been decided by Stimson in favour of Great Britain: The United States demands for itself only 18 large cruisers as against 15 British. All this appeared at first sight to be acceptable "in principle".

But suddenly there was revealed the real differences of opinion. The Memorandum, extracts only from which were handed over for publication, was set against the original Memorandum. It was ascertained that the actual concrete demands of the U.S.A. imperialists were not at all included in the published Memorandum.

Since the abortive Three-Power Naval Conference at Geneva in 1927, the questions of cruisers and the calibre of their guns has been regarded as the most important question in dispute between Great Britain and the United States. As is known, the principle of "parity" in regard to capital ship fleets was already laid down at the Washington Conference in 1921 and 1922. The question of cruisers, however, which led to the failure of the Geneva Conference, was in the main solved in the preliminary conversations which MacDonald had with Hoover and Dawes, and still more concretely in the Stimson Memorandum at the London Conference. It appeared, therefore, as if everything were going smoothly. Then, however, there arose in an unexpected manner the dispute in the question of capital ship fleets!

After the Washington Conference there had set in a real competition in the construction and arming not only of cruisers (which were not included in the limitations agreed to in Washington), but also in the large capital ships. At Washington Japan could not bring itself to scrap its newest big ship the "Mutsu", and Japan was allowed to retain this ship and also the "Nagato". In return the United States was "permitted" to complete the construction of the "Maryland", and Great Britain was given for the sake of equality, the right to build two corresponding monster ships, the "Rodney" and the "Nelson".

It is over these powerful ships that there has arisen at the present movement the dispute regarding "parity". Before all America desired that in order to achieve parity already at the end of the coming year, Great Britain, instead of scrapping five of the older large ships of the "Iron Duke" type fitted with 13.5 inch guns, as was originally agreed to at Washington in 1922, should scrap five of the new vessels of the "Queen Elizabeth" type carrying 15 inch guns. America expressed readiness on its part, instead of three to scrap no less than four of the older large ships. — how very touching! — but wanted in return to receive the right to build a supplementary ship parallel to the British "Rodney"!

In the event of the proposals of the U. S. A. imperialists being realised, it would mean, according to British calculations, that the "floating fortresses" of the United States would possess in all thirty-three 16 inch guns, while the British would possess eighteen, and the Japanese sixteen guns of the same calibre!

The Conference is therefore being undermined from all sides. At the same time hardly a word has been spoken at the Conference by the representatives of Japan and Italy, who are wisely keeping in the background. There have, however, been already revealed with sufficient clearness the difficulties of an agreement being arrived at between Japan and America, as well as the tendency on the part of Great Britain to a certain "approchement" to Japan and Italy.

In these circumstances the circles most interested in the "success" of the Conference, and before all the MacDonald Government, are compelled to seek ways and means which have not hitherto come within the compass of the Conference. The tactics of the French imperialists are causing the British imperialists to bring the Conference on to the path of political negotiations over every possible peace guarantee. Fewer ships, but more agreements!

The United States, as before, desire to preserve full freedom of action, the privilege of the strong. Of course, a thousand considerations compel the imperialist Powers, especially Great Britain and the United States, to exert every effort in order to "save" the Conference, or at least to keep up the necessary appearances. But the prestige of the policy of "Pacifism" has already received a severe blow. All the antagonisms and the greedy rivalries have come to light as never before. Even certain circles of United States imperialism, as the Washington Correspondent of the "Times" reports, are compelled "politically" to recognise that the Disarmament Conference has become a "Conference for increasing armaments".

The History of the Papacy — a Tissue of Lies and Deception.

"The whole history of the papacy, as it is irrefutably recorded from reliable sources and actual historical documents, appears to the unprejudiced student as an unscrupulous tissue of lies and deception, as a ruthless striving after absolute spiritual rule and temporal power, as a cynical denial of all the high moral commands which true Christianity teaches: Charity and Toleration, Truth and Chastity, Poverty and Renunciation. If one judges the long line of popes and of the Roman cardinals, from whose ranks they were elected, according to the standard of pure Christian morality, then it becomes clear that the great majority of them were shameless impostors and humbugs, many of them good-for-nothing criminals. These well known historical facts do not, however, prevent that even to-day millions of 'educated' believing Catholics believe in the 'infallibility' of this 'Holy Father' and support his regime by paying 'Peter's Pence'; it does not prevent Protestant princes to-day from visiting Rome and paying reverence to the 'Holy Father' (their most dangerous enemy!)" Ernst Heckel: "The Riddle of the Universe."

The Young Plan Becomes Law!

By A. Schmitt (Berlin).

After negotiations, lasting for weeks, of the government parties, after numerous crises and repeated interruptions of the Parliamentary deliberations, the Hermann Müller government succeeded at last, with the help of Hindenburg, in getting the Young Plan passed on 12th of March. The difficulties of the passing of the law, the inevitability of which was realised by all fractions of the bourgeoisie, resulted, on the one hand, from the connection of the Young law with the so-called "financial reform" and, on the other hand, from the connection with the Treaty with Poland, which brings about an approachment of Germany to Poland directed against the Soviet Union at the cost of the broad masses of the toilers. Each of the coalition parties wished to secure for that group of the bourgeoisie which it represented, as great a share as possible of the promised tax alleviations and, on the other hand, to cast the responsibility for the most reactionary and unpopular laws on the other coalition parties.

At the moment when the coalition threatened to collapse as a result of these disruptive tendencies, Hindenburg was again brought into play in order to tame the shrew. After Hindenburg's conversation with Brüning, the leader of the Centre Party, the Centre fraction declared its readiness to vote for the Young Law, because the carrying out of the immediate financial reform is secured by Hindenburg's pledges.

On the third reading the Young Law was adopted by 265 against 192 votes, 3 members abstaining from voting; the Treaty with the Poles was adopted by 235 votes against 216 with 8 abstentions. The Communist vote of censure was rejected by 277 against 169 votes and 13 abstentions, while a vote of confidence for the government was passed.

Before the final vote was taken, Comrade Stöcker, in the name of the Communist Party of Germany, read a declaration in which the Young Plan, which is squeezing 116,000 million marks war contributions out of the toiling masses of Germany for a period of 58 years, is at the time stigmatised as a war plan against Soviet Russia. In fact the close connection between Germany's subjection to the dictatorship of international finance capital and her joining the anti-Soviet front found clear expression also in the government's statement that the Young Law and the agreement with Poland are an inseparable whole.

As Comrade Florin, the representative of the Communist fraction, pointed out, the acceptance of the Young Plan means an enormous increase in the customs and tax burdens of the toiling masses (upon whom 2,250 million marks have already been cast during the last few months), the enhancement of murderous rationalisation, cutting down of social legislation, in particular the unemployment benefit, and increased fascist terror against the revolutionary proletariat.

Hermann Müller, the social democratic Prime Minister, knows perfectly well that this programme of mass starvation will encounter the most bitter resistance of the proletarian masses. Hence he uttered the following threats:

"All efforts to arouse political unrest, must be ruthlessly crushed. The fear of disturbances promotes the withdrawal of the capital from the country; but the government is strong enough to stop such efforts.

Attempts to instigate putches, either from Left or Right, will be ruthlessly suppressed."

Following these threats the government at once, after the passing of the Young Plan, hastened to rush through the Law for the Defence of the Realm.

But the revolutionary proletariat will never recognise this law of international finance capital and of capitalist Germany. The declaration of the C. P. of Germany states:

"In the same way as already the Spartacus League rejected the Versailles Treaty, just as we Communists rejected the Dawes Plan in 1924 and conducted a struggle against it, we are now, in complete unanimity with the Communist Parties of France, England, Italy, Belgium, Poland and the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Communist International, conducting the ruthless struggle against the Young Pact and its brutal policy of extracting tribute. Hermann Müller's and Hindenburg's

signatures to this Pact are not valid for the working class of Germany. The German working class will destroy this Pact by the victory of the proletarian revolution."

As surely as the Five-Year Plan of Socialist construction will be realised in less than five years, just as surely will the 59 year Plan of financial capitalist plundering under the Young Plan not last fifty, and not even five years. The enslavement of the toilers of Germany is not a national German affair, it must needs lead to the suppression and increased exploitation of the French, English, Czech, Italian and American proletariat. Hence the struggle against the Young Plan will be an international struggle, and this struggle will ultimately destroy the Young Plan, this system of imperialist oppression.

The Fight against the "Anti-terror Law" in Austria.

By Oesterreicher (Vienna).

The fight against the "Anti-terror Law", as the exceptional law against the Austrian working class is called, has entered on a serious phase.

The social democrats had made an agreement with the bourgeois parties to bring the winter session of the National Council to a close by 13th of March, so that the "Anti-terror Law" would have been dealt with only in the Spring session. They hoped thereby to gain time in order, very cautiously, to prepare the working class for the necessary acceptance of the Bill and to come in the meantime to an agreement with the Christian and fascist trade unions.

But the government wants to have the "Anti-terror Law" passed without any amendments, and immediately. Therefore, the government parties have broken the agreement made with the social democrats; the National Council is busy at work in order to pass the "Anti-terror Bill" by next week. In addition, the Christian and fascist trade unions have broken up the joint conference with the social democratic trade union bureaucrats.

The "Arbeiter-Zeitung" is highly indignant and declares that the Christian and fascist trade unions "have deserted over to the enemy". As if they were not previously the greatest enemies of the class-conscious working class.

The social democrats had intended themselves to bring about that which was the real purpose of the "Anti-terror Law", i. e. to break the monopoly of the free trade unions and to let the yellow strike breakers into the factories, by means of a voluntary agreement with the yellow trade unions. But the government wishes to undertake a trial of strength, it wishes to provoke the workers.

The working class is aware of this; it realises the dangers threatening it by the passing of this law. There prevails great unrest in the factories, such as did not even prevail at the time of the struggle against the fascist alteration of the Constitution. The government has therefore placed all government building under increased police protection, and even had police posted at the gates of the biggest factories.

The workers of the Flat works in Floridsdorf (a suburb of Vienna) have replied to this provocation with a strike, demanding from the management the immediate withdrawal of the police. This was conceded and thereupon work was resumed. A similar mood prevails in other factories, a great struggle can break out any day.

In a big functionaries meeting of the social democratic party in Floridsdorf great opposition was expressed to the tactics of the leaders. Many workers demanded that the anti-terror law be prevented by all means.

The government is trying to break the resistance of the workers by terrorist measures. The "Rote Fahne" is now again being confiscated almost daily. In St. Pölten a demonstration of a few hundred unemployed on the 6th of March was not only attacked by the police and gendarmerie, but also by the military. In Berndorf mass arrests were carried out among the unemployed. House searches and arrests of Communist functionaries are a daily occurrence.

Of course this shows that the government is seized by a feeling of insecurity and is panic stricken in face of the growing revolutionisation of the working class.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Attack upon the Soviet Union and the Islamic World.

By D. Safor (Angora).

British imperialism has for years been making particularly intensive war preparations against the South Eastern parts of the Soviet Union. The attack on this side not only possesses great strategic importance as a flank attack, but the immediate object of this attack would be, on the one hand, Turkistan and, on the other hand, the rich oil wells of Baku. This section of war preparations renders it necessary for England to mobilise all the Mohammedan peoples against the Soviet Union. Every Eastern specialist of British foreign policy is not without reason, continually repeating that "the British Empire is the greatest Mohammedan empire of the world". British policy in India and in the Near East has for decades been aiming at "collaboration" with the Mohammedans. The first serious rebuffs which British imperialism received in these territories was the declaration of independence of the three States: Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan.

This independence would never have been attained and would never have lasted for any length of time, had not the power of the liberated Soviet Republics backed up the independence movements of these countries. This fact determines the twofold character of British war preparations, which are not only directed against the Soviet Union, but also aim at annihilating the independence of the above-mentioned three States.

The means which the British imperialist agents are using in this campaign are: support of the reactionary clergy, of the conservative feudal sections, and of counter-revolution against the emancipation movement of the Mohammedan peoples. British imperialism has for years supported the Pan-Islamic movement. At first it attempted to form a bloc with the Sultan of Turkey; after his dethronement it was intended to establish an Arab Caliphate under British protection in order to consolidate the reactionary forces in the Near East. When this attempt proved abortive, a Caliphate Congress was convened in Cairo which likewise failed. Then various adventures were undertaken, as for instance the attempt to make use of the peasants revolts in Kurdistan (against Mustapha Kemal Pascha), in Arabistan, and in Afghanistan. All these having failed, we are now witnessing a new wave of imperialist offensive, under the slogans: Rescue the Islamic world!", "Holy war for the defence of the persecuted Mohammedans in the Soviet Union", "Defence of the endangered religious possessions" etc.

This propaganda is conducted with great vehemence by the newspaper organs of the Mohammedan countries bribed by the British. It fails in those countries where the national movement is already strong enough to come forward against the survivals of clerical feudalism. But even in the countries which are under British influence, the extreme nationalists i. e., those who are against a compromise with British imperialism, sharply oppose the anti-Soviet policy. This can be said of the extreme nationalists in Iraq, and the radical nationalists in other Arabian countries.

To the extent to which, even in the most backward Mohammedan countries, class differentiation is proceeding and the working class is rising, to the extent to which the contradictions between the exploited masses of small peasants and the big landowners are becoming more acute, to the same extent the reactionary clergy, who are allied with England, will be less and less able to incite the masses against the Soviet Union.

The issue of the previous reactionary adventures supported by the British proves that the attempt to make use of the religious fanaticism of the masses has been abortive. If one speaks of a Holy War, then one can say, without incurring the danger of committing an error, that for the masses the holy war against the imperialist robbers is the only popular one. The flank attack on the Soviet Union can, if it is undertaken, result in a big surprise for British imperialism. If one ventures to place rifles in the hands of the Mohammedan masses in order to direct these against the Soviet Union, these rifles will be certainly turned against the foreign exploiters.

Crusade against the Soviet Union**Financial Capital in Papal Robes.****(A Pamphlet).****By N. Bukharin.**

For thirteen years the broad masses of the workers of the land of the Soviets, led by the foremost fighting ranks of the worker vanguard, have been struggling to safeguard the red frontiers, and to build up the new life. The difficult stage of transition, now being passed through at highest tension by the heroic army of the proletariat, involves enormous sacrifices for the masses of town and country. The last copect is given to further the feverishly rapid work of reconstruction, incredible exertions are made to ensure a ferro-concrete foundation upon which the gigantic and stable structure of Communism is to stand for centuries; these people, who have overthrown the power of the large landowners, the power of capital, choose to suffer bitter need to-day, to give the best out of their lives, solely that they may reorganise their economy to its profoundest depths, and that they may replace the obsolete and rusty technics of wood and leather by a system of glittering metal, ensuring that **to-morrow** it will be possible to work **more easily**, to produce immeasurably **more**, to live **better**, more cleanly, with more light and air, more sensibly.

