

assigned to them, with the good policy was actually put in operation by the persons immediately responsible for each part of it.) These "Policy Sections" as we shall call them represent a unique projection from Moscow of the highly centralised Communist Party.]

The Work Of the Policy Sections

[This throwing into the field, all over the USSR, of a "hand-picked" and trust worthy second army of some 25000 members of the Communist Party,] Chosen, we are told, out of a much larger number of eager applicants for the adventure, and seconded out of all sorts of departments and factories for their special service and esp. their organisation in some 3000 Policy

Sections, was acclaimed as a master-stroke of policy which contributed more than anything else to the marked success of the agricultural Campaigns of 1933 and 1934. [The members of these Policy Sections were carefully instructed in their duties by Kaganovich himself, and despatched in batches from Moscow to some 3000 Chosen centres in all parts of the USSR. Each Policy Section consisted of at least five persons and often more, including a director, an organiser of Party work, another of work by the Comsomols, with a woman to organise the women workers; together with an editor, not only of posters and leaflets, but also of the little local newspaper which was everywhere started. The duty of each section, with the assistance of all the Party members and Comsomols in the area,

was primarily and specifically to see to it
that every one — whether on the staff
of the Machine & Tractor Stations, or in the
service of the oblast or rayon, of a village
soviet, or in that of a collective farm —
did his or her duty. Many of the Party
members thus sent to the agricultural front
also undertook one or other office, either in
the Machine & Tractor Station, or in the
village soviet or in the management of a
collective farm.]

We are able to give a useful account
of the actual methods and results of a political
at work as a whole in a recent description (Oct, 1933)
by an American student who was spending a
year among the Kolkhozi. [As each collective
farm completes its harvesting, the Policy Section
issues directives regarding grain deliveries to the

past and the past, present and future activities
of the farm. These sum up the accomplish-
ments and failures --- discuss its special
problems ----- stating whether the direction
need to be discussed with the Kolkhoz board
of the district executive Committee before being
carried out.]] The directives begin with a
statistical report on the fulfillment of grain
deliveries, and a statement of the success of
the collective in relation to its own history
and the achievement of other collective farms
in the district. The Kolkhoz is reminded
of its contract with Machine & Tractor Station
and it must pay the MTS in kind a percentage
of the crop for the use of the machines.]] The
directives then take up the collective needs of the
kolkhoz, the needs of the special groups
within it, and, finally, special directives are

given in regard to families and individuals.
A fund must be laid aside for seed and
insurance, arrangements made for invalids
and orphans and a kolkhos social fund
created. --- Care is exercised to secure
justice for groups of individuals.]] The Col-
lective farm which has accomplished ex-
tra work sometimes receives a tractor
or a truck as an award from the MTS.

✓✓ On one farm where repairs were urgently
necessary, and there were not sufficient
funds to care for the whole kolkhos, the
policy section has directed that the village
having the largest families should be
repaired first. [[Faithful and efficient
farm members, or a brigade which
surmounts great difficulties, are credited
with a 10 or 20 per cent increase on their

work days. Very careless workers receive a
less deduction.]] Where a collective farm
worker has retrieved a bad reputation, his
deduction may be cancelled or cut in half.
Those Kolkhos udarniks who are without a
cow are singled out to receive a calf from
the Kolkhos dairy. In one instance a
family had received no payment last
year because of the kulak sabotage
which disrupted the farm; the year the
political section has ordered a 15 per cent
increase in its work days (addition to its
units of sharing) in partial restitution --
-- [The Directors deal with innumerable
other details, with every phase of Kolkhos
life; ploughing, beekeeping, poultry-keeping,
etc.]]

(As regards the fields) we may quote the

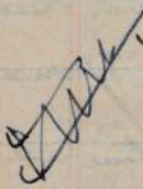
testimony of an impartial Canadian expert:
"Because of the increased area of holdings and
higher yields in the Collectives, as a result
of the greater use of tractors and modern
implements and production methods, the income
per household on the average collectivised
farm has increased at least 100 p.c. as
a nation-wide average, and by more
than 200 p.c. in numerous localities. (Russia,
Market or Menace, by Thomas
D. Campbell, 1932, P. 65). This author,
who was in two separate years sent for
by the Soviet Govt to advise them how to
cope with their agricultural difficulties,
successfully conducts a 95,000-acre farm
in Montana, U. S. A.

