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The Reign of Violence of the MacDonald Government in India.

By V. Chabr.

When the MacDonald government entered into office, a Conservative politician, on being asked his opinion regarding the probable length of life of the new Cabinet, declared that the test for MacDonald would be India. For the English bourgeoisie it is, as a matter of fact, more advantageous to make use of its most Left wing, represented by MacDonald's Party, for the purpose of crushing the Indian national revolutionary movement.

Right from the first moment the government of the social imperialists has not in any way differed from its reactionary, conservative predecessor. The continuation of the Meerut trial, the refusal to grant even the most elementary concessions to the national-revolutionary movement, the ruthless attacks on the striking workers—all this the British financial magnates themselves could not have better carried out than their social-imperialist lackeys.

The revolutionary crisis in India is developing. Colossal masses of the town workers and of the Indian peasants are participating in the struggle. The Mass Strike as a weapon in the fight against imperialist oppression, street demonstrations, often leading to bloody collisions, active and passive resistance to the violence of the imperialist government—these are the outstanding features of the situation in India. Gandhi's March originated as a result of the pressure of the profoundly excited

masses; it was undertaken by Gandhi in the hope that the MacDonald government would prefer to come to a compromise with the reformist wing of the Indian national movement, with the advocates of "non-violence", rather than call forth an outbreak of the powerful and violent mass movement. National reformism wanted to make it possible for MacDonald to gain time. And MacDonald made use of this time in order to arm his battalions to the teeth, to place his police and military in readiness and to show the mailed fist to the national emancipation movement.

MacDonald's policy in India represents the most brutal oppression of the working class; its only answer to the demands for freedom of a people numbering 350 million is the bayonet, arrests, prison sentences, banishments, police violence. The trade union leaders having been thrown into prison, it is now the turn of the President of the Youth League—Nariman, Mahatma, Gandhi's son, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Indian National Congress and others. The striking workers who have been fighting for weeks and even for months for their rights, as, for instance the railway workers of the G. I. P. Railway, are continually confronted in their fight by the police of the "Labour" Government.

And what is the II. International doing? Nothing, not even raising the slightest protest! It seems a mockery when one

reads that the members of this same International who are bludgeoning and imprisoning the striking workers in India, at the same time propose to the trade unions of these workers that they enter the Amsterdam International. If the Indian workers still need any enlightenment regarding the true character of the Amsterdam International, MacDonald is doing his best to provide them with this enlightenment.

MacDonald's violent methods have naturally brought about serious changes in the Indian mass movement itself. In face of this policy of the strong hand, the utility of Gandhi's tactics of non-violence becomes obvious to the masses. MacDonald's provocations, which Gandhi continually called upon the Indian masses to meet with passive resistance, are now going beyond the patience of these very long-suffering Indian masses. The movement shows very clear symptoms that it is getting beyond the control of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi himself seems to regard the mass movement at the present moment as so threatening that he is beginning to adopt a radical tone, to speak of the possibility of bloodshed. Still more remarkable, however, is the fact that the movement is not only concentrated in the districts of Ahmedabad which are under the influence of Gandhi, but that the masses, and particularly the working masses, in other remote districts of India are spontaneously taking up the anti-imperialist fight by acts of sabotage, mass strikes and mass demonstrations.

MacDonald, in his Indian policy, is the exponent of British financial capital, the friend and helper of the reactionary clique of colonial officials, who live like parasites on the Indian masses, the protector of that backward despotism which still to-day holds down India. There could be no more reactionary united front than this common block of all the forces of reaction and exploitation in India.

But the Indian masses cannot and will not retreat; MacDonald's policy, however, leaves no doubt that the eloquent pacifist of the II. International will not shrink from bloody massacres, and that in fact he is actively preparing for this, as is shown by the concentration of "reliable" Mohammedan regiments in the disaffected districts.

In such circumstances the result of the fight will to a great extent depend upon whether the British working class will succeed in staying the arm of their "Labour" Government, whether they will permit the revolutionary movement in India to be crushed, which would result in a strengthening of British reaction and would have fatal effects for the British proletariat.

"India is the test of MacDonald." MacDonald is passing his test by the Tory examiners as brilliantly as he has done in the case of Egypt, Africa, Palestine and the whole of the vast Empire which he is administering in the interest of the city money-bags. But India is also a test for the British proletariat and for the C.P. of Great Britain. The fight of the Indian people, the fight of the Indian proletariat against MacDonald, against imperialism, must not remain isolated. Against the reactionary block there must be set up the united front of the enslaved Indian masses with the fighting European proletariat.

POLITICS

The Political Development in Germany.

By A. Norden (Berlin).

The Hindenburg-Brüning Government has been in office for two weeks. In this short period it has increased sixfold the import duty on eggs, greatly increased the import duties on rye and meat, placed duties on milk and on a dozen other articles of food, and abolished the free importation of frozen meat. In short, Herr Schiele, the President of the big agrarian Landbund and present Food Minister, has achieved more than even the German National Party had demanded. Turnover tax, taxes on tobacco, on sugar, beer — all have been accepted. And even if the Government majority in the Reichstag has on occasion sunk to three or four votes, it has nevertheless remained a majority.

If one wishes to characterise this government in regard

to its attitude to the Constitution and democracy, one cannot better describe it than as the government of semi-parliamentarism. Certainly it is not a matter of indifference to it whether it governs with this bourgeois block Reichstag or not. As the "Berliner Börsenzeitung" writes:

"It will of course be better if the Government is able to pass laws for a few months without disturbance than if an election campaign and new elections were to hinder the practical utilisation of the theoretical legislative work and destroy it by inner-political upheavals."

George Bernard says the same thing a little bit more plainly in the "Vossische Zeitung":

"An election in a country where there are several million unemployed, and where great excitement prevails as a result of the Young Plan, would result in a considerable growth of the extreme parties both of the Right and of the Left."

The Government was determined to carry out at all cost its taxation and tariff programme. In the event of a vote of censure Herr Brüning, instead of resigning, would simply have sent Parliament packing, governed without the Reichstag and, between now and the fresh elections, would have passed a whole series of measures imposing heavy burdens on the masses, with the aid of the dictatorship article 48 of the Constitution.

The class struggle has become so acute, the difficulties among the various bourgeois fractions themselves are so great, it is so hard to reconcile their interests, that the agents of capital are compelled even to abandon the fiction of democratic government. The gradual abolition of democracy is the reverse side of the crisis which is compelling the big bourgeoisie to "protect capital with the iron reality of the bayonet" (Rosa Luxemburg).

In the background there stands Herr Luther, the new President of the Reichsbank, who gives orders to the government in the same way as did his predecessor. And the Cabinet answers by requesting that the notice calling in credits be postponed — it will "get money in one way or other" —, goes to the Reichstag and dictates its demands.

The Social Democratic Party tried to curry favour with the government by causing its police to raid the European Congress of Poor Peasants recently held in Berlin. The social democratic town council in Berlin is acting in precisely the same way as the bourgeois block government by raising rents, street car fares and the cost of all other public services, granting millions to the police and at the same time reducing social expenditure. In the Reichstag the social democrats reject the Communist motion to tax property, and on the 12th of April, on a critical vote, arranged for just the necessary number of its deputies to be absent in order to ensure a majority for the bourgeois block and thereby prevent new elections which they so greatly fear.

The social democratic party is nothing else but the Left hand of the bourgeois block government. By its police presidents it ensures the carrying out of the starvation laws of the bourgeois block, and sabotages all fights for higher wages and the seven-hour day. Capital has allotted to the social democratic party, very much against the will of the latter, the role of sham opposition.

The S.P. is carrying on its game very clumsily. On the one hand it implores the bourgeoisie to accept the social democracy again into the government, and on the other hand Breitscheid, Hilferding and the "Vorwärts" conduct oppositional agitation, the hollowness of which becomes immediately obvious when it is pointed out that everything that Brüning is doing is only the direct continuation of the Hermann Müller policy.

Import duties on bacon are more important than a national policy. The presents given by the government to the big agrarians have rapidly dissolved the chauvinistic sham-opposition to the Young Plan. The majority of the German nationalists have already openly gone over to the government, which has declared itself ready to pay all tribute to the victor states. In Thuringia, the national socialist Minister for the Interior Frick is carrying out an ultra-reactionary taxation regime.

Where the national-opposition to the Young Plan ends with open bankruptcy, there commence the great tasks of the Communist Party. Upon the C. P. rests the great responsibility of conducting a policy which, under the slogan of the proletarian united front, shall free from their reformist illusions all workers who are still following the social democratic party, and also embrace the impoverished middle classes who have been deceived by the bourgeois parties and also the rural poor who are exploited by the junkers.

The Situation in Norway.

By Arvid Hansen (Oslo).

Two features characterise the situation in Norway: the beginning of a new economic crisis and the preparations of the reformists to take office.

The new economic crisis has particularly affected navigation and the most important industrial branches working for export. But there is no doubt the crisis will extend to other branches of industry. At such a moment the bourgeoisie considers it opportune to secure peace in industry, to prevent the revolutionising of the working masses and then, with the intensification of the crisis, to combine mass dismissals with an attack upon wages.

The reformist trade union leaders are most eagerly advocating the formation of a government of "the Labour Party". The Party Congress of the Norwegian Labour Party, which recently took place, approved in principle of "Ministerial" socialism. After the Parliamentary elections in Autumn 1930, the question of entering the government can become actual at any moment.

In this connection the following event is of importance: The existing collective agreements were recently prolonged for 40,000 workers. This prolongation was the result of an understanding between the representatives of the employers' organisations and of the leaders of the reformist trade unions before the arbitration court. The agreement affects the workers of different branches of industry: seamen, stokers, bakers, textile workers, garment workers, shoe workers and workers in canning factories, breweries, mills etc. In addition, agreement was arrived at in the electro-chemical industry. The workers were not consulted. The agreement was arrived at behind their backs.

One of the leading newspapers of financial capital in Norway "Tidens Tegn" (Signs of the Time") writes:

"The agreement arrived at by the voluntary negotiations of the parties, is an extremely welcome event. And the leaders of the two central organisations—the employers' associations and the secretariat of the trade union federation—deserve the greatest credit for their efforts for peace."

The reformists show by their prolongation of the collective agreements, that they are ripe for Ministerial seats. In addition they have brought forward other proofs which are equally convincing for the bourgeoisie: setting up of an election programme for the consolidation of capitalist economy; mobilisation of the police and the social democratic defence corps against the demonstration of unemployed in Lørenskog; Open Letter of the Trade Union Federation to the trade unions of Western Norway containing the threat to split the trades council in Bergen.

All this proves that the Norwegian reformists do not shrink even from using the methods of the police "socialists" of Germany when it is a question of frustrating any efforts to shake capitalist stabilisation.

The agreement arrived at between the employers and the trade union leaders will not secure "peace in industry". A few days after the agreement, elementary strikes broke out, the workers putting forward the demand for higher wages, improved working conditions and the removal of spies from the factories.

As a result of enhanced capitalist rationalisation, approved and supported in every way by the Trade Union Federation, a new wave of elementary strikes is to be expected, the more so as the influence of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary opposition in the trade unions has greatly increased of late.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET-UNION

Will Pilsudski Make War in May?

By H. M. (Warsaw).

Pilsudski's preparations for immediate war are being less and less concealed by the bourgeois and social fascist press of Poland. The war rumours against the Soviet Union are even being spread by Pilsudski himself and his immediate associates. They do not even take the trouble to deny the sensational article by Roman Dmowski, the founder of the National Democratic Party, on the war-preparations against the Soviet Union.