And precisely at this moment, when the **working masses** are exerting their utmost efforts, are straining every muscle to overcome the difficulties of the present, out of which they are building their future, when—in spite of partial failures and disappointments—they have made great headway in the work which is absorbing all their attention and energy, precisely at this moment a wild bacchanalia is renewed among their foes abroad. Roman cardinals and Georgian coiners, generals of various staffs and priests of various gods and churches, English lords and French usurers, American money-bags and bishops of the church of England, Washington senators and Swedish dukes, professors and courtesans, police spies and the Holy Father at Rome himself, the representative of the apostle and of God, the infallible prince of the church—one and all they preach the **"true spiritual crusade of civilisation against barbarism"**, to repeat the words, steeped in hypocrisy and in desire for brutality, of the "Popolo di Roma", the newspaper of the Fascist headmen. Truly the Fascists are just the right people to adopt this noble pose!

The whole of this wild dance of counter-revolution, this cannibalistic howling of all these secular and ecclesiastical hyenas, accompanied by the clanking of spurs, the rattling of sabres, the swing of the censers, is a "moral" preparation of an attack on the Soviet Union. Fall upon the Bolshevik country, you princes, kings, and lords! Give your clinking coinage, you enlightened bankers and industrialists! Get ready your dynamite, you masters of the war workshops! Counter-feiters are in danger! Oil is in danger! Markets are in danger! Capitalist property is in danger! God is in danger!

Most esteemed ladies and gentlemen, honorable sirs! You will not frighten us with your howlings. But do not be offended if we reveal your true countenance to the masses of the people, make it clear to them that you are showing your fangs. You do not care to remove the masks from your none too handsome faces! Then do not be indignant if we tear them off, and if your delicate skin is injured in the process, where the mask sticks too firmly.

* * *

That miserable rag calling itself the "Rigäsche Rundschau", in its issue No. 33 of 10th February 1930, referring to the message from the holy Pius, designates that foolishly garrulous and yet belligerent document as a "long-expected great offensive on the part of the Catholic church against heathen Bolshevism, and against Bolshevik Russia". The attack has been opened as a general attack on the whole front by this declaration of war, although the frail hand of the warlike high priest is guided by forces infinitely more powerful than that of the existing archaeological Roman See itself.

But only see, the Christian Father is terribly disquieted at this "persecution of religion" in the Soviet Union. He recalls to mind that as early as 1922, he proposed at the Genoa Conference that all the Powers represented there should submit a joint ultimatum to the Soviet government: Recognition **solely** on condition of "respect for conscience, for the free practice of religion, and for the property of the church". Alas! no laments, the Powers did not listen to me! They preferred the things of this earth to those of heaven!

And now the day of requital is come. The pope eagerly seizes on the inventions of the raging boulevard press, these tales of imaginary bloody horrors, served up ad nauseam to the herd of the Philistines by the inklingers of these papers; he calculates the balance of losses, blesses his warriors, curses the "oppressors of religion", and rises to really dizzy heights of historical pathos. How he gives it to them!

"The organisers of the atheist campaign and of the anti-religious front aim above all at the **degeneration of youth**, by exploiting its naive and unenlightened state."

These evil-doers, instead of educating young people in the spirit of science and of civilisation, in the spirit of honour and justice which "cannot thrive and flourish without religion", organise them in leagues of militant atheists, sow "moral, cultural, and even economic ruin", carry on anti-humanitarian propaganda, infect them with every vice, with dangerous materialism; they force children to denounce their fathers, arrange blasphemous carnival festivals, force people to abandon religion by depriving them of bread tickets, dwellings, etc., if they refuse, and the like.

Here the pope's imagination is inspired by a truly divine afflatus: He invents "hair-raising" atrocities. And the logical result of all this balderdash, this storm attack on paper, is a sounding appeal, which, like the trump of the Apocalyptic archangel, of the leader of the celestial army, the warrior, the Judge, will destroy root and branch the seat of the materialist pestilence, the land of the Red monster, where there are no crowns and no princes, and where even the kulaks stand as if on glowing coals.

We follow the regulations of European civilisation, and request the citizen Pope to produce, first of all, his identification papers. Your papers, your **historical papers**, Mon-signore?

Papal magnificence has passed through various phases, and at its sources we find a number of dirty and fraudulent falsifications. Under Pope Stephan II, King Pepin the short presented the "church state" to the princes of the church, in return for aid in the war against the Langobards. But at once a forged document was drawn up converting this bargain, both commercial and bloody, into a "present from Constantine the Great". This gives an idea of the **origin of papal property**. About the middle of the IX. century a large number of forged documents put in an appearance, including the so-called "pseudo-Isidorian decretals", and were zealously circulated. The collections of forged enactments showed the Pope to be neither more nor less than the **"head of the whole world"**. The impudent forgery was exposed as such. But in the history of the Holy See it is a "sacred document". This gives an idea of the historical passport of citizen Pope.

Thus we see the **very beginnings of papal existence soiled with blood and dirt, war and forgery, and these are the influences which have shaped the whole subsequent development of this sorry institution.**

The papacy, represented by the highly reverend holder of the papal throne, possesses not only economic access to the pulse of the **world's daily life**. The Holy Fathers have created for themselves a comprehensive scholastic theory, whose rusty iron clamps crush the unhappy brains of all the servants of the Catholic church. This theory was formulated by the famous **Thomas of Aquinas** at the end of XIII. century, in his „Ency-

clopeia and Theology". The encyclica of the Pope Leo XIII., issued on 4th August, 1879, still imposed upon the servants of the church the obligation of studying Thomas. This is the most elaborate theoretical programme of the papacy.

But what do we find in this learned Encyclopaedia with respect to tolerance, freedom of conscience, and the other excellent things which the worthy Pius is making so free with at present? "Heresy is a sin for which the guilty are not only to be expelled from the church, but are to be removed from this world by death." This is the first commandment of the pontificate. Nowadays, of course, the arms of the Pope do not reach so far; pontifical power has greatly decreased and the peacock's tail has been thoroughly ruffled by the inevitable, by history. But when this withered vampire attempts to sharpen his claws once more, when he leans for aid on the still mighty forces of the imperialist soul-murderers, when he assumes the mask of tolerance, then his own executioner's command must be thrown in his teeth: "The heretic (therefore, he who is not a slave of the Pope) must be removed from this world by death."

Here, it may be observed, "deeds" have again preceded "words". The memory of Pope Pius XI. has obviously failed him altogether in his chatter about the "theory and practice" of the Holy Chair. One must surely be a very thorough going scoundrel, a hypocrite from head to feet, to be able to come forward with a message so honey-sweet and simultaneously slanderous as this latest production of the Pope, whilst having at the same time such frightful crimes on one's conscience: For will not the breaking of bones, the death rattle, the smell of burning human flesh, the reeking smoke of the stake, the groans of the tortured—cry to heaven through all eternity! The popes, with their inquisitions, with their Jesuits, with their "crusades", with their savage extermination of "heretics", with their barbarity, their venality, their intrigues, will not escape the impartial tribunal of history!

Your Holiness! Do you not remember the decision of your Council of Rheims in 1157, prescribing that the faces of heretics were to be branded—in the most "humane" "tolerant", and "Christian" manner, and with "all respect to freedom of conscience"—with a red-hot iron? Do you not remember a similar decision passed by your Holy Council at Oxford in 1166! Do you not remember the decisions of the Lateran Council of 1178, used (in 1181) when the "crusade" against all "enemies of the church" was proclaimed, and when, for the purpose of the mass extermination of "heretics", the papal beast granted indulgence in advance for not less than two years for all sins?

Do you not remember the so-called "establishments" of Louis the Holy, in 1270, including an article condemning "heretics" to be burnt alive? Do you not remember the legislation under the Emperor Friedrich II. (enactments issued 1220 to 1239), based on the decisions of the Lateran Council, legislation outlawing the heretics, consigning to eternal damnation all their "helpers", "defenders", and "advocates", exposing their property to confiscation, their houses to barbarous destruction? Do you not remember the decision of the Council of Narbonne, in 1229, and of the Council of Albi, demanding that every boy over the age of 14, and every girl over 12, had to denounce any body? (Hence, Holy Father, your slanderous blackenings of the Soviet country and of our youth!)

Do you not remember, you old hypocrite, the decisions passed by the Council of Narbonne in 1244, decreeing that the secular judge who hesitated to order the execution of a heretic should himself suffer the death penalty? Do you not remember the decisions of the Council of Constance (1418), which caused John Huss to be burned, and enacted that all Hussites were to be "punished by fire", that is, burnt at the stake?

The Catholic church raged with fire and sword in almost every part of Europe. Like a swarm of greedy locusts it has descended upon every quarter of the earth insatiable in its brutalities in the colonies, an actual murderer of the peoples, the more revolting that it conceals the bloody orgies of trade capital behind words of "love and compassion".

But why this savage war fever? This is very simply explained. The Holy Fathers have fought with fire and sword against the heretics for the reason that—as the extremely moderate historical student of the inquisition, G. Ch. Lee, who is by no means a Bolshevik, but a pious American bookseller, observes—"with very few exceptions the ruling classes

were not participators in the origin of heresy". The heretics came from the lowest strata of society, the peasantry, the artisans, the journeymen, the poor. The best, boldest, and noblest of them, whose ideas often bordered on communism, walked bravely to the stake, and their heroic deaths are torches lighting the way of true humanity.

But the papal jackals, from the lesser servants of the inquisition upwards, the spies, messengers, informers, "bravos", to the "grand inquisitors" and "generals" of the Jesuit order, the bishops and popes themselves, will remain in the hearts of humanity as a revolting memory of the horrors of historical barbarism. It is not for nothing that one of the largest sects of the "heretics" was named the "pure", the "good people", and the papal myrmidons of every rank the "hunters of the good".

The "holy inquisition", whose very name has become a hateful term of opprobrium, this mighty tool in the hands of the popes, worked out a finely detailed system of mental and physical torture. The "water ordeal", the rack, the drawing and quartering, the burning at the stake, the hanging of a sack of powder round the neck of the victim (a technical improvement added after the invention of gunpowder!), that is, the combination of the stake with being blown into the air; the appertaining instruments of torture made of iron, steel, and wood; how bloody and sinister the atmosphere surrounding all these estimable deeds of the loving fathers of the church!

Now, however, the Pope comes forward as the champion of "freedom of conscience". He sheds crocodile's tears on non-existent cruelties in "Russia", whilst every stone of the pavements in Rome, in the towns and rural districts of France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and a number of other countries is soaked in the blood shed by the popes blackened with the smoke of the burning stakes, sunk in the moral degradation of the poisonous emanations of the Catholic church! He ventures, without blushing to the roots of his hair, to assert that he defends the cause of "culture and civilisation", of science. He, the Pope, the head and highest priest of that idolatrous organisation which burned Giordano Bruno at the stake, which tortured Campanella, which threw the great Galileo behind prison bars, and which has crushed all and everything which has stood in the path of the dominion of Rome.

The Order of the Jesuits, this select cohort of the "church militant", takes a place second only to the inquisition as an important weapon of papal policy. It penetrated everywhere, from the government to the school. For a time it held power, behind the scenes, in every country of the world. But has the name of "Jesuit" not too become a term of opprobrium, a reproach, a despised name? The historian G. Böhmer, a writer whose bias is rather on the side of Jesuitism, reveals the social nature of the order in the passage:

"It ranks are recruited almost exclusively from the ranks of the aristocracy, of power, wealth, and education: it is only natural that the Order receives the greatest support from these select (! N. B.) elements of society... The people do not want it anywhere, although they are easily induced to accept its help in those places where it has already struck root."

The "help" given frequently consisted of drawing the sons of the people up to the ceiling by means of tackle especially designed to pull out their arms and legs: the "select elements of society", the "aristocrats of power, wealth, and education", know very well how to settle accounts with the "mob".

But whilst the "Society of Jesus" was keeping pace "outside" with the "holy inquisition", and vying with it in demonstrating the limits of its religious tolerance by means of burning "heretics" at the stake within the Order its theoreticians, and especially its founder Ignatius of Loyola, dealt with the question much more "profoundly". They raised the grossest ideological prostitution and the most unprincipled fanaticism to the heights of an ideological principle. They built up an organisation whose members held the abandonment of their own convictions to be their greatest virtue, even their baseness in the world which does not seek an ideological justification for itself.

The Jesuit king Loyola worked out a complete theory of subordination, of "working discipline"; every member of the

order must submit to his superior "like a corpse, which can be turned in any direction, like a stick which submits to every movement, like a lump of wax, which can be made to change its shape and to stretch in any direction" . . . This corpse is differentiated according to three degrees of perfection: Subordination of action, subordination of will, subordination of reason. When the last degree has been reached, when the human being substitutes mere obedience for thought, and abandons his convictions, then we have the 100 per cent. Jesuit. This general "corpse transformation", as organisational and ideological principle of the Order, brought about a situation in which even Jesuits themselves mutinied, and at the end of the XI. century one of the theoreticians of this mutiny, Mariana, wrote as follows on the "Sorrows of the Society of Jesus":

"The monarchy (that is, the monarchy in the Order. N. B.) does not destroy us because it is a monarchy, but because it is insufficiently restricted. It is a mad boar, destroying everything in its wild rush."

In spite of this, the "mad boar" continued its work of devastation, for the pontifical chair was held, with but few exceptions, by another "mad boar", who was the supreme authority of the Order of the Jesuits. It is not surprising, given such "unprincipled principles", that deceit and trickery, intrigues, daggers, poison, broken oaths, a subtle system of lying known as casuistry, Sadistic tortures at hearings, wiles and stratagems, all artifices without exception, thrived luxuriantly in the garden of the Lord.

And this spiritual prostitution, this ideology of faithless eunuchs, and sodomites, this obscenity, this, most holy Pius, you name "culture and civilisation"?

The Bolsheviks are ruining the young people, we are told, when they combat the idea that wine becomes converted into the blood of God, which we must sip from golden vessels, swallowing at the same time flesh made from bread in the same manner.

These Bolsheviks are trying to suppress science when they spread knowledge of Mendeleev's periodicity system or of the theory of electrons, instead of insisting upon the transubstantiation of bread and wine into flesh and blood.

