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The Collapse of the Naval Conference.

By Paul Braun.

The Naval Conference, the convening of which was hailed as such a great event by the imperialists of all countries, has collapsed. The rats are already leaving the sinking ship. The American Naval Secretary has used a convenient attack of influenza as an excuse for taking his departure. The French delegation, headed by Tardieu and Briand, has returned to Paris. Only the danger of a Three-Power Agreement between England, America and Japan could cause the French government to order Briand back to London. But as this possibility becomes less likely from day to day, it may be safely assumed that the French government will not even attend the funeral of the Conference. MacDonald's desperate efforts to save the Conference will not meet with any success.

The London and Paris newspapers have already sung the dirge. The "Sunday Times" declares that the Conference is wrecked and only a miracle can save it. MacDonald's government Organ, the "Daily Herald", is still striving to awaken hopes. After declaring that M. Briand's decision to return to Paris has given rise to new fears that the Conference may simply fade out, it states:

"Mr. MacDonald is, however, determined that this shall not happen, and he is equally determined that the present deadlock shall not be permitted to drag on indefinitely.

If within a reasonable period it has still proved impossible to find any basis for Franco-Italian agreement, or if the chief French delegates still insist on waiting in Paris for some new Italian offer which is not forthcoming, he will, as chairman of the Conference summon a Plenary Session to report progress or lack of progress . . . The French and Italians would then have the two possibilities — of responding to the appeal or of declaring themselves unable to reach an agreement.

If the latter, then it may be taken that there will be no Five-Power Agreement at all.

Therefore if France and Italy fail even under the stimulus of a Plenary Session, to agree, the Five-Power Conference must end. Nor will there be any doubt whose is the responsibility for its failure".

This attempt of the "Daily Herald" to fix responsibility for a possible failure of the Conference, is the sure sign of the end. There can be no doubt that the Naval Conference is in its death throes. There remains nothing more for it to do but to die "a beautiful death".

What were the tasks and purpose of the Conference, and why was it bound to fail?

The chief aim of the Five Powers who sent their representatives to London was, in view of the inevitability and threatening nearness of a new, world-embracing imperialist

conflict, to improve their own military and political situation at the cost of their rivals. Not disarmament, but extension of armaments, that was the real content of the London negotiations.

The securing of naval supremacy, that was and is the leitmotif of American and English naval policy. The American delegation came to London with the task to make use of the Conference for a political action on a grand scale. The Kellogg Pact and the slogan of "freedom of the seas" were its chief weapons. World hegemony of American imperialism was, however, the aim.

Therefore it was only at the first moment that the naval programme which Stimson brought to London could meet with apparent approval by England. Behind the modest demand of naval parity with England, the English naval experts discovered only too soon the secret dreams of naval hegemony cherished by their American rivals. For naval parity with England would, in view of the scattered nature of the British colonial possessions and spheres of influence and the peculiar naval strategical situation of British imperialism, be immediately converted into a dangerous superiority of America. The recognition of the principle of "freedom of the seas" demanded by America, would in the event of a war mean for England a blockade, the cutting off from its sources of raw material. England, in face of the American pressure, declared itself ready to grant certain concessions, which however lost their value, the more clearly the Anglo-American antagonisms became apparent during the course of the negotiations. The proposal made by the English government regarding the prolongation of the life of the large ships of the line and the future limitation of their maximum tonnage — proposals which do not affect England at all, as it possesses the largest ships of the line fleet in the world, but which directly hit America's building programme — met with the flat rejection by the American delegation. The Anglo-American "friendship" is now showing its true countenance.

The Anglo-American antagonism was the deadly germ which right from the beginning doomed the London negotiations. It has now sealed the fate of the Conference.

In the Anglo-American conflict in London there is reflected the general aggravation of the imperialist antagonisms between the United States and England, which is an immediate result of the approaching world crisis of capitalism. The antagonisms in London are themselves the most concentrated expression of the struggle, which is assuming sharper forms from day to day, of these two powerful imperialist giants for the domination of the world.

Numerous events which have occurred in the last few weeks and months prove the growing acuteness of these antagonisms. It suffices to call to mind the Hague negotiations, the fight for the control of the "Bank of International Settlement", the treaty concluded by the Standard Oil Company with the Soviet Russian Naphtha Trust, which puts an end to the oil peace between the American and English Oil trusts, and the fierce competitive struggle on the South American markets and in India.

On the background of this decisive inter-imperialist antagonism and of the approaching world crisis all imperialist antagonisms enter on a stage of open struggle. The French government put forward its claims with brutal candour in London. It demands double the naval quota granted to it in Washington in 1923. Fascist Italy demands naval parity with France, partly with an idea to extorting territorial and colonial concessions from France. Japan, too, is demanding a considerable increase of its naval quota (from 60 to 70 per cent.), and is at the same time endeavouring to make use of the antagonism between America and England in order to strengthen its own position.

When the conflict with America found open expression, the MacDonald government even thought of renewing the Entente with France and, by granting considerable concessions in the question of land armaments and of the reservists, to purchase France's help against America, — an attempt which was torpedoed by the American delegation. Nothing can more drastically illustrate the acuteness of the antagonisms than this desperate manoeuvre on the part of the English.

Pertinax, the very well-informed correspondent of the "Echo de Paris", even some days before the departure of the French delegation from London, spoke of a severe conflict

within the English government. Snowden, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, attacked MacDonald in the sharpest manner on account of the issue of the Naval Conference. He reproached him with having prevented a postponement of the negotiation in good time, and thereby — apart from the fiasco — sharpened all antagonisms to the extreme. "Another such conference", he shouted in the face of his chief "and we shall have war!"

There is no doubt that Snowden, even if unconsciously, has hit the right nail on the head. If the London Conference has any result at all, it will only be the same result as the Washington Conference had. It will tremendously accelerate the pace of imperialist competition in armaments, and before all the war preparations against the Soviet Union.

Never were the hypocritical phrases regarding disarmament so thoroughly exposed as they have been in the last eight weeks. The last illusions are collapsing like soap bubbles. In this respect the issue of the London Conference will be the severest disappointment for the imperialist warmongers.

POLITICS

The Second Law for the Defence of the Republic in Germany.

By Felix Halle (Berlin).

When the German Empire collapsed in November 1918, there also came to an end the state of siege maintained by the military dictatorship, which, in addition to the terrible food shortage, had roused the fury of the people to its highest pitch. The masses were given the assurance that in future, freedom of opinion, both in the form of freedom of the press and of meeting and association, would be absolutely guaranteed.

The development of the German revolution has shown how empty and worthless such promises were, when there were no organs of power of the workers to back them. Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution gave the Reichs-President that dictatorial power — more far-reaching than the powers of the overthrown monarchy — which enabled the president of the bourgeois republic to suppress in the most ruthless manner the freedom of the press and of meeting and at the same time, by means of the extraordinary military courts, to take criminal proceedings against the toiling masses. But even article 48 of the Constitution did not suffice the social-democratic rulers and the bourgeoisie, which had recovered its power, in order to take up the intensified class struggle against the revolutionary movement of the German proletariat.

An Exceptional Law of particular severity, far exceeding by many times the harshness of Bismarck's anti-socialist laws, had to be enacted. President Ebert used the occasion of the murder of Rathenau by fascists on 26th June, 1922, as a pretext to issue an Order for the Defence of the Republic, which was followed by a second Order of 29th June, 1922, which outwardly might create the impression that it was directed against those monarchist and fascist cliques of officers to whose murder-conspiracies Herr Rathenau — in addition to hundreds of other persons — had fallen victim. Three weeks later, in July 1922, the bourgeois parties of the Centre, in collaboration with the social democracy, passed the first Law for the Defence of the Republic, the anti-Labour character of which was clearly to be seen.

As a matter of fact, this law, even in the following year, apart from trifling exceptions, was employed only against members of the revolutionary proletariat. Thousands of workers were sentenced to terms of imprisonment and heavy fines; proletarian newspaper were repeatedly suppressed, especially at the moment when the Social Democratic Party of Germany was threatened with the danger of the workers abandoning it and going over to the Communists. The first Law for the Defence of the Republic had a validity of five years, after which it was prolonged from year to year. In the Summer of 1928 however, there was not the necessary two-thirds majority prescribed by the Constitution for the renewal of this Exceptional Law.

The new Law for the Defence of the Republic is, in connec-

tion with the bourgeois judiciary, directed exclusively against the class struggle of the toilers. Paragraph 1 punishes participation in or support of any agreement aiming at crime against life. The punishment provided is imprisonment for not less than three months up to five years, in specially serious cases up to ten years. In the numerous murder conspiracies which have been hatched by counter-revolutionaries in the course of the last ten years in Germany, only in exceptional cases have proceedings been taken against the guilty. The financiers and instigators of these acts of murder have never been subjected to any serious persecution.

Clause 3 of the first paragraph expressly protects spies, so that the police and the representatives of other organisations can, without incurring any danger, involve embittered proletarians in such affairs. Paragraph 2 of the law threatens with punishment any failure to denounce; the priests, however, are released from any obligation to denounce. In short, it adopts a legislative morality which is better adapted to the Constitution of the ecclesiastical State than that of a so-called "democratic", "Bourgeois" Republic.

Clause 4 provides for the punishment of violent attacks on the Reichs-President and on members of the Reich and provincial governments, or agreement to carry out such violent attacks.

Of especial importance for the class struggle of the working class is Paragraph 5. This penal provision threatens with imprisonment for a term of not less than three months and up to five years, any participation in a secret and anti-State organisation which is endeavouring to undermine the Republican State form of the Reich, as laid down by the Constitution, or of another province. Support of such an organisation is also liable to the same punishment. Similar penalties are provided against membership of an organisation which either itself or its members are in unauthorised possession of weapons. As the fascist organisations, thanks to their connections with the armed power and the authorities, always have the necessary authority no matter under what pretext, for possession of weapons, this provision is again exclusively directed against the class struggle of the workers.

Paragraph 6 transfers the punishment of les Majesté, which existed under the old monarchist law, to the present form of State, and even extends it. Paragraph 6, clause 1 subjects to punishment any abuse and bringing into contempt of "the form of State of the Reich or of the provinces, as well as the abuse, bringing into contempt, disparagement, or calumny of, the Reichs-President or of a member of the Reich or provincial government. Under clause 3 of the same paragraph, the provisions of clause 1 are extended to the deceased Reichs-President or the deceased members of the Reich and provincial governments. Clause 4 subjects to punishment, any summons or appeal for acts of violence against others on account of their political activity, as well as the approval of such acts of violence after their commission, as well as the praising and approval of a former act of high treason, or even only a planned act of high treason.

These last provisions represent an extension of the old law for the Defence of the Republic. These provisions undoubtedly mean a considerable limitation of all political discussion, for it brings members of the working population in danger of being condemned on the ground of denunciations.

Paragraph 9 provides that meetings at which infringements of any provision of the Law for the Defence of the Republic occur can be dissolved on the orders of the police. The police are thereby given a pretext for being present at and controlling meetings, just as in the time of the Hohenzollerns. Paragraph 10 restricts the right of association and contains provisions regarding the dissolution of associations which the authorities consider to be treasonous. Paragraph 11 provides for the confiscation of the funds and property of associations. Paragraph 12 contains penal provisions against members of prohibited bodies or associations. The wearing of a badge of a prohibited organisation is liable to a penalty of imprisonment for not less than one month and up to five years.

The purpose of paragraph 14 is the suppression of freedom of the press. According to this paragraph violation of the provisions of the Law for the Defence of the Republic or the high treason paragraphs, can be followed by suppression for four weeks in the case of daily newspapers and six months in the case of periodicals. The prohibition also extends to

papers and journals appearing as substitutes for the suppressed papers. Under paragraph 6 the issue of a prohibited paper is punishable with imprisonment for not less than three months and up to five years, as well as fines in addition.