Dmowski declares in his article that the hopes of a European stabilisation are vain. Europe's sickness is today much worse than is generally believed. It has seized not only the small countries but also the victor States, including America. Everywhere there prevails over-production and stagnation. The glance of the capitalists is directed to that land which extends from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean. The business man who visited the Soviet Union did not bother much about what was happening in the land of the proletarian dictatorship. The most terrible things (for whom? Ed.) could happen there without the business man troubling himself much about them. He is now, however learning about the Five-Year Plan, about the plan for industrialising Russia. This plan is causing considerable disquietude to the business man. Instead of becoming an object of exploitation, the Soviet Union is preparing to transform itself into a dangerous competitor. Such things are unbearable for the Polish and American business people who declare: "The Soviet Union must be swept away".

And now — continues Dmowski — we have been witnessing for several months past an anti-Soviet campaign which bears all the signs of preparation for a big action. Recently, religious persecution was increased in the Soviet Union (?). This called forth a protest of the believers and before all of the Vatican, and suddenly a miracle occurred. The business man, who scorned religion and was an enemy of the church, suddenly recognised the authority of the Vatican, supported the Papal protest and began to cry for revenge, as the conscience of the business man cannot reconcile itself — with the Five-Year Plan. The business man is a man of action; when he commences a campaign it is probably not with the intention of confining it to words. For the present the business man is not saying anything regarding his intentions. Nevertheless a faint echo of the numerous negotiations which are going on in the whole of Europe is to be found in the press.

Even if this open language of the arch-reactionary national democratic leader Dmowski expresses not so much the desire to protect the Soviet Union as the political competitive struggle between the national democrats and the Pilsudski-ites for the exploitation and oppression of the workers, it is none the less very alarming. He would not venture to publish such facts unless they were derived from very reliable sources of information.

The rumour is going around that the fascist Constitution is to be set up in... Kiev in the near future. This Constitution is to be proclaimed after the capture of Kiev as the Constitution of a Federation of Poland, the Ukraine and White Russia. Only recently there was a widely-spread rumour that Pilsudski replied to a delegation of metal workers of the P.P.S. trade union, who had complained to him on account of discharges and lack of work, by saying: "Don't worry, in May there will not be enough of you!" The P.P.S. has kept silent regarding this interview.

Feverish organisational activity is being carried on in the army. In addition to the transport of munitions via Gdingen and Danzig, regarding which the German press recently published reports, it has now been ascertained that light machine guns of the Belgian "Browning" type are being introduced into the army. The smallest units of the infantry are being equipped with this weapon, contrary to the practice prevailing hitherto, according to which machine guns were usually a special category of weapon. This is directed against the Red Army, in which the machine guns form the equipment of separate groups of infantry.

According to the original plans this weapon, in view of its expensiveness, was to be first introduced in 1932.

The details regarding the Lodz trial mobilisation are of considerable interest. It was not the usual mobilisation of reserves for the purpose of training, but the trial mobilisation of the old-called "cover" bataillons. According to the new reorganisation, these battalions are troops who in the event of mobilisation will be the first to be called up, i. e. within four hours after the signing of the mobilisation order, whereupon they will be immediately sent to the front to act as a cover for the further mobilisation of the other categories of troops, which can last from three to fourteen days. The mobilisation is carried out by the police. This is how it was carried out in Lodz. Workers were fetched out of the factories, from the tramways and the street. This action caused the working women to carry out a great and spontaneous demonstration.

The whole Communist movement must devote the greatest attention to the war provocations of Polish fascism. The fight for the defence of the Soviet Union must be carried on with redoubled energy.

FASCISM

Fascism Raging in Finland.

The devastation of the printing establishment of the workers newspapers in Vasa by the fascists was the culmination of a series of insolent fascist provocations and acts of violence. During the district meeting of the working youth organisations in northern Finland last autumn, the fascists attempted to prevent it by violence, attacking the visitors, tearing their clothing and damaging automobiles etc. Encouraged by the fact that the authorities did nothing to punish them, they organised fascist "civic meetings" in various parts of the country at which provocative resolutions were adopted and demands put forward, for instance for the suppression of the revolutionary working class movement and the re-introduction of the death sentence in the struggle against communism. The centre of this fascist movement was Lapua where for the most part rich landowners and well-to-do peasants are in the majority.

The Coalition Party (the most reactionary party and the representative of large-scale capital) demands in parliament that the members of the parliamentary fraction of the workers and peasants party should be arrested and expelled from parliament, that communist lists should be prohibited at all elections, and that workers newspapers should be suppressed and their printing works confiscated. With the active support of the social fascists the government has altered the right of association act and thus delivered the workers organisations over to the arbitrary will of the authorities.

The new law has already resulted in the suppression of over 200 cultural organisations of the working class youth and the confiscation of their property. Numerous workers have been arrested. At present proceedings are taking place against 50 workers and 30 workers are in prison on remand. The editors of working class newspapers are being prosecuted and two newspapers have been suppressed for two months.

In March the fascist organisations and the delegates of the "civic meetings" held a national congress which demanded severe repressive measures against the working class movement, "the expulsion of the communists from parliament inside 24 hours", the dissolution of parliament, the suppression of communist electoral lists, and the calling of a new parliament to work out more effective laws against the communist movement. The new fascist organisation "Finnish Burg" was also founded at this congress. This organisation carried out the destructive raid on the workers press in Vasa.

Fascism is making rapid progress in Finland and the last remnants of bourgeois democracy are being wiped out. One of the main reasons for the present situation is the steadily growing economic crisis. Unemployment is increasing and the process of radicalisation is going on rapidly amongst the workers and poor peasants. The bourgeoisie is increasing its repressive measures and taking resort to fascism, whereby the social fascists are rendering assistance. The strengthening of fascism means the strengthening of the danger of war against the Soviet Union.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

American Coal Operators Hold Two Union Conventions.

By Alex G. Richman (New York).

In the middle of March two groups of coal operators held their conventions, one the U. S. Steel Trust, the other the Peabody Coal Company. Both claimed to be the United Mine Workers Union, and are fighting in the courts for that very doubtful honour. John L. Lewis rottenest reactionary, of the A. F. of L. gang, ran one convention for the operators in Indianapolis. A hash of socialists, Musteite ("Left" socialist) "progressives", and ex-Lewis henchmen organised a "reorganisation", convention at Springfield, which declared itself the U. M. W. A. on advice of counsel.

Over 5,000 miners and other unemployed and employed workers participated in a March 6th demonstration in Springfield just before the fakers' convention opened, and other large outpourings of militant miners, under the leadership of the Communist Party and National Miners Union, showed the reactionaries what these workers thought of them. This was also evidenced by their boycotting of both convocations.

A brief survey of the condition of the industry will facilitate an understanding of the situation among the coal miners. For the past seven years the crisis in the industry has been acute, and growing steadily worse. Rationalisation, overproduction and unemployment have been more severe than in any other industry. Capacity is now nearly a 1,000 million tons a year, with consumption only about half that amount. Over 200,000 miners have been forced out of the coal industry, and there is 50 per cent unemployment among the 500,000 left. Less than one-fifth of the miners are organised, and conditions in the mines are worse than they have ever been.

In this situation the two conventions met, and in their convention calls and the discussion never took up once the conditions of the miners, nor the attacks of the operators—two significant "omissions", which explain far more than any thing said or done at the conventions.

The "progressive" convention opened on the same day as Lewis' convention at Indianapolis, and exactly one hour earlier it adopted a constitution, so that in the courts, where it feels more at home than in strikes for unionisation and better conditions, it might have a legal advantage. It fixed the salaries of 35 of its officials and henchmen at \$5,600 a year, plus unlimited sums for expenses. (The N. M. U. pays its official wages equal to those received by miners in the pits.) It set high initiation fees and dues—for miners literally starving. It excluded Communists from membership—and continued the restrictions against Negroes. It elected delegates to the next A. F. of L. convention, declared itself the U. M. W., and began to bargain with Lewis and William Green, head of the A. F. of L., for peace. When both the latter answered by splitting in their faces, the progressives explained that it looked like rain. They appealed to the U. S. Senate to investigate the coal industry again. Then they got down to the real work of the convention, the order of business for which the saliva had been dripping from their mouths—they voted to take out an injunction to restrain Lewis from using 900,000 Dollar in the union treasury. The rank and file character of the convention, of which they boasted upon every possible occasion, was shown by the fact that there were only two delegates from the 300,000 miners in the important coal fields of Pennsylvania—Messrs. Brophy and Hapgood!

The type of gangster-leadership of this convention may be seen from the frame-up engineered against Freeman Thompson, president of the N. M. U. Thompson had challenged Howat to debate a number of times, and entered the convention hall to repeat the challenge. Fifty Peabody thugs attacked him, pretended to find a gun, and had him arrested, while the "progressives" sat and watched.

The Lewis convention was attended by three times as many "delegates". It lasted twice as long—for most of the loyal "rank and file" henchmen of the machine such an outburst occurs only biennially now. Every action was unanimous, black reaction hung like a pall, the rival convention was

damned and the coal operators beatified, preparations made to sue the other faction, and the convention closed.

The National Miners Union realises the more insidious danger in the Farrington-Fishwick-Howat union, because the growing spirit of revolt among the miners definitely precludes consideration of the discredited, black reaction of the Lewis gang. The flegle of progressivism of the Left social-fascist fringe of the Springfield union will for a time fool some of the miners, unless the N.M.U. conducts an effective campaign of exposure of this new company union.

The N.M.U. is correcting its errors and laying the basis for mass district conventions in April, and for a national convention at Pittsburg on June 1, at which it expects to have a thousand rank and file delegates. Here preparations will be made for a nation-wide strike on September 1, when the use of coal on a large scale begins. The N.M.U. will answer the conventions of the bosses' stoopigeons by unity of all miners, basic organisational work and militant struggle in the strike ahead.

THE WHITE TERROR

A New Communist Mass Trial in Hungary.

By A. Sz.

On the 28th April there will commence before the "Ordinary Court" in Budapest the trial of 112 champions of the Hungarian working class. 112 Communists, Left workers, intellectuals, both men and women, have to answer the charge of being "leaders and instigators" of a conspiracy against the safety of the State. Their alleged activity as leaders consists in their membership of the illegal Communist Party of Hungary, which is punishable with imprisonment for five years and upwards.

According to article III. of the 5law of 1921, all revolutionary political activity in Hungary is punishable with five years' imprisonment if no "other crimes" have been committed in connection with it. But the Hungarian class court considers the mere fact of anybody having identification papers not made out in his real name, as such "another crime". Thus in milder cases sentences up to ten years' imprisonment can be pronounced, in more serious cases sentences of over ten years' imprisonment.

The arrest of the first accused in the trial took place already in August 1927. Several comrades have already been over two years in prison awaiting trial, under conditions which in a very short time undermine the health of the prisoner.

All the accused have been cruelly tortured in order to extort "confessions" from them. In spite of this the police did not succeed in producing concrete evidence in support of the charge against the accused of having committed acts aiming "at the violent overthrow of the State and social order". Thus the indictment had to confine itself to the general charge that the accused have taken part in "organising nuclei", in "distributing leaflets" etc., without however citing any evidence.

The repeated postponement of the trial shows that the Hungarian ruling class is anticipating the proceedings in anything but a spirit of confidence. It is the frightful terrorist regime of the Horthy-Bethlen Government which will be in the dock, while the plaintiff will be the impoverished Hungarian town and rural proletariat.

The authorities are endeavouring to deprive the accused of their defending counsel. The chief of the Political Police has repeatedly "confidentially" approached the lawyers of the accused Communists with a view to inducing them to abandon the defence of the "Communist criminals". On March 8, the chief defending Counsel, the well known Budapest lawyer Dr. Josef Revesz, was arrested along with two of his clerks on the charge of being a leader of the prohibited Red Relief. Dr. Revesz's "confession" that for several years past he had defended Communists, the fact that he was in possession of a number of communist pamphlets, which he needed for the purpose of conducting the defence, and the further fact that he did not denounce his clients — all this is being used as evidence of his participation in a "conspiracy". According to the announcement of the Political Police, similar methods are to be employed against his fellow defending Counsel.