And when the Roman popes and inquisitors burn Bruno, they are only proving their concern for science.

The Bolsheviks are ruining the youth by leading it into the struggle against medieval superstition. But the Roman popes and Jesuits "educate" the young people by training them to blind obedience, by teaching them the tenet of the infallibility of the Roman *Dalai Lama*. Is this not so, reverend ancient? Is this not so, O mummy on the throne, O putrefying refuse of our time, still infecting the earth with evil-smelling and poisonous breath?

The Bolsheviks teach sins to youth. And the greatest sin is materialism, honour and justice not being able to thrive without religion. Thus the papal message. We have already had the opportunity of judging how much the "honour" and "justice" of pontifical messengers is worth. But it is in vain that Pius speaks of sin. For in all history there is no more sinful "history" than the "history" of the most reverend Roman shepherds. And here they do not demand requital: To you, public accusers, it shall be requited a hundredfold.

Here we may begin with a few general theses of papal theory. The teaching of the "treasury of good works" of Christ and his saints is truly delightful from this standpoint. Christ and the saints have accumulated a number of good works, the key to which lies in the hands of the Pope. In this manner the Pope possesses a current account: He estimates the total sum of the "good works" in gold, and sets this opposite the sins of the flock, likewise estimated in gold, but with a minus sign. When the sinner desires to annul his sins, he pays the Pope compensation in so and so many pieces of gold: the Pope then draws the number of good works, corresponding to the sum paid, from the "treasury", and the sins of the criminal are annulled.

This mercantile bargaining, weighing the good works of Christ in the balance of the avaricious usurer, is taken part in by the Pope, who plays the part of the enterprising dealer in these works: the result is the tremendous spread of the practice of the sale of indulgences, documents absolving the sinners. The salesmen and agents negotiating these documents, the central and local offices, travelling agents, shameful

trading, second grade indulgences, false indulgences, agiotage—is this not the most revolting of all spectacles? And is it not all the work of the dirty hands of the Pope? Christ's works too are sold. The rich buy absolution for their sins. Bishoprics are sold. And beyond this even the "secrets", the most mystic and "sacred" of the Christian cult, are sold.

Have you never heard, oh Holiest, of the institution of the "oblation" of that tribute without which the believers could not take part in the holy communion for a time? Have you never heard that saying of Peter Cantor, that the clergy are worse than Judas Iscariot, who sold Christ for thirty pieces of silver, for "they sell him thirty times daily for one single piece of silver"? Have you never heard of simony? Have you forgotten the nepotism with which the popes appointed their relations and prostitutes, the scum of the streets, to positions as bishops, solely because these people were the object of their iniquitous desires?

Have you never heard that precisely papal Rome was one of the main centres of prostitution, and that, for instance, the statistics for the year 1490 show that in a population of 100,000 there were about 7000 "public girls"? Was it not in papal Avignon that the courtesan, the type of the select court prostitute, came into being? Was it not said of the papal court at Avignon that there existed there an "academy of kind ladies". "Ladies" known by name to the historians? Do you not know of the bought courtesans who satisfied the superfine desires of the popes Sixtus IV., Alexander VI., and Leo X.? Was it not the Holy Father Paul II. (1464—1471) who introduced the bacchanalia into the customs of the papal court? And have you heard nothing whatever of the famous Lateran carnival held by the Pope Leo X. on 11th April 1513, when one single day cost 100,000 ducats, and every enjoyment, every art, every pleasure, every vice, every sensuality, and every luxury, were gathered together for the entertainment of the holy (Ha! ha! ha!) princes of the church. (See Sombart: "Luxury and capitalism").

Have the flaming verses of a contemporary, the famous humanist *Ulrich von Hutten*, ever been refuted? His "Vadicus or the Roman Trinity"?

"Vadicus added: there are three things frequently found in Rome, sensual pleasures, magnificent clothing, and haughtiness.

Ernold: Yes. All that is the fashion there. But in Rome they not only abandon themselves to sensual pleasure, they endeavour to lend as much variety to it as possible, so that the "spintries" of the ancients are nothing in comparison. At least the simple joys of the senses, conforming with nature, are actually despised on principle, and spoken of as if for country clods. Therefore in Rome pleasure is of such a nature that we are ashamed to speak of it."

" . . . Vadicus speaks: Hence you find in Rome three things in rich superabundance: antiquities, poison, and ruins. To this I (that is, Hutten. N. B.) added: Three things have been driven from there: Simplicity, moderation, and sinlessness. Then follow the triads: Three things are dealt in Rome: Christ, consecrated places, and women. . . . Three things are held in high-esteem in Rome: the beauty of women, magnificent horses, and papal documents."

And further:

"Hutten: The leisured of Rome occupy themselves with three things: With loafing about, with unchastity, and with gluttony.

Ernold: Yes, nothing else is done there, for those who do not appear to be idle, deceive, lie, swear false oaths, betray, plunder, steal, commit adultery, seduce, their activities being deliberation, writing, flattery, striving, imploring."

And then with regard to the popes themselves:

"If they (the popes. N. B.) kill the soul, then why have they a right to call themselves the successors of Christ? Where is the similarity of their institutions? Christ, speaking to Peter, once said: Feed my sheep! But what do the popes do? Do they not lead the Christians, completely pillaged by papal plundering, to starvation? Do they not fleece their sheep continually, and cut into their flesh whilst shearing them?"

Finally a general characterisation of the pontifical church:

"Without doubt this church consists of thieves, hypocrites, defrauders, lawyers and bishops guilty of simony, and of toadies to the highest priest in Rome, and more than this, it is composed exclusively of these . . . Hence they (the popes,

N. B.) do not renounce worldly power like Peter, but carry on wars on land and sea for kingdoms and for power, inciting the subjects against the rulers, shedding blood and injecting poison."

This is the true and actual countenance of the papal chair. And this picture does not by any means exhaust the whole moral and political physiognomy of the pope.

Above all, the popes have been avaricious and bloody conquerors, shrinking from no means for the suppression of their enemies and semi-friends. The history of the papacy is the history of endless wars, conspiracies, diplomatic frauds, faithless betrayals, secret murders, innumerable predatory raids. These feudal barons, princes, emperors, have striven constantly to add to their lands, and the "sacred appeals" for struggles in defence of the Christian faith, against heresy, in support of the word of truth, etc., have been nothing but a despicable cloak for very prosaic aims. The growing demands of the popes, the lengthening of their tentacles, have invariably been accompanied by fresh theories confirming, in a "Christian manner", the ever fresh degrees of power assumed by the highest priest of Rome.

The combatting of heresy has been accompanied by confiscations in the favour of the popes. The combatting of the "enemies of the church" has indeed altogether tended to swell the possessions of the popes. The fight against those princes who protested against the greed of the Holy Chair brought when victorious ever more land into the hands of the popes. The struggle for the "holy land" the struggle for the colonies (under the slogan of a struggle for the Christian faith) extended the area under papal taxation. And all this has been laid down in the doctrine of the especially privileged position of the Holy Father in Rome. Pillage, war and robbery have become part of the profitable world of the blessing of God, the more easily that they have found the key to the casket containing this blessing precisely in the possession of the Holy Father.

Gregory VII. (1073—1085) laid down the thesis that the Pope is the ruler of the whole world, and put this thesis into actual practice by excommunicating Henry IV., and obliging him to undertake his penitential pilgrimage to Canossa. **Innocent III.** (1198—1216) concretised Gregory's thesis by a formulation of the idea of the papal love of power, according to which the kings of the earth are the vassals of the Pope, and the Pope himself, if not actually higher than our Lord Jesus Christ, is certainly above the whole human race. **Bonifacius VIII.** declared that the Pope must hold in his hands not only the spiritual sword, but the temporal; with this raised the question of war as method of Christian intervention to a "principle".

Pope Innocent III. having laid down that the selection of the emperor must depend "fundamentally and finally" upon the Roman See, the Council of Trient (1563) placed the Pope over all general councils, and on 18th July, 1870, on the eve of the Paris Commune, on the threshold of the XX. century, at a moment when the natural sciences were sweeping triumphantly forward, the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope was laid down! It is true that this "dogma" was accepted at a time when the tentacles of the Pope had already been clipped three-quarters short, but it is none the less characteristic of the greed and avarice of the popes.

We must remember that these anointed of the Lord are transformed instantaneously into wild beasts as soon as the historical situation permits them to extend their claws. The archbishop Peter of Blois (XIII. century) described the pontifical judges as "adders, exceeding serpents and basilisks in their rage". Hildebert of Mans (see Lee as above) declared with regard to the papal high priests:

"They comprehend like a stone; they judge like a beam; they ignite like a fire; they are as sly as a fox; proud as a bull; gluttonous as a minotaurus."

The popes, avaricious, greedy of power and fame, have conducted ceaseless wars not only against the "external" enemies, or even only against the "heretics", but against their own vassals, the archbishops. More than this, there have been periods in history when there have been several popes at the same time, fighting one another ruthlessly with fire and sword. At the end of the XIV. century, for instance, a Holy Father (Urban VI.) was elected in Rome, another in Avignon (Clement VI.), and the institution of the sole representative of the apostle Peter continued to exist in this divided condition. In 1409 the Council of Pisa deposed both the existing popes (Gregory XII.

and Benedict XIII.), and elected a third (Alexander V.), whose successor was John XXIII. The council of Constance deposed all three popes and elected Martin V. The shameful quarrels and vile chaffering thus going on behind the scenes even led once to a cunning woman becoming pope.

Among the popes there have been not only ordinary criminals; there have been real masters of the basest and bloodiest machinations, virtuosi in murder from ambush, pastmasters of treachery and crime. Sixtus IV. (1471—1484) deceived his allies, took part in assassinations, incited to wars, excommunicated his enemies and caused them to be executed, persecuting them with an almost insane rage. His successor Alexander, and later, the son of Alexander, Cesare Borgia, set all Rome in terror. He was, as Ranke, the historian of the papacy, writes:

"... sensual and thoroughly blood-stained. Rome trembled at the mere sound of his name. Cesare Borgia was in constant need of money, and had many enemies. Murders took place in Rome almost every night. The inhabitants were afraid to move, there were none who did not tremble for fear that it would be their turn next. Those who could not be attacked by force were poisoned. Every conspicuously sudden death gave immediate rise to the supposition that the Pope had a hand in the poisoning."

Cesare Borgia killed his brother and threw his corpse into the Tiber; he murdered his brother-in-law; he killed his father's favourite, who had hidden in Alexander's cloak, striking him down before his father's eyes. There was no crime in which Cesare Borgia did not break all records.

And such a brute beast as this, a monster who deserved to be confined in an iron cage and shown as a wild beast, is one of the glorious predecessors of Pius XI.

Degenerate and sensual libertines, sadistic murders of the type of Cesare Borgia, power-seeking intriguers of the type of Sixtus IV, gormandizing voluptuaries, to whom murder and robbery served as mere springboards to unheard of luxury and the gratification of every caprice, of the type of Leo X. These are the beings who have determined the moral (moral!) physiognomy of the pontificate. And now it is the honest Pius who comes forward to teach us morals, and to defend the morality trodden underfoot by the Bolsheviks.

Yes indeed! Truly we do tread underfoot the "morality" of the popes! Our youth, above all its proletarian divisions, will do its utmost to ensure that never and nowhere will there spring up, on our soil, such poisonous monsters as Sixtus, Leo, Cesare, and Alexander. The "morality" of brutal murderers, the "morality" of the inquisitors, the "morality" of the Sadists, the "morality" of the Jesuits, the "morality" of the erotomaniacs who conjured up the idolisation of the "virgin Mary", the "morality" of executioners, of the suppressors of science, the "morality" of dirty casuists, of greedy usurers—be it threefold accursed, this "morality!"

This is the "morality" of slaveowners become devils, of enraged hagglers shrinking from nothing when defending "their" (stolen) goods, when defending the whole of the old world from whose pores "blood and dirt pour", or when they attack everything new, when they pillage the oppressed, when they persecute the living forces of humanity and deal inhumanly with them.

It has been a great game which messeigneurs the popes have played, a game on a worldwide scale! Their agents, their Jesuit fathers, their missionaries, their legates, have penetrated everywhere: They accompanied the piratical raids of the Spanish and Portuguese plunderers to America and India; they went to Africa and China, and prepared the path for the enslavement of the colonies; they applied every method; they took immediate part in massacres; they burned and slaughtered whole settlements of "heathen"; they masked themselves as semi-"heathen" (for instance as Brahmins in India), in order to insinuate themselves into the confidence of peoples of other creeds (the dispute with regard to the so-called "Chinese" and "Malabar" customs); they lied and pretended, organised "crusades" and predatory trading expeditions, gaining the hate of the natives and introducing syphilis, a disease of which several generations of popes were the first to rot.

Among the old writings of the agent of the German world trading house of the Welser in Augsburg, Balthasar Sprenger, who took part in the expedition of the Portuguese Almeida

(1505). we find a colourful description of the functional rôle of papal Christianity:

"On 13th August we arrived at the port of Mombassa ... the people there were hostile towards us ... but with the aid of Christ, our Saviour ... we drove them from the fort and chased them into the town itself ... By God's providence not a few of the heathen fell, but on our side only two were killed ... After we had established our order in the town, and equipped ourselves for plundering, we first posted sentries and then began with plundering, and found such enormous wealth that it cannot be retailed. **Eternal glory, honour, and worship to God!**" ... At the taking of the town there were ten ships in all ... The eleventh arrived later in a lamentable condition. This ship was called "Raphael". The German traders had a total of three ships, "St. Hieronymus", "St. Raphael", and "St. Leonhard". These all took part in all expeditions and struggles."

(The emphasis is mine. N.B.)

Or an excerpt from a writing by Hans Mayr, written in the Portuguese language, referring to a battle with the Moors:

"The gates were closed; we broke them open, but the whole courtyard was empty. ... The whole town was likewise occupied without any resistance. ... The Franciscans erected a cross, and the admiral took possession of the house near this cross. The whole of the men set about looting the goods and stores of this rich town."

The oceans of blood which have been shed by the "gentle" fathers of Rome are immeasurable. The present pope is anxious to add another gem to his tiara, a many-coloured horn and proclaiming a new crusade. But in vain he sets up a howl over morality. The morality of the popes is abominable. And in vain he raises his outcry over science. For the popes are the destroyers of science. In vain he raises his outcry over the "peoples", for the popes are the executioners of the peoples.