Not only the bourgeois parties but the social fascists in particular worked hard to secure the enactment of this reactionary measure. The fight of the German Nationalists and of the National Socialists is, of course, only a sham fight; the German Nationalists, when they were in the Government, gave their consent and approval to the previous Law for the Defence of the Republic. The only party which is really fighting in the interests of the working class against this draconic law is the Communist Party. There exists not the least doubt that the new Exceptional Law will demand many new and great sacrifices from the workers. But like the preceding Exceptional Laws, Bismarck's anti-socialist law and the first Law for the Defence of the Republic, so also this new Exceptional Law will not be able to hamper the Labour movement in Germany for any length of time.

The League of Nations and the Kellogg-Pact.

By E. Gn—n. (Moscow).

The Tariff Peace Conference has come to an inglorious end, in London negotiations on naval disarmament are still proceeding behind the scenes. At the same time a conference has met in Geneva regarding which very little is heard—the conference which has the task of bringing the Statutes of the League of Nations into "harmony" with the Kellogg Pact.

Formally regarded, the difference between the Statutes of the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact is as follows: The Kellogg Pact provides for the unconditional renunciation of war, whilst Articles 12 and 15 of the League Statutes envisage the possibility of warlike action in the event of the failure of a peaceful settlement of a conflict. It is not necessary to point out that this is only a formal deference and that the contradiction between these equally hypocritical and deceitful documents can only interest those who are interested in modern scholasticism. But it was precisely this scholastic contradiction which formed the starting point of the endeavours to bring the League Statutes into harmony with the Kellogg Pact. This question was first raised by MacDonald on the 3rd September last, in a big speech which he delivered at Geneva. The League of Nations spouters thereupon immediately set to work and surrounded the problem with a huge curtain of fog. The Peruvian delegate gave an excellent declaration as to how these new evangelists regard the commandment "Thou shalt not kill!" He stated:

"When war was the 'ultima ratio' of statecraft, neutrality was a happy means by which it was possible to limit the conflict. As, however, war has been 'outlawed', as it has become the crime of Cain, it is impossible to imagine the League of Nations remaining neutral . . . Since the creation of the League of Nations, neutrality has become impossible."

Thus, when it is a question of war against the Soviet Union, imperialism will mobilise all the forces in its camp. Therefore, if one translates the formula of the speaker at Geneva into every-day language, one can say without distorting the sense: In the coming war against the Soviet Union there must be no neutrals.

The English delegate, Lord Cecil, proposed that an unconditional prohibition of war be included in the Statutes of the League of Nations, and the system of international arbitration be extended in order to facilitate the peaceful solution of conflicts. France, which had no objection on principle to arbitration, emphasised the necessity of extending the rights of the League Council in regulating international conflicts. Here there was revealed the old antagonism between Great Britain and France. The settlement of international political conflicts by arbitration opened up for England new prospects of conducting its old policy of playing off the Continental Powers against each other. Under these circumstances the position of Great Britain as a deciding third Power on the European Continent would be strengthened. France, on the contrary, considers the Council of the League as the most important instrument of its Continental policy, as the

sharpest weapon for defending the Versailles system against the attacks of its opponents and for defending French hegemony upon the European Continent.

Germany adopted a decidedly ambiguous attitude. To judge from the statements of the Press, the German government accepted the English proposals for altering the Statutes of the League and for extending the system of arbitration, but pointed out at the same time that this created the necessity of extending and strengthening the system of sanctions. This last proposal brought grist to the French mill.

Already in January 1928 when the Kellogg Pact was drawn up, Briand, at the negotiations with the United States, defended the standpoint that every war which is directed against the Statutes of the League of Nations, against the Locarno Treaties or against the "Guarantee Treaties concluded under the patronage of the League of Nations" is a war of aggression. Such a far-reaching definition of war of aggression is, of course, fully in accordance with imperialist practice.

The Commission which had the task of bringing the statutes of the League of Nations into harmony with the Kellogg Pact, in their decisions kept to the theory that it is lawful to conduct "a defensive war", and recognised that the harmonising of the two plans does not reject defensive wars and that the right of sanctions, i. e. military intervention, after the statutes have been brought into harmony with the Kellogg Pact, acquires special practical importance.

The Geneva Commission decided to revise articles 13 and 15 of the League Statutes in the spirit of the Kellogg Pact; it rejected the Swedish proposal to limit the possibilities of employing sanctions, and agreed to point out in its report to the Plenum of the League of Nations the possibility of extending the sphere of application of sanctions. Article 16, which deals with sanctions, remains wholly and entirely in force.

The activity of the Commission at Geneva clearly expressed the present international situation. In the endeavour to bring into harmony two documents which ostensibly aim at preserving peace, decisions were adopted which prepare the way for war, and in the first place war against the Soviet Union.

The War Budget in Poland.

By L. B. (Warsaw).

The budget session of the Sejm, which has already lasted for three months, is very indicative of the present situation in fascist Poland. The atmosphere in the Sejm has become very tense. In the last few weeks it has come almost daily to blows, not only in the plenary sessions but also in the commissions.

But on close inspection we find something peculiar. The "opposition" of the Centre and of the Left—the bloc of the Polish Socialist Party, and of the Christian Democrats and National Labour Party, the Parties of the big and middle peasants—is "fighting" only against the government Party, against the notorious "Non-Party bloc", but is not fighting against the government itself. On the contrary, it is assisting it in every respect and has unanimously voted for the budget.

Thus "Opposition" and "dictatorship" are only two groups within the same fascist camp, or better said, two methods of the fascist dictatorship.

The ruling fascist camp is feverishly searching for a way out of the precarious situation resulting from the severe economic crisis prevailing in Poland. The dictatorship is not only making all sorts of manoeuvres in the sphere of home politics, but is preparing similar manoeuvres in the sphere of foreign policy.

In the last few months a rapprochement took place between Poland and Germany, which found expression in the conclusion of a commercial treaty, the negotiations over which had lasted for several years. In addition, the ruling circles are obviously aiming at embittering relations between Poland and the Soviet Union.

How "loyally" Poland is fulfilling the peace treaties is strikingly illustrated by the trial of Ukrainian counter-revolutionaries taking place at present in Kharkov. The accused Nikovski, former Foreign minister of Petljura, in his evidence to the court, gave details as to how the Polish General Staff, already after the signing of the Riga Peace Treaty, prepared the attack of Tjutjunki upon the Soviet Ukraine.

"Iskra", an agency of the Pilsudski followers, is spreading lying provocative reports regarding numerous peasants who are alleged to be crossing the Polish frontier in order to save themselves from the "horrors" of collectivisation! The Papal Nuncio in Warsaw is conducting negotiations with the Polish government regarding rendering assistance to the "unhappy victims of the agrarian policy of the Soviet government".

The systematic campaign of calumny in connection with collectivisation aims at rousing anti-Soviet feeling among the most backward sections of the Polish peasantry. The same aim, to prepare the public mind for the coming war, is pursued by the campaign of the Polish clergy and the Polish press against the "religious persecutions" in the Soviet Union.

In addition, the first forgeries have appeared: "Ilustrowany Kurier Podzienny", Pilsudski's Krakow organ, is endeavouring to persuade its readers that the actions of the unemployed have been organised by "Moscow", and refers in this respect to the "Pravda". In its issue of 8th March it publishes a telegram from "its correspondent" in Moscow, dated 6th March, in which it is stated:

"The Soviet Government", writes the "Pravda", "was compelled to demonstrate its power on an international scale as a warning, that in the event of an armed intervention it is backed by millions who will take up arms at any moment in defence of the Soviet Union".

It need not be said that these statements were neither in the "Pravda" of 6th of March nor in any other issue of "Pravda".

With regard to the position of the Polish social fascists, they are vying with Pilsudski's followers in their anti-Soviet campaign. The P. P. S. is of the opinion that war against the Soviet Union would become popular with the masses if it were sanctioned by the Sejm.

Polish fascism is inclined to plunge into an adventure. The toiling masses of the whole world must be on the alert and make themselves ready to clip the claws of the adventurous fascist reaction.

CRUSADE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

The Papalisation of the Social Democracy.

By Peter Maslovski (Berlin).

With the "Holy Father" against the Soviet Union—that is the latest phase of the international policy of the Social Democracy. No matter how repulsive the papal incense of the religious offensive (mixed as it is with the stench of the poison gases which are being feverishly prepared) may be, it does not prevent the Social Democracy from taking part in this latest and most revolting of all war manoeuvres undertaken by world imperialism.

Whether the Austro-marxist "Left" Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung" snivels over the alleged forced closing of churches, whether MacDonald and Henderson join the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury in their appeal against the Soviet Union, whether that specialist in anti-Bolshevist articles, Peter Garvy, comes forward in the international social democratic press in defence of the papal civilisation and rages against the "Red" inquisition, whether the Berlin "Vorwärts" hails the Pope as the champion of spiritual freedom and pathetically asserts, "It is really high time that those bodies which are called upon to hold aloft the Palladium of spiritual freedom took action against Moscow" (Evening edition of the "Vorwärts" February 14, 1930)—these are only various expressions of the plain and incontrovertible fact that the international Social Democracy stands definitely and firmly for the Pope and against the Soviets.

One need not go back to the middle ages, to the burning of heretics at the stake, to the tortures practised by the papal inquisition in order to show what little right the social democrats have to-day in regarding the papacy, in contradiction to Bolshevism, as the embodiment of civilisation. As the social democrats still maintain that they wish to realise socialism, it suffices to show, from instances drawn from

modern times, what attitude the Vatican adopted right from the beginning towards Socialism at a time when the latter, to use the words of the social democrats, had not yet been "sullied by Bolshevism".

All the anathemas which are to-day pronounced against Bolshevism were at once time pronounced against the social democrats. As soon as the Labour question became acute, one papal encyclical after the other was directed against the social-democratic Labour movement.

It is significant that in the year 1878, in the very same year which saw the introduction of Bismarck's notorious anti-socialist laws, two encyclicals, "Inscrutabili Dei" of 21st April, and "Quod apostolici muneris" of 28th December, describe Socialism in the most abusive terms as a "death-bringing pestilence". In his holy indignation the Pope declares:

"The party of those people who bear the barbarous name of Socialists, are those who, as the word of God says, defile the flesh, despise authority, and slander dignity."

The "famous" "Labour Encyclical", issued by Pope Leo XIII. in the year 1891, was nothing else but a "refutation" of social democratic theories and an incitement against the socialists.

"The movement of the masses, in whom the greed for other people's property is awakening, must be curbed. Force must intervene in order to call a halt to the incitement and secure the rightful possession of property against robbery."

Against this it is necessary to promote religion because it "flavours a modest earthly lot with the sauce of contentment, and finds in frugality a substitute for a lack of riches".

The stupidities of the "Labour Encyclical" made their appearance in the same year in which the German social democracy issued that Erfurt Programme, which put forward that demand—long since abandoned by the social democracy—the separation of Church and State and the separation of the Church and the School, and which was a model programme for the whole of the old II. International.

All that is now a thing of the past! Today the social democracy kisses the sacred slipper which in better days trod upon them. The hatred against the world historical work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is so great in social democracy, so deep, so all-embracing, that it causes everything else to fade into insignificance, including the blows which they at one time received so freely from the Pope.

* * *

But this belly-crawling on the part of the social democracy before the Pope is not only a part of its repudiation of its own better past but an excellent political indicator showing how completely the international social democracy is to-day in the service of world imperialism. For what role, regarded from the great historical point of view of the class struggle, is the catholic church playing in the fight against socialism? As the oldest feudal power, it was at one time more reactionary even than absolutism, which represents the first form in the direction of the modern State. When the young bourgeoisie began to combat the absolutism of the princes, the Church of Rome was again found on the side of reaction.