The accused will, however, know how to conduct their own defence even should they be deprived of the assistance of defending Counsel. Before the Budapest Court they will indict the fascist rule in Hungary.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Calumnies against General Sandino.

Declaration of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence.

During the last few months reports have appeared containing serious accusations against General Augusto Caesar Sandino who is a member of the International Executive of the League Against Imperialism and who has conducted a tireless struggle against Yankee-imperialism. It has been reported that Sandino has agreed to abandon the struggle against U.S. imperialism in Nicaragua in return for the sum of 60,000 American dollars.

Immediately upon the publication of such reports the International Secretariat instructed the Continental Committee of the League Against Imperialism in Mexico to make a thorough investigation into the charge, all the more so as Sandino is a member of the International Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism. The League Against Imperialism is a political, non-party, mass organisation, but it can of course maintain no relations with any person who deliberately sabotages the struggle against imperialism or who totally abandons the struggle. Had Sandino adopted a policy of opportunism towards American imperialism, no matter what his reasons, then he would have rendered himself unworthy not only to hold one of the highest positions in the League Against Imperialism, but even to retain his membership of the League.

The International Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism declares categorically before the forum of the international public opinion that the investigation conducted by the organs of the League has shown that the charge made against General Sandino is without foundation. The slanderous allegations were spread by the agents of Yankee imperialism in order to discredit a man in the eyes of the working class and peasant masses of Latin-America, who led the armed struggle in Nicaragua against the invading troops of Wall Street, and is a member of the International Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism, the organisation which unites and leads the struggle of the oppressed peoples against world imperialism.

Immediately the slanderous allegations cropped up General Sandino demanded himself an investigation. He made a public declaration to the effect that he was determined to continue the struggle not only against North American imperialism, but also against all Latin-American governments, as far as they are the tools of imperialism, including the government of Mexico which has become counter-revolutionary.

In this situation it is therefore the duty of all the sections of the League Against Imperialism, and of all other anti-imperialist organisations all over the world to thwart this manoeuvre of imperialism. A broad mass campaign must be carried out, particularly in the Latin-American countries and in the United States together with Sandino. We appeal in particular to the sections of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League to take all possible measures to strengthen their ranks and to continue the struggle against imperialism on the broadest possible basis.

The International Secretariat of the League Against Imperialism sends General Sandino its revolutionary greetings. The oppressed people see in him and in his army of emancipation honest and determined fighters carrying on the struggle against imperialism in accordance with the programme of the international organisation, the League against Imperialism and for National Independence, not only in Nicaragua, but also in all other Latin-American countries, and striving to unify the actions of the oppressed and exploited peoples in all colonial and semi-colonial countries, striving to establish the unity of action necessary for the victorious conclusion of the struggle against the imperialist robbers.

The League Against Imperialism and for National Independence.
International Secretariat.

Enlarged Presidium of the E. C. C. I.

On the Soviet Union. A New Phase.

By V. Molotov.

**Report at Enlarged Presidium, Executive Committee of the Communist International,
February 25, 1930.**

(Continued from No. 17)

II. The Building of Socialism and the Masses.

The second part of my report will aim at showing how the building of Socialism in our country is taking place. I will have to deal with the political situation in the U.S.S.R., and in particular with the attitude of the working class and the masses of the peasantry. The successes of Socialist construction mentioned above would have been impossible had not the working class and millions of the working peasantry been inspired with exceptional political enthusiasm, had not millions upon millions of them rallied under the banner of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. Our successes are founded on our support by the masses of workers and peasants.

1. The Enthusiasm of the Masses.

When we speak of the participation of the working masses in Socialist construction, we are speaking of the principal condition requisite for the Socialist cause. Hence the great importance of all facts showing the growth of activity of the working class in that construction. The fulfilment of a great plan of production, the execution of plans for developing industry which expand year by year, are possible only with the active support of the widest sections of the workers. In its turn, our economic progress arouses the Socialist enthusiasm of the working class. A striking example of the growing activity of the masses is the impressive response to the Central Committee's appeal to fill the gaps in the execution of the industrial and financial plan. True, it cannot yet be said that the subsequent mobilisation of Party, trade union, Young Communist and economic organisations has completely ensured the fulfilment of the plan; but there is ample evidence to show that the workers' activity in carrying it out is steadily growing.

As an example of this attitude, I will quote the case of one of our largest works, the importance of which is enhanced by the fact that the principal items in its programme of production are locomotives, tractors and internal combustion engines. I refer to the "Comintern" locomotive works at Kharkov. On February 13, "Pravda" printed the manifesto of the workers, clerical staff and engineers of this works which was adopted at shop meetings and a works conference. The manifesto states:

"During the first quarter our work was poor and unorganised, arising out of the belief that everything would come right by the end of the year. The rate and methods of work of the factory organisations had not been readjusted in keeping with the economic tasks of the works. The breakdown in the first quarter aroused all the organisations. The work was effectively reorganised. Those who tried to 'calm things down' by assertions that 'there was nothing very much wrong' were firmly put in their place. The whole works was mobilised to meet the breakdown.

The reorganisation of all the mass work in the factory, with the object of bringing it into direct touch with the shock brigades, was begun. The work of the Party groups was overhauled, and 171 industrial groups were organised at different points of production. Every single group had a thorough discussion on the reasons for the breakdown in its section. In addition, the breakdown was studied by specially appointed brigades and a temporary control commission elected for the whole works.

This made it possible to establish the definite reasons for the breakdown, and to begin the struggle for their elimination. An active part was played by the works paper, the 'Kharkov Locomotive Worker', which began to appear every other day, instead of weekly as hitherto. Every other day shop wall-papers began to appear, showing how the programme was being carried out and drawing attention to the sections lagging behind. A special leaflet for the workers, engineers and technical staff was issued. Daily communiques in every shop were introduced and

raids carried out on the evening and night shifts. All these measures greatly increased the activity of the workers, and the temporary control commission received over 200 suggestions for improving the process of production. Socialist competition also received a great impulse: 113 new shock brigades were formed, the number of brigade members rising from 2,302 to 3,884.

The resolution of the Central Council of Trade Unions and the Central Committee of the Young Communist League, which dealt with the Lenin levy of shock brigades, gave a new impetus to this movement. During the first two days of the Lenin levy over 600 entered the shock brigades. At the same time the masses began to stream into the Party. Hundreds of workers handed in collective applications for membership of the Communist Party to the shop nuclei.

The enthusiasm and tremendous concentration of will and muscle on the part of the whole body of workers, led to a complete victory.

Instead of 11 locomotives, provided for under the January plan, 12 were produced: instead of 40 tractors, 50; and internal combustion engines to a total of 2,200 horse power, instead of 2,000 as planned. The steel works, the iron foundry and the copper foundry carried out their programme in full. The total programme for January has been carried out 143.3 %, and for the first four months of the new economic year, the programme has been fulfilled 100.12 %."

The manifesto speaks for itself. The "Comintern" workers at Kharkov have won an honourable name for themselves. I need not add anything to what I have read. But I will quote the report of a comrade who was recently at this works by instruction of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. He gives the following opinion of the situation in the works:

"I am bound to say that there is a quite unprecedented industrial enthusiasm. To take an example: the tractor shop, which is now working on a very full programme, has been very extensively covered with shock brigades, and people frequently come to work at 8 a.m. If the materials are not ready, they are told to come back at 11. They go away and return at the appointed time, beginning work at any moment required. There are people who literally spend the night at the bench in this works."

Here, of course, we cannot help noticing the unsatisfactory arrangements made by the management. We have to meet similar defects in many factories. Yet, at the same time, this report also emphasises the unprecedented enthusiasm reigning amongst the working masses.

Another example can be drawn from experience at Dnieprostroi. The report of the departments of the Supreme Economic Council entrusted with supervision of this enterprise refers to the following very important achievements:

"Big successes, ranking with any in the world, have been achieved at the Dnieprostroi in the sphere of large-scale engineering. The successful closing of the middle channel of the Dniepr is one of these great achievements. Another is the fact that the Dnieprostroi has broken the world record for setting concrete. This record hitherto was held by the United States, at the Conovingo power station, the size of which is somewhat smaller than the first section of Dnieprostroi.

The Conovingo station reached a monthly setting of 56,000 cubic metres of concrete. At the Dnieprostroi 58,000 cubic metres have been reached. It is worth noting that the American and German expert commissions, which have already been working for two years, did not consider the Dnieprostroi programme of production a practicable one, and declared in favour of a more protracted period for

carrying out the works, basing themselves on the conditions which had prevailed prior to the present year. This mistake was due to their under-estimation of the importance of Socialist competition, which has developed most extensively at Dnieprostrol."

I could quote a number of other illustrations of Socialist competition at our works and factories, no less striking than those at the "Comintern" works and the Dnieprostrol.

Socialist competition, emulation in the successful fulfilment of programmes of production, in the reinforcing of labour discipline and the raising of labour productivity, is growing everywhere.

The number of shock brigades, which organise the most advanced participants in the competition, is growing constantly larger, notably in Moscow, Leningrad, Ukraine and the Urals. On January 21, the anniversary of Lenin's death, the trade unions and the Young Communist League appealed to the working class of the Soviet Union to enrol 500,000 members in the shock brigades as a "Lenin levy". In the short space of a month, over 900,000 working men and women had entered the shock brigades. This rapid rate is characteristic of the growth of the shock principle in our factories.

In some cases the workers pass on from the usual forms of competition of individual workers and groups, of individual shops and works, to new forms of Socialist emulation. Such higher forms are productive groups and productive communes in the works. The aim of the usual forms of competition is to increase the productivity of labour and to carry out the programme of production, leading as a general rule to an increase in wages in keeping with the individual degree of skill of the various participants. When productive groups ("Collectives") and communes are organised in a works, the case is different. Those who take part in the productive communes, which as yet are not very numerous, pool their wages and divide them up equally amongst themselves. This leads in turn not only to amalgamation in industry, but to the communalisation of living conditions (hostels, common dining room, etc.). In the "collectives" wages are paid on one common wages book, just as in the communes, but are divided according to the grade to which various groups of participants in the "collective" are allotted. Today's "Pravda" gives examples of productive "collectives" and communes organised in the Urals, where they have been developed most widely. In the one area of Zlatoust, there are over 1,000 such bodies. The experience of this new form of competition has as yet been very little studied. But, of course, these are not the principal forms at present: it must be clearly understood that the principal form at the present time is, and is bound to be, the shock brigades. The advanced workers in the shock brigades have to set an example to the whole mass of workers of how to consolidate intelligent proletarian discipline in the factories, how the activity of the masses should be directed towards raising the productivity of labour, and consequently how to strive to fulfil and if possible to surpass the production programme.

Naturally, there is still a great deal lacking in the shock brigade movement. Not infrequently formal decisions to set up shock brigades are passed without preliminary work amongst the masses, which of course does not lead to real improvements in production. I could quote a number of cases in which works or shops which declared themselves shock undertakings have as yet given no perceptible improvements in production. It would not be difficult to point out tendencies towards pompous bluff and mere agitation in this movement. The Party carries on an energetic warfare against all these defects.

But at the same time Socialist competition has already many examples of genuinely successful proletarian initiative to record. Here are two such examples. The first is at the "Stalin" metal works at Leningrad:

"After an output in the first quarter of 1929-30 which was 11% lower than the programme, the 'Stalin' metal works in January, the first month of the second quarter, produced 148% of the monthly plan, with output to a total value of 2.67 million roubles.

The breakdown in the first quarter was completely liquidated and surpassed in all branches of production with the exception of turbines. The turbine shop, which carried out the first quarter's plan only to 56%, exceeded the plan by 20% in January and turned out 4 turbines instead of 3. The boiler shop turned out in the first quarter 20 boilers with a surface area of 6,830 square metres: in

January alone it turned out 12 boilers with a surface area of 3,800 square metres.