The Members' Meeting

✓ The basis of the administration of the
Collective farm, as in the Soviet and Trade
union hierarchies, is the periodical meeting
of all the members over the age of eighteen.
At such a meeting, at least once in every
year, and in many cases more frequently,
there is elected the Chairman, and several
other members to form the Board of manage-
ment which constitutes the effective executive
for all purposes. It is by this body, in the
atmosphere of day-by-day discussion among
all the members, and subject to ~~periodical~~
periodical report and debate in the members' meeting,
that all the necessary decisions are
taken; what crops shall be sown on what
parts of the farm; when the various operations
of ploughing, sowing, weeding and harvesting
shall be undertaken; which members shall

be assigned to each of the innumerable tasks, and all the thousands and one detailed arrangements which even the smallest collective enterprise necessarily involves.

The Management of a Collective Farm

 The actual organisation of work within each collective farm, together with the arrangements for sharing the product among the members, vary from farm to farm. The 240,000 farms, indeed, differ indefinitely from each other in almost every respect, according to the local conditions and to the capacity & honesty of the leading members. At first, everything was of the simplest. As the members worked

pretty well as they chose, at any of
the varied tasks. It was often assumed
that the year's product could and should
be shared equally among all the little
communities, on the basis of the number
of mouths to be fed, irrespective of age,
sex, capacity or the work actually per-
formed. Gradually this simplicity was
abandoned in favour of a definite
assignment of tasks and officers, by
decision of the members' meetings, but on
the recommendation of the responsible
officers and the board of management.
[In all the well-organized kolkhozi the
workers are allotted to brigades, to each
of which is assigned a specific task. In
order to fix responsibility each brigade
has a particular area of land to cultivate,

with its own set of implements, and is required to concentrate its work on a particular crop, whether wheat or rye, flax or beet, cotton or sun-flower, throughout the whole agricultural year upon the same area, in the successive operations of ploughing, sowing, harrowing, weeding and harvesting. In the same way, a specific brigade bears charge, throughout the whole year, of the horses, cattle, sheep or pigs, that the kolkhos possesses in common, so that there may be no doubt as to responsibility for their maintenance in health.

Experience soon proved the necessity of changing the basis of sharing from months to be fed to days of work performed,

often supplemented by an allowance for children under working age. The share for each day's work has then to be differentiated not by sex or age but according to the laboriousness or disagreeableness of the task. [The value of work done by members of Kolkhozi is reckoned in labour days. But what is a labour day? A labour day is a fixed quantity and a fixed quality of work done by a member of the Kolkhozi] — (Tatser, "The Distribution of Income in the Kolkhoze", Moscow, 1932, P. 24, in Russian).

"In the instructions issued by Kolkhozentries as to rates of pay for work it is stated that no matter by whom the work is done — whether by a man, by a woman or a young person — their work, if equal in

quantity and quality, must be reckoned as
an equal number of labour days, and
must be paid for in a corresponding
share of income" (ibid., p. 28). The
importance of the functions of management
and accounting soon came to be increas-
ingly recognised. But in order to keep
down the overhead charges, the number
of men who may be employed other-
wise than in actually productive work,
such as management, secretarial duties,
accounting and measuring, is strictly
limited; and it is laid down that their
hours of work must be reckoned, in the
sharing, at no more than the average
per hour of the whole body of adult workers.

When it was found at the
end of the harvest that a considerable

surplus remained, after all the advances
to members had been covered, and all
the required transfers & payments to the
pool had been made — and this
has undoubtedly been the case in
successive years in many collective farms
and during 1933 and 1934 in, at least,
many tens of thousands of them —
the disposal of this surplus has been
the subject of prolonged discussion among
the members, leading up to a decision by the
members' meeting. In order to ensure
that nothing is done without general
consent, it has been prescribed by law
that the objects of the proposed expenditure
must be within the *kolkhoz* itself; and
that no proposal shall be deemed to have
been carried otherwise ^{than} by a clear majority.

in a meeting at which not less than two-thirds of the memberships were present & voted]. How much should be devoted to Capital improvements & how much to distribution as a bonus in money or in produce; Whether to build a new barn, a new cow-house a new Silo; or a village hall, a club-house, or a cinema; or a Children's Ceeche, a primitive apartment house for our young & unmarried men, or a clinic for the visiting doctor — all these have been talked over, & here & there one at a time, in whatever order desired, actually undertaken.

✓✓ How Disputes Are Settled.