It is therefore the historical mission of the catholic church always to side with extreme reaction, always to defend and proclaim as holy that which is doomed to perish. It is therefore only natural that to-day this papal church constitutes the classical form of that power which is defending the last stage of capitalism—monopoly capitalism and imperialism—and supplying the war ideology against the proletarian world revolution.

If the social democracy sees in this papal power the representative of European civilisation against "barbarous Bolshevism", regarded historically, it only demonstrates how far social democracy itself is in the camp of world imperialism. And if the whole rage and fury of papal infallibility is directed against Bolshevism, it only serves to prove that the latter represents historical progress on a world scale, and that it is in fact only that genuine Socialism, that Marxism which the Pope always has combated and always will combat, because it is his greatest antagonist and his certain vanquisher in history.

In the great book of proletarian world history there will one day be noted as special social democratic curiosity that episode where, of all things, the abolition of all State grants to the church, the ejection of the parsons from the schools, the founding of workers' universities, the closing of churches etc. were characterised as "dark middle ages" (Evening edition of "Vorwärts" 14th February 1930). It will one day be regarded as something astounding that, on the other hand, the social democratic concordate policy, by which millions and millions were granted to the church, and the last desperate cry for help raised by the Pope to save dying religion as the expression of Sublime spiritual freedom, earned enthusiastic praise from the social democracy.

The Fight of the Dutch Bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union.

War Incitement and Boycott.

By A. de Vries.

The Dutch bourgeoisie stands at the present moment in the front ranks of the imperialist fight against the Soviet Union. The leadership of this anti-Soviet activity of the Dutch bourgeoisie belongs undoubtedly to the Catholic Party and its press.

In response to the appeal of the pope there was at once formed a united front of all creeds and confessions (Jewish, Catholic and Protestant) for the fight against "religious persecution" in the Soviet Union. Fight against the Soviet Union has been preached at many meetings, while the press incitement reached its highest point not only against the Soviet Union, but also, and in the first place, against the Communist International and its Dutch section.

Thus on the 7th March, Captain J. Marlet delivered a speech at a meeting of a Catholic pacifist (!) association, in which he said, "of what great importance it would be if all the European Powers were to break off all diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union!" But this was not enough for him. He also declared that "All communist agitators must be expelled from the country, while the communist nests must be destroyed."

This officer, who is as equally pious as he is bellicose, is also of the opinion "that a general international, economic and financial boycott of the Soviet Union would be capable of destroying the Soviet regime."

He does not, however, appear to have complete confidence in this humane weapon. He examines "under what conditions a general war against Russia could be regarded as justified". And he is able to imagine "the great Powers uniting for the sake of justice in order immediately to combat and suppress communist agitation". Never before has the reaction in Holland spoken so openly.

But the anti-Soviet agitation has already gone beyond the stage of mere words. The Dutch bourgeoisie is already proceeding to carry out the first part of the gallant captain's programme. The "Central Bureau of the Dutch Agrarian Committee", an important agricultural buying co-operative which is entirely under capitalist management, has solemnly declared that it will not buy any more grain from the Soviet Union, owing to the persecution to which the peasants in the Soviet Union are subjected and on account of the revolutionary propaganda which is conducted out of means derived from the profits on exports. This declaration is received with enthusiasm by the whole of the bourgeois press, and it expresses the hope that this action will be followed on an international scale in order that it may grow into a general boycott.

The motive behind this incitement is perfectly obvious. The agrarian crisis is ruining thousands of small peasants, who, as the capitalist press itself is forced to admit, are being driven almost to despair and hopelessness by the bad times they are experiencing. It is, on the other hand, propaganda in view of the forthcoming European Peasant Congress, which is meeting with considerable response and is causing no little disquietude to the bourgeoisie.

It should also be noted that a very important part of Dutch colonial capital, the "Royal Dutch" oil company, which is controlled by Deterding and is closely connected with British interests, is again being hard hit by the competition of its American rival on the markets of India and Indonesia. In order to secure a weapon in the murderous competitive

struggle, the Standard Oil Company of New York has again concluded a five-year contract for the supply of a million tons of oil products by the Naphtha Syndicate of the Soviet Union. Detering, who fears more than anything the competition of cheap Soviet oil, is once again raising an outcry over "stolen" oil.

Thus the Dutch campaign of incitement and boycott is only a part of that action of which the embargo on the import of matches from the Soviet Union to Germany and the endeavour to secure the German market for the capitalist oil monopoly also form part.

It is therefore the urgent task of the C. P. of Holland to organise immediately the fight for the defence of the Russian revolution against the attacks of the Church and Capital, and to link up closely with this fight the organising of the revolutionary opposition in the most important factories and enterprises and among the unemployed. The Central Committee of the Party has set itself the aim of directing the whole Party activity on to a great campaign, and on March 30 next to hold meetings and demonstrations in every place to which the influence of the Party extends.

Religion in America.

By M. Greenbaum.

The present crusade of all religious groups against the Soviet Union has brought to the light the tremendous net work spread by various religious groups in America.

American Capital pours virtually millions of dollars into religious channels with the object of tempering the class struggle through religious influence.

The facts and data gathered below will prove to the workers the necessity of counter-acting this activity by mass propaganda against religion.

The mere fact that religion is not taught in the public schools does not mean anything, when 2½ million catholic children visit daily parochial schools, and other denominations are not exceptions.

The Roman Catholic religion is the largest in N. Y. State. The value of its edifices amounts to \$ 177,022,018.00 and parsonages — \$ 24,342,113. It had in 1929 about 1783 churches (in 1916 — 1496).

During 1929 the Catholic churches in N. Y. State raised the total of \$ 40,362,298, of which over \$ 36 million went for current expenses.

The number of Jewish congregations in N. Y. State was 1228 in 1929 as compared with 798 in 1916. Valuation of Synagogues \$ 41,798,309.

The total amount raised this year by only 381 leading congregations is \$ 8,890,824.

The largest Protestant denomination in N. Y. State is the Methodist Episcopal. It has 1930 churches, value of edifices \$ 48,590,055. Parsonages — \$ 1,117,061.

The total amount raised in 1926 was \$ 10,532,331.

The number of Protestant Episcopal churches in the state is 882. Value of edifices — \$ 102,341,631, and of parsonages — \$ 6,904,465.

The total amount raised during the year was \$ 9,778,781.

The Presbyterians have about the same number of churches, the value of edifices about \$ 70,000,000, and parsonage \$ 5,300,100.

An amount of \$ 10,426,583 was raised during the year.

There are, also, some minor denominations with a considerable influence.

The total value of all the edifices of N. Y. State will amount to over 2000 million dollars. The total raised during the year will amount to more than 200 million dollars.

The Roman Catholics in the United States are unified by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, which has its headquarters in Washington D. C. Seven Bishops form its Board of Directors. They try to influence every corner of public activity as shown by the following sub departments:

Immigration, Publication, Motion Pictures, Civic Education, Business, Legislation, Information etc.

It has a special news service bureau that serves about 90 catholic daily and weekly newspapers all over the U. S.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference maintains special correspondents in principal cities all over the world. The Bureau has the privilege of the press galleries in Congress.

The Catholics have in the U. S. a clergy of 26,353 with 17,936 churches. They have 136 seminaries and about 1,000 colleges. The number of children which attend their parochial schools is 2,488,682.

Churches of all denominations in the U. S. were in 1926 — 232,154. Value of church edifices — \$ 3,839,500,610.

Expenditure in 1926 — \$ 817,244,528.

These figures show that the churches of all denominations possess considerable property which they wish to insure against any possible expropriation by the social revolution, hence their great outcry against "religious persecution" in Soviet Russia.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Struggle of the Indian Railway Workers.

By M. A. I.

"Strikes are inevitable as long as capitalism and imperialism lasts . . . Our struggle is against capitalism and imperialism. Workers of the G. P. I. Railway, you are fighting as vanguard of all the railway workers of India" Thus writes the "Railwayman" the organ of the G. P. I. (Great-Indian Peninsular) Railwaymen's Union, which is leading the present strike of the 125,000 G. P. I. Railway workers.

This estimation of the present railway strike gives a true picture of the situation in the contemporary working class movement of India. The Indian proletariat is carrying on a heroic struggle against its class enemies, the British Imperialists and their allies, the Indian capitalists. That is why the Bombay workers raised aloft their red banner on the 26th of January last, when the bourgeoisie had staged a scene of their "independence day" while ready to sell themselves and betray their "independence" for "very simple but vital needs" of the Indian bourgeoisie as for example, reduction of the rupee ratio, protection to their cotton and shipping industries, etc., the demands put forward recently by Gandhi. The Bombay workers declared that "the Congress Flag could never be the real flag of independence", it was a flag of betrayal, of compromise with British imperialism.

That is why the Meerut trial started by the Tory imperialists and carried out by the "labour" imperialists. That is why the Indian bourgeoisie refused to help the Meerut prisoners legally and materially. On March 20th, a year has elapsed, since 32 leaders of the Indian working class were arrested and thrown into prison of Meerut a small and remote town in the North. The farce of a trial is not yet finished. The class justice awaits them in the form of a heavy sentence of conviction with hard labour.

At Meerut is being tried by British imperialism not only the working class movement in India, but the international proletarian movement, standing for the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism. The chief accused in the trial is the Communist International.

Faced by the revolt of the Colonial slaves British imperialism attacks the Communist International, arrests and subjects to cruel torture the leaders of the working class movement, with a view to check its growth. But in spite of depriving the working class of its leaders by repeated arrests, the movement is going forward. New leaders are springing up to take the place of those who fall victims as prisoners in the class war. The strike of the 125 000 G. I. P. railway workers carried on in face of terrorisation by imperialist armed forces, treacherous tactics of the nationalists and social-reformists, shows that.

The strikers are being arrested, the volunteers who picket the railway lines are terrorised by the police, the workers are being forcibly ejected from their quarters, their water supply is being cut off, their meetings are forbidden and convicts from prisons are being used as blacklegs. All this is being done by the Anglo-Indian Government, the owner of the Railway, under the instruction of MacDonald's Labour Government. The agent of the railway has declared that all those on strike should consider themselves to be dismissed from work. Blacklegs are paid double wages to replace the strikers.

The treacherous nationalist and social-reformists are helping MacDonald's agents to break this strike. A reformist union, composed of the superior grade employees of the G.I.P. railway has refused to join the strike. At the head of this union stands, as president, Mr. Jammadas Mehta, who along with Jawaharlal Nehru and Subbas Bose is a leader of the "Independence League".

The workers are rejecting all efforts of compromise and conciliation with the capitalists. The **All-India Trade Union Congress**, now under the militant leadership of the Left Wingers, of the Red Flag's Union, stands at the back of the strikers. Appeals are being made by them to all the railway workers to declare sympathetic strikes with their comrades. They are closely watching the situation in order to see that the strikers are not deserted and betrayed by some of the pseudo left leaders, as the president of the G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union, who has been showing such signs. Thus, a bulletin issued by the Workers and Peasants Party, of Bombay, lead by the leaders of the Red Flag Union of Bombay, says:

"The Workers of the G.I.P. railway must see that Mr. Ruikar (President of the G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union) stands by the strike and does not begin to retreat. Mr. Ruikar has sent a cable to MacDonald. It is very wrong again for him to appeal to the imperialist premier to use the strike-breaking machinery of the Trade Disputes Act. . . . The G.I.P. men should go to the B. B. & C.I. (Bombay-Baroda and Central India) Railwaymen and appeal to them to join the struggle. Men on the B. B. & C.I. line your conditions are as bad as those of your comrades on the G.I.P. line. Your grievances are the same. Join the struggle."