The whole works staff has pulled itself together noticeably. The number of shock brigades is growing rapidly. On January 15, the works had 69 brigades, comprising 430 members, while by February 6, the number of brigades had risen to 199, which included 60% of all the workers employed." ("Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn" of February 7, 1930.)

Here is a second example, the Nizhne Saldinsky works in the Urals:

"A splendid model of Communist attitude to work is the activity of the Nizhne Saldinsky workers. On February 1, all the main shops joined the CPSU. The works has been 70% 'Communisted'. The workers who joined the Party at the same time joined the collectives. As a result, discipline and productivity improved greatly. During the first 3 days after the 'Communistisation' there was not a single case of absenteeism in the open hearth shop. During the first 10 days of February the works carried out the programme 102% for the first time this year." ("Pravda", February 13, 1930.)

The competition which takes the form of shock brigades is the best method for the Socialist training of the workers. It teaches the proletarian masses to approach their own labour in a Socialist spirit, and strengthens the first elements of Communist consciousness in the working class.

One interesting fact should be noted in connection with this. We frequently meet with a situation in which the initiative for developing the shock movement in the factories and works — both in the form of brigades and in the form of productive collectives and communes — comes from the non-Party workers. The Central Committee of the Party has recorded the fact that there is a very small proportion of Communists and YC'ers in the shock brigades. The contrasting of these two facts is an indication of how even the Party organisations lag behind the growing activity of the mass of workers. At the same time, it shows very clearly that the shock movement in present conditions comes from the mass itself, and that it is the reflection of a genuinely rising enthusiasm in the working class. It is just this that constitutes the greatest importance of the competition, and the foundation of the stability and reliability of the shock movement. In spite of the fact that some of our organisations lag behind, it is our Party, of course, which heads the movement. In their turn, all the best workers of the shock brigades tend to join the Communist Party and enter the ranks of its most active members. Those Communists and YC'ers who lag behind have to pull themselves together.

The watchword of Socialist competition was put forward by Lenin as long ago as 1918, but in practice began to be carried into effect on a large scale only in 1929. Scarcely a year had passed before it began to be very widely popularised on the initiative of the Young Communist League. Today it is one of the most popular slogans in the working class.

Equally characteristic of the growing political activity of the working class are the new forms which the mass participation of the workers in the management of the State is taking. This springs directly from the carrying into effect of the watchword of self-criticism. The essential importance of this watchword is its assistance in mobilising the masses to fight bureaucracy, distortions of our class policy in State bodies, and elements of demoralisation in the State machinery and in the Party organisations themselves. It is a watchword that has become one of the best means of drawing the masses into the work of government. Owing to this, the new forms whereby the mass of workers participate in the State apparatus acquire great importance, particularly in connection with the cleansing of the State machinery from elements hostile to the proletariat.

The XVI. Party Congress devoted particular attention to the struggle against bureaucracy, and thereafter the promotion of workers into the State machinery and control of its work from below grew more extensive and took on new forms. One of the latter is the so-called "patronage", exercised by works and factories over Soviet and cooperative institutions. In the Moscow region alone, including Moscow with its government offices, I could name 35 offices over which factories and works have established their patronage. In Leningrad there

are over 20 such factories, in Nizhni Novgorod and Kiev 7 each, etc.

Another form of participation of the workers in the business of administration is the employment of workers' brigades in carrying out various tasks set them by the State, apart from their participation in the cleansing of the State machinery. Thus, in order to collect arrears of taxation on private traders, tens of thousands of workers, mainly volunteers, were employed in a number of towns. Already substantial results have been achieved, and over 25,000,000 roubles collected on account of arrears. At the same time improvements have been brought about in all the work of the finance department.

Thus we see how the workers' share in controlling the State machinery from below is increasing.

In connection with the practical application of the slogan of self-criticism, I believe it is necessary to mention one example which the Party brought out with particular force in front of the masses of workers. This example is the notorious Astrakhan case. At Astrakhan, one of the most remote of our cities, where there are practically no large industrial undertakings and where, owing to special local conditions (the fishing industry), private capital has played a prominent part in local economic life for a fairly long time, extensive corruption in the Soviet machinery was discovered. The influence of the private traders had led to the corrupting of a number of Soviet and cooperative bodies, and had affected the local leadership of the Party. The Party opened up this ulcer ruthlessly and decisively. Those guilty of corruption, both Soviet employees and private traders, were sent for trial. Fourteen of the principal culprits, including 3 former Communists, were sentenced to be shot. Apart from severe judicial repressions, resolute cleansing of the Party organisation took place. About 19% of the leading members, 56 in all, were expelled from the Party. The leading personnel of the organisation was replaced as to more than two-thirds of its number. Tens of thousands of workers and toilers were drawn into the cleansing operations throughout the districts. The Astrakhan organisation has still serious work to do in consolidating all the steps taken and improving its work.

What were the practical results at Astrakhan of these measures?

First of all, a complete change in the attitude towards the private trader. The collection of all kinds of arrears, running into millions of roubles, took a sharp turn for the better. The role of the State and the cooperatives in trade greatly increased. The fishing industry has also passed almost completely into the hands of the State and the cooperatives. A very serious test for the local organisations was the autumn catch. They passed the test with flying colours. The programme was not only carried out but surpassed by 42%. These are the main results of the Astrakhan case, and serve as a brilliant illustration of the application of the slogan of self-criticism in practice, as well as an extra proof of our successful progress along the road to socialism.

In the improvement of the State apparatus and the drawing of the working masses in to the business of administration, we have therefore won undoubted successes during recent months. But this is only a beginning of the real mass enlistment of the workers in these activities. While avoiding bureaucratic regulations by every possible means, we must ensure in the future an even greater development of mass participation in the whole business of governing the country.

I have already quoted sufficient illustrations to show how, thanks to the tremendous growth of mass activity, the building up of socialist industry -- the leading branch of national economy has made great strides. We have seen what new forms of participation of the masses in the work of government we now possess. On the other hand, the fact of mass collectivisation bears witness to the swinging of millions in the countryside towards Socialism. Sufficient has been said of this also. Now I must dwell, in the most general way, on what rendered possible such a swing amongst the great mass of the peasantry.

2. The Village Turns to Socialism.

The entry of the peasant masses on the road of collectivisation was the result of all the work of the Party and the Soviet Government in recent years. The Soviet system alone, rendering possible as it does the drawing of great masses of the workers into the task of building Socialism, could create

the necessary conditions for this historic change. Only on the basis of greatly increased confidence of the working masses in the villages towards the Soviet government and the policy of the CPSU could this change take place in the opinions of the peasantry. The change is founded, first of all on our great successes in the restoration and reconstruction of industry on socialist lines, secondly, on the successful application of the policy of limiting the growth of capitalist elements, and, particularly in recent years, of intensified attack on the kulaks while simultaneously and systematically granting the utmost government assistance to the poor and middle peasant farms; thirdly, on the rapid development in the last two years of the Soviet and large collective farms, and the utilisation of tractors and complex agricultural machinery, which have greatly accelerated the general realisation amongst the peasantry of the advantages of large-scale Socialist agriculture. Naturally, the successes here enumerated should be taken in conjunction with the whole political and educational work of the Party in the village and amongst the workers. Once this is realised we can understand what is going on in the villages.

At the same time, it must be clear that none of this could take place without a vast and unprecedented expansion of the activity of the peasants themselves in the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Without this, no influences from above, no agitation, no skill in mass organisation could adequately explain the mass collectivisation which now covers tens of thousands of villages. True, when the collectivisation plans are being applied there are frequent cases of over-zealousness for administrative methods among our workers. In the scramble to have the most advanced district, attempts are sometimes made to replace the real work of really preparing the masses for collectivisation by mere pressure from above. This may yet result in waverings amongst certain sections of the peasantry who have already moved in the direction of the collective farms. Such events may inflict tremendous damage on the collective farming movement, and consequently the Party carries on a determined struggle against them. However, it would be foolish not to see the wood for the trees, and to fail to realise that the foundation of mass collectivisation is the tumultuous energy and activity of the peasant masses. Only by understanding this shall we understand how collectivisation today takes place.

I could quote many vivid examples of how the activity of millions of peasants breaks loose and pours in a vast torrent along the channel of the collective farming movement. Numerous examples of this are printed day by day in our newspapers. I must limit myself only to a few examples.

I have already mentioned the "Gigant" Soviet farm in the Northern Caucasus. It is not yet two years old. But, during the last year alone, it has been investigated by over 50,000 visitors who have made themselves acquainted with this best model of large-scale socialist agriculture in our country. One of the visitors, the peasant Grib, of the village of preobrozhensky, Tersky district, left the following letter at the farm:

"I have visited the 'Gigant' farm, i. e. the farm of our proletarian State where for ages the landlords walked to and fro and now the fields are ploughed up with steel horses. When I get home to my own village, I must tell my comrades, the poor and middle peasants, that we must all go as one man into the collective farm on the XII Anniversary of November. If the kulaks and their parasites try to prevent us, we shall shut their mouths and send them up to the Murmansk coast to catch fish with their trousers."

This statement expresses the frame of mind of many hundreds of thousands of peasants who have only now had their eyes opened to the advantages of Socialist agriculture on a large scale. After seeing a Soviet estate with his own eyes, Grib came to the conclusion that the poor and middle peasants "as one man" must enter the collective farms and begin a sharp struggle with the kulaks. This is the mood in which millions of poor and middle peasants are entering the collective farms.

I will quote another example. It shows how the peasants in the collective farms influence the non-collectivised districts, and how this influence leads to the formation of yet further collective farms. I am quoting from the report of the Ostrogzhsky district committee of the Party on the mass expedi-

tion of collective farmers into the non-collective villages of the Nikitovsky area. Here is this most interesting report:

"From the village of Degtiarny we moved to the village of Gritsyno. Ahead went the cavalry of the collective farmers, numbering 120, behind them 70 wagons with red flags. From this village there moved on and joined us about 1,500 of the poor peasants. On foot and in broken ranks they set out across the mountain. It all reminded us of our campaign at the front in 1918-19. The unorganised mass and the collective farmers went together through the villages. The leaders of the detachments drew up the ranks and reported to those present on the objects of their arrival. The result was a military report on the peaceful subject of collective farms. Afterwards there was a meeting and a show and the net result was that the unorganised mass entered the collective farm".

In this way, the collective farmers infected by their enthusiasm new sections of the toilers, who now are moving in serried ranks along the road of collectivisation.

The problem of the political education and organisation of the peasant masses who are entering the collective farms is developing at such a rapid rate that the most active help is required in the villages from the industrial workers to enable it to be successfully dealt with. It was on account of this that the Party and the trade unions proclaimed a mobilisation of the advanced workers in the factories for the countryside. Seventy thousand workers, instead of the 25,000 asked for, responded to the call in a very short time. The majority of them were not members of the Party. Selecting the best, we have sent during the last two months over 25,000 workers into the villages. This mobilisation took place amidst scenes of great enthusiasm, as can be seen, for example, from the following communication in a local paper:

"The despatch of 200 workers leaving for the collective farms of the Northern Caucasus became a gigantic demonstration, in which about 30,000 took part". ("Molot" February 1, 1930.)

The villages also met the mobilisation of the workers most sympathetically. This is evidenced by the reports coming in from the districts to the effect that the majority of the workers sent are already in the leading bodies of the collective farms.

Furthermore, the Party and the Soviets have quite recently carried out a mobilisation of several thousand workers from amongst their leading officers, particularly members of town Soviets. This also has been of great assistance to the villages in their task of collectivisation.

The workers sent to the villages have begun already to send in their impressions. The latter reflect the same fact of vast enthusiasm amongst the peasant masses. Here is what Comrade Zaitsevsky, a workman of the Moscow "Parostroi" works, and one of the "25,000", writes of his observations in the Penza district. Describing a peasant meeting at which a resolution was passed to enter the collective farm, Comrade Zaitsevsky concludes his letter thus:

"I have been in the Red Army, I have been at the front when the Soviet Republic was in peril at the hands of the Whites, but nothing at any time moved me so deeply as this meeting. The position in the villages today is such that we shall undoubtedly fulfil everything we have planned".