In the working-life of such a community

there must inevitably occur dispute, which even a vote cannot settle. For there, as in the factory, there is increasingly resort to "the Triangle". The Triangle on the kolchos is composed of the Chairman of the ~~B~~ Board, the Chairman of the Village Soviet and the Party Secretary. And this triangular form of representation is carried down through the farm structure. On each brigade there is also a member of the Village Soviet, elected from the brigade, who, with the Brigadier and the Brigade Party organizer, forms the brigade Triangle. Brigadiers are appointed by the farm board at a general meeting, when these appointments may be discussed, opposed or confirmed.

At the same time the peasants are, with the aid of their families, also developing that part of the production which is left in their own hands. The magnitude & range of the individual enterprises of the members of the collective farms is seldom adequately realised. The "Model Constitution" recommended on Feb 17, 1935, states ~~as follows~~ that "each household in collective farms in tillage districts which have a well-developed livestock industry may have at its personal disposal two or three cows, apart from calves, from two to three pigs with their offspring, a total of 20 to 25 sheep & goats, and an unlimited number of poultry, rabbits and up to 20 bee-hives. . . . The area of the land

around the dwelling - place which is personally used by the Kolkhoz farmstead (exclusive of the land occupied by the dwelling ~~building~~), may range between a quarter and half an hectare, and in certain districts one hectare" (the hectare is 2.47 acres).

✓ The Commune

We need say little of the Commune. Here the little community has all its material possessions in common ownership, and carries all its activities under common management, very much as was done by the numerous societies formed during the past hundred years, in America & elsewhere, under the influence of Robert Owen, Gabet and Fourier, or among peculiar religious denominations such as the Shakers. In the USSR at least

a couple of thousand Communes have been established in various places during the past decade without any religious basis; and many of them have now had several years' successful experience. -----

----- All over the USSR are greater of a million population of the couple of thousand Communes take the same part in the civic organization, local and national, as do the Kolkhozi. Whether or not these latter will gradually develop into Communes, as many people suppose, but as the Soviet Govt does not encourage, is a question of the future. At present it looks as if there was a tendency for individual ownership to reappear inside the Commune.

✓✓ The Results in 1933

Accounts (of success) by eye-
witnesses of particular collective farms,
although they may be quite accurate,
do not enable us to come to any confident
conclusion as to what is happening in
the whole 240,000 of them. They are
doubtless deliberately selected instances;
and, in fact, they make no pretence of
being anything else. Equally graphic
descriptions can be obtained of the complete
failure of collective farms to obtain any
harvest at all, [owing largely, as it is not
denied, to the concerted refusal of the members
to do any effective work at ploughing,
weeding or harvesting, even to the extent
of leaving themselves without seed, and
occasionally without food during the
winter] [It is too soon to judge, on the

one hand, whether the successful kolkhozes will repeat, in less favourable years, when the official pressure is lightened, the material successes of 1933 and 1934; or, on the other, whether the stern measures taken against those who failed to cultivate the land entrusted to them can overcome the ingrained habits of mind of the individual peasant, incapable of recognizing his own gain in any product, however considerable, which has to be shared with others.] German expert observers declare that the agricultural difficulties in the USSR are not yet over, & that not for several years can the food position be declared to be safe. There are two principal reasons for this conclusion. Whatever may be done by drastic administration to compel the sullen

40 farmers to cultivate effectively, they will not
rescue the slaughtered horses and cattle,
sheep and pigs. . . . It must take several
years to bring to maturity the animals now
being born.

41 The second ground taken by those
who know best the mind of a peasantry in
any European country, is the sheer im-
possibility of persuading the elder Kolkhos
members to change her ideas and her habits.

42 [He has not yet got over his resentment
at being deposed from her position of family
autocrat, nor will he easily be weaned from
his habit of seeking always to do less work
than her fellow-members, on the argument
that only in this way can he hope to "get even"
with them, as they will, of course, be seeking
to do less than he does!] It is ^{not} enough, such

critic's desire, to leave to the kolkhos member
the full product of his own garden,
his own poultry, his own bees, his own
pig and even his own cow. Their ~~collection~~
to individualism may, it is said, even
make matters worse, by tempting the
disloyal collective farmer to put all
his energy into his private enterprise. We
do not ourselves pretend to a judgment. But
we suggest that the Bolsheviks Govt may
not be wrong in putting its hopes, in
the kolkhos, as elsewhere, on the young
people, who (as it is not always remembered)
constitute about half the population. These
will have incessantly been nurtured in a
collective atmosphere; and, according to all
accounts, they live in much better than the
life of the individual peasant. So, it seems,

to most of the women.

'Soviet Communism'

By Sydney & Beatrice
Webb.