The G.I.P. railway workers are carrying on the struggle for the cause for which the Meerut prisoners fought. Their cause is the cause of the international proletariat, the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism. They are fighting against odds, the colonial regime of MacDonald, aided by its Indian agents, the reformists. Their victory or defeat is the victory or defeat of the international proletariat. The international proletariat, therefore, should come to their aid. By helping them they will be helping the Meerut prisoners and the cause of the revolutionary workers of the world, fighting against capitalism, capitalist rationalisation, fascism and the imperialist preparation for war.

STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

March 6th in Great Britain.

By W. Gallacher (London).

March 6th was a historical day for the Communist Party in Great Britain.

Since the formation of the Labour Government, the disillusionment of the workers has been proceeding very rapidly.

In the face of wage cuts, speeding up and mass dismissals they are turning more and more to the revolutionary policy of the Communist Party, to the policy of open struggle against capitalism and against the Labour Government of capitalism.

And so the call of the International for mass demonstrations on March 6th against unemployment and starvation met with spirited response in all parts of the country.

The campaign carried through by the Party in Britain, following the International call, was one of the best yet undertaken.

In London, the demonstration at Tower Hill was a clear indication of the responsibility that rested upon the Party for leading the workers in revolutionary struggle. There we had an extraordinary evidence of the militancy and revolutionary possibilities of the workers but this militancy failed because of the weakness of the revolutionary leadership.

The preparations for the demonstration and the organisational measures for the march of the workers to the Mansion House were deplorable.

The masses marched on to Tower Hill and demonstrated from the beginning their support of the Communist Inter-

national and its fighting revolutionary policy. All the Party speakers were enthusiastically received, especially so was our Comrade who spoke as the representative of our brother party in Germany.

But the projected march to the Mansion House was blocked by the police and our own organisational weakness. Yet in the march that did take place, although we got nowhere near the Mansion House, and in the fight with the police which took place during the demonstration the workers showed clearly, that with proper preparation and leadership, they had the fighting spirit that would have successfully broken through the cordon of police.

In Bradford, the centre of the Woollen Textile area, the demonstration was an exceptionally successful one. There had been good preparation during the campaign, a distinctive feature of which were the street meetings held in the afternoon in the working class districts in the town. Thousands of women workers attended these meetings, short time workers, unemployed and housewives.

On March 6th, in spite of the never ceasing rain, the demonstration was a huge success, and at the Car Park, a tremendous body of workers had assembled. After the speeches, the demonstration marched to the Guardians Office, but the deputation was refused, nevertheless, in spite of the prohibition of the police, a meeting was held, which held up the street for some time. After which the workers formed up again and marched to the Market Square, where they were met with a cordon of police. The police tried to seize the banners, but the workers were able to keep the flags, and to sweep aside the police barrier, and marched on to the Town Hall Square, where, in spite of the continuous rain, a further mass meeting was held.

In Scotland the outstanding feature of March 6th was the political strike in two pits in Lanarkshire. These represent a very great step forward in the political development of the workers. Again bad preparation was in evidence but despite this the workers in the two pits came out in protest against the Labour Government and against the rationalisation drive it represents.

In many other districts the answer to the call of the International was very encouraging and brings out clearly what can be done if the Party applies itself correctly to its tasks. While the Minority Movement and the National Unemployed Workers Movement were auxiliary bodies most closely identified with the Party in rallying the unemployed and employed workers to the demonstrations, the Workers International Relief came right to the front on the 6th, especially in London, with very well prepared feeding arrangements. Much of the success of the Tower Hill demonstration was due to the work so ably carried through by the comrades who devoted themselves to this activity.

Our greatest weakness was and is the lack of a Workers Defence Corps. This must now receive serious attention and the necessary forces for leading and protecting the workers must be built up.

We now go forward to the great National Hunger March which is to arrive in London on May Day.

March 6th has prepared the ground for the march and for mass demonstrations on the first of May. Already the success of March 6th and the militant character of the workers displayed on that occasion, has forced the Social Fascist London Trades Council to abandon its intention of running a counter May Day demonstration. It dare not do anything that will bring the workers on the streets. This is significant, as is also the fact that since March 6th an ever growing number of trade union bodies are passing resolutions condemning the Labour Government.

The latest of these are a Conference of Painters delegated in London representing 60 branches and a Conference of the Dartford Divisional Labour Party attended by 130 delegates, in each case a resolution was passed condemning the Labour Government.

Yes, March 6th was a great day for the Communist International. A great day for the Party in Britain. The role of the Daily Worker in this great effort cannot be over-estimated.

Now following March 6th the Party with the Daily must press forward to new mass actions and to the building of the mass Party of revolutionary struggle.

International Conference of the Friends of Soviet Russia

Appeal of the World Association of the Friends of Soviet Russia to the Toiling Masses of the Whole World!

** It is more obvious than ever before that two world forces are facing each other today. The capitalist world reacts to the successes of the Five-Year Plan of the S. U. by organising a "religious" crusade against the State of the Workers and Peasants.

The capitalist world replies to the mobilisation of all forces for the realisation of the socialist order in the USSR, by mobilising its forces to shatter the proletarian state, to destroy that "Bolshevist experiment" which the capitalists consider to be far more dangerous at precisely this juncture, during the reconstruction period than in the time of the armed struggles 1917/21.

Under the leadership of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, a few years have sufficed to heal the wounds of the imperialist war, the civil war and the imperialist interventions, and to lay the country of the Soviets has attained an unexampled level of reconstruction. In the whole world there is no other government, which ensures that all progressive endeavour is placed at the service of the working masses, and that the masses themselves take part in the realisation of the greatest aim of humanity, on the contrary in the bourgeois countries all achievements and means of power are used for an increased exploitation of the working class.

Innumerable industrial undertakings are springing up in the Soviet Union, gigantic works, mines, railways, waterways, equipped with the latest achievements of technics and with the most up-to-date devices for the safety of the workers. Completely mechanised grain farms are being organised on a scale unknown even in America. Hundreds and thousands of the most up-to-date agricultural machines are made available to the peasantry. The peasants themselves, seeking a transition to higher forms of economy, are joining the collective farms in increasing numbers. A real revolution has begun in agriculture, putting an end to the wretched existence of the small farmer on his isolated individual dwarf farm. Thanks to large scale socialist rationalisation, working hours are being steadily reduced in the factories, and in the undertakings in town and country: unemployment is being abolished, and the real wages are becoming higher.

The free time and strength thus gained can be employed by the workers for their personal culture, for which purpose they find at their disposal the people's houses, clubs, reading halls, and sport grounds, which are springing up as rapidly as the new factories.

While in the capitalist states the privilege of the university study is confined to the members of the possessing classes, vast facilities for education are being provided in the Soviet Union in an ever increasing number for the use of the workers and peasants. A steadily extending health service protects the workers from illness, and enables sick persons to enjoy the greatest possible benefit of treatment.

The work of socialist reconstruction is being carried on by the masses of the workers themselves.

Through their own creative initiative and criticism the masses drive forward the development of reconstruction at a speed far exceeding that of the Five-Year Plan.

The very existence of the capitalist system is threatened by all the successes in the Soviet Union, which are well known to the ruling class. They are exerting their utmost power to conceal from the workers and peasants of their countries the true situation of the workers in the S. U. In their innumerable newspapers, theatres, cinemas, and from their pulpits, they deny that any progress is being made in the land of the Soviets.

As the horrifying news on the "economic ruin", the "enslavement of the workers", the "robbing of the peasants", "hunger and misery" become less and less plausible, the enemies of the S. U. are going over to lies on an alleged "bloody persecution of religion".

Socialist construction encounters great difficulties in the Soviet Union—a country left in a backward state owing to the undeveloped condition of pre-revolutionary economy; while it is solely dependent upon the energies of the Soviet workers

and peasants and the fraternal sympathies of the toiling masses of the whole world, they are nevertheless succeeding in developing socialist economy at a speed which is unexampled in history.

But the work of socialist construction is systematically hampered by the remnants of the capitalist class still in the country—elements which get the whole sympathies and assistance of the foreign imperialists, the Russian emigrants and all counter-revolutionaries.

The Soviet Government is combatting its class enemies and all the opponents of socialism by a steadfast adherence to its principle of securing the welfare of the working masses, first of all and everywhere.

This aim and this alone, is served by the measures taken by the Soviet power against the enemies of socialism in the country. Measures of which the world-known English liberal paper, the "Manchester Guardian", recently wrote:

"They may not please us, at least we must try to understand them. This is the class struggle in a country whose government is prepared to employ the whole of its power against the exploiters."

Where in the whole world can we find another State whose government has taken this aim as leading principle of its policy? There is only one State which is not a State of exploitation, but a State of workers against the exploiters, this is the Soviet Union.

For years a section of the bourgeoisie has believed that the Bolsheviks, following the example of the European "socialists", would return to capitalism, and that the people's commissaries would turn out to be as "sensible" ministers as those at present forming part of the so called labour and coalition governments in England, Denmark, Germany, and Czechoslovakia. These hopes have been swept away by the commencement of the great work of socialist construction envisaged by the Five-Year Plan, by the incontestable first successes of the socialist reorganisation of agriculture which have been gained in the most acute struggle against the exploiting kulaks.

By this all hopes of world imperialism to overcome its need for new export markets by peaceful penetration into the Soviet Union have been destroyed. Naturally as the economic contradictions of capitalist economy become more acute they become more desirous to reestablish capitalist domination over one sixth of the earth's surface. In the course of the increasing class struggle in the capitalist countries the example of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union stirring up the toiling masses of all countries to emulation, for crushing the exploiting class and for the construction of socialism becomes an ever growing danger for the rule of the capitalist class.

The open reactionaries and Fascists in the capitalist countries are shrieking wildly for a war of extermination against the land of the Soviets.

The so called "liberals" and "democrats" who long cherished the hope of a capitalist development of Russia, and advocated peaceful business relations with the S. U., are now abandoning this "traditional" policy of theirs and joining the camp of the open opponents of the S. U. This change of front is most apparent in Germany on the occasion of the acceptance of the Young Plan.

The example of the Soviet Union shows the working masses clearly that the "October Revolution", that the method of expropriation by force of the ruling class was, and is, the right way — indeed the only way — to socialism, and that the capitulation of social democracy to the bourgeoisie is no "historical necessity", but a betrayal of the cause of the workers.

This explains the extreme malignance shown by social democracy in its antagonism to the S. U. and the leading

role which it is playing in inciting war against the first workers' state.

The religious crusade staged by the pope represents in a certain sense the key stone of the building of the united front for the destruction of the S.U., by giving the fresh watchword of "war against the kingdom of anti-Christ", through which the followers of Christianity in their enthusiasm are to be aroused for a renewed slaughter.

So-called religious "enmities", dating back thousands of years, are put aside. The pope goes out to war arm in arm with Anglican bishops, Jewish rabbis, general superintendents. Amidst the ringing of bells and murmuring of "prayers of intercession", military preparations are being carried forward with unusual energy.

The attempt to make use of the Chinese generals for the general attack on the S.U. has failed through the energetic peace policy of the Soviet Union, the energetic resistance of the Red Army, and the disagreements ruling at that time in the camp of the adversaries. Now preparations for provoking war on other frontiers are made. From Estonia, Poland and Rumania alarming news is coming from generals on war preparations at the frontiers, announcements of war this year etc. On the Northern frontier of India and Afghanistan military forces are concentrated under British leadership.

The spectre of a new war, a war against the Soviet Union is showing itself more clearly than ever in Europe.

This is the hour in which a special task falls to us, the Friends of the Soviet Union.

We are friends of the Soviet Union!

We are workers, working peasants, and brain-workers, who are striving for the real liberation of the working masses.