Granted all the exceptional optimism of the writer his words reflect all that is new in the state of mind of the villagers. But I shall yet have to speak of the vast and most difficult efforts required, precisely because of the rapid growth of the collective farming movement, if the collective farms are to be transformed into genuinely Socialist undertakings.

3. The Rising Tide of Culture.

The enthusiasm making itself felt amidst the working class and the great mass of the peasantry finds its outlet also in the sphere of culture. Cultural standards are rising at an exceptionally rapid rate. Nothing else was to be expected in a country in which socialism is being built.

In the sphere of culture we are terribly backward. It is sufficient to say that, even in 1920, and even in the R.S.F.S.R. the relatively most cultured part of the Soviet Union, there were only a little over 30 % of the people literate. We have most backward regions in the East, such as Turkmenistan

and Tadzhikistan, where the literates in the villages number only 1 or 2 %.

During the revolutionary years a tremendous work of education has been carried out. The liquidation of illiteracy has made particular strides during the last two years. In the R.S.F.S.R. alone, in 1929, it embraced about 2,000,000 people. This year, this scale is being enlarged by roughly 400 %.

In all directions an intense cultural effort is proceeding. In addition to the schools for liquidating illiteracy, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of elementary schools, and next year it is proposed to introduce in practice universal compulsory education (at first in the R.S.F.S.R.). The number of adult schools, technical and industrial courses for young workers, schools for young peasants, polytechnics and colleges is constantly growing. Clubs in the towns and workers' settlements, reading huts in the villages, are on the increase. The network of wireless stations and receivers is rapidly widening. Particularly great is the demand for newspapers and books.

One of the most vivid indications of the growth in activity of the masses and their cultural progress is the demand for mass political literature. In 1929, the State Publishing Agency of the R.S.F.S.R. alone published about 30,000,000 copies of such literature as against 10,000,000 the previous year. In connection with the spring sowing campaign, a little over 2,000,000 copies of books were issued last year, whereas this year the State Publishing Agency is issuing over 25,000,000, the purchasers for which are already assured. Equally symptomatic is the circulation of our newspapers. I will quote the example of the "Krestiankaya Gazeta", the newspaper most popular in the countryside. It is published twice weekly, with a circulation of 1,750,000. In connection with the spring sowing campaign, a special issue of this paper came out in 10½ million copies and this quantity did not satisfy the whole demand. Very often we have to take artificial steps to limit the print of our newspapers and books, as, in spite of the rapid development of our paper production, we are suffering from an acute paper famine.

The facts I have cited are evidence that socialist construction is being accompanied and consolidated by the cultural progress of the working masses. Without that progress, socialism could not be built on firm foundations.

This cultural progress is most closely bound up with the changes now taking place in the social and living conditions of the workers and peasants. The breakup of the system of petty individual economy in the villages brings with it radical alterations in the peasants' living conditions. The consolidation of socialised economy will involve the rapid development of various socialised forms of living conditions in the countryside. Socialist construction in the towns raises even more acutely the question of changing the living conditions of the working men and woman. The importance of housing and consumers' co-operation is growing, particularly as regards the development of public dining rooms.

Arising out of building of our giant new factories, we are already faced with the practical question of building new cities of a socialist type. For example, in the districts where the vast tractor works at Stalingrad ("Tractorostroi") and the new giant metallurgical works in the Urals ("Magnitostroi") are being built, provision is being made for the erection of new large settlements which are in fact cities of a new type. A lively discussion of these new problems of social life is developing.

Particularly important is the introduction in our factories and offices of the so-called "continuous working week", i. e. 4 days' work and one day's rest. While as a result of this change, the number of rest days of the individual worker has certainly not decreased, work goes on in the factories and offices all the year round, apart from the 5 days of the main revolutionary holidays. This increases the work of the factories by 60 days a year and hastens the absorption of the unemployed. By now 53 %, of the industrial workers are working the continuous week, while in some branches of industry, e. g. coal mining and electrical engineering, the overwhelming majority of the undertakings have completed the transition. The introduction of the 4-day working week in all institutions, it must be mentioned, has taken place without an increase in the number of government employees, and has made it possible for the workers to apply to government and co-

operative offices of any day, as well as to Party and trade union organisations.

It is in the light of all this, and particularly the tremendous wave of culture amongst the masses, that we must consider the change in the attitude of the masses towards the priests, as representing the reactionary ideology of religion.

The capitalist press throughout the world and its socialist echoes are at present making a great outcry about this, in development of their anti-Soviet campaign. This lying outcry reflects the growing terror of the bourgeoisie, faced as it is with the vast activity developing in the working class and the sharp change in the peasant masses, which have moved by dozens of millions along the channel of collectivisation and liquidation of the kulak as a class.

4. The Masses and the Party.

Lastly, what has been the direct effect of all this on the Party? The unprecedented successes achieved have had the effect of leading to a great influx of workers into the Communist Party and an increase in its authority in the eyes of the workers and peasants.

The Party is absorbing new drafts of many thousands of advanced workers, and at the same time cleansing its ranks of elements which are foreign to its spirit, which accidentally found their way into its ranks, or which have become demoralised. This general cleansing of the Party has been going on already for many months, with the active assistance of non-Party workers and the toilers generally. In the cleansing process, the mass of workers received a new proof that the Party is irreconcilable towards all elements which are alien to the proletariat, unreliable from the Communist point of view, bureaucratic and corrupt. The expulsion of such elements from the ranks of the Party raises its prestige in the eyes of the workers. The results of the cleansing show that in the majority of Party organisations about 11% on an average have been expelled: in relation to the workers in the Party, the percentage is lower (8%). The cleansing has not yet been concluded. It is natural that the checking of over 1½ million members and candidates of the Party requires considerable time.

In recent months the Party cleansing has been accompanied by an increasingly large recruitment of workers into the Party. This new phase is a reflection of the general rising enthusiasm amongst the masses.

I have already had to deal in the press with this mass influx of workers. I quoted the case of the Kolomna works, one of the biggest machine building factories near Moscow, where during the "Lenin days" 12 shops signed a collective application to join the Party. Some weeks later similar application were put in by all the other shops, and in this way over 8,000 metal workers, in 37 shops, collectively declared their desire to enter the C.P.S.U.

It is characteristic that this took place at a factory, the majority of the workers in which have still their links with the villages and of recent months have entered the collective farms in a body.

The Kolomna works is no exception. In Leningrad alone, 24 shops in 15 works, comprising 5,184 workers throughout the largest factories such as the "Red Putilov", "Skorokhod", "Red Treugolnik", "Bolshevik", the "Stalin Metal Works", the "Red Vyborzhets", the "Northern Shipyards", the "Red Dawn" and others, have put in collective applications for admission to the Party. There is not a single working class area of any importance in which there have not been similar collective declarations by shops and even whole factories. We have had them from the Donbas and Dnepropetrovsk, in the South, to Perm in the North, from Krasnoyarsk, in Siberia, to Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Bezhitsa, in the West. As a rule these collective applications are made by the shock brigades or else resolutions are adopted simultaneously to apply for membership of the Party and to proclaim the shop a shock brigade. In Moscow the entire body of workers in four factories passed resolutions to apply collectively for membership of the Party. In all, during the last 6 weeks, we have had in 7 of our largest Party districts over 120,000 applications from workers.

These facts speak for themselves eloquently enough. They vividly reflect the new enthusiasm of the mass of workers,

and give some indication of the tremendous growth of the Party's authority in the eyes of the working class.

In this connection the Central Committee has made an alteration in the decision adopted 18 months ago to the effect that the Party by the end of 1930 should be as to not less than 50% of its members composed of workers at the bench. The alteration is that the Central Committee has recognised this objective as attainable earlier than the time fixed, namely, by the XVI Party Congress in May. This has great bearing on the strengthening of the Party. The Party has also recognised it as desirable to increase the recruitment of agricultural labourers, poor peasants and the most advanced collective farmers.

The mass influx into our Party is not allowed in any way to relax our demands of the applicants. Admission takes place only individually, whether application has been made individually or collectively. This is how the Party acted during the memorable Lenin levy in 1924, and it acts on this precedent today. While emphasising the political importance of the fact of collective applications by the workers, the Party tests the desirability of admission in each individual case. The Party is bound to take cognisance of the fact that even elements hostile to the proletarian revolution, from Mensheviks to Black Hundreds inclusive, find their way into the ranks of the working class. We consider it essential that the Party should have its ranks swelled by the really advanced workers, capable of moving at the head of the working class both in production (through Socialist Competition and the shock brigades) and in struggle against every sign of hostile class influence (petty bourgeois waverings in periods of difficulty, jingoism, etc.).

Summarising all that has been said, my report was intended to show, even in the most general way, what is going on in our country and by what means Socialism is being built in the U.S.S.R. The facts which show the growth of Socialism and the unprecedented enthusiasm of the masses are ample evidence to prove that the U.S.S.R. is striding forward along the road to Communism.

Marx wrote: "The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism by weapons. Material force must be overthrown by force equally material; but even theory becomes a material force directly it takes hold of the masses." These last words of Marx are particularly appropriate to what is now going on in the U.S.S.R. From the time that, not only in the working class, but also amongst the millions of peasantry, there began to take place the definite turn of the tide towards Socialism, the ideas of Communism "became a material force". These ideas, penetrating deeper and deeper into the masses, become transformed into the real facts of socialist construction, the volume of which is becoming truly gigantic.

(To be continued.)

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Extract from the Resolution of the Polit Bureau of the C.P. of Germany on the Struggle for the Carrying out of the Party Decisions.

Berlin, 7th April 1930.

On 5th of April there took place a meeting of the Polit Bureau of the C.P.G. which adopted an important resolution on the inner-Party struggle with all votes against the vote of Comrade Merker, and no abstentions.

In the first portion of the resolution it is pointed out that in the decisions of the Plenary Session of the C.C. of the C.P.G. of 20th and 21st of March on the decisions of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. the whole Party membership was set the main task of a determined struggle for the majority of the proletariat by employing the revolutionary united front from below, and all active advocates of the Party line were pledged to conduct a political fight on two fronts against opportunism (the chief danger) and against "Left" sectarianism. "In these decisions there is indicated with complete clearness

the way which the Party must go in the inner Party fight for the cause of Bolshevism."

The resolution further states:

"Immediately after the meeting of the Central Committee, the decisions of which were adopted unanimously, there came forward a group of Party members, under the leadership of Comrade Merker, against the line of the Party. On the pretext of opposing Comrade Remmele's article 'Keep Step', which represented a correct exposition of the Party decisions, Comrade Merker sent a declaration of protest to the E.C.C.I. without informing the Central Committee, or the Polbureau or the Secretariat of its contents, although he had full opportunity of laying his views before the three above-mentioned bodies. Comrade Merker thereby opened the fight against the Party leadership which since the Wedding Party Congress has unitedly conducted the policy of the C.P.G.

Comrade Merker accuses the Party leadership of tolerating a "Brandlist estimation of the social democratic party", a purely Brandlist attitude to the coalition government and the bourgeois block government (see Merker's protest declaration to the E.C.C.I.); he accuses our Party of rendering possible a standpoint which "conceals the social fascist role of the S.P. of Germany and the trade union bureaucracy, and creates the preconditions which result in the application of the united front tactics between the C.C., the Party and the Party Executive of the S.P.G. (Merker's declaration of protest to the E.C.C.I.). The Polbureau repudiates these assertions as anti-Party calumnies.

The dispute between Comrade Merker and the Party does not turn on minor differences of opinion on tactical questions, as he attempts to make out, but his standpoint differs fundamentally from the Party line.