On the threshold of the 20th century one of the immediate predecessors of the present pope, Pius IX., raised a protest, in his sensational Encyclica (December 1864), against the "Iniquities of this century". He hurled thunder and lightning at those who set reason above revelation, he condemned the view that the highest law is the will of the people. He emphasised that people outside of the fold watched by the pope cannot hope for "salvation". He damned every form of democracy, and proved himself with every word to be such a bigot, such an obscurantist, such an enemy of enlightenment, such a retrogressionist, such a destroyer of all thought, that even Thiers, in his "Speeches on the Roman question", regretted the publication of these encyclicals.

And now another Pius ventures to come forward in defence of Science! The heaps of corpses which you have on your consciences, Messieurs Popes are not enough for you! Your declarations of "Infallibility", Encyclicals, Bulls, in which you come forward against the "Arrogance of Reason", for "Revelation", i. e., for the fairy tales and myths of antiquity, which have been improved upon and supplemented by the forgers in the papal retinue, are not enough for you? We shall be against you and for Science: for the multiplication of the doctrine of the Trinity, for Chemistry against the teachings of the mystery of the Eucharist, for Biology against the myth of the Immaculate Conception, for Darwinism against the foolish nonsense about Eve, who was created out of Adam's rib, for the recognition of your iniquity, against the doctrine of your Infallibility, for Truth against the papal fraud, for the Working Class of the whole world, against capitalist slavery, against the defender of this slavery, the Pope.

Your threats are mere idle barking. The line of world historical development is on our side!

Of extraordinary significance is the fact that at one time Pius XI. bridled his anti-Bolshevik passions. The secret regarding this fact was recently blurted out by the "civilised" one of the German General Staff, the eminent journalist and constant contributor to the "Berliner Tageblatt", Herr Paul Scheffler. He wrote in the "Berliner Tageblatt" of 14th February 1930:

"The form of the orthodox Church was broken by the revolution of 1917. Had not the moment arrived to bind together again the two great Christian communities after

their thousand years of separation, when now one appeared without a leadership? ... The hope that the path to this union would be free in the Soviet State must be regarded as the underlying motive for the tolerance and persistently patient attitude of Pius XI. towards the Bolshevik regime. This hope is now obviously buried, so long as the Soviet State exists." Hence the pope's attack.

But this is not the only question concerned.

Papal power has passed through many phases in the course of its development. Once a feudal organisation, it has grown together with trading capital, and has been closely bound up with the greatest mercantile houses of the world, of the type of the famous house of Fugger. It has participated immediately in the piratical colonial expeditions, and the priestly robes and crucifix or the Catholic church have accompanied the bandits and cut-throats of mercantile capital on their sea voyages and bloody adventures. It took its stand against the French revolution and its echoes, but Napoleon Bonaparte, who troubled little about God, settled accounts with the Pope Pius VII., took him prisoner, and forced him to sign the concordates turning everything upside down, whilst the government made light of the popes and itself appointed the bishops.

The fluctuations of the process of history have influenced the fate of the popes more than once. Frequently it has gone very badly with them. In 1848, for instance, Pope Pius IX. took cowardly flight from his divine duties. But after the epoch of revolutions had passed, he returned to his penates, and the papal throne once more became a pillar of reaction all over Europe.

The growth of the labour movement was a signal to the popes to raise the flag openly against socialism and communism. As early as 1846 Pius IX., in his Encyclica "Qui pluribus", fell upon the communists, and attacked at the same time other "secret societies". In the Encyclica "Quanta Cura", issued in 1864, the pope renewed the declaration of war against communism, and in the so-called "syllabus" he cursed communism as a "pestilence". Leo XIII., in the Encyclica issued on 28th December 1878, devoted especially to the "Degeneracy of our time", protested sharply against "socialism, communism, nihilism", and employed every available means in defence of the sacred property of the capitalists and large landowners. The papacy has therefore become one of the main forces set in action by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

Of late the organisation of the Catholic Church has become more and more part and parcel of financial capital. The popes have long possessed banks, estates, industrial undertakings. Even in Protestant Germany heavy industry and the banks are now in closest contact with the Vatican. In Italy itself the pontificate is a great shareholder in the banks, and maintains a large number of undertakings, including picture palaces.

The Vatican knows very well what it is doing. At one time it opposed to the uttermost the national unification of Italy, and was completely at war with the national revolutionary troops of Garibaldi. Now it joins a bloc with Mussolini, who is prepared, for the sake of the salvation of the national counter-revolution, to force the working class into the position of beasts of burden kept in a not particularly well kept stable. The alliance of this Fascist clique of reactionary, aggressive, utterly anti-labour and belligerent counter-revolutionists with the Vatican is a conspicuous sign that the supreme sacrificial priest and arch-strategist of the Catholic Church has now become one of the main instigators of international counter-revolution.

The banner of the Pope is the banner of capitalist counter-revolution, the banner of oppression of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, the banner of fresh bloody struggles on behalf of capital.

The peoples of the Soviet Union constitute a sixth part of the earth. Boldly they raise the flag proclaiming the great work undertaken in our country, the work of reconstruction. Headed by the proletariat and led by its party, they are determined to reshape their technics and economics, their manner of life and their science, and to create a new and brighter life. They have shaken off the large landowners and the capitalists, they have overcome pestilence and famine. They are carrying on a campaign against the old forms of economy. They are creating new socialist industries, and are renewing the structure of the village from top to bottom. They are casting aside the prejudices of centuries,

and are striding forth from the gloomy cells of superstition, of belief in magic and witchcraft, out onto the broad highway towards the construction of the new socialist order, in which there is neither capitalism nor exploitation, neither popes nor priests

This is the real reason why the priesthood is arming for a fresh crusade. This is the real reason why the whole camp of slavedrivers, of the scoundrels now still holding the rule in their hands, of the speculators and dealers in human blood, is roused to such a pitch of excitement.

But it is again the reason why the great army of the workers of all countries, the international army of the defenders of the Soviet Union, is rising against the armies of capital and its pontifical Jesuits.

And it is the real reason why the reactionary appeals of the Pope and his archbishops for a campaign against the Soviet Union find themselves opposed by the revolutionary appeal of the workers of all countries: Down with capitalism! Down with the Pope and all his archbishops!

The Atheist League of the U.S.S.R. in Figures.

35,000 Local Groups. 2,000,000 Members. 35 Anti-Religious Universities.

The Atheist League in the Soviet Union was founded in 1925 on the initiative of a large number of anti-religious and natural science groups which had existed up to that time in many working class districts and villages of the U.S.S.R. The League is a voluntary mass proletarian organisation, which unites in its ranks not simply unbelievers, but those workers who wish to take part in an active systematic daily struggle against religion in all its forms, as a brake on socialist construction and on the cultural revolution.

The following figures, which show the number of local groups and their membership, give an idea of the growth of the militant Atheist League.

1926	groups	2,421	members	87,033
1927	"	3,121	"	138,402
1928	"	3,980	"	123,007
1929	"	8,923	"	465,498
Commencement				
1929	"	10,000	"	700,000
June				
1930	"	35,000	"	2,000,000
January 1st				

The League received a tremendous influx of members during the recruiting period of the last Anti-Christmas campaign. As an example of the rapid growth of the League, we should take special notice of the fact that 10,000 workers entered its ranks in a single day when the churches were closed at **Artemovsk** in the Donbasin. This action became a tremendous anti-religious demonstration. Similar cases of joining the League en masse are to be found in a number of collective farms and in villages which have taken up the full collectivisation of agriculture.

Amongst the membership of the League there are about 50% workers, about 30% peasants and about 20% students and intellectuals. More than half of the members of the League are non-Party.

A further demonstration of the rapid growth of the anti-religious movement, which is taking in large sections of the workers is the circulation of anti-religious literature, which has increased greatly in recent periods. Thus for instance, the circulation of the newspaper "**Bezbozhnik**" (Atheist) has reached 350,000, whereas last year it was not greater than 150,000. The illustrated magazine "**Bezbozhnik**" has reached 150,000, the journal of anti-religious teaching methods "**Anti-Religioznik**" has a circulation of 30,000. The anti-religious textbook for class work has run through 5 editions in 1½ years, with 2,500,000 copies. Booklets on "Easter" were ordered by the localities to the extent of over 1 million copies of each booklet. Besides the central periodical publications, there are a number of local newspapers and magazines: "The Factory Atheist", "The Village Atheist", the magazine "Bez-verniki" (Unbeliever) in the Ukraine, the newspaper "The Militant Atheist" in the same place, anti-religious magazines

in the Tartar, Bashkir, Armenian, Buriat, and Uzbek languages.

"The fight against religion is the fight for socialism" — this is the slogan under which the Militant Atheist League carries on its work. The League does not only carry on anti-religious propaganda by word of mouth, by discussions, speeches and lectures. It is at the same time an advanced detachment of the proletariat, which takes an active part in all social and political campaigns. Such campaigns as grain collecting, sowing, collectivisation are used by all religious organisations to express their reactionary and pernicious activity. The League however is not idle in such cases. Sections of the M.A.L. and individual members of the League take a direct part in the collectivisation of agriculture, they organise collective farms, agitate among the peasants to join them, they struggle against counter-revolutionary agitation which is developed by the kulaks and the church and by various sects on the subject of collective farms. Every cultural movement, for instance the liquidation of illiteracy among adults, finds the M.A.L. taking part in it. Thus, many nuclei of the M.A.L. have organised the teaching of illiterates at their own expense, and at the same time have formed various courses and classes for their own members.

In the Soviet Union, classes for studying natural science are set up in the nuclei of the League. These classes study problems connected with anti-religious propaganda. Special courses and seminars are organised. During recent periods, the evening workers' and peasants' universities have become very popular, and there are already more than 35 of them in the USSR, with one year and two year courses. The universities, courses, seminars and classes prepare cadres of activists and propagandists, of whom there are still too few in the League. The active section of the League is still many times smaller than those tremendous forces of darkness, the result of centuries of superstition, which the religious bodies have at their disposal. But behind the atheists stand the broad working masses who are being swept by the class struggle and by the tremendous success of socialist construction in the USSR, in the direction of atheism.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

The Campaign of the Friends of Soviet Russia in England.

By Vic. Wm. Parker.

The past few years has witnessed a tremendous process of differentiation in England, a process which has affected the Friends of Soviet Russia, as it has affected every other section of the working class movement; any organisations standing for a clear cut class policy, or for a policy of support for the Soviet Union, have drawn down upon themselves the wrath of the Labour Party opportunists and lackeys. No means is too despicable for these people in their efforts to hold back the development of the working class movement.

Everything possible is being done to prevent the message of the F. O. S. R. from being carried to the workers over whom these people have any control, and to prevent its work from bearing fruit. Amongst the methods used have been the deliberate suppression of invitations and leaflets sent out by the Friends of Soviet Russia to the Trade Union branches and Co-op Guilds, and, of course, to Local Labour Parties. Sometimes these efforts have failed, and the genuine proletarian sympathy for the first Workers' Republic has broken through all barriers, but all too often the screen has been sufficiently strong to effect its purpose, and to a certain extent the Friends have found themselves cut off from large sections of the organised working class.

At the same time the process of differentiation has reached right through to the supposedly "left" elements among the leadership, and has had the salutary effect of revealing them in their true colours. Those who took part in the first World Congress of the Friends—witness **A. J. Cook, Wm. Lawther, and Co.**—are amongst the leaders in the movement against Soviet Russia and in support of the very system they have themselves condemned.

However, now that they are gone, and we know exactly where they stand and how much they are worth to the workers struggle, the air is cleared, and we can commence to build now upon the firmer basis of the workers themselves, who alone can be depended on in the hour of need to stand by Soviet Russia, and to build up the movement.

The first great achievement of the Friends since the revival of the movement in England was the organising of a genuine workers delegation to visit the Soviet Union on the occasion of the Twelfth Anniversary of the October Revolution. A wide-spread campaign was conducted throughout the whole country, meetings and conferences were called, hundreds of pounds were collected, and representative workers from the main industries were chosen to visit the Soviet Union and see for themselves the great work of building up Socialism in course of progress. On their return a number of delegates were faced with victimisation. Fred Shelley, for instance, a foundry worker from Halstead, Essex—although he had been guaranteed his position when he returned—found himself without a job. Others were treated in a similar fashion. Halls were denied them in which to report on their visit, and a complete boycott was established by the bourgeois and social democratic press. Nonetheless, all obstacles were broken down, many well attended meetings were held—some in the actual factories from which the delegates had been sent—and the truth about the S. U. was carried to a large number of workers who certainly would not have heard it in any other way. In addition, the Report has been published in a neat and attractive form and is selling rapidly.

Next in order among the achievements of the British Section has been the publication of a regular monthly pictorial — "Russia To-Day". This is a bright and attractive paper, profusely illustrated and containing short, wellwritten and informative articles about life in the S.U., and about the progress of the Five Years' Plan. The first edition of 2,500 copies has been sold out, and so great has been the demand for the second number — which is even better — that the order has had to be increased from the printers, and the British comrades are confident of building up a large, steady circulation for the paper. Other literature, including Litvinov's speech on the "Foreign Policy of the S. U.", has been published, and is finding a ready sale.

Most recent, and most important of all, has been the organisation of a counter campaign to the Pope's slanderous attack on the S. U., which has been linked up with the election of delegates to the forthcoming International Conference of the Friends, to be held in Essen, on March 22nd and 23rd. In England, as in Germany, the attack has been very bitter, and exceptionally well organised.

The Friends have organised counter-demonstrations in the meetings of the reactionaries themselves, and have received an amount of support from the general public which has surprised themselves! A special leaflet, "Oil, War and Religion" has been printed and widely distributed at these meetings, and elsewhere.

The Friends have however, not been content to remain merely on the defensive. A great meeting was organised by the Friends in the Essex Hall, in the centre of London, at which that large building was packed to capacity to hear speeches by Comrades Saklatvala, Noel, the "red Vicar of Thaxted", and by Dr. Dunstan, communist candidate for Bethnal Green in the recent General election. Members of the workers delegation were also present and spoke, while, Tom Bell, General Secy of the Friends in England occupied the chair. The meeting was most enthusiastic, a record collection was taken, and a large quantity of literature was sold. Meetings have been held recently in Burnley, Todmorden, Stonehouse, Rochdale, Daneshouse, Nelson, Perth — where as a result a new local of the Friends has been formed — and in other parts. All these meetings are drawing interested and enthusiastic audiences.

In addition to all this the British Section has held a successful National Conference at Shoreditch Town Hall, where the new constitution was discussed, a National E.C. elected, and plans drawn up for the building up of a mass organisation in England.