Our friendship for the country of the Soviets has its roots in our "own" countries, where the workers and peasants of the capitalist countries are fighting for their vital interests, where millions of labour-slaves in the colonies are taking the field against imperialism, where the real intellectual forces of the present day are fighting against cultural reaction, and against the stupefaction of adults and children, where science stands for real freedom of its development.

To us the Soviet system is no mere national phenomenon, which we regard with curiosity and recognise as "good" for the "Russian people". The friendship expressed on paper by many admirers of the proletarian state, that for instance of the English trade union delegation, and of many other so-called radical intellectuals, has proved to us that those who recommend that the Soviet system be left alone as a Russian or Slav phenomenon are likely to let themselves be very easily convinced, when called upon to take a stand against the "Bolshevist experiment". This kind of friend has failed, for in reality they have never been its friends.

We are the Friends of the Soviet Union because we approve of its socialist measures, because we see that there everything that is done is done in the interests of the workers, and that the creative forces of the working class are being released to an extent hitherto unthought of.

We are the Friends of the Soviet Union because we know that the Soviet workers are showing the workers of the whole world the sole possible method of abolishing the exploitation of man by man, and of realising socialism.

We are and remain the Friends of the Soviets, the more firmly in proportion as the situation becomes more and more difficult and dangerous. Our friendship becomes the stronger as it becomes increasingly evident that our worst enemies in our "own" country are in the ranks of the anti-Soviet front—the Lords, generals, counts, industrial captains, petroleum magnates, bankers, who exploit and persecute us.

But we are not merely friends, who are looking upon the deeds of the toiling masses and their government in the Soviet Union with sympathy and enthusiasm. We are active friends, taking a fighting part in the building up of socialism and its defence.

Our first task is to break down the barrier of lies and slanders erected by the capitalist and social democratic warmongers. We shall carry the truth about the S. U. to the broadest masses, peasants, intellectuals and the working strata of the people, to all those who regard the lying

reports of the foes with distrust, but do not know to whom to look for the truth. We must make it clear to these people, that the enemy is striving, by means of false information about the S. U. regarding starvation, unemployment, terror, etc., to cloak the impoverishment of the masses, the growing unemployment, the police terror, and the cultural reaction in his own countries.

The enemies of the S. U. have a mighty press apparatus at their disposal. They can utilise the schools, the universities, and the churches of every religion. They suppress our work of enlightenment with the aid of a comprehensive police machinery. They are subjected to the shame of the workers' movement be it said, by the reformist trade unions, who place their vast apparatus and their widely circulated newspapers at the service of the calumniation of the proletarian state.

The friends of the Soviet Union can only cope with this great army of foes and slanderers if:

Every member of the F.O.S.R. becomes an active propagandist for the cause of the S.U. In the works and factories, in the labour organisations, in the street meetings, in the workmen's dwellings, in the schools and universities—everywhere the F.O.S.R. must be the messenger of enlightenment.

In proportion as the enemy arms for war we must intensify our recruiting work.

Of paramount importance, too, is the firmer establishment of our organisational basis. Sympathy with the S.U. is growing in all countries. This must be organised, in order that our groups, hand in hand with all those labour organisations in sympathy with us, can mobilise the masses for the defence of the S.U.

Our special attention must be accorded to those countries in which actual preparations are being made for war against the S.U., especially therefore, Poland and Roumania. In those countries every activity on the part of the Friends of Soviet Russia is brutally suppressed, and freedom is only granted to the enemies of the workers' and peasants' state. But despite this the F.O.S.R. must find ways and means, even here, of defending the proletarian state.

Workers' of the world, realise the consequences to you of a war waged by our enemies against the Soviet Union. Put no faith in those who declare the impending war against the S.U. to be a mere figment of the imagination. The last world war, too, was declared by the whole press to be an impossibility till the last moment, in order that we might afterwards be the more easily taken off our guard. The foes themselves no longer conceal the fact that they intend to solve with the sword the crisis in the relations between the capitalist world and the S.U. Although the press continues to deny the possibility of a war against the S.U., the open admissions of the meetings of the international banking concerns, the interviews with the generals and the sermons of over-zealous bishops and rabbis, bear conspicuous evidence of the will to war of the foes of the S.U.

Friends of the Soviet Union, to the front!

Mobilise today all forces for the work of enlightenment!

Be prepared to take up the fight tomorrow with all available means, for the defence of the first proletarian State.

Long live the real fatherland of the workers of the world!

Long live the Soviet Union.

Resolution on the Labour Government and Anti-Soviet Reaction.

This World Congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union views with disgust the attitude of the present Labour Government to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

At the 1929 general election the Labour Party promised, if it was given the confidence of the electors, to do its utmost to promote cordial relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. Now that it has assumed the reins of government how has it redeemed its pledge?

By means of the grossest subterfuge and prevarication it delayed the official resumption of relations with the first Workers' Republic time after time, and was finally forced into recognition only by pressure of the working class.

By making hypocritical "representations" to the Soviet

Government it has given its covert support to the palpably lying stories of atrocities in the Soviet Union.

The government caused the army command to forbid official services. But this, it is now clear, was a mere manoeuvre since it was subsequently explained there was no objection to private services. By this policy it permits the armed forces of the crown to be made tools in the hands of the war mongering bishops and generals.

By means of its police thugs and of the army chaplains it has persecuted workers who endeavoured to counter-act the noxious lies that were (and still are) being inculcated into the minds of workers who, from the sheer desperation of poverty and unemployment, have been forced into the army.

Finally the **Labour Party** has revealed itself in its light, and has come out as the open and avowed enemy of the Soviet Union, and the supporter of reaction, by expelling from its ranks those workers who dare to acknowledge their sympathy and support for the Soviet Union.

In view of these facts we place on record our most emphatic condemnation of this spurious "Workers' Government", and of those pseudoleft "leaders" who have so shamelessly broken their oft repeated pledges to befriend the Soviet Union, and call upon their friends of Soviet Russia, the rank and file of the working class, to stand as one with their brother workers of the Soviet Union in their great task of building up Socialism.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Men and Slag.

Letters from the Donetz Basin.

By G. Ryklin.

I.

The Old and the New Masters.

When at night the glowing molten iron pours in a fiery stream from the smelting furnaces, then the sky begins to take on the appearance of sheet iron which has just emerged from the rolling mills. It is indeed a magnificent sight.

There was a time when these streams of fire brought wealth to the great iron works owner, Mr. John Hughes. In his quest for profits he left the banks of the Thames and came to the little river Kalmius in the Ukraine, where the endless steppes extend on all sides. Along with Mr. Hughes there arrived eminent engineers. They walked around with a proud and calm bearing, scratched the soil of the steppe with the heels of their shoes, and said that it is not earth but pure gold to be minted into English sovereigns.

They bought huge stretches of land for an old song; they obtained building material for a mere trifle; and in return for beggarly wages they obtained labour power. They then began to open up the mines. Here they began with the foundation for the smelting works.

The setting up of the works was carried out without plan, without system, without special technical calculations. Capital proceeded simply like a beast of prey to extract the riches from the soil as rapidly as possible. The English capitalists heaped up gold in their coffers, produced by the sweat of thousands of proletarians working 12 hours a day, by the handwork of home workers and by hellish conditions of labour. Not only the human labour power but also the iron machines were used up.

What have the Bolsheviks done with this "inheritance from the old regime?" A great deal. They breathed a new living "soul" into it. The old works were rejuvenated, fresh blood streamed into its organism. In the reports from the fighting front regarding the fulfilment of the industrial and finance plan the Stalin works are among those which occupy the first place. There is little doubt that the successors of Mr. John Hughes, if they were to read these reports to-day, would, along with the Archbishop of Canterbury, protest most energetically against—religious persecution in the U. S. S. R.

Yusovska—which derived its name from the former

English owner—is now a thing of the past. In its place there stands today Stalino. Even the old people who were born and bred in the place no longer remember Yusovska. Not only simply because its name has been changed. Yusovska was a little town, a mere settlement, a street and a few little shops with first class goods—for the English. Since the revolution, however, some dozens of streets and main streets have been built. Every year new enormous residential quarters, whole districts spring up and the town is steadily pushing its way deep into the steppes.

Today the old works are producing one hundred per cent more cast iron and steel than in 1913 under the former "masters". Let us take furnace No. 2, which is fairly old, but in very excellent conditions for its years and does not work any worse than the newer ones. In 1913 it produced 2754 tons of cast iron per month—today however the monthly output is 7249 tons. Let us take a glance at the Martin furnaces. Here one can "compare the last century with the present century". But do we need to go so far back into the past? Let us take the last report. In the last three years the production of the Martin furnaces amounted to 20,000 tons of steel a month. This year however, it amounts to 30,000 tons a month.

Thanks to the enormous work accomplished by the working class, the works are flourishing and making great progress. In this year alone the management of the works has set aside 12 million roubles for new equipment. The Stalin works were reconstructed by the creative initiative of an army of workers, numbering 15,000.

Our whole work must be permeated with the spirit of the shock brigade work. The entire works must be adapted to shock brigade work by the time of the 16th Party Congress. Under this slogan, the red molten steel is poured into the moulds and the rails emerge from the heavy rollers in the rolling mills.

Here among the workers quite another conception has arisen regarding what is good or bad work. When the pit fulfils its task up to 99.9 per cent—that is bad. When it has fulfilled its task up to 100 per cent, then that is no more than it should be and deserves no praise. When it is fulfilled up to 102 or 103 per cent, that is not so bad, but ... 108 to 110 per cent, that is good!

Those pre-revolutionary predecessors who were formerly designated as "director" or "manager" have here another conception of time, rest and sleep.

I cannot leave the pit, says one of the new "masters", something might happen. Every minute is precious. But this is of course only a temporary phenomenon. We shall soon succeed in getting everything firmly established and in smooth running order, and then we shall be able to rest.

At present, however, we are black with soot, have restless eyes, rush hastily to the telephone, are ever-lastingly running to and fro in the pit.

Nevertheless we are full of confidence. Youth will be victorious!

Life in the Collective Undertakings.

"I Am no Longer an Old Woman."

Kridsha (Lower Volga District).

** "My features may be old. But don't look at them. My heart is young. I am no longer an old woman. I am a Young Communist."

With truly youthful fervour the old peasant woman, Alexandra Versunina, thus exclaimed in greeting the **Putilov** workers who had come to the Kriush collective farm.

An entertainment was held in the church to bind together the peasant communards of Kriush and the workers of the Red **Putilov** factory. Behind Versunina and over the transept there were stretched simple placards on red cloth:

"Through the big collective farm to socialism."

"The rich need god to enslave the workers."

The first thing which a visitor to Kriush sees is a crimson flag on the dome of the church and, next to it, a radio antenna.

The Pulse of Life Beats Strongly.

Two years ago, there was no poorer village than Kriush in the Balashovsk district. 60 % of the inhabitants were poor farmers or farm hands. Poverty, ignorance, dirt. In Sep-

tember 1928 the first change took place in Kriush. Half of the farms organised a company for working the land in common. This was the first harbinger of collectivisation in the Lower Volga. In November 1929, all the 302 poor and middle farms of the villages formed an artel. And by December 31, 1929, Kriush accepted the rules of a commune.

Everyday the collective farm grows stronger, and its material situation improves.

Here are some figures. They speak for themselves. The harvest in 1927/28 outside the Collective Farm; rye—2,030 centners; wheat—768 centners; oats—230 centners. But in 1928-29 in the Collective Farm, it was: rye—2,902 centners; wheat—5,575 centners; oats—2,626 centners. What a difference for one year! And the saleable surplus increased by 5 times in a year.

The pulse of life beats strongly. The people of Kriush are building a good big school. They are completing the construction of a cattle yard, they are building a brick factory. In spring they will build 2 large houses as common living quarters. They have already thought over the plans of a new socialist village. They have built a grain dryer. They have acquired 50 hives of bees. They have put down an orchard covering 75 hectares.