Comrade Merker's attack on the line of the Central Committee means support of sectarian Left opportunism, which regards the social-democratic working masses as class enemies and not as proletarians, instead of weaning them away from the influence of their social fascist leaders and winning them for the proletarian revolution. By this attitude Comrade Merker becomes the chief representative of that sectarianism, masked with Left phrases and sham-radical shouting, which substitutes the tactic of leading the working masses by a tactic of isolation from the working masses, which replaces the real organisation of the mass struggle by empty phrases on mass struggle.

Merker's breach with the practice of capturing the majority of the working class by Communism rests upon his fundamentally wrong conception of the economic basis of social fascism. Merker considers the labour aristocracy, along with the financial oligarchy, as constituent parts of the capitalist class, as one of the "decisive class forces of the bourgeoisie". In reality, however, the labour aristocracy does not belong to the capitalist class, but constitutes an upper stratum of the working class, bribed by imperialism, which according to its standard, its interests and conceptions belongs to the reactionary petty bourgeoisie. The labour aristocracy is not a constituent part but an appendage of the bourgeoisie. Social fascism is not the subject but the tool of bourgeois politics. Social democracy is not the ruler but the lackey in the system of the bourgeois State power.

According to Comrade Merker's conception, the social democratic workers are "the foundation of social fascism in general". . . . Such a conception must consistently lead to the opinion that the social democratic workers do not belong to the working class but are, together with the "upper sections of the labour aristocracy", a constituent part of the capitalist class. . . . This conception means in practice the abandonment of the struggle for winning the social democratic workers for the revolutionary class struggle.

The Left opportunist platform, as represented by Merker, means a revision of the Marx-Leninist theory of the State by substituting the dictatorship of financial capital by a division of power between the capitalist class and the petty bourgeoisie. This conception leads to a concealment of bourgeoisie class rule, to a diversion of the working masses from the struggle against the dictatorship of financial capital, to a promotion of petty-bourgeois-democratic illusions.

The group of Left opportunists, under Merker's leadership advocates the view that "the antagonisms within the bourgeoisie are of minor importance for the class struggle of the proletariat". By denying the antagonisms within the bourgeoisie, and in particular the antagonism between the bour-

geois parties and social democracy, the Left opportunist group denies in reality the maturing of a revolutionary situation, the indispensable characteristics of which are precisely the increased disintegration and decay, the intensified contradictions within the ruling class. Therefore, Merker's standpoint, masked with Left phrases, leads to a reproachment to Brandler's theory of the strength and consolidation of capitalist stabilisation and the absence of a revolutionary upsurge.

The resolution illustrates the anti-Leninist conception of the Left opportunists by their attitude to the recent government crisis in Germany. The Party holds the opinion that social democracy did not voluntarily leave the coalition government but was kicked out of the government by the bourgeoisie. The social democrats attempt, by means of lying propaganda, to evoke the illusion that they have voluntarily left the government "in the interest of the workers". The Left opportunist group, by its struggle against the attitude of the Party on the government question, facilitates this anti-labour manoeuvre of the social fascists and thereby unwittingly justifies the attitude of social democracy.

"The conceptions of Merker's group constitute in their totality the ideological platform of a policy which if Left in words but Right in deeds, and which is opposed to Leninism. The platform of this group is reversed Brandlistism."

The resolution sharply condemns the fractional activity of Comrade Merker and categorically demands of him and his group that they at once cease any further fractional activity, recognise the mistakes which have been committed and carry out unconditionally the Party line. "The Polbureau resolves, in order to secure the Party line and its carrying out in the revolutionary mass movement, to remove Comrade Merker from the Secretariat of the C.C. and the trade union department of the C.C. The Secretariat of the C.C. is further instructed to carry out an examination of all participants in Merker's fraction work and to adopt the necessary measures to ensure Party discipline."

In conclusion the resolution states that the attempt of Comrade Merker and his group to attack and to discredit the Bolshevik line of the Party in the midst of a serious fighting situation, and to undermine the unity of the Party has been frustrated.

The National Conference of the C.P. of France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

In the centre of the discussion which set in two months ago on the basis of detailed reports collectively elaborated by the Party leadership, were the questions of raising the political level of the Labour struggles and the preparation of political mass strikes, whereby the coming 1st of May shall be used as occasion for the carrying out of such a strike. These questions were dealt with in three main reports, i. e. on the economic and political situation and the position of the Party; the Labour struggles and the leading role of the Party; and finally the organisational consolidation.

The political content of the discussion was somewhat disappointing; in fact it was rather weak on the whole. In the discussion on the first report most of the speakers confined their remarks to the situation in their own districts, without touching on the main question raised in the report. This is due to the fact that the opportunist elements who attended the Conference were very cautious and did not completely expose their differences of opinion with the Central Committee (the resolutions were unanimously adopted). This constituted a great weakness of this National Conference: the struggle against more or less concealed opportunism was not conducted with the necessary energy. Very often general formulae were used in order to define this opportunism instead of citing concrete cases and exposing characteristic types of Rights and conciliators.

As the Rights and conciliators were not forced to come out into the open, numerous delegates still believed at the outset that there no longer exists any opportunism in the Party. This resulted in an unhealthy spirit in the Conference which was strengthened by Comrade Vassart, who in the name of the Polbureau of the Party delivered the second report and attempted to lead the Conference on a wrong track. He characterised the leading role of the Party and the politisation

of the strikes by formulations which admit of several interpretations. Strange to say he minimised the opportunist danger and demanded that the Party should concentrate its fire against the Left mistakes and the mechanical deviations.

The opportunists interpreted the attitude of the reporter, who, by the way, was disavowed by the Polit Bureau, as a weakening of our struggle against opportunism. The conciliators are shouting: "Let us now proceed against the 'ultra-Left' hypocrites!" On the other hand, the really ultra-Left elements of the Paris district are making use of Vassart's report in order to charge the Party leadership with conciliationism.

Vassart had already several times had serious differences of opinion with the Political Bureau. There is no doubt that he represents those comrades who are shrinking at the existing difficulties and enormous tasks, or who are seized with panic and are now attempting to justify their retreat by maintaining that the Party is too far in advance of the masses.

It is clear that the main dangers in the Communist Party of France are Right opportunism and all intermediary forms of conciliationism. If the C. P. of France is compelled, in order to advance, to combat ultra-Left phrase-mongering and mechanisation, which regards with contempt all mass work, it is nevertheless impossible to put these two deviations on the same level. The adopted political resolution firmly states this in the following sentence: Opportunism remains the main danger!

The Turn to Revolutionary Municipal Policy.

By F. Heckert (Berlin).

Municipal politics is that sphere of activity of the Communist Party in which not the slightest progress has been made in turning to a revolutionary policy. In almost every country our municipal policy still clings to the social democratic traditions. This is due in the first place to the fact that the Communist Parties have had exceedingly little experience in this sphere, and secondly, that the Communist International has only once dealt thoroughly with this question. This was at the second World Congress. The theses adopted at this Congress on revolutionary Parliamentary policy contains the following:

"The task of the proletariat consists in shattering and destroying the State machine of the bourgeoisie and with it all Parliamentary institutions, be they Republican or Constitutional Monarchist. The same applies to the communal institutions, and it would be theoretically false to make a distinction between them and the State organs. They are in reality the same apparatus of bourgeois State machinery, which has to be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local workers' councils."

And it is further stated in the resolution:

"In the event of the Communists having a majority on local government bodies, they shall a) conduct revolutionary opposition to the bourgeois central power; b) do everything in order to render service to the poor section of the population (economic measures, set up or attempt to set up an armed workers' constabulary); c) at every opportunity show the barriers which the bourgeois State power sets to any great changes; d) upon this basis to develop sharp revolutionary propaganda without being afraid of coming into conflict with the State power; e) under certain conditions to replace the municipal administration etc. by local workers' councils. The whole activity of the Communists in the municipal administration must form an integral part of the general work of disintegrating the capitalist system."

The above-quoted passages contain the whole programme for a Communist municipal policy. Unfortunately this standpoint has hardly ever been adopted in the municipal policy of the Communist Parties. This may be due to the fact that most of the Communist Parties are not sufficiently informed regarding this decision of the Second World Congress and are therefore, in the old manner, conducting a social democratic municipal policy. It was only in February last that the Communist International, at the meeting of its Presidium, dealt with the question of Communist municipal policy.

The Communist Parties have committed a whole number of mistakes in the sphere of municipal politics and our municipal representatives have been guilty of no less opportunist actions.

Our French Party has the majority on about 100 municipal councils, and appoints the mayor to these bodies.

What is the attitude of these mayors and these councillors to the State organs of suppression, for example, towards the gendarmerie? According to the French Constitution the gendarmerie has to be paid out of the funds of the municipality. Of the 100 French Communist burgomasters there has not been one up to now who has thought of striking this item out of the municipal budget.

There are similar cases in other countries, especially in Czechoslovakia. Here, under the leadership of the present liquidator and renegade Jilek, most monstrous things were done. In order to secure a few paid jobs, election pacts were concluded with various bourgeois and social democratic parties. The worst cases have occurred, however, when it came to the distribution of posts after the municipal elections. Here there were no limits to the compromises.

France and Czechoslovakia have furnished a great number of very bad examples of opportunism in practice, of extensive political corruption on the part of Communist members of municipal bodies. The present leaders of the Parties are of course conducting a very determined fight against this evil, to which some Communist members of municipal bodies are replying with desertion into the camp of the enemy. Fortunately the Communist workers are not infected by this corruption and are opposing it very energetically.

In Germany also we still find many such serious deviations from the Communist line, although the Communist Party of Germany has had much greater experience and is subject to a much more active control by the workers than is the case with the Communist Parties of other countries. In setting up the list of candidates for the municipal election on 17th November last, the Party had to strike about 80 per cent. of the former Communist municipal councillors from the list of candidates because they had proved themselves to be unsuitable and not sufficiently energetic or not prepared to conduct a Communist municipal policy. When the Wedding Party Congress demanded that the Communist standpoint should be represented more sharply by the Party representatives on the municipal councils, a number of municipal councillors answered by leaving the Party or resigning their seats (Breslau, Hamborn etc.).

Only the other day a number of Berlin town councillors and municipal functionaries issued an appeal, which they published in the "Vorwärts", announcing their withdrawal from the Party because they do not agree to the adoption of a revolutionary policy.

Most of the deserters consist of people who wish to do "positive" work in the municipalities "in the interest of the proletariat". Many Communist municipal councillors do not yet realise that the bourgeoisie, and the social fascists who are allied with it, only grant concessions to the workers when the mass pressure is so great that no other course can be adopted. The more the State apparatus becomes fascistic and the more the social democracy becomes a social fascist party, the less concessions will be obtained in the municipalities. In the place of concessions there come the police truncheons and machine guns, which are put to excellent use by the social democratic Ministers and police presidents.

In the municipal directives issued by the French Party, after the VI. World Congress, i. e. after the Comintern had decided on a definite turn in all spheres of policy (it is true these directives were written by people who were subsequently expelled from the Party) one can read:

"The Communist Party demands complete autonomy in regard to administration and finance. Our Party, which is fighting for the overthrow of the capitalist regime, will not leave unused any means within the present regime which is calculated to protect the workers against the capitalist employers. It therefore opposes the political and administrative enslavement which renders the municipal councils entirely dependent upon the bourgeois central power. The Communist Party wishes to free the municipalities from this dependence. It demands for the municipalities and speculators by developing the industrial and com-

mercial activities of the municipalities. It demands the possibility of counteracting the power of large finance and large industry in all spheres of big public services. It is further of the opinion that the possibility of using the municipalities as points of support in the daily fight of the proletariat against its exploiters will be all the greater the more independent they are of the central power."

The Communists wanted all this "within the framework of the present regime". In these directives there is nothing to show that the capitalist municipality is an institution of the capitalist State which cannot be separated from the central power. In addition, it is demanded that the municipality shall be an instrument for the fight "for the emancipation of the masses from the rule of the trusts and high finance".