It is plain, therefore, that the British Comrades are getting down to their tasks in a most determined and energetic manner. Within a comparatively short space of time a real lot of hard and useful work has been accomplished.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Fight against "Left" Extravagances in Collectivisation.

The C. C. of the C. P. S. U. to all Party Organisations.

Moscow, 15th March 1930.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has directed the following circular to all party organisations:

Reports made to the Central Committee concerning the progress of the collectivisation movement show, apart from real and serious successes, that in some districts the policy of the Party has in some cases been distorted.

Above all the principle of voluntarism in the formation of collective undertakings has been violated. In a number of districts voluntarism has been replaced by compulsion under threats such as the withdrawal of the franchise etc. In consequence a section of the middle peasants and even of the poor peasants have been treated as Kulaks. In one or two districts the number of such "Kulaks" rose as high as 15%, and the numbers of those persons who were deprived of the franchise as high as from 15 to 20%. There have also been cases of extremely brutal, abominable and criminal treatment of the population on the part of some lower officials, who were occasionally themselves the victims of counter-revolutionary elements who had wormed their way into the organisation (plundering, division of property, the arrest of middle—and even poor peasants etc.). In a number of districts the preparatory work for the collectivisation and the patient enlightenment of the poor and middle peasants concerning the fundamentals of the party policy has been replaced by bureaucratic decreeing of inflated figures and the artificial increase of the percentage share of the collective undertakings (in a number of districts the collective undertakings "increased" in a few days from 10% to 90%).

This violates the well-known dictum of Lenin that the collective undertakings can be strong and prosperous only when they are based on voluntarism. The decision of the 16th Conference of our Party, according to which the application of compulsion for the formation of collective undertakings is prohibited, is being violated. The Statutes of the agricultural artels, confirmed by the Council of People's Commissars and by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, which expressly declare that the landworkers and the poor and middle peasants "voluntarily join together to form an agricultural artel" are being violated.

Apart from these distortions of the party policy, impermissible and damaging cases have occurred in some places where living houses, small cattle, poultry and milch cattle not intended for marketing purposes have been socialised by compulsion, and in this connection attempts have been made to jump foolishly from the artel form of collectivisation, which is one of the fundamental links of the collectivisation movement, to the commune. These comrades forget that neither the poultry nor the cucumber "problem", but the grain problem is the main problem of our agriculture. They forget that at the moment the agricultural artel is the basic form of the collectivisation movement and not the commune. They forget that this is just the reason why the Party considered it necessary to provide statutes for the agricultural artel and not for the agricultural commune. As a result of this foolish attitude the collectivisation movement has been discredited in a number of districts, and the peasants are leaving a series of Communes and artels which were hatched together in haste and therefore lacked stability and vitality.

Thus the standpoint of the Party, according to which the basic form of the collectivisation movement at the present moment is the artel and not the commune, is violated. The well-known decision of the Central Committee of the 6th January, 1930, according to which the artel is the basic form of the collectivisation movement and a thoughtless jump from the artel to the commune is impermissible, is being violated.

The Central Committee also considers it necessary to

point to the absolutely impermissible distortions of the party policy with regard to the struggle against religious prejudices and superstitions, and with regard to the commodity exchange between town and country. We refer to the administrative closing of churches without the approval of the overwhelming majority of the village in question, an action which in most cases results in the strengthening of such religious prejudices and superstitions, and to the closing down of the markets which has taken place in some districts and which leads to a deterioration of the supplies for the towns. There is no doubt that such practices, which are carried on under the flag of "left-wing" phrases, bring grist to the mill of the counter-revolution and have nothing in common with the policy of our Party.

The Central Committee regards all these distortions as the result of direct violations of the policy of our Party and of the decisions of the leading organs of our Party, whereby the only result can be the preparation of the ground for the strengthening of the right-wing elements in the Party.

The Central Committee regards all these distortions as the main hindrance at the moment for the further development of the collectivisation movement, and as a direct support of our class enemies.

The Central Committee is of the opinion that a further speedy development of the collectivisation movement and the liquidation of the Kulaks as a class, are impossible without the immediate abolition of these distortions.

The Central Committee makes it the duty of all party organisations:

1. to abandon the compulsory methods of collectivisation adopted in certain districts, and to continue to work persistently to draw the peasantry into the collective undertakings on the basis of voluntarism, and to strengthen the already existing collective undertakings;

2. to draw the attention of the officials to the necessity for improving the collective undertakings and the organisation of the work in the fields whereby the consolidation of the successes already achieved in the collectivisation movement, and the organisational economic shaping of the agricultural artels must be guaranteed by the necessary economic and party-political measures;

3. not to permit the transformation of agricultural artels into agricultural communes without the confirmation of the district collective associations or of the district executive committee, and to put a stop to the compulsory socialisation of living premises, small cattle, poultry and milch cattle not intended for marketing purposes;

4. to revise the lists of those persons who have been discriminated against as Kulaks and of those persons who have been deprived of the franchise, and to make good all errors which have been committed with regard to middle peasants, members of the former red guerilla groups, and relatives of village school teachers and of members of the Red Army and Navy;

5. to follow strictly the rule excluding Kulaks and such persons as have been deprived of the franchise, but to make exceptions in the case of families where members have loyally served the Soviet power as members of the former red guerilla groups, as members of the Red Army and Navy or as village school teachers, providing that the categories mentioned are prepared to undertake a guarantee for their relatives;

6. to forbid the closing down of markets, and to re-open such markets as have already been closed down, at the same time leaving it open to the discretion of the peasants, including also the members of collective undertakings, to sell their products on the markets;

7. to put a decisive stop to the practice of closing down churches administratively on the pretext that the voluntary wish of the population is behind the closing. The closing down of churches is only permissible where the overwhelming majority of the population is really in favour of it, and then only after the decision of the peasant meeting has been confirmed by the district executive committee. Those persons who are guilty of offensive insults to the religious feelings of the peasants must be brought to account; and

8. to remove all officials from their posts who are unable or unwilling to fight energetically against the distortion of the party policy, and to replace them by others.

Model Statutes for Agricultural Production Co-operatives (Artels).

We publish below model statutes for agricultural production co-operatives adopted by the central body for collective undertakings and confirmed by the supreme Soviet authorities. The reader will derive from them a concrete picture of how the majority of the collective farms will be set up and details regarding their work in the immediate future.

Editor.

I. Aims and Objects.

**** 1.** The agricultural workers, poor peasants and middle peasants of the village of . . . district . . . province . . . voluntarily unite in an agricultural production co-operative in order to build up with common means of production and common collective labour a collective big farm and thereby to secure the real and complete victory over the kulaks, over all exploiters and enemies of the toilers, the real and complete victory over poverty and ignorance and over the backwardness of the small individual farms, and to guarantee a high productivity of labour as well as considerable production of commodities by the collective farms.

II. The Land.

2. All hedges and fences dividing the holdings of land of the members of the production co-operatives shall be abolished and all plots of land thrown into one large area of land to be cultivated collectively by the production co-operative.

In socialising all holdings of land to the fullest extent, the land lying immediately in the neighbourhood of the houses (vegetable gardens, fruit gardens etc.) shall remain for individual use, while at the same time, when necessary and on the decision of the co-operative executive, to be confirmed by the general meeting, the extent of the gardens can be altered.

3. The uniform area of land belonging to the co-operative must not in any circumstances be reduced. The allotment of land to members leaving the production co-operative, at the cost of the area of land belonging to the co-operative is forbidden. Members leaving the co-operatives can receive land only from the free reserves of land in possession of the State.

III. Means of Production.

4. The following are socialised: all draught cattle, agricultural buildings and implements, all cattle yielding produce for the market, all stores of seed and fodder, to the extent necessary for carrying on the co-operative farms, and all machine and instruments for working up products. The dwelling houses of members of the co-operative are not socialised.

In socialising the agricultural inventory the smaller tools necessary for cultivating the gardens remain for the individual use of the members of the co-operative.

If necessary the co-operative executive shall set apart from the socialised draught animals a minimum number needed for serving the personal requirements of members of the co-operative.

Where farms have only one cow, the latter is not socialised; in the case of farms with several cows, one cow is to be left for personal use, whilst the other are socialised. Cattle kept for breeding purposes will be socialised in any case. A co-operative dairy is to be formed out of the socialised milch cows.

The socialisation of small cattle, i. e. of pigs and sheep, is undertaken in districts with a developed small cattle industry, the members of the co-operative being left a certain number of small cattle, to be determined by the co-operative. In districts where a small cattle industry does not exist, pigs and sheep are not socialised. Poultry are not socialised.

Whilst the small cattle and poultry remain in individual possession, the collective farms shall organise a small cattle and poultry breeding industry.

As a measure of security against bad harvests and lack of fodder, the co-operatives shall set by reserves of seed and fodder, which must not be touched.

IV. The Activity of the Production Co-operatives.

5. The administration and all members of the production co-operatives undertake:

a) To extend the area of cultivation by utilising the whole of the land at the disposal of the co-operative, by improving and working up the fallow land and throwing all plots into one; b) to use to the fullest extent the whole of the existing draught animals on a co-operative basis, as well as all stock and implements, all tractors and machines, all stocks of seed, as well as other means of production; to purchase tractors and other means of production for the purpose of gradually going over to mechanised farming, out of its own means and also on credit; c) to organise the practical utilisation and care of the socialised dead and live stock, proceeding from the standpoint that the cattle and stock of the collective farms are to be kept in a better condition than in the individual farm; d) to improve the grazing and meadow land, as well as to carry out the agronomic measures necessary to increase the yield of the soil; e) to adopt veterinary and technical breeding measures for the purpose of rapidly increasing and improving cattle and poultry breeding for the market; f) to develop all other branches of agricultural production according to the special local conditions, as well as handicrafts and homework according to the conditions of the district; g) to organise the erection of economic and communal buildings as well as auxiliary undertakings on a co-operative basis; h) to raise the cultural and political level of the members of the co-operative; i) to improve the standard of living of the members of the co-operative, before all of the women and children, with all available means.

V. On Membership.

6. The acceptance of members into the production co-operative is undertaken by the co-operative executive, which submits the list of the newly admitted members to the next general meeting for confirmation. Workers who are constantly employed outside of the production co-operative are not bound to appear personally.

7. Membership of the production co-operative is open to all toilers who have reached the age of 16 years.

Kulaks, as well as all persons who have been deprived of the franchise, are not admitted into the production co-operative. Exceptions to this rule are allowed for members of such families in which there are red partisans, members of the red army and navy, village teachers of both sexes who are devoted to the cause of the Soviet Power, on condition that they give guarantees for the members of their families.

Peasants who before entering the collective farm slaughter or sell their cattle, get rid of their stock or maliciously sell their seed corn, will not be accepted in the collective production co-operative.

VI. The Means of the Production Co-operative.

8. Everyone entering the production co-operative must pay an admission fee in money amounting to 2 to 10 per cent of the value of his whole property, including the socialised and also the non-socialised part of the farm constituting his share, with the exception of objects of household and personal use.

Should the chief source of income of the applicant for admission be wage labour (agronomists, teachers, employees of authorities and institutions lying within the sphere of the production co-operative etc.) the amount of the entrance fee will be determined in each individual case by the executive, but must not exceed 10 per cent of the annual income.

The entrance fee for agricultural workers is fixed at not more than five roubles.

Workers who are permanently employed outside of the productive farm pay, in addition to the 2 to 10 per cent of the value of their property provided by the statute, three per cent of their annual wage.

Note. Apart from the entrance fee, the production co-operative does not demand from working class members any additional deductions from wages.

A postponement of payment of the entrance fee can be granted by the executive only in accordance with the orders and for the terms fixed by the Union of collective farms. The entrance fees are to be paid into the undividable fund of the production co-operative.

9. A quarter to one half of the value of the socialised property of the members of the co-operative (cattle, inventory, agricultural buildings etc.) is to be paid over to the indivisible fund of the co-operative whereby a higher percentage of the sum is payable by the stronger undertakings. The remaining portion of the property is to be reckoned to the share contribution of the member of the co-operative.

10. The Executive settles accounts with members leaving the co-operative and returns to them their share contribution; the member leaving the co-operative can only receive land from outside the area of the co-operative. The settlement of such accounts will, as a rule, take place at the end of the economic year.

11. The expenditure connected with the farm is to be deducted from the income of the production co-operative recorded at the end of the year as also the sums expended in maintaining those incapable of work; out of these means, contributions (from 10 to 30 per cent into the indivisible fund and from 3 to 13 per cent into other common funds) will be paid over to the indivisible and common fund as well as the amounts for wages.

VII. Organisation and Payment of Work.

12. All work on the farms of the productive co-operative is to be performed by the personal labour of its members in accordance with the rule for the inner division of labour adopted by the general meeting. Only persons possessing special knowledge and having had an expert training (agronomists, engineers, technicians etc.) may be employed in agricultural work in return for wages.

The temporary engagement of workers is allowed only in exceptional cases, when certain work cannot be completed within the necessary time even with the full utilisation of all the available labour forces of all members of the co-operative, and also for building work.

13. The division of labour within the co-operative is arranged by the executive in accordance with the rules for the inner division of labour. No member of the co-operative may refuse to perform work allotted to him.

14. For the practical organisation of work of the co-operative members, standards of work are elaborated for the various categories of work, specifying the quantity and the quality of the work performed; work will be paid both according to the hour and at piece rates.

15. The wages of members of co-operatives are reckoned as follows: In the course of the economic year not more than 50 per cent of the sum standing to the credit of the member for his work may be paid out as an advance for food and other requirements of the member (in kind or in money). A final settlement of wages is carried out at the conclusion of the economic year.

Note: Of the sums acquired by the co-operative members by incidental handicraft work, between 3 and, at most, 10 per cent, is to be paid in the common fund of the co-operative, the co-operative to fix the amount of this contribution.

16. The co-operative grants support to such of its members as are incapacitated for work. The conditions and the amount of this relief is to be fixed by the executive and confirmed by the general meeting according to the economic capacities of the co-operatives, but must not exceed the usual rate of wages.

VIII. The Enforcement of Decisions.

17. All members of the co-operative undertake to submit to the demands of the statutes, the decisions of the general meeting and of the executive, to observe the rules regarding inner division of labour and accurately to fulfil the work entrusted to them and all social obligations laid upon them by the executive.

Irresponsible and negligent treatment of socialised inventory and cattle will be regarded by the co-operative as treachery to the cause of collectivisation and as practical assistance to the enemies, the kulaks.