There is a tractor column at Kriush for 3 villages. It has 79 tractors, 84 tractor ploughs, 370 harrows, 25 drills.

The young people study in tractor courses.

A children's creche was organised in the commune during the summer, and a playground for 30 young communards. There is a public bake house, and in the fields, during work time, there is a common kitchen.

The commune is growing, strengthening, ripening like a good apple. And there is more to follow. Only a year and a half has passed since the birth of the collective farm. It has scarcely had time to get on its feet and make its first few steps.

And what will it be when the people of Kriush are able to manage their collective farm according to all the principles of agricultural science, when they exert their creative forces to the full, when they organise labour and life as they ought to be organised when they acquire the necessary knowledge.

Learning to Read.

In Kriush there used to be 70 % of illiterates. A terrible figure. It is only recently that the people of Kriush have been able to learn to read. In the collective farm there are five centres where adults are instructed, and 330 people are learning to read. Half of them are women. They study by shifts, willingly and stubbornly.

Nina the Pioneer, a little fair-haired girl, relates the following about her 50 year old mother who is learning to read and write.

"Well, how is she getting on?"

"She can already read and write", proudly answers Nina.

"But when it comes to problems, she does not understand such. But I teach her every evening."

Every evening two heads—an old head and a young one—are bent over the copy book. The child is teaching her old mother arithmetic.

You'd Never Know the Old Church.

Hello! Hello! Moscow calling. Comintern station, wave... That is how you are met in the church.

What had happened? On a certain September evening in 1929 a meeting of poor farmers decided:

"We will close the church... What do we want it for? And we could fix up a club in it."

A general meeting of peasants decided that the church must be closed.

On the first day after the closing of the church there was a "red wedding". A young collective farmer was married. There were speeches on the new life. There was a string orchestra, songs, dances. The walls themselves were overjoyed—they were fed up with the hypocritical whining of "lord have mercy upon us".

The kulaks raged like animals in a cage. At 11 o'clock in the evening a fire suddenly broke out at the brick factory. But the "wolves" could not break up the festivities. There was no panic. The fire was quickly put out. And in the "church" everything went on according to plan, the concertinas merrily played and the young people danced to their heart's content.

In December the peasants organised a branch of the militant atheist society. A hundred collective farmers joined it. Thirty-five percent of them were women.

Dogs' Ears.

The kulaks hate the people of Kriush. They spread abroad all kinds of disgusting rumours, they disseminate throughout the district the most fantastical tales, including the legend that dog's ears will grow on all the children of the Kriush communards.

And the kulak's agent, dressed as a "beggar", passes from house to house and from village to village. She shows her rags and, face covered with tears, relates a story something like the following:

"I was in the Kriush collective farm, my dear. And I was almost driven out of my mind..."

But the slander of the kulaks bursts like a soap bubble. Everyday, delegations of poor and middle peasants arrive at Kriush, look around the commune and study it. Foreigners also come.

In conclusion let us return to Alexandra Versunina. Here is what she says:

"I have rejuvenated. Not only I but all of us, all our villages, the whole district are no more what they were previously."

The Fall of the Old Oak.

For centuries the oak stood at Tolba and now it has fallen...

These were the words uttered by a poor peasant of the Ancient Orthodox Church, in the village of Tolba, Sergatchsk District, as the individual farms disappeared into the realms of the past.

The fall of century long hatred of and unbelief in all that is new was a signal for unheard-of activity in the villages of this district. Day after day, until dawn, the peasant meetings questioned city workers and other forerunners of collectivisation, what is this "collective farm"? They questioned them with an atmosphere of unbelief, not passing by the slightest detail, or omitting the slightest contradiction in the words of the agitators.

And when they had finished questioning, the villagers took thought and decided.

Thus for instance, in one far away hamlet, where for months at a time no one from the district or even from the village ever comes, they kept the speakers going till 3 o'clock at night. Then, having let them go, the elders sat till morning, trying to solve the problem — "to be or not to be" in the collective farm. After thinking it over, they demanded new speakers, questioned them anew, and only after this they announced their verdict — to join en masse.

Thus was the collectivised village born.

But, having been born, in the first days of its life it broke off from its old country isolation, and displayed a tremendous creative energy, which had been hidden up to this time under the bushel of individual farms.

On January 15th, the district economic meeting of peasants decided on two years as the date for the full collectivisation of the district. On February 1st, 25 % had been collectivised, and on February 10th, 70 %!

These figures became possible only because the poor and middle peasants of the district took in hand the matter of collectivisation.

In Tolba, 600 women voted to enter the collective farm against 17 supporters of the kulaks, and they immediately sent a delegation to the Plenum of the village Soviet which was in session at that time, with the demand "Peasants, all into the collective farm".

In another part of the village, there were peasant sledges decorated with red ribbons and red kerchiefs. The sledge stops at the door of the village Soviet, and an old man in a Cossack coat bangs his palm down on the president's table:

"Time you woke up! Call a meeting! Our village challenges your village to a contest to join the collective farms!"

One Tartar hamlet is suddenly decorated in an unusual manner. At every gate and on the corners of the huts, red kerchiefs are hung out.

"These are our neighbours from other villages who have come to a re-union. We are all collective farmers now."

Socialist contests, the despatch of mutual delegations and individual propaganda were the means by which the peasants of Sergatchsk buried the old village and undertook the construction of the new socialist life.

In these days, days in which the century old foundations are being uprooted, the quiet of the nights in the district are very very often broken by the words of proletarian songs. They are sung as never before in the village. As they come to the words "We are the inheritors of the earth", the voices of the collective farmers take on a special expression.

And not without reason. No sooner have the villagers begun to discuss collectivisation, when the kulak, together with the priests, depending upon the low cultural level of the villages, increased their resistance to the new measures in every possible way.

In the village of Kluchevea, the elders of the church gathered the kulaks together ostensibly for choir practice, but in reality to discuss the best ways of breaking up the seeding campaign.

Rumours and slander are the best weapons in the hands of the kulaks, and they understand well how to use them. Here is an example: A hospital train with wounded soldiers from the Far Eastern Army passed through the station of Sergatchsk. Right along the track, the population enthusiastically greeted the Red heroes. Even in the little town of Sergatchsk, where the train arrived at night, the station was full of workers, tossing presents to the Red Army men. And on the next day kulak rumours began to creep through the villages: "Have you heard — they are bringing in wounded. The war isn't over. The Soviets will be defeated, and the kulaks will smash up all this collective business."

In the settlement of Kozhmo, when the decision was taken to enter the collective farm en masse, all the men voted for the collective farms and the women against, even raising two hands. And how could it be otherwise, for the "holy pilgrims" who are wandering from village to village, are talking of the end of the world which is at hand.

It is impossible to repeat all the rumours, each sillier than the previous one, which the kulaks and priests are sending around the villages. And after the rumours come actions.

The collective farms are gathering seed. At the same time the church elders announce a registration of believers. The church "brigades" go round the peasant houses, and 30 collectivists immediately apply to leave the collective farm.

But what is more dangerous is the fact that the kulak, as he sees the approach of seeding time, and sees that the collective farms will be ready, indulges in active destruction of property.

On February 20, in the village of Pogblovsk, the barns of the collective farms with all their seed valued at 4,000 Roubles were burnt.

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300 Communists, 800 Y. C. L.'ers, 600 active non-party peasants.

This is the advance guard of the 85,000 army of collective farmers at Segartchsk, this is the cement which binds them together in the struggle for the socialist reconstruction of the villages.

We have something to learn. Firstly, tempo, shock work. Secondly, unity and revolutionary daring.

All the best forces have gone into the villages. Since January they have been continually working in every village and hamlet, and whole brigades of propagandists and organisers are immediately sent to help them in weak places.

The struggle against waverers had to be carried on very fiercely in the first period. One day the peasant will be in a collective farm, and the next day he will leave it under the influence of kulak propaganda. The next day he will again decide to join the collective farm. And so on for several times on end.

In such cases not a single application to leave the farm is left without investigation. Some one goes to the peasant at his own home, talks to him, discovers the reason that he wishes to leave, and in 99 cases out of 100 the peasant returns to the collective farm.

The work is difficult, heroic. But it bears fruit. Instead of taking two years, the district has already been fully collectivised. As a result, a big district collective farm has been formed with an area of 100,000 hectares.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany.

The Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany met in Berlin on the 20th and 21st of March. Comrade Thälmann dealt in a comprehensive report with the decisions of the Enlarged Presidium of the E. C. C. I., the achievements and weaknesses in the work of the C. P. of Germany, and the measures which are necessary for improving this work and overcoming the existing shortcomings. The Central Committee then thoroughly discussed the problems confronting it and adopted unanimous decisions.

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The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. had thoroughly analysed the world situation and the development of the revolutionary class struggle and ascertained that the accentuation of the fundamental antagonisms of world capitalism is being accelerated to the highest degree. The Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. G. agreed with the statements of the Presidium regarding the beginning world economic crisis and the further growth of the revolutionary upsurge in the capitalist countries. The Central Committee emphasised the powerful advance of Socialism in the Soviet Union, which changes the relation of forces between the two world economic systems in favour of international Socialism and renders the Soviet Union still more a factor of the further revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat and of all the exploited masses of the world. With the growth of the crisis of capitalism and the simultaneous achievements of the Soviet Union in the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan, of industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture, in the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, the danger of an imperialist intervention war becomes more acute.

The Young Plan not only increases to an enormous extent the plundering of the German proletariat and of the other toiling sections of the population by international finance capital by the German bourgeoisie and the social fascist hangmen who are playing the role of task-masters of capital against the German workers, but also enhances the danger of an imperialist attack upon the country of the proletarian dictatorship and of Socialism. The danger of an imperialist intervention war was never so great as it is to-day. The whole attention of the Communist advance-guard of the world proletariat must be devoted to the war preparations of the imperialists. The repulsion of the war incitement against the Soviet Union, the active defence of the Soviet Union is more than ever the main task of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Plenum of the Central Committee dealt thoroughly with the position and the perspectives of the class struggle in Germany. Comrade Thälmann in his report examined with Bolshevik soberness the effects of the world economic crisis, of the fall in prices on the world market and the acceptance of the Young Plan, upon the revolutionary development in Germany. The international fall in prices is counteracted in Germany by the accelerated establishment of trade monopolies, the increased customs barriers, the enhancement of indirect taxes imposed on mass consumption, increased unemployment etc. There is not the least doubt that the Young Illusions will be dispelled much more quickly than were those illusions which a portion of the German proletariat cherished in connection with the acceptance of the Dawes Plan. The general line of development rests upon the extremely shaky foundation of capitalist stabilisation, upon the stormy character of the class struggle, the radicalisation of the masses and the disintegration in the ranks of social democracy and the other bourgeois parties. All these factors have the effect that the revolutionary surge in Germany, in spite of its uneven development, is on the upgrade.

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The special character of this session of the Central Committee consisted in the fact that the chief portion of its work was devoted to the most determined examination of all the weak positions in the practical work of the Party, to ruthless

self-criticism and the measures necessary for overcoming the weaknesses and shortcomings. In particular, certain failures which occurred in the last few weeks in the factory council elections, together with great successes of the Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition, were thoroughly investigated.

The defeat of the Party in the Berlin Free Thinkers elections the failure at the factory council elections in the Leuna works, and in the Berlin street car and underground railways depots, the stagnation at the Krupp works—all these and other phenomena served as occasion for a serious examination of the whole work of the Party.