In this programme we find a complete liquidation of the Leninist theory of the State. It is not surprising that with such distortions the Communists are unable to conduct a revolutionary policy in the municipalities. And if they nevertheless do so, then it is not upon the basis of such a programme but in spite of it. It should be mentioned here as something new that the majority of such Parties as are engaged in experiments in the municipal sphere and, so to speak, are drawing up a whole Bible of possibilities of success without revolutionary actions, have very few or no representatives whatever in the municipalities. The American municipal platform (it is true it only exists in draft form) contains 243 points for "positive" Communist municipal activity. Before the American Party can fulfil one hundredth part of them, the American proletariat will have overthrown capitalism and will no longer need such recipes.

In the formulation of these directives the Communist Party comes forward not as the representative of the class interests of the proletariat, but as the representative of the interests of the community. In the name of this community there is demanded the municipalisation of the gas, water and electricity supply, and such like things.

These successes, however, are becoming less and less, for finance capital and the capitalist powers have long adopted measures which completely negate the advantage of municipal enterprises for the masses and limit the freedom of action of the municipalities to a minimum. All municipalities are being reduced to a position of complete dependence upon the central power, which collects all the taxes and makes grants to the municipalities to cover expenses of administration. Here the State possesses means enabling it financially to strangle any recalcitrant municipality. The profits of the municipal enterprises are being more and more used to cover the budget requirements of the municipality.

Positive collaboration in maintaining such a system leads, as the cases of Gabel and Degner in Berlin have shown, to active participation in the worst corruption and capitalist swindles.

It therefore follows that it was high time that the Communist International demanded a break with the past communist activity in the sphere of municipal policy. It is a welcome fact that the Presidium of the Communist International, at its last meeting, had on the agenda the question of Communist municipal policy. The result of the discussion on this question is the resolution for the orientation of the Communist Parties to a revolutionary municipal policy. This resolution will render it easier for the Parties not only to recognise the mistakes committed hitherto, and to conduct with energy the fight against opportunism in municipal practice, but also to set up a programme for the activity not only of communist municipal councillors but of the whole Party on the municipal field. The municipal policy of our Communist Parties can be regarded only as a part of our whole policy for mobilising the masses for the proletarian revolution, and not as something separate and apart from the rest of politics.

In the future there must be no more co-operation with the social democracy in the municipalities.

The more acute the class antagonisms become, the more necessary it is to carry out revolutionary work of enlightenment in the sphere of municipal policy in order to win the masses for the Communist aims. For this purpose it is necessary to contrast the capitalist municipalities with the Soviets in the Soviet Union. By using as examples the measures which the local Soviets are carrying out in the interests of the toilers, the working inhabitants of the municipal areas and

districts are to be shown what the Communists will do when they have overthrown the capitalist State power and destroyed the bourgeois municipalities.

But it is not sufficient merely to make this contrast. The Communist Parties must set up a system of partial demands and correctly connect them with the ultimate slogans. Such partial demands are: the making use of labour majorities on the municipalities for creating self-defence organisations, workers' militia, against the fascist and social-fascist shock troops; the introduction of the class principle in levying rates; alleviating and exempting the workers or unemployed by imposing heavier local taxes on the well-to-do section of the population; support of the political and economic fights of the workers by money, free meals, care of children, etc.; exemption of the unemployed from payment of rent, granting of special support, providing dwelling accommodation for homeless people in public buildings and bourgeois houses, or by building new houses at the cost of the rich; for the women, young people, landworkers, small peasants, the social and old age pensioners, measures are to be adopted which meet the needs of these strata of the population; revolutionary work must be conducted among the soldiers both inside and outside of the municipal area, and an energetic fight must be carried on for the interests of the suppressed national minorities. These are only some of the most important partial demands. The fight for their realisation is to be linked up with all the campaigns which the Party may from time to time be conducting for other questions.

It is clear that such a policy of the Communist Parties in the municipalities of the capitalist States will be replied to with the employment by the latter of its organs of power. It will dissolve municipal councils, cause Communist mayors or municipal councillors who have disregarded bourgeois legality in their work to be arrested and condemned. Therefore, it is necessary that the Communist municipal councillors establish close connections with the factories, the unemployed committees and all proletarian mass organisations.

The whole municipal activity must be under the strict control of the Party. It is perfectly impermissible to leave the Communist municipal councillors to themselves. Rather must the Party place their representatives as well as their whole municipal policy under the constant control of the working masses. The workers' mass organisations must send delegates elected from their midst as advisers to the meetings of Communist councillors and vice versa. Communists sitting on municipal bodies must be allotted to the various mass organisations.

If the Communist Parties now make a decided turn to a revolutionary policy, there is no doubt that in a whole number of countries the advocates of "positive co-operation" in the capitalist municipalities and the weak elements who are afraid of the terror of the capitalists and of the capitalist State, will capitulate, will desert their places and become renegades. We must not be afraid of such consequences. We must rather make use of every case of capitulation, of cowardice, of desertion in order to expose cowardly opportunism and its representatives. If the masses see that the Communists are carrying out a real fight against opportunism in practice, if they see that we make no concessions to capitalism, no concessions to cowardice in our own ranks, and drive the opportunists out of the Party, then that can only lead to a closer connection of these masses with the Communist Parties.

On the Session of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. and the Tasks of the C.P. of Germany.

(Continued.)

The Presidium recorded the enhanced activity of the anti-Soviet imperialist forces in the whole world and the preparation of new provocations on the part of the imperialists against the Soviet Union. The danger of new imperialist wars is growing, in particular the danger of a war against the Soviet Union. "The defence of the Soviet Union against the threatening danger of an attack of the imperialists is more than ever the most important task of all Sections of the Comintern" (Resolution of the Presidium).

In the situation of the growing crisis the role of social democracy is becoming more obvious as the active executioner of the policy of "the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, which is worsening the economic position of the working masses, converting the State apparatus into an open tool of the fascist dictatorship and preparing for new imperialist wars. This is shown by a survey of the government activity of the parties of the Second International, in particular the MacDonald Government in England and the Muller Government in Germany. "The more acute the crisis of the capitalist system, the more rapidly the leading elements of social democracy are converted into a police appendage of the financial oligarchy." In this respect the social fascist hangmen's role of the "Left" social democracy becomes especially apparent.

The central questions on the agenda of the Presidium were mass unemployment, the economic struggles and the Strike movements, the leadership of which must be taken over by the Communist Parties. The crisis increases the misery of the masses and enhances to an unheard-of extent all forms of exploitation of the working class on the basis of capitalist rationalisation. The intensification of the class struggle resulting therefrom, leads to a further growth of the revolutionary upsurge and to an extension of the front of proletarian struggle.

II.

The Communist International characterises the present situation in Germany as the situation of the "maturing of a general economic crisis", and stated that the economic struggles, the number of which had diminished in the last year, "will assume a more bitter and violent character". At the same time the Presidium pointed to the fact that the continually growing revolutionary upsurge is expressed in not only the intensification of the forms of the economic strikes, but also in other fighting forms of the proletarian mass activity. "Of special importance is the struggle against unemployment, a struggle which embraces ever broader masses both of the unemployed and of the workers still in the factories, breaking through the barriers of bourgeois legality, realising the right of the working masses to the street and mobilising the broad masses of the working class on the basis of the political slogans of the Communist Party.

"The slogan of the political mass strike is put on the agenda". All events of late prove that the revolutionary advance, in spite of its uneven development, is on the upgrade and that the working masses are led to the most important tasks of the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and for the establishment of the rule of the proletariat.

III.

Successes and Shortcomings of our Work.

Struggle on two Fronts against the Main Danger of Right Opportunism and against Sectarianism masked with Left Phrases.

The successful result of the International Fighting Day against Unemployment on March 6 is a further symptom of the growing mass influence of the Communist International in all capitalist countries. In Germany the Communist Party was able, on the 6th of March, in spite of police terror and prohibition of demonstrations, to lead far greater masses into the street than on 1st of August and 1st of February. These and a number of other successes recorded by the Presidium, confirm the correctness of the political line of the Communist Party of Germany as elaborated by the Wedding Party Congress and the subsequent Plenary Sessions of the Central Committee. At the same time, however, a number of serious shortcomings, mistakes, weaknesses and opposition to the Party line must be noted, the ruthless eradication of which is a vital necessity to the Party and the working class. The Plenum of the Central Committee fully confirms the decisions of the Pol-Bureau of 14th February 1930, regarding "the over-coming of the weak spots in our Party work". The course of the factory council elections up to now has again brought out the strong as well as the weak sides of our mass work. Everywhere where revolutionary mass work had been carried out with sufficient energy and initiative, the factory council elections resulted in great victories for the revolutionary trade union opposition.

Weak and negligent carrying out of the Party line, toleration of opportunism in the practical work, failure to apply

the revolutionary united front from below, neglect of the social democratic working masses, led on the other hand, to partial failures at the factory council elections and to a decline of the influence of the revolutionary opposition in those factories where the Party line was distorted by opportunism or sectarianism.

The same weaknesses of Party work are to be seen in the initiation and leadership of economic struggles, the slow development of which is explained to a great degree by the inadequate activity of the Communist Party nuclei among the masses of factory workers.

The Plenum of the Central Committee calls the attention of the whole Party membership and of all Party organisations to these shortcomings in the work. The Party cannot rest satisfied with recording its successes in the mass struggles, at the revolutionary demonstrations, at the election of red factory councils, in the advance and growth of the revolutionary trade union opposition, in the extension of its influence upon the proletarian mass organisations, in the strengthening of its authority before the whole proletariat. The Party is simultaneously in duty bound to ascertain with ruthless Bolshevik self-criticism and serious attention such failures as those at the factory council elections of the Leuga works, the Berlin tramcar and underground depots, at the Free Thinkers' elections in Berlin, to lay bare their causes and to extirpate them with a firm hand.

The basis of the revolutionary policy as laid down in the decisions of the Wedding Party Congress and of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. consists in the independent leadership of the mass struggles by the Communist Party and the revolutionary organs and organisations led by it. That is the real content and meaning of the "turn" of our policy which was carried out in the most difficult struggle against Right opportunism. This turn is only in the first stage of its realisation. This is shown by the fighting experiences of the whole past period. The independent leadership of mass struggles is impossible without the most determined, irreconcilable struggle:

1. Against the greatest danger, the main danger of Right opportunism, which propagates the consolidation of capitalist stabilisation, denies the growth of the revolutionary upsurge and the increasing war danger, rejects the independent tactic of the Communist Party in the trade union leadership and the independent leadership of mass struggles, attempts to chain the Communists to the social fascist trade union apparatus, preaches the united front of the Communists with the counter-revolutionary social democracy and actively participates in the campaign against Communism and the Soviet Union. Right opportunism is embodied not only in anti-Party Brandlerism and conciliationism, but also in opportunism in the practical work.

2. Against sectarianism masked by Left phrases and sham-radical shouting, which rejects or neglects the struggle for the proletarian united front from below, for the weaning away of the social democratic working masses from the influence of the social fascist leadership, underestimates the work of the Communists inside the reformist trade unions, weakens the struggle on the daily demands and the daily interests of the working class, abandons the determined defence of the legality of the Communist Party in face of the hostile persecutions and substitutes the tactic of the leadership of the masses, by a tactic of isolation from the working masses, the real organisation of the mass struggle by empty phrases regarding mass struggle.

(To be continued.)

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Victorious Path of Socialist Agriculture.

By Y. Zbarsky.

Eighteen months have passed since the first big Soviet farms were organised. It is now possible to sum up results.

The first few months demonstrated that the tempo of development set out in preliminary plans for grain farms, was insufficient. It was upset by actual practice. In 1928, ten Soviet farms were organised, and in 1929 there should have been added another 34. In 1930 it was proposed to develop an

extra 66 Soviet farms, and the total of 110 Soviet farms should have ploughed up 2,265,000 hectares.