Such lack of responsibility and negligence in dealing with socialised property, absence from work without adequate reason and other violations of discipline, will be punished by the

executive by the imposition of penalties according to the rules regarding inner division of labour. (For example: remonstrance, warning, temporary suspension from work, fines etc.) In regard to incorrigible cases the executive shall submit to the general meeting the question of expulsion from the co-operative.

IX. Business Management of the Co-operative.

18. The general meeting of members and the executive administer the business of the co-operative. If the convocation of the general meeting encounters difficulties owing to the great number of members of the co-operative, or because they are scattered among the settlements belonging to the co-operative, the general meeting shall be substituted by a delegate meeting. The members of the delegate meeting are to be elected by the co-operative members in the individual settlements.

19. The general meeting or delegate meeting is the highest organ for the management of the co-operative; it decides the most important questions of the activity of the co-operative, elects the executive and the Revision Committee and confirms instructions for their work.

20. The co-operative management is elected for a year, and is the executive organ of the co-operative and administers its business. The executive, which divides among the co-operative members the work of conducting co-operative economy and production, imposes upon the leading members the full responsibility for the work entrusted to them and endows them with the necessary rights.

The executive is in duty bound to keep books according to the system laid down for collective undertakings.

21. The Revision Commission examines the activity of the executive, before all the observance of the provisions of the statutes, the fulfilment of the production plan, of the obligations towards the State, audits the accounts, examines the documents and the economic administration, confirms the annual accounts and delivers its report to the general members' or delegate meeting.

X. Relations to the Central Body of the Collective Undertakings.

22. The cooperative is a member of the union of collective undertakings of . . . and performs its work under its direct supervision.

On the basis of its production plan, the co-operative is concluding with the union of collective undertakings of . . . a supply contract, in which there is laid down the undertakings on the part of the co-operative for the organisation of agricultural production and the systematic supply of the whole of the goods' production to the State and the co-operatives, as well as the obligations undertaken by the Union of collective undertakings and other State and co-operative organs to supply the production co-operative with means of production and means of consumption, to organise its credit and assist it by the sending of agronomists.

The Historical Spring is Approaching!

By D. Saslavsky.

Moscow, beginning of March.

Outside it is still winter, but when one turns to the Soviet newspapers one detects in every line the breath of Spring. The central organ of the Party, the "Pravda", and of all the other papers daily devote whole pages to the "preparations for the spring sowing". Let us take a glance at the factories: in almost every factory, workers' meetings are held devoted to the most important question at the present time: preparations for the Spring Sowing. It is the same in the government offices and educational institutions. Everywhere there is talk of spring, everywhere preparations are being made for Spring.

This will become a historic Spring. For the first time in history dozens of hectares are being collectively cultivated, far more than we hoped to be able to cultivate even in the last year of the Five-Year Plan, in 1933. Just imagine, what tremendous organisational work is required! Such a collective cultivation of peasants' land has never occurred in world history, for capitalism does not know of such a thing. A huge quantity of machines, implements, and before all of organisers are needed. Skilful management is particularly important, for the kulaks, who realise that their last days have

come, are no idle lookers-on of this gigantic work of extermination of the individual cultivation in the rural districts. They endeavour by all means to frustrate this work; they place obstacles in the way wherever they can, they cause damage openly and secretly. Hence it is necessary already in Winter, to see to it that not only the machines are prepared in time and the repairs of the village implements carried out, but also that capable organisers are ready at the right time and in the right place in order to organise the chief mass of the peasantry against the kulaks.

The Soviet Union possesses excellent laboratories in which these cadres of organisers are being trained, viz the Soviet factories. The Party issued the slogan: Twenty-five thousand workers into the villages! That is no small matter. We need a reliable proletarian guard which is going into the villages not in order to govern and to command, but to conduct a class struggle in the village, a struggle which must be conducted very skilfully and consistently, so that the alliance between the working class and the main mass of the peasantry is still further consolidated.

Work in the village is not an easy matter. It yields no material advantages and is, in addition, bound up with a number of inconveniences in personal life. The worker has to leave his factory, his usual work, his surroundings, his comrades and family. He must exchange city life with its culture, its clubs, theatres and educational courses for village life. In these circumstances to go to the village involves sacrifices. In spite of everything the Party reckoned upon the voluntary helpers. In the factories lists were posted up: who wants to go to the village in Spring?

This was a summons to the proletarian class consciousness, the test, to ascertain to what extent the working class has realised the enormous importance of the task confronting it in the sphere of the socialist transformation of the village. But already now it can be said with certainty: the working class has brilliantly stood the test. The number of voluntary applicants exceeds almost twice the number demanded by the Party. An army of 25,000 workers is going into the villages in order to consolidate the socialist sector of agriculture. Leningrad and Moscow, these most advanced proletarian centres, need no special mention. But we publish just a few reports selected haphazard from other districts: **Samara**. In this town the number of voluntary applicants is in some trade union three times greater than required. Many of these applicants have been working for 30 to 35 years in industrial production. **Nishni Novgorod**: The number of applicants exceeds the number required four times. 800 workers were required but 3000 have registered in the lists.

Special short courses are being organised for these workers. The participants receive both political and agronomical training. How great the interest is which the workers show in the new task allotted to them, is revealed by the numerous letters sent to the proletarian papers.

Comrade Pleskatchevski, a Moscow worker, writes as follows: "It is a great and interesting work. But the organisations must not rest content with the result. They must see to it that new forces are trained for the village, that the connection is organised with us and the management. The factory must direct our whole work."

Comrades Vinogradov, Ponomanyov, Tchuloshnikov (Karl Marx Works) write as follows: we are departing for the village with the clear consciousness of our responsibility and the difficulties facing us. More than that, we are going to the village just because we realise these difficulties and that to overcome them a firm proletarian lead and assistance to the village is necessary."

This serious mood, this proletarian devotion to the work is revealed in hundreds of such letters. The working class has realised what an enormous task is set the Soviet country precisely in this year and in this Spring. The successful solution of this task will mean that the most important source which is nourishing the capitalist tendency in our economy will be annihilated. These 25,000 are not the whole of the worker army which is hastening to the aid of the village. It is only its advance-guard. There are still hundreds of thousands who are no less concerned about Spring. Hitherto every individual peasant used to examine his poor implements in his sheds, to repair them, to put the wooden plough in order, to replace the wooden teeth in the harrow. This was his personal affair; who in the town had ever bothered about it? In capitalist society town and village always live

for their own interests. It is quite different in the Soviet Union. With the solicitude of an expert host the working class is now concerned as to how the repair of the hundreds of thousands of agricultural implements, tractors, ploughs and harrows is proceeding.

In the Soviet papers great and close attention is being paid to all those factories manufacturing agricultural machines. Loud and lively calls are shouted from factory to factory. The staff of the great works in Rostov "Krasniy Aksay" reports to the proletariat: We workers of "Krasniy Aksay" undertake to increase the struggle for the carrying out of the production plan of our factory. We shall see to it that the production programme is carried out in time and one hundred per cent. We shall supply the agricultural workers of our district with the necessary agricultural machines and implements: 180,000 ploughs of various kinds, 27,000 reaping machines, 2220 tons of substitute parts of machines etc. Such reports are pouring in from all sides. Where difficulties and interruptions occur, where production is slowing down for some reason or other, immediately the attention of the whole public is concentrated upon it.

Outside is still winter; in capitalist Russia the gentry used to make pleasure trips with the famous Russian "Troika" (three horse sledge)—no townsman thought at that time of Spring. In the Soviet Union, already gay and energetic Spring sounds are now to be heard. Historical Spring is beginning.

THE WHITE TERROR

The International Proletariat must Prevent the Execution of Thirteen Annamite Revolutionaries!

By A. N.

The Council for the Defence of the State in Indo-China has rejected the appeal of the thirteen revolutionaries of Yen-Bay who have been condemned to death by the Criminal Court.

In the night from the 9th to 10th February last, 200 riflemen of the garrison of Yen-Bay, supported by the peasants of this district, seized possession of the military barracks and hoisted the red flag. In the same night revolutionaries attempted to capture Hung-Hoa by storm, but were repulsed, 25 of them being arrested. One of the revolutionaries, Nguyen Khac-Nhu, who has been condemned in his absence to 20 years' hard labour, was killed in this attack. In the town of Hanoi bombs were thrown in various places in order to support the rising in Yen-Bay.

Disorders broke out also in other provinces of Indo-China. In the night from the 15th to 16th February an official from Vinh-Bao in the province of Hai-Duong, who had learned that revolutionaries had met in the village of Co-am, went to the mandarin of Ninh-Giang in order to demand reinforcements. On his return he was killed, but the revolutionaries were driven back, 14 of them being arrested. In the same night another group of revolutionaries attacked the village of Phu-Duc in the province of Thai-Binh in order to seize the military post in Ninh-Giang.

The government sent considerable forces to the places where the revolutionaries had gathered. Aircraft flew over the district at a low altitude and fired upon the villages, with the result that a considerable number of peasants were killed.

In the course of one of the attacks of the revolutionaries, the leader of the party of Annamite nationalists, Nguyen-Phai-Hoc, who had been sentenced in June 1929, in his absence to life-long hard labour, was mortally wounded, whilst his brother Nguyen-van Go and the revolutionary Nguyen-ninh-Luan were arrested.

Bloody reprisals have already set in. Hundreds and hundreds have been placed under lock and key. After a mock trial, 13 revolutionaries were condemned to death, one to life-long hard labour and another to 20 years' deportation. This, however, is only the beginning of increased and more extensive reprisals. There is no doubt that these sentences will be followed by numerous others.

The most energetic protest of the international proletariat is necessary in order to save the heroic champions of the Indo-Chinese revolution.

In spite of the aircraft, the machine guns, the death sentences and the deportations, the millions of starving and tormented workers and peasants, under the leadership of the young Communist Party of Annam, will carry on their fight until final victory. With the aid of the proletariat of France and of the international working class they will take up the decisive fight in order to liberate themselves from the rule of French imperialism.

ECONOMICS

The Economic Crisis in Egypt.

By P. Ch. (Cairo).

The return of Egypt to the Parliamentary system of government, which in fact is nothing but a more or less bad democratic facade for the actual dictatorship of the British High Commissioner and his Egyptian hirelings, synchronises with the sharpening of the latent economic crisis, the high point of which has not yet been reached. The effects of this crisis are at present already so disastrous, that its further inevitable accentuation is bound to lead to a complete collapse of Egyptian economy.

This development of Egypt's economic policy is in the first place the result of the policy of British imperialism, which is deliberately working to undermine all independent economic-political activity of Egypt and which leaves no stone unturned in order to render the economic forces of Egypt serviceable to its lust for power. If now MacDonald, with an imposing gesture, presents Egypt with the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, it is solely in order to prepare the way for an even more brutal economic plundering of the country.

The English imperialist press is already discussing the new path which is now to be pursued. It recommends the granting of large long-term credits to Egypt. This is no new path, but the repetition of those methods made use of by British imperialism in the time of D'Israeli, who established the British power in Egypt. Just as D'Israeli made use of the difficult financial situation in order not only, by purchasing the Suez Canal shares for 4 million pounds, to secure domination over the Canal by England, but also by further loans to secure control of Egyptian finances, in order then systematically, step by step, to destroy its independence, precisely in the same way the social imperialist MacDonald is endeavouring, by granting huge credits, to chain Egypt, which is striving for its national independence, economically to British imperialism. The only positive result of the conclusion of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty will be the complete subjugation of Egyptian economy to the interests of British imperialism. That is the purchase price for the sham democracy which has now been set up by the Wafd Cabinet under the leadership of Nahas Pasha.

The chief cause of the Egyptian economic crisis is the ever declining purchasing power of the population, which has already led to a purchasing strike lasting a month, and resulted in numerous bankruptcies. This constantly declining purchasing power has a causal connection with the difficulties which have existed for years for the export of Egyptian cotton, which are attributable, on the one hand, to the ever more successful competition of Sudan cotton and, on the other hand, to the international crisis of cotton production. The actions carried out by the government in the last few years in support of the cotton industry have not been able to do away with the difficulties on the Egyptian cotton market. The Egyptian peasant is waiting in vain for payment of the cotton delivered by him to the exporters, and which now lies stored up in the Egyptian docks and harbours. He therefore increases the prices of the other products produced by him for the market. These products are, in the first place, articles of food for the toiling Egyptian population. The result is a constantly increasing cost of living, which, as it is not compensated for by increased wages and salaries, will lead to a further deterioration of the standard of living.

At the same time one must bear in mind the tremendously low level of wages, which is far below the existence minimum not only for the native workers and employees, but for European workers and employees who have settled in Egypt.

At the present moment public interest in Egypt is concentrated on the new customs tariff which is being prepared by the government, and by means of which the treasury, which has been rendered completely empty as a result of the cotton export crisis, is to be replenished. The European and native importers are endeavouring to lay in a big stock of goods before the new customs tariff comes into operation. According to a report of the Cairo Chamber of Commerce, the customs revenue increased one hundred per cent. in the period from 1st of May to 20th November, compared with the income in the corresponding period of the previous year. The customs revenue in this period amounted to 1,171,854 Egyptian pounds, which means an increased import of goods to the value of 14 million pounds. It is estimated that up to the time of the coming into operation of the new customs tariff there will be an increase in imports to the value of 17 to 18 million pounds. These increased imports are based on purely speculative grounds. Commercial circles are not waiting for the coming into operation of the new customs rates in order to increase prices, but are already now screwing up prices, and in first place the prices of food.

The Nahas Pasha government is completely impotent in face of this development. As the king's speech, read by Nahas Pasha on the occasion of the opening of Parliament, and its approval by the Wafd Parliament has already shown, it is just as much a willing instrument of British imperialism as was the dictatorship government of Mahmud Pasha. Nothing has changed since the liquidation of the dictatorship and the taking over of the government by the Wafd. There is still valid today that which Lord Balfour laid down ten years ago as the principle of British policy in Egypt when he declared: "British rule exists in Egypt, British rule will be maintained there, nobody in or outside of Egypt should deceive himself regarding this principle of the policy of the British government." Today it appears expedient to British imperialism to grant a few sham concessions to Egypt but economically to subject it completely to its profit interests. To the social imperialist MacDonald is allotted the task of deceiving the Egyptian people regarding the actual situation.

The growing anti-English sentiment, which is spreading to ever larger sections of the Egyptian population, the radicalisation of the Arab working class, which has already led to strike movements, are sure symptoms that this British social imperialist manoeuvre will encounter the growing resistance of the toiling population of Egypt.