According to the decisions of the Wedding Party Congress, which have been confirmed by the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. and again emphasised by the Enlarged Presidium, the C. P. of Germany is confronted with the central task of capturing the majority of the proletariat. This means drawing the decisive sections of the proletariat into the revolutionary class struggle; the organisation of revolutionary mass actions, starting from economic struggles for higher wages and bread and raising them to the political mass strike for the general class demands of the proletariat up to the final struggle for power. The leadership of struggles and mass actions by the Communist Party—this is the central task and the revolutionary line laid down by the Wedding Party Congress.

The turn to revolutionary mass work is only in its initial stage. This fact has been established by the Plenary session of the Central Committee on the basis of the fighting experiences of the last few weeks and months.

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The greatest hindrance to the carrying out of this Party line is Right opportunism in practice. This opportunism, against which the Party must conduct a ruthless and determined struggle if it wishes to do away with the shortcomings in its work and to carry out the line of the Wedding Party Congress, is the chief enemy in its own ranks. Those tendencies which undermine the independent revolutionary tactic of the Communist Party in the trade union movement in the leadership of mass struggles, or attempt to chain the Communists to the social fascist trade union apparatus, no matter whether they come forward in theory or in the practical work, must be ruthlessly overcome.

The Central Committee further stated that in the last few weeks, in particular in connection with the factory council elections, that "Left" deviations from the Marxist-Leninist line have made their appearance, which give rise to the danger of sectarianism, of the isolation of the Party from the main masses of the proletariat. The struggle against the chief danger of Right opportunism cannot be successfully conducted without at the same time an irreconcilable struggle against Left sectarianism. The Central Committee therefore devoted its attention to those shortcomings in Party work which are based on sectarianism masked by Left phrases and sham-radical shouting.

Certain tendencies to abandon the struggle for the proletarian united front from below, to neglect the struggle for the social democratic workers and work in the reformist trade unions and other mass organisations under reformist leadership, are decisive hindrances to the carrying out of the revolutionary policy of the Party. The Central Committee declared most sharply in its political resolution that every real advocate of the Party line and of the decisions of the Wedding Party Congress must boldly attack and eradicate also these Left mistakes. The C. C. condemned the fact that in the last campaigns the united front tactic from below was partly neglected and partly was not applied at all. The C. C. was of the opinion that the establishment of the united front from below in all the future actions and campaigns must become the chief task of the Party.

The open self-criticism with which the C. C. exposed the shortcomings and weaknesses in the work of the Party and the unanimity with which it adopted the necessary decisions for their overcoming must find a response in a powerful stormy initiative of the whole Party for the determined carrying out

of the line of the Wedding Party Congress against all deviations, hindrances, and distortions.

The acceptance of the Young Plan and of the Law for the Defence of the Republic, the rushing through of the financial reform with its new taxes and customs duties on food — these attacks of the German bourgeoisie and of their social fascist hangmen upon the masses of the working in town and country confront the Communist Party with great tasks. The organisation of the offensive of the proletarian masses in the struggle for their class demands, the breaking down of the barriers which still separate the social democratic and christian workers from the Communist Party, the establishment of the proletarian united front for the common struggle against capital and its social fascist lackeys — all this requires the bold eradication of all the mistakes in our Party work, the improvement of the methods, and the overcoming of all half-heartedness and vacillations.

The decisions of the Central Committee give the guarantee that the Party will march forward to new successes and new victories.

The Communist Party of Palestine and the Arab Masses.

By Bob (Jaffa).

With the great advance of the revolutionary mass movement in Palestine after the August insurrection, a growing differentiation within this movement has taken place. The nationalist leadership of the movement, before all the clergy and the commercial bourgeoisie — under the pressure of the British officials and out of fear of the further development of the mass movement — are inclining more and more to the Right. There is no doubt that the nationalist leadership, in spite of its big phrases, has in reality already capitulated to British imperialism, and that the journey of the Arab delegation to London only serves the purpose of sealing this capitulation by the betrayal of the interests of the peoples not only to the imperialists but even to the Zionists.

Hence it is not to be wondered at that the bitterness of the masses towards the nationalist leaders is increasing, and that the toilers, before all the fellaheen, the town workers, and the poor handicraftsmen, are beginning to realise the treachery of the aristocratic leaders.

In this process of regrouping of the Arab revolutionary movement the C. P. of Palestine is playing a not insignificant role. It is showing the workers and peasants that the national emancipation of the toiling masses must be closely linked up with their social emancipation: the enactment of labour legislation, the distribution of the big landed estates to the Fellahin are connected with the fighting slogans against imperialism and Zionism and in this way every worker and peasant, even the most backward, can realise that the C. P. is not only fighting for national emancipation, but is aiming at the emancipation of the Arab masses from the hard yoke of economic exploitation.

These slogans of the C. P. of Palestine, as well as its fundamental turn to the Arabisation of the Party from below, in the sense of the resolution of the E. C. C. I. on the Arab insurrectionary movement of 16th October 1929, are serving to increase the influence of the Communists among the Arab masses. This fact is admitted not only by the pro-imperialist and Zionist papers, but even the Arab nationalists, who up to now have kept silent regarding the Arab Communist movement, must now admit the great Communist advance. The immediate result is that, on the one hand, the imperialist and Zionist terror has been enhanced and not only Jewish but also Arab workers are being imprisoned and tortured on the charge of being Communists, and, on the other hand, also the nationalists are placing their press and their apparatus in the service of anti-Bolshevist propaganda.

Also the trade unions established after the Haifa Arab workers' Congress are the scene of constant fights between the agents of the treacherous nationalists and the Communists.

But neither the fiercest reprisals nor the anti Communist

campaigns can hinder the growth of the Communist influence and the decline of the nationalist influence in the trade unions, the growth of Arab Communist literature and the organisational strengthening of the Communist Party by the influx of Arab workers into its ranks. In the few months that have passed since the August upheaval many Arab comrades have entered the Party; purely Arab local branches have been formed, Arab comrades have been elected to all leading Party bodies, both local and central. Thereby a trump card of the nationalists which they used to play against the C. P. of Palestine—the assertion that the Party is a “Jewish” Party—is taken out of their hands.

This development of the C. P. of Palestine will clear the path for fruitful and effective work of the Party not only among the Arab masses in Palestine, but also in the neighbouring Arab countries.

THE WHITE TERROR

Rescue the Victims of Santo Stefano!

The Lives of Comrade Scocciarro and Others in Danger!

Terrible news from Italy has again penetrated to the outer world. In February the Special Tribunal met three times on the orders of Mussolini. In the course of the last few weeks sentences amounting in all to no less than two hundred years' imprisonment were pronounced on workers, intellectuals and peasants, whose sole crime consisted of not being in agreement with the fascist regime!

Of late the treatment of political prisoners has again become more rigorous. Thousands of anti-fascist prisoners are pining in the prisons and on the islands of exile. Especially bad is the situation on **Santo Stefano**, a little island not far from Naples. Among others imprisoned there are: Dr. Mauro **Scocciarro** from Udine, sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment; Giuseppe **Pianezza** from Turin, sentenced to 15 years; Mario **Coda** from Biella, to 10 years; Emil **Hofmayer**, a Swiss subject from Basle, to 15 years; Iginio **Borin** from Venice, a former member of parliament, to 17 years; Ezio **Riboldi**, a lawyer from Milan and a former member of parliament, to 17 years' imprisonment.

According to the law one sixth of the term of imprisonment must be served in solitary confinement. But a great number of the anti-fascists at **Santo Stefano**, in **Portofino**, **Volterra**, **Imperia**, **San Geminiano** etc. have already been subjected to this special form of torture for three years without interruption.

During the solitary confinement the prisoner has to preserve strict silence; he is not allowed to see anybody. Only once in three months is he allowed to have a few minutes conversation with his friends or relatives, from whom however he is separated by a double iron grating. He is permitted to write to his relatives only once every three months. He is not allowed to receive any food from outside the prison. His daily diet consists of two pounds of bread, and a litre of soup, which in reality is only boiled water with a little vegetable added and containing no nourishment.

The torture and hunger pangs to which the political prisoners in Italy are exposed have already in many cases either killed their victim or driven him insane. The survivors are now continually in danger of death as a result of the increased severity of the already unbearably hard prison regime with all its injurious effects on the health. A number of prisoners who have been rendered dangerously ill are hovering between life and death.

The international proletariat must reply to the increased repression against the victims of fascism by strengthening its protest campaign. The political prisoners at Santo Stefano, as well as the innumerable other victims of fascism in the many other prisons and places of banishment, must be saved by the powerful protest of the international proletariat.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The 8th of March in Germany.

By L. O. (Berlin).

On the 6th of March the Communist Party of Germany mobilised the workers, working women and unemployed women in powerful street demonstrations at which the slogans of International Women's Day were propagated. On the 8th March, International Women's Day, great indoor meetings took place in all parts of Germany. In **Berlin**, in red wedding, a street demonstration of the Red Girls and women's League took place which took the police completely by surprise. After a speech before the market place, a procession was formed, which was joined by many indifferent women with their shopping baskets. A worker was forcibly released from the hands of the police. The demonstration concluded in **Kösliner Street**, well known to the international proletariat in connection with the May struggles. Four patrol waggon loads of Police were for a long while unable to drive the working women from the streets.

In **Hamburg** working women and workers, and in particular many young working women, demonstrated on the 8th of March in **Barmbek** to the singing of revolutionary songs. Hundreds of women joined the demonstration. The police were only able to arrest a few people as on their arrival the demonstration had already come to an end. Meetings and demonstrations also took place in the market places.

In **Cologne** demonstrations likewise took place on the 6th and 8th of March. When the police attempted to disperse the crowd, they were bombarded with briquettes and other missiles. The numerous working women very courageously defended themselves.

Also in **Neumünster** and **Breslau** demonstrations of the unemployed working women took place.

In the **Sarre** district the Party arranged a demonstration on the 8th of March in **Dudweiler**, to which the police, on foot and on horse and accompanied by the reactionary Red Cross paid attention. More than 1000 women and men were assembled on the market square. The mounted police ruthlessly attacked the crowd; women were trodden down, and a pregnant woman was beaten until she became unconscious. In spite of this the demonstrators again reassembled, whereupon the police began to shoot. The working women defended themselves by a bombardment of stones. The demonstration has had a very revolutionising effect on the working women.

The great importance of the mobilisation of the working class for International Women's Day lay in the propagation of the women's demands in hundreds of factory and unemployed meetings before the 6th of March. Even if we did not completely succeed in raising at all meetings and demonstrations of the working class the questions of the common struggle for equality and emancipation of women, for drawing them into the revolutionary fighting front, the necessity of winning the working women was everywhere proved and understood by the workers for the first time. The participation of the men workers in the demonstrations of 8th of March, their struggle at the side of their women comrades against the police, was a practical step in the direction of the revolutionary united front.

The fact that numerous women candidates have been put on the revolutionary lists for the factory councils at the present elections is a further proof of the growing recognition that the working women must be regarded as equal comrades in arms.

The growing confidence in the Communist Party found expression on the 8th of March in numerous applications of the part of working women for membership of the Party.

The Bringing up of the Child in a Socialist Town.

By Lebedeva.

We are now experiencing a period of decisive transformation of the modes of living. The demands put to the cultural organisations, particularly with regard to the protection of the mother and child, also were very great before. But now these demands are much greater and of a higher type. The rise of huge socialist towns in the industrial centres such as Magnitostroi, Autostoi, Stalingradstroi etc. calls for different proportions and shows different possibilities than the old towns. There the task before us is much more decisive and we must be there more daring and proceed at once with the complete collectivisation of the rearing of children.

Now we have before us the problem of a change of principle in the building of houses. This change of principle will apparently take the form of legislation permitting the building of new districts only on the basis of communal living, especially with regard to household and the bringing up of children. From this it follows that we must have a clear idea as to what we want in approaching the building committees, as to what exactly is our proposition and as to how we mean to take care of the children of various ages — say up to 4 years, children before the school age, children of school age, etc.