And in reality?

Instead of 44 Soviet farms in 1929, 56 were formed. Instead of 110 Soviet farms in the current year, 125 have already commenced work. Instead of 2,265,000 hectares of plough land this year, there will be ploughed 4,307,000 hectares of land on the Soviet grain farms and 250,000 hectares for the surrounding peasants.

The actual course of events caused the task in the Five-Year Plan to be increased. Here is how this task was changed: It was proposed to occupy land for grain culture during the five years from 1928—29 to 1932—33 in hectares:

1st variation (autumn 1928)	2nd variation (summer 1929)	Latest variation (February 1930)
7,183,000	12,000,000	30,000,000

The present programme is as follows:

	sow	plough
In 1930	1,000,000 hectares	4,000,000 hectares
" 1931	4,000,000 hectares	8,000,000 hectares
" 1932	8,000,000 hectares	14,000,000 hectares
" 1933	14,000,000 hectares	20,000,000 hectares

The tremendous scope of this programme is more impressive if we compare it with the area occupied by grain cultures — wheat, rye, oats, barley — in the countries bordering on the U. S. S. R.

Finland	803,000 hectares
Latvia	805,000 hectares
Austria	1,038,000 hectares
Lithuania	1,129,000 hectares
Rumania	6,240,000 hectares
Poland	9,887,000 hectares
Germany	11,401,000 hectares

(According to data of the International Agrarian Institute).

Thus, during the present year, the spring sowing of the Soviet farms alone will exceed the grain sowing of all Finland or Latvia. It is almost equal to the area under grain in all Austria. The ploughed area in Soviet farms during the current year and the sown area of the coming year will exceed the sowing of grain in Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Austria together. Finally, during the next two years, the sown area in the Soviet farms will surpass the grain area of all Germany.

This programme is perfectly attainable. It is attainable because the Soviet farms have:

The attention of the Party of Lenin and the active support of the public opinion of the workers in the U. S. S. R.;

A high technical base, multiplied by the enthusiasm of the workers, the enthusiasm of the class, which is building the new socialist society.

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"Scientific" scatterbrains croaked that such an industrial tempo and such methods in agriculture were impossible, and that an area of 20, 30, 40 thousand hectares for a single agricultural unit was utopian, not to speak of areas of 100,000.

Practice has crushed these "theoretical conclusions" by sowing and harvesting 60,000 hectares on the "Giant" farm, and tens of thousands of hectares on the Soviet farms of the Volga, the Urals, Siberia, etc.

During the spring and summer of this year, on the fields of 126 Soviet farms, which have an area of 6,500,000 hectares, there will be working: 10,200 tractors, 2,500 automobiles, 1,750 combines, 5,500 drills and tens of thousands of various other types of tractor implements such as ploughs, cultivators, etc. There will be 50,000 workers on the fields of the Soviet farms, not counting temporary and building workers.

During the coming year, in various districts of the U. S. S. R., there will grow 125 new "grain factories", the total number of which will thus reach 250. And by the end of the Five Year Plan the number of Soviet farms will be increased to

550. They will occupy the tremendous area of 30 million hectares.

According to the first variant of the plan, the Soviet farms should have given 1,700,000 tons of surplus grain in the last year of the Five Year Plan. In actual practice, the Soviet farms will give the country 3,500,000 tons in 1931, and 7,000,000 tons in 1932.

This means that in 1931 the production of the large Soviet grain farms will already be able to replace and even surpass by 50 % the surplus production of all the previous kulak farms. And in 1932, the Soviet farms will give twice as much as was previously given by all the farms of the large landowners in pre-revolutionary Russia, taken together.

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The Soviet farm is not only a grain factory. It is the germ of a new town of a future industrial centre in what was previously wild steppe.

In the first year of work of the Soviet farm, there will be introduced: housing accommodation, garages, workshops, grain storage, dining rooms, baths, cooperatives, electro station, radio clubs, etc.

Forty-four such townlets are already to be found in the steppes of the Volga, Siberia, the Urals, Bashkiria, in the Cuban and on the banks of the Don. And this year, 81 new townlets will grow in places where the tranquility of the steppe has for centuries been disturbed only by the wind or by herds of wild horses.

Machines are turning over the soil of the steppes. And people free from the exploitation of the landowner, with machines are remaking their own nature.

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Crates with tractors arrived at a little out of the way station for the newly formed Krasnorechinsky Soviet farms. Storehouses there were none at the station and living quarters were yet to be thought of. The tractors had to be assembled and delivered at the Soviet farm on their own power, and besides that they had to drag a load of material necessary for production. But the thermometer fell, and on the day fixed for assembling the machines it stood at 28 below zero. And in such a frost, men lay on the snow in this unsheltered place and put together the tractors. Their fingers froze onto the nuts and bolts of the tractors, but the assemblers, on their own initiative, without any orders from anyone, decided to assemble the tractors without delay. Energetically they performed their task, one striving to beat the others. Each one wished to be the first to hear the level beating of the steel heart of his "horse" which he would drive to his destination as soon as it was assembled.

In a forest glade one of the sections of the Usmansky Soviet farm, a tractor stuck in the miry ground. The stoppage of a tractor at the head of the column would hold up all the other tractors. The tractor was being driven by a young man from the nearest village who had slightly learned the business. In the village all his circumstances combined to make him know only his own hut, his own little interests, to separate himself in every way from his neighbours. Here in the Soviet tractor column, at the wheel of a machine, all his strivings and thoughts grew in new relations, learned new tempos. The machine must not be stopped. He snatched off his only coat from his shoulders and threw it under the land grips of the tractor wheels so that they would not slip, and would not hold up the column, so that he would not lag behind the collective.

The management board of the "Giant" collective farm has confirmed a plan for spring sowing on an area of 74,500 hectares. The workers of the Soviet farm decided at an economic meeting:

To extend the sown area to 80,000 hectares and to sow it in 8 days!

These are the people who are building Soviet farms. With such people, big socialist grain farms will win, will give a living example and genuine evidence of the correctness of the line of the Party of Lenin on the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

Collective Undertakings Privileged.

Moscow, 3rd April 1930.

The Central Executive Committee announces that the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union has decided to grant the agricultural collective undertakings the following privileges:

For a period of two years all the working cattle, horses, oxen etc., of the collective undertakings shall be completely free from all taxation.

For the same period all cows, pigs, sheep and poultry, whether in the joint possession of the collective undertakings or in the private possession of members of the collective, shall also be free from taxation.

New areas tilled by collective vegetable growing undertakings shall be free of taxation for a period of two years.

In accordance with these decisions, the total sum of agricultural taxation will be reduced this year. In the current year the agricultural collectives will be granted credit to a total of 500 million roubles.

In order to improve the material situation of the collective undertakings the overdue debts for credit which fall to the lot of the farms which have joined the collective undertakings, and the debts of the peasants who have joined the collectives shall be given a respite until the end of the current economic year, when they shall be liquidated in instalments according to the income of the collectives.

The members of the collective undertakings shall be freed from the repayment of debts which accrued prior to their membership of the collectives in connection with land surveying.

All fines, including those imposed by the courts, in connection with failure to fulfil the agricultural contributions imposed prior to the 1st April 1930 on peasants who are now members of the agricultural collectives, shall be remitted.

All contributions to the credit co-operatives and to the distributive co-operatives shall be purely voluntary. Compulsory measures such as have been imposed here and there, are prohibited.

The compulsory contribution of savings bank accounts such as has been carried out here and there is prohibited.

The contribution collection for tractors is now to be regarded as concluded for the current year.

The payment of debts in connection with Kulak property now in the possession of the collectives shall be discontinued.

Where the members of collective undertakings have income outside the collectives, then no more may be taken from them, irrespective of the length of time or place of the work, than is laid down i. e. from 3 to 10 %.

The management of the collective farms may not prevent the members from engaging in their spare time in cartage, forest work etc. and using for this purpose the socialised horses of the collective farm. Members engaging in such extra work shall be allowed to retain 40 or 60/70 per cent of the proceeds, according to whether the fodder consumed by the horses belonged to the collective farm or was the property of the member.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Woman and Religion.

By Maxim Gorki.

It is strange that up to now nobody has written a book on the relation of the church to woman. Nevertheless the women must have long known what they owe to religion and to the church, in particular the "orthodox" christian church.

It is known that all religions have adopted a more or less negative attitude towards the woman, some of them being even decisively hostile. 2700 years ago the Greek poet Hesiod declared in his book "Theogonia" — i. e. the doctrine of the origin of Gods —: "Zeus gave mortal men one evil: the women"; in his poem "Works and Days" he calls woman "a beautiful evil" and "a misfortune of humanity". In a Jewish prayer there is a short but very characteristic passage: "I

thank you my Lord, that you have not created me a woman".

The religious legend of the creation of woman from the rib of man, the shameful words of the prophets on women, the legends of the Arabs, Hindus, and numerous examples of such calumnies of woman show the unanimous efforts of the churches of all religions to degrade women socially. Woman is considered as the only one responsible for the driving out of man from paradise: she is the "vessel of sin" and "the seducer of the world", and these views penetrate from the church into the daily life.

The christian church was for two thousand years the source from which justification was derived for the legal and economic subjection of woman. In the words of the apostle Paul the church teaches: "man has not been created for the woman, but the woman for the man". With such and similar doctrines it is maintained that woman is at bottom not equal to man but "a human being of a lower order". This does not prevent women, who believe in the Bible, from considering this book as the "most human" and wisest book, although its whole wisdom consists in the attempt to make men believe that life on this earth with all its trials is nothing but a preparation of humanity for eternal happiness in heaven; to which man can gain admission if he is as patient and gentle as an ox and obeys the commands of the church.

The negative and hostile attitude to the woman has influenced the man for twenty centuries. This attitude of the church has deeply penetrated into the consciousness of men and obtained an almost instinctive power. The influence of religious "contempt for woman" is clearly expressed in the works of those scholars who have endeavoured to prove to the world that woman is "by nature" a "mentally narrow" human being and cannot be considered as the equal of man. The practical conclusion of this "theory" is very simple: woman must be placed in the background with regard to her rights and political position; she has been robbed of the right to shape her own destiny, she did not get the same education as man, she could not dispose of her inherited property without permission of man. There were a whole number of restrictions degrading women in daily life, hampering the normal development of her powers and capacities.

There is no doubt that if the sphere of woman's influence had not been artificially restricted to her duties as mother and housewife, culture would have developed with double rapidity, as creative energy would have been twice as great.

But bourgeois society and the bourgeois State are not interested in a rapid development of culture. The bourgeoisie prefers to keep what it has achieved — the exploitation of the labour of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie is living comfortably. And if it does move forward at all, it is only through anarchic competition and the growth of industrial technique resulting from this competition.

Far from advancing bourgeois culture has greatly retrogressed from the point it had reached in the 19th century. This fact has been confirmed since the imperialist war, which enormously increased the number of robbers, cynics, bandits and, as we perceive, did not create any other "spiritual leaders" than "fascists".

The women, and in particular the peasant women, must seriously think of their position towards religion and the church. The oppressive burdens of life are cast on her by the divine law of the church, which for centuries subjected woman and made her a slave.

Woman is emancipated from this slavish life only by socialism, by collective work. The power of the workers and peasants has successfully begun to transform life on a collective basis. It is no easy job: men who for centuries have been taught to live like wild beasts, each for himself, can hardly realise that it is possible to live in a different manner. They can hardly realise it and still they are creating this new order. The country of the Soviets is rapidly building up factories and machines; it is becoming richer from day to day and in a few years it will not suffer any want. With us everything that is created is created for all, and not for a few select, as in other countries. Woman must put her whole soul in this work which emancipates humanity from slavery. And she must in particular realise that the church is her worst and most irreconcilable enemy.