The Effects of the Crisis upon Commerce and Transport in the United States of America.

By Alex. G. Richman (New York).

The crisis in the production of the United States of course is also reflected in commerce and transport.

Freight car loadings, which are also significant as a reflector of general trade conditions, totalled 52,790,000 cars last year, only 0.6% below the record of 1926, and 2.3% above 1928. Through the first 3/4 of the year, each month showed a greater volume than the corresponding month in the previous year. Beginning with October, the decline began, and each month was lower than in 1928. During the 4th quarter of the year (the last 13 weeks) there was practically a steady decrease from 1,202,000 cars for the week of Sept. 28 to 638,445 cars for Dec. 28 (a holiday week). The week of Jan. 4th showed a further decline to 776,259 or 35 1/2% below the last week in September. The greatest decline recently has been in miscellaneous freight which represents consumption goods and is therefore the best indicator of the general state of trade.

The **Annalist** index of wholesale trade shows the course of the crisis with regard to distribution. In the following table we give the adjusted and unadjusted indexes of various lines of business for November and the decreases in November and between that month and August:

(average for 1923-25 = 100)

	Index for Nov.		Points decline in Nov.		Points decline from Aug to Nov.	
	Adjusted	Unadjusted	Adjusted	Unadjusted	Adjusted	Unadjusted
8 Groups . . .	96	96	4	19	7	17
Furniture . . .	101	106	17	34	14	11
Drugs . . .	117	118	5	22	7	3
Groceries . . .	93	99	4	11	7	2
Dry Goods . . .	84	83	4	19	7	28
Boots and Shoes	87	91	4	23	11	39
Men's Clothing .	87	60	1	50	8	96

("Annalist", 1. 17. 30)

Prices last year declined steadily from August on, after rising in June and July. **Bradstreet's** index of commodity prices showed a decline of 4 1/2% in December and of 9 1/8% for the year.

Installment Buying. The president of one of the largest mail order houses, G. B. Everett of Montgomery, Ward Co. stated in November that installment sales last year were \$ 9-10,000,000,000. (Most sales are paid for over a period of 6 months to two years). ("N. Y. Post" 12-4-29). Such sales amount to 20-25% of all retail sales. Conservative estimates of the amount owed at the end of last year on installment purchases are about \$ 2-3,000,000,000, half of which is due on autos and the rest on personal and household goods, etc.

Banking. The strongest aspect of the present situation is supposed to be the situation of the banks. This is largely true so far as the big banks are concerned. One-fifth of the total banking resources of the 23,000 banks in the country are accounted for by the resources of only 24 banks! Over 650 banks failed last year, and 5,000 in the past nine years, mostly small and rural banks.

Failures. Last year 19,703 firms failed, a decline of 3.2% under 1928, but liabilities were \$ 628,990,000 an increase of 21.4% (Bradstreet, "N. Y. Times" 1-2-30). The last quarter of the year was, of course, the one to witness most mortalities, due to the intensifying of the crisis. A large percentage of the failures was due to bankruptcies of banks, mainly in rural sections. Liabilities of failed banks in 1929 was 70%. In December the number of failures was 9% greater than the year before and liabilities were the greatest in years (increasing 60% over Dec. 1928). (Bradstreet, "Business Week", 1. 15. 30.) Liabilities of mercantile firms failing in December were the largest in seven years. That the turn of the year did not bring the expected improvement is shown by an increase of 46% in the number of failures in the first week of Jan. 1930 over the previous week.

Last year the **foreign trade** of the U. S. totalled \$ 9 600 000 000. Exports were 23% over those of 1928, and imports 10% above. Both years saw a favourable trade balance, although last year it was only \$ 746 000 000 as against \$ 1 037 000 000 in 1928, when the total turnover was \$ 9 219 000 000 (American Exporter, Jan. 1930). Exports of finished manufactures gained 18% over 1928, showing an increasing tendency toward such exports. Three-fourths of all exports are now manufactured and semi-manufactured food-stuffs and goods.

At the end of October, however, there began a decline in both exports and imports, the former decreasing 17%, the latter 20% in the last two months of the year. (Annalist 1-17-30.) November showed the largest decline of the year of exports from the corresponding month of 1928, due to decreased exports of wheat, cotton and autos. At the beginning of June, exports were 18% over those of 1928 whereas at the beginning of December they were only 3 1/2% higher.

The degree to which the U. S. will be able to extend its exports to make up in part for the crises at home is an interesting question. Within the next few years, its exports will be faced by the growing competition of American branch factories abroad, by American-controlled foreign corporations and by growing European competition. The world economic situation, especially the crisis in Latin America, to which over 1/3 of all U. S. exports go, points to a considerable decline in these exports. (The U. S. now sells more goods to Latin America than England, France and Germany combined.)

In 1929 **foreign loans** were only \$ 550 000 000, as against \$ 2 000 000 000 in recent years. During the latter half of the

past year, they amounted to only \$ 50 000 000, due to the absorption of most available capital in the mad speculation on the stock market. Total foreign investments, however, were \$ 1 677 000 000, excluding refundings, as estimated by Dr. Max Winkler in the Journal of Commerce (1. 3. 30).

The character of American foreign investments has changed, since before the world war, from natural resources (mining, lumber, etc.) in undeveloped countries, to greater investments in manufacturing (branch factories, etc. and buying control or partial control of large factories) in advanced countries.

The U. S. is now in the midst of a serious crisis, which has by no means reached the end of its course. It will probably intensify in geometric proportions and have international reverberations, especially in the struggle to dump goods and inundate foreign markets. This means increasing danger of imperialist war, in particular a war against the Soviet Union.

STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

March 6th in the U.S.A.

By William Weinstone.

International Unemployment Day, March 6th, in the United States was a historical turning point in the revolutionary development of the American proletariat and signalled the birth of the mass Communist Party in the United States. The mass demonstrations and militant fighting which took place on this day is of international significance and shows that the working class of the United States, which has been comparatively backward in its political development, is moving forward to occupy the role which it must play in the international class struggle. The events of March 6th shows that the economic crisis which set in only four months ago and which has not yet reached its depth is shaking up the illusions of the masses and freeing them of the influence of bourgeois ideology based upon the conception of eternal prosperity and American exceptionalism, is raising its fighting capacity and elevating the struggles of the workers to new and higher levels of political action.

March 6th was the high point in a series of demonstrations and bitter clashes with the police which have been going on in the main industrial cities during the last six weeks. We note the following results of March 6th:

1. A vast outpouring of masses in all parts of the country in response to the call and slogans of the Communist Party, which joined together in unsurpassed demonstrations. Over Seventy Thousand demonstrated in Union Square, in the centre of New York City (120,000 participated in the various demonstrations throughout the City); one hundred thousand demonstrated in Detroit, fifteen thousand in Cleveland etc. For the first time thousands of black and white workers in the South joined in common demonstrations and likewise for the first time since the world war demonstrations of thousands of workers occurred in industrial cities where the Trusts have hitherto held unbroken sway.

2. The demonstrations were everywhere of a fighting character. The workers came face to face with the fully mobilised state machinery which endeavoured to suppress the demonstrations. Mass fighting occurred on a scale unknown in the United States for many years. The bourgeoisie used gas and tear bombs but were fought back by the workers with great heroism. The workers broke through the cordons of police and carried through their demonstrations despite the police brutality, hundreds being wounded by police attacks.

3. The vast number showed that the employed joined with the unemployed in united struggle and that the Communist Party achieved the main aim of the unemployment day—a united front from below against unemployment, rationalisation and war preparations of the bourgeoisie.

The demonstrations in New York, Detroit, Washington and other cities were not of an accidental character or unexpected events. The struggles that have occurred during the last six weeks served to educate the working class at a very rapid pace.

The bourgeoisie too has recognised the sharpening of proletarian struggle with the growth of the crisis. This is seen by the manner in which they prepared for March 6th. When the demonstration for August 1st last year was being prepared, the bourgeois press maintained complete silence. They tried their old game of ignoring or belittling the event as being of no account.

For March 6th, however, the American police prepared for the day in European style. In New York City the police released the provocative story that the Communists had stolen eighty-six pieces of dynamite which they were going to use on March 6th. The chief of police Whalen, who has been organising the police system on the lines of the Social Democrat Severing, issued statements warning against violence. In Chicago raids took place upon the District Office of the Communist Party and upon the Communist Dailies and over 100 workers were arrested. Similar tactics were adopted in Los Angeles. A complete united front of the bourgeoisie, the state and social-fascist was formed. Mathew Woll, vice president of the A.F. of L. and chief red baiter, called upon Congress and the business corporations to adopt drastic measures of suppression against the Communists, "who were being financed by Moscow to make a revolution", and made the ridiculous charge that Foster had just returned from the Soviet Union with 250,000 Dollars to promote the unemployed movement.

All of these calculated acts of intimidation failed to scare the Workers. On the contrary it aroused the fighting spirit of the proletariat and drew the workers closer to the Party.

The events of March 6th once again confirmed the correctness of the line of the Communist International and the Communist Party of the United States, based upon the rising wave of revolutionary struggles ensuing from the shattering of the partial stabilisation of capitalism. The complete bankruptcy of the opportunists in America has once again been glaringly demonstrated by the vastness of the unemployment movement. How shallow is their scribbles about the line of the Communist International in regard to this day is shown by the following gem in the Trotskyist sheet "The Militant" of February 22nd "The American unemployed worker is in a different economic position than the unemployed worker in England or Germany. In the United States the development of the movement will necessarily be at a slower pace unless it is to become a sectarian adventure. . . . in the United States particularly, the official Communist Party has narrowed down the 'preliminary demonstrations' to a handful of Party members and a few jobless workers. Such a course dooms the movement to defeat in advance". How wonderfully prophetic is the theory of American exceptionalism held in common by the American Right and "Left" opportunists!

The events of March 6th will have great effect in radicalising the masses and increasing their fighting capacities. Such vast numbers never demonstrated before. Such fighting has never occurred before. Millions of workers, unemployed and employed have learned that they must struggle in order to avoid hunger and starvation. They are learning that the Communist Party is becoming a real leader able to rally broad masses and united them in struggle. They have gained enormous experience from the brutality of the police and the strike-breaking and treachery of the social fascists. The international character of this day will help them still further to overcome their local and national limitedness. The influence of the Party will grow immensely. Already it has won 6000 of new members in the past twelve weeks. The T.U.U.L. has come forward as the unifying centre of the employed and unemployed. The building up of new revolutionary trade unions and the organisation of the unorganised receive a tremendous impulse by the events of March 6th.

The bourgeoisie will likewise take the lessons of March 6th to heart. The spectre of Communism has come to haunt the capitalists of America. The American bourgeoisie which has prided itself upon having avoided the "entanglements of Europe" with its red menace, has this "menace" on its own hearth. "The world's finest", as the bourgeoisie calls its police system, has proven futile to stop the demonstrations. It will now resort to more drastic measures of terror against the workers. Already the chief of police of New York has prohibited further open air demonstrations of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party will know how to meet the new attacks of the triple alliance of the bourgeoisie, state and social fascists. It will fight for its open existence. The manifesto of the Party issued after March 6th calling upon the workers to enter the Communist Party, to build revolutionary unions under the leadership of the T.U.U.L., to make every factory a fortress of Communism, to organise wider and deeper to defend the Soviet Union to intensify the fight for the unemployed, and against wage cuts and rationalisation, shows that the Party understands the great tasks of the moment.

March 6th, 1930 is just one year after the convention of the Party which under the leadership of Lovestone took a line against the Communist International. The cleansing of the Party of the opportunists, the development of self criticism in place of factional criticism has not only united the Party, but has shown even to the blind that only in this manner can the Party rally the masses behind its banner and carry out the line of the Open Letter of the Communist International for "the conversion of the Communist Party into a mass Party in the shortest possible time".

THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

The European Congress of Working Peasants.

Struggle against War and for the Defence of the Soviet Union.

By Pierre Lefèvre.

According to the reports which have reached the Organisation Committee of the European Congress of working peasants, it is already evident that complete unanimity prevails among the organisations and affiliated national sections of the various countries regarding the necessity to include among the most important tasks the struggle against the imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union.

It is very significant that important organisations of toiling Catholic peasants publicly declare their will to defend the Soviet Union even after the open intervention of the fascist Pope, undertaken under the pretext of "religious persecutions" in the Soviet Union. Thus, after the notorious appeal of the Pope for a crusade against the Soviet Union, O'Donnell, the leader of the national revolutionary movement of Ireland and secretary of the Irish national committee for the preparation of the peasants' Congress, addressed an Open Letter to Cardinal MacRory, the head of the Catholic church in Ireland, in which he stated:

"I do not believe that people are imprisoned in the Soviet Union because they attend mass, or that priests are imprisoned because they hold a mass, that Bishops are killed because they fulfil their religious duties. I believe that certain priests and bishops are imprisoned on account of their anti-Soviet political activity".

After citing the names of all catholic priests of Ireland who have been imprisoned or killed by English imperialism without the Pope or the Cardinal of Ireland making any protest, he adds:

"It is obvious that the English imperialists are preparing war against the Soviet Union, and if your Eminence intends to join in this recruiting campaign, which is destined to send Irishmen to death in the interest of English imperialism then the great majority of the catholic toiling Irish people will turn against your eminence".

But these and other facts, no matter how characteristic they may be of the mood of even the most backward sections of the toiling population, must not give rise to the illusion that the question of the struggle against war and for the defence of the Soviet Union is already quite clear to the great masses in the factories, and in particular in the rural districts. On the contrary! In the rural districts the influence of the bourgeoisie and its agents is still very great. Therefore, the short time of preparation for the European Congress of toiling peasants still remaining must be made use by the Communists of Europe in order to show that the consistent revolutionary struggle

against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union is closely connected with the immediate and future interests of the whole toiling population.

In order to fulfil this task the Communists must take part more actively than hitherto in the meetings, districts and national Conferences of the toiling peasants which are being organised in the various countries for the preparation of the Congress.

World capitalism is making feverish preparations to kindle the flames of war against the only country in which the workers and peasants have built up their power; it wishes to destroy this powerful experiment which conclusively demonstrates that capitalism has no right to existence. The big landowners hate the Soviet Union, because it has expropriated the exploiters without compensation and handed over the land to the poor peasants. Hence the most energetic defence of the Soviet Union constitutes not only a duty but is at the same time in the most vital interest of all toilers.