In drawing up the outlines we have in view the care of all children in these towns. All new towns will be built in the form of house blocks inhabiting about 1,000 people each.

What is our idea of taking care of the children in these towns? As to the magnate and automobile towns we were told that all inhabitants there, both men and women will be employed in industry. It is estimated that out of 12,000 people, 8,000 will be employed in industry and 4,000 in communal services. In other words there will be 12,000 working men and women and their children. The first proposition then is that all adults will be employed in production. In order to make the woman free for this work, we must first of all communalise all household affairs and secondly organise communal feeding. This is a logical and inevitable conclusion. Once we free the woman from the care of the kitchen, that is, we do not merely advance slogans but proceed with the real emancipation of woman, we must also take the next step, i. e. build our institutions so as to be able to take care of all children. These children comprise about 10—12% of the population. This means that in each block for a thousand people built in the form of 5 or 6 storey houses, premises will have to be allowed for about 100—120 children.

This institution will not fully resemble any of the existing institutions. It will have to be better than the present children's institutions. It will have to be so arranged as to allow of the permanent maintenance of the child. The first question we had to consider in this connection was whether or not we should separate the child from the mother. The commission of the Council of People's Commissaries considered this question, and so did also many of the planning organs. There are comrades even who go so far as to insist on the compulsory separation of children from their mothers. They say that the family as it is today must be broken and that even compulsion may be used. We who have charge of the care of children up to 4 years of age maintain that there is no need of resorting to coercion in separating children from their mothers, but that the mothers should be given a chance to place their children in special institutions.

Another principle of ours is the following. When we considered the question of building a children's department in the blocks we hesitated as to whether the department should be so built as to allow for the permanent maintenance of the children or as to whether they should be built on the principle of the creche, perhaps for a greater part of the day than now. We debated a good deal on that. One of the things we had to consider in the organisation of children's departments is that they should not be of a similar type as the institutions which are known for their high mortality rate, illness and physical and mental backwardness. The infants we have in our children's institutions today are largely foundlings among which illness and mortality is great. Foundlings which come to our institutions are children whose

health is undermined in the mothers womb, considering that such mothers live abnormally. These are children weaker than others. But the children we have in mind for the future institutions are the offspring of the normal working class family, hence, biologically speaking, they will be of better material and the chance of their preservation will be much greater.

It should be also remembered that essentially our creches have already passed the stage they were in in the early years of the revolution. Now that we have the 7-hour day and the constant working week, the child remains in the creche not 8, but even 20 hours a day. When we discussed the question as to whether the children's institutions in the new towns will be creches or permanent homes, we in substance considered the question as to whether the child should be returned to the mother over night or not, and in the end we decided in the negative. It would be ridiculous to see the connections between the child and the mother only in returning it for the night, particularly so since we know that dwellings in the socialist towns will be built for individual rest, i. e. a certain amount of rooming space to each individual and no more. All occupations, amusement, creative work of the inhabitant of the future town will be concentrated not at home but elsewhere, in libraries, reading rooms, clubs, etc., etc. The home will merely be a place for sleeping and resting. The new towns will be built on this model.

No extra rooming allowances will be made for children. And that is quite natural because we cannot afford to be so extravagant as to build special apartments for children and then allow rooms for them with their parents. Taking all these things into account we decided that the special children's departments should be built so as to be the permanent homes of the children.

We categorically reject the idea of separating the children's settlements from those of the adults, the idea of building "green squares" for children somewhere out of town. We believe that in building the new towns there must be plenty of verdure everywhere, around all buildings. The question then arises, where should the children's apartments be built? In our opinion they should be built right near the dwellings of the adults. They should be either the upper storeys of the buildings with special lifts for the children, to two-storey houses or directly attached to the residential block with heated passages so that the mother would be able to communicate with the child without much loss of time and without inconveniences. We insist that not only should the mother have the opportunity and the right, but also the duty to communicate with the child. It will be the duty of the mother to spend a few hours with the child. But some of the people working in the Educational Commissariat maintained that the bringing up of children in the separate apartments be organised on voluntary labour. We think that this is wrong and that specially trained people will have to be employed in these institutions. In the final analysis the mother does not always give the child the most ideal bringing up. On the other hand in planning the construction of the future industrial towns and socialist settlements we must remember that the whole population will be engaged in productive labour. The mother will be employed in the factory. But some mothers may specialise on pedagogical work and be engaged in the bringing up of children. But in this case they will be professionals, and trained as such. Considering that after the 7-hour day the mother must also try to improve her qualifications and to keep up with the man once she is employed in industry, and that the introduction of the 3 or 4-hour working day is still a matter of the distant future, we cannot expect her to be able to devote much time to the bringing up of the child. She will have to spend her leisure hours to study in circles, evening schools, and do social work, etc., etc.

I shall still mention some of the material pre-requisites necessary to the carrying out to one degree or another of our plans. First of all let me say that we believe that this has already been settled. There is no other way out, there can be no compromise. Compromise is still possible only in those parts of our republic which have the old structures, the houses which we live in today. But in the houses which are to be built in the 186 towns for which 12 milliards have been assigned, the new principle will have to prevail. But what is our

material base and what are our main difficulties? The principal obstacle is the personnel. We have not enough people trained for this work. This is a fundamental problem concerning not only us, but also the institutions in charge of children of pre-school and school age. Money our institutions will get, but having no trained personnel, the creches may turn into a chaotic heap of children which will upset all our work. We have now raised before the Institute for the Protection of Mother and Child the urgent task of training at least 20 people for each settlement so that there would be at least 2 or 3 qualified workers in each of the newly built children's departments. The Commissariat of Education will have to solve this problem in a proper organised form.

Now as to the material pre-requisites. We believe that we have these pre-requisites. We have now social insurance of mothers which will undoubtedly only partly remain because whereas wages are paid during the period of confinement, the allowance for articles necessary for the care and keeping of the child will fall away. If the woman will be released of her household functions and the functions of bringing up the child, these allowances will have to go for the organisation of children's institutions. This will give us about 50 million roubles. Besides, in considering the building of new towns the Magnitostroi, the Autostroi and Stalingradstroi speak of the socialisation of wages. Part of the wages will be deducted for the socialisation fund. This can be done and may be done in principle if it is for the organisation of communal life. Why? Because at the end of the five years wages will increase to 210 roubles per family. In our calculations as to how much will be deducted for the socialisation fund we find that each worker regardless as to whether he has children or not will have to contribute for the socialisation fund, for the organised bringing up of children, a sum of 8 roubles per month. There is nothing fantastic about that considering that about 25 to 30 roubles is now spent by any workers' family for that, although it is done unnoticed as part of the general expenses.

In the future socialist state, these expenses of course will be covered by the state.

How Left Pacifists Evade Vital Questions.

By Hedwig Merk

The "International Women's League for Peace and Freedom" (IFFF) has a special method of making itself talked about. It is on good terms with the bourgeois press and authorities of the bourgeois democracies, and is thus able to trumpet into the world everything it says and does even if it has no one else behind it. Thus it frequently happens that it indulges in a bold radical "beau geste".

1. **Great Britain**, it organised demonstrations of petty bourgeois women to express their enthusiasm for the Kellogg Pact. The "Women's Peace Crusade" organised in 1928, embraced the united front from "Left" to Right in the camp of the female bourgeoisie. Almost all the British women's organisations participated in it — the National Women's Citizens League and the blacklegs of the organisation of **Flora Drummond**, the IFFF, and the reformist Women's Cooperative Guild. The object was — to win women workers for the bourgeois women pacifist front for the sake of propaganda. It is characteristic of its reformist method that it invited the women's organisations to send petitions to the governments with the demand "renounce war and disarm!" These Left women pacifists themselves do not believe that they can hereby induce the imperialist robber gang to disarm.

In **America**, the representatives of the IFFF, were a little more reserved regarding the Kellogg Pact. The "Frau im Staat" (Organ of the IFFF) declared in July 1928: "After all one has to admit that the anti-militarist poison-fangs have been long ago drawn out of the Kellogg proposal!" Hereby the League itself gave away its duplicity.

In **France**, the IFFF, sent questionnaires to candidates to the Chamber regarding their attitude to the colonial question, distributed leaflets against the manufacture of poison gas and munitions, military bringing up of children, voting for the army

budget and the state of affairs in the French colonies. Thus, the IFFF, ranks itself ideologically with the anti-imperialist front, but practically, it scorns participation in the struggle of the proletariat against imperialism on the plea of its "anti-militarist" and "anti-violence" attitude.

In **China**, an international women's session took place to which the committee sent a delegation. This IFFF, delegation moved a resolution with the following slogans: „Rapid emancipation of women, to enable them to do their share in the revolution. Keeping women in subjection is anti-revolutionary. — Down with imperialism, down with militarism, down with Communism, long live the Kuomintang party, long live the women's movement!" This shows that the role of the IFFF, is no less anti-labour than that of the imperialists whom it is supposed to fight. Nevertheless, the IFFF, was not so long ago compelled, for reasons of "objectivity", to disguise its anti-Communist standpoint by a protest against the baiting campaign against the Soviet Union.

The Congress of the IFFF, in **Czechoslovakia** in August 1929 declared grandiloquently that the object of the session was: "To bring home to the world the magnitude of the war danger even after the condemnation of war by the Kellogg Pact (which the League is glorifying in Great Britain), and to protect mankind against a renewal of the horrors of war." According to the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung", it goes on thus: "The woman speaker pointed to the confusion in the East of which one cannot say if it already means war or not." That it was the imperialists who by their raid on the Chinese Eastern Railway engineered the conflict with the SU (called confusion), and that it is the colonial policy of the same imperialists which causes in the Eastern countries unrest and rebellion (called confusion), is entirely ignored.

The IFFF, manages to get much talked about also in the **Scandinavian** countries. But as to the realisation of its grandiloquent slogans, one has only to point out that in Denmark, for instance, the whole League consists of 12 members; nevertheless the result of collections on its "peace day" (40,000 marks) is remarkable. One can draw from it certain conclusions regarding the social origin of the members and their circles.

Just a ludicrous as its usual big talk, is the despatch of an IFFF, delegation to **Austria**, "to sound a note of warning regarding the wanton game of military processions on the part of the Heimwehr and the Republican Defence Corps because the outbreak of a sanguinary civil war would destroy the last existence possibilities of the country". ("Frau im Staat", October 1929). Considering that in the "wanton" game around the fascist constitution in Austria Republican Defence Corps and Heimwehr indulged in a round of battle-door and shuttlecock, the situation of "sanguinary civil war" anticipated by the IFFF, did not arise, and fascism achieved its aim in Austria in a legal manner with the help of the SP, of Austria. However, the IFFF, would have certainly not prevented the civil war with its anti-violence delegation.

The doings of the League in **Germany** do not differ from its above described attitude in all other countries. It expresses indignation against the abortion-paragraph, class justice, the speculation of the chemical industry with salvarsan, against capitalist rationalisation, as well as imperialism, and its indignation seems to be formidable. And yet, even partial co-operation with the proletarian women's defence organisation in Germany, the Red Front Girls and Women's League, seems out of the question for it, although it takes up the fight against all the phenomena criticised by the IFFF. The IFFF, is against violence, militarism and armament, whereas the R. F. G. W. L. is a "military organisation"! These Left women pacifists are only talking about struggle, issue petitions, delegations, resolutions, but to join in the struggle, they are not so much too cowardly, but rather too bourgeois to make common cause with the struggling proletariat — in a word, they are counter-revolutionary!

The magic effect which the IFFF, is endeavouring to produce on every occasion, is entirely commensurate with its role of servant of the bourgeoisie and disseminator of illusions.