The toiling peasants must be specially warned against the fatalistic idea that when once war has broken out, nothing can be undertaken against it. The social democrats and the "bourgeois pacifists" are eagerly spreading this lie among the masses. If the capitalist governments, in spite of the energetic resistance of the toiling masses, should let loose the dogs of war, the fight against the war must not cease, but must enter on a more decisive and concrete phase. The war must be turned into a war of the workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors against the capitalist regime and for the establishment of workers' and peasants' governments in all countries. This is the only means to put an end to this war and to all wars in general.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Sixtieth Birthday of Comrade Ryasanov.

The revolutionary Marxists of the whole world pay tribute to Comrade Ryasanov, the most important and well-known Marx investigator of our time, on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

Comrade Ryasanov is an old revolutionary fighter. Since his earliest youth he took part as agitator and propagandist in the illegal work of the revolutionary social democracy. For this he obtained from Tsarism the usual reward meted out to revolutionaries in the form of five years' hard labour. During the years 1905/16 and 1917/18 he performed practical work in the trade unions. For many years he has been active in the budget commission of the Central Executive Council of the Soviet Congress.

Comrade Ryasanov's historical position, however, is closely connected with his scientific activity. He has served the cause of the proletarian revolution as scientist and Marx investigator, and not only the Marxist theoreticians, but all practical workers of revolutionary Marxism gratefully remember this fact on the occasion of his 60th birthday. Since the beginning of the 20th Century Comrade Ryasanov has investigated the relations of Marx and Engels to Russia, a subject which had hardly been touched by previous Marx investigators. Ryasanov proved convincingly that the problem of the Russian revolution had occupied a prominent place in Marx' and Engels' works. Ryasanov has rendered great service in publishing numerous missing writings of Marx and Engels on questions of foreign policy; he further put an end to the numerous falsifications of the history of the First International on the part of the Bakunist-anarchists and related the bourgeois-social democratic distortion of this history.

The main importance of Marx-investigation however, lies in the sphere of organised collection and publication of all works, writings, letters and documents of Marx and Engels. The revolutionary significance of this task is obvious if one bears in mind that the German social democracy had attempted by all means of sabotage and open and concealed forgeries to prevent the works of Marx and Engels in their totality from becoming known to the broad public. And it is not a mere chance that this work could be taken in hand only after the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia. The Soviet

Union, the country of the proletarian dictatorship and socialist construction is not only the country where Marxism is practically applied, but also the centre of the whole Marxist investigation, the organisation and leadership of which was placed in the hands of Comrade Ryasanov. Only the proletarian State could furnish the great material means necessary to procure and publish all the works, writings and letters of Marx and Engels in full text and to establish a Marxist library satisfying all the requirements of science. Only the proletarian State can place at the disposal of Marx investigation the necessary number of scientific collaborators.

After the victory of the proletarian revolution in Soviet Russia Comrade Ryasanov at once began to organise the investigation of Marx' works on the broadest basis. Thanks to his initiative the Marx-Engels Institute was founded in 1920; and it is also due to his unwearied energy and his unique knowledge that this Institute has become the international centre of Marx investigation. The Marx-Engels Institute is one of the best organised scientific institutes of the whole world, a proof that science is nowhere promoted to such an extent as in the proletarian State.

Comrade Ryasanov by his editions of the works of Marx takes the greatest and most active part in the work of the whole Marx-Engels Institute. These editions have not only great scientific but also actual political importance. The publication of Engels' preface to the "Class Struggles in France" by Comrade Ryasanov was a political deed. By the publication of the most decisive revolutionary passages of this preface, which had been for many years censored by the German Social Democratic Party Executive and suppressed by Bernstein, the methods of forging Marx practised by the German social democracy were strikingly proved. No less important are the investigation works of Ryasanov resulting in the publication of Engels' letters to Bernstein, in which Engels comes forward as irreconcilable champion against opportunism in social democracy. Marx' articles on China and India, published by Ryasanov, are important for the problem of colonial revolution. Finally Ryasanov greatly promoted the understanding of dialectical Marxism by the publication of Marx' and Engels' early works on Feuerbach, as well as Engels' manuscripts on the dialectics of nature. These studies of Engels on dialectics have greatly contributed to the victory of the international proletariat that Comrade Ryasanov idealist distortions on the part of social democracy.

The crowning of this scientific and organisational work of Marx investigation will be the great scientific edition of all the works of Marx and Engels, of which up to now four volumes have appeared. The mass propaganda of Marxism will receive a new foundation by these editions. It is the hope of the international proletariat that Comrade Ryasanov will for many years to come will participate with his leadership and advice in the further development of Marx investigation.

Marx on the Paris Communards.

"What dexterity, what historical initiative, what a faculty of self-sacrifice are being displayed by these Parisians! . . . History records no example of such heroism! If they are defeated, the only reason will be their 'magnanimity' . . . However this may be, the present rising in Paris—even if the revolutionists are thrown to the wolves, the swine and the cowardly foxes of the old system—is one of the finest achievements of our Party since the days of the June rising in 1848."

Marx: Letters to Kugelmann.

August Bebel on the Paris Commune.

"Be assured that the whole of the European proletariat, and all who still have a feeling for Freedom and Independence in their breast, have their eyes turned on Paris. And even if Paris is suppressed for the moment, I would remind you that the fight in Paris is only a small outpost fight, that the chief business still confronts us in Europe, and that before a few decades are passed, the battlecry of the Paris proletariat: War on the Palaces, Peace to the Huts, Death to Misery and to Idleness! will be the battlecry of the whole of the European proletariat."

OBITUARY

Comrade Mau Tze Dung.

By Tang Shin She.

News has arrived from China that Comrade **Mau Tze Dung**, one of the founders of the Communist Party of China and the founder of the partisan troops and the Red army, has died at the front in Fukien as a result of long-standing disease of the lungs. He was the most feared enemy of the landowners and the bourgeoisie. The Kuomintang the representative of the landowners and the bourgeoisie — had since 1927 placed a heavy price on his head. His sickness several times served as an occasion for announcing his death, and thereby encouraging the counter-revolution. There is no doubt that the death of our comrade has called forth great joy in the camp of our enemies. For the Party, the Red Army, and the Revolution his death means a severe loss.

Comrade Mau Tze Dung came of a peasant family in the province of Hunan. Already as a young student he conducted a hard fight against militarism in China. After the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, he immediately joined the Marxist-Leninist movement. In the so-called Renaissance time, after the Peking student riots in 1919, he developed a wide-scale propaganda campaign in the Yangtse area. In the huge Pinchang mining works he organised a model trade union which to-day constitutes the cadres for the big workers and peasants movement in the Hunan and Kiangsi area, as well as for the Bolshevik party generally.

Comrade Mau Tze Dung had been a member of the Central Committee of the C. P. of China since 1923. He fought constantly against opportunism within the Party, especially at the time of the Wuhan period. When the Party failed in the agrarian revolution, he—against the will of the opportunist leadership—worked among the peasant masses in Hunan, and after the coup d'état of May 20, 1927, in Changsha, he organised the peasant revolts in Hunan. At the beginning of 1928 he formed a Red Army with his worker and peasant troops and those of Comrade Chu De, conquered an enormous stretch of territory in Hunan and Kiangse, and set up Soviets in every locality. The Red Army severely shook the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang regime. The troops in the neighbouring provinces—representing altogether seven army corps—were sent to annihilate this Red Army. For tactical reasons a part of the Mau Tze Dung and Chu De troops left Hunan and went on a campaign to Kwangtung and Fukien, where the revolutionary movement was in a state of ferment. More than half the province of Fukien came under Soviet rule. The crushed peasant movement and the Red Army, which had been driven back into the mountain district in East Kwangtung, were roused to fresh activity by the powerful advance of Mau Tze Dung. With troops drawn from six provinces, i. e. more than 60,000 soldiers, the Kuomintang last summer again took up the fight against the Red Army led by Comrade Mau Tze Dung. This powerful army, however, was not able to drive back the Red Army numbering about 10,000 men. On the contrary, it became subject to a process of constant disintegration, whole brigades at a time deserted it and went over to the Reds.

Comrade Mau Tze Dung was the political leader of the so-called Chu Mau troops. He completely carried out in his sphere the decisions of the sixth World Congress and of the sixth Party Congress of the C. P. of China. He thereby helped to expose and annihilate the reformist illusions among certain sections of the city poor, the peasants, and also the working class, which had been called forth by the "Left" Kuomintang, the third Party and To Du Siu.

Comrade Mau Tze Dung has fulfilled his historical mission as a Bolshevik and champion of the Chinese proletariat in the full sense of the word. The working and peasant masses of China will not forget his achievements, and will continue his work until it is completed.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Work Amongst Women on Collective Farms.

By Kravchenko.

The firm and correct policy of the Soviet Government in the creation of unit of the working class with the agricultural labourers, poor and middle peasants on the basis of production, has brought about a most magnificent revolution in the countryside. The movement of collective farming which has embraced millions of poor and middle peasants transforms petty individual and scattered farming into large-scale socialised agriculture.

The active women who stand in the front ranks in the countryside not only carry out in practice all measures for the transformation of agriculture along collective lines but also actively struggle against the rich peasants. Hence we see that the terroristic measures on the part of the kulaks in relation to the active peasant women, the female labourers and poor peasant women has greatly increased in the past year.

But the kulaks resort not only to terroristic measures in relation to these women: they seek to utilise the more ignorant sections in the struggle against the steps taken by the progressive peasants towards collectivisation. But these attempts fail. The masses of poor women soon realise if they make a mistake under the influence of kulak agitation and it does not take long before they become active workers in favour of collective farming. The efforts of the kulaks to utilise the ignorant peasant women in the struggle against collective farming makes it necessary for us to carry on special enlightenment work among the masses of rural women with regard to the prerogatives of collective farming.

The principal practical tasks in this domain are to train the broad masses of women in collective farms, to give them an education on questions of farming and to create new working and living conditions for them, such which would liberate them from the burdens of the household.

In the newly formed collective farms the peasant woman has to a large extent begun to be drawn into the performance of the work of a tractorist, to the work of assembling, taking apart and repairing of machines, to the use of all possible instruments of machinery throughout the various processes of sowing, harvesting, threshing, etc., work which in the past was considered to be the monopoly of the man. The woman on the collective farm, just like in the factory, is confronted with the problem of specialisation, the acquiring of skill which would enable her to occupy the position of an equal member in the labour family on the collective farm.

In many collective farms the raising of live stock loses its character of being used simply for consumption at home. For instance, the development of poultry farming, rabbits, beehives, etc. for industrial purposes. There is extensive development of such crops as potatoes, flax, beets, etc.; there is model gardening, orchards, berries, etc. The development of these branches apart from being of use for manufacturing purposes alters also the diet of members of collective farms.

Some systems of agricultural cooperation have already taken up the problem of training the women, of preparing them for new modes of production. Dairy cooperatives organised a number of undertakings which will increase the knowledge of the women members. The dairy cooperatives have organised in 1928-29 over 450 dairy farm circles. Already 11,250 women passed through these classes. This year another 300 have been organised.

In addition to that, all butter producing artels and rural reading rooms organise circles on dairy farming conducted by agronomists, live-stock specialists, etc. There are many such circles in Siberia. Courses are being organised on live-stock raising primarily for women. Women members of collective farms are urged to take part in contests and exhibitions on dairy products and raising of livestock. Exhibitions are being organised along these lines. The flax raising cooperatives make it their business to train their women for the sorting out of the various qualities of flax. In Central Asia, courses are being organised for women engaged in silk cultivation.

The participation of women at production conferences on

collective farms is a method which helps to make the participants understand the work they are doing. It raises the interest of woman in the measures taken by Soviet Government and in carrying them out. Women are drawn into various circles and short-term courses of a general as well as a special character, to excursions, talks and conferences, which also give the rural woman the necessary knowledge and rouse her interest in improving her skill. Delegate meetings of peasant women become the basis of all this activity.

Along the lines of helping the woman to organise affairs on a collective basis there is a reorganisation now taking place in the People's Commissariats for Education and Health and in the people's kitchens. This is absolutely essential because with the socialisation of labour the rural woman will be freed from the cares of the home and the bringing up of children. Let us take for example a tractor brigade. According to agreements a certain number of people of each given family have to start out to work at a given time of the day. As soon as the bell rings all must be on the job with their tractors. There can be no waiting and no delay. The peasant woman must be free from her children no matter what happens.

The reorganisation of living conditions in large collective farms becomes the more significant since it increases the sympathy of the toiling women in favour of collective farming and raises their creative initiative, self-activity and energy in the overcoming of old habits and customs of the obsolete system of patriarchal life.

The building of institutions which socialise the life of the people in collective farms is making rapid headway in spite of difficulties, the lack of buildings, insufficient means of education, leadership, etc. There are good reasons to believe that this will before very long, give results which will astound the world by its expediency as well as by its cultural influence, and the possibility of thoroughly revolutionising the life of mankind.

BOOK REVIEWS

"The Soviet War on Religion"*)

By V. W. P.

Here is a pamphlet of fifty pages, well printed, on good paper, with illustrations, at the ridiculously small price of twopence. In plain, workaday language, it gives the real facts about religion and the State in the U.S.S.R., and exposes the real nature of the Anti-Soviet campaign being waged beneath the cloak of "religious persecution".

All the noxious lies disseminated against the U.S.S.R. are taken, examined in the cold light of facts, and blown sky-high. Particularly effective is the exposure of the "Inyaslavitsi", the "Feodorovski" and of other so-called religious bodies which carried on counter-revolutionary activities in the U.S.S.R. until they were put down by the Government.

It deals with the oft-repeated question:—If religion is free in the Soviet Union why do the priests want to go back to the old regime?—and shows that they sigh for a return to Tsarist rule, because in the "good old days" they were free to exploit the workers and peasants to their heart's desire, that capitalist and priest were fellow robbers in arms, but that now, in face of the growing literacy of the people, their power is waning, and they foresee extinction facing all forms of stupidity and superstition.

Finally, the pamphlet drives home the point that religion is dope to keep the workers in subjection, and shows that it is being used now in an attempt to stir up the necessary war psychology against the Soviet Union, and appeals to the workers to break down the barrage of lies and to line up in defence of their real Fatherland—Soviet Russia.

The value of the pamphlet is enhanced by an appendix containing the Soviet decree re Church and State, published in 1918 and, all in all, should be bought and read by everyone desirous of acquainting himself with the plain facts of the situation.

*) "The Soviet War on Religion", published by Modern Books Ltd., London.