The Party Membership. (344-46).

Admission to party membership is, and has always been, conferred as a privilege, to which no one has any prescriptive right, and in conformity with definite rules, to which no exception is allowed. Applicants for admission must, of course, profess whole-hearted acceptance of the Communist creed, as laid down by Marx and as interpreted by Lenin & Stalin. They must manifest their adhesion in their lives by being habitually politically "active" in their respective spheres; not only by

Displaying zeal in their daily work of production or service, but also by spontaneously undertaking extra duties of social influence. They must be warranted entirely free from Christian or any other religious or metaphysical "ideology", regarded as inconsistent with whole-hearted adhesion to Marxian Communism. No member of any "disfavored categories", such as ministers of religion or monks, Kulaks or former landlords, Capitalist employers or traders, can be admitted under any circumstances. Nor must applicants have a "petty bourgeois ideology", nor, indeed, any marked attachment to private property. A desire to live without work, or any considerable amount of personal possessions, would certainly be a bar to admission. Would-be members have to be formally re-

Commended for admission to probationary membership (in which stage they are known as "Candidates") by two, three or five party members, who know them personally and who are held responsible for their recommendations even to the extent of being summarily expelled from the Party for any negligence or improper partiality. Even on the highest recommendations, Candidates are not finally accepted as members until they finish a probationary period of at least one year or two years, according to their class status at the date of application. During this period of probation the Candidate pays the full membership dues, varying according to his salary or other income, and he is summoned to all open meetings; he is assigned tasks and generally treated

as a member, except that he is not allowed to vote on Party decisions. More important is the fact that he is watched by his new comrades; his conduct is periodically reported on, and his character is carefully studied. If he is not considered in all respects satisfactory, his application will either be summarily rejected, or his period of probation will be extended.

The requirements for admission as candidates differ in detail according to age, occupation & social heritage. Admission is most easily gained either by young people between eighteen and twenty, of workman or peasant parentage, who have been serving as Comsoms; or, with a similar parentage, by conscripts actually serving in the Red Army; or by

outstanding manual - working wage-
earners in productive industry. . . .

The Rules of the O.E.D.S.

Apart from a relatively high standard of personal behaviour, there are three fundamental requirements that are strictly enforced. The first concerns unity of doctrine and practice. The Party member must unhesitatingly adhere to the "General Line" in Communist theory and Soviet policy, as authoritatively laid down from time to time; and must be guilty - neither of "right deviation" nor "left deviation". There is, indeed, laid upon the Party member an obligation of union and loyalty far beyond that imposed on the non-Party masses. On new

issues, and, in fact, in all matters not yet authoritatively decided on, there is even for the Party member, complete freedom of thought and full liberty of discussion and controversy, private or public, which may continue, as in the series of Trotsky debates in 1925-27, even for years. But once any issue is authoritatively decided by the Party, at the All-Union Party Congress or its Central Committee, all arguments, all public criticism, as well as all opposition, must cease; and the Party decision must be loyally accepted & acted upon without obstruction or resistance, on pain of expulsion; and, if made necessary by action punishable by law, also of persecution, deportation or exile.

The second requirement from the

Party member is that of implicit and complete obedience to the Corporate Party authority. He must take up and zealously perform any task or duty entrusted to him. In the exercise of this duty he must go wherever he is ordered, pursue any occupation assigned to him, reside wherever required, and, in the service of the establishment of soviet Communism throughout the world, generally submit himself to whatever course of conduct is thought best by his superiors in the Party hierarchy. In this respect the position of the Party member seems to resemble that of the member of a typical religious in the Roman Catholic Church.

The third requirement of the Party

member is also analogous to that of the member of a religious order. He does not actually take a vow of poverty, but in applying for and in accepting Party membership he knowingly accepts the regulation bringing every Party member under strictly defined limits of salary or other earnings, which are based on the principle that his income should be not substantially greater than that of the skilled and zealous manual worker.

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The Motives for Party Membership.

Those who are sceptical about the achievements of Soviet Communism, and, indeed, all students of social organisation, will naturally ask what can be the motives

that induce large and ever-increasing numbers
of men & women — throughout 1930-34
to the number of thousands every week —
voluntarily to join the Communist Party. Why
should they seek membership of a body which
requires of them a relatively high standard of
personal behaviour; a life of unflinching obe-
dience to the commands of superior authorities;
perpetual submission to a discipline enforced
by penalties which are often severe; and
the abandonment of individual acquisitive-
ness of pecuniary wealth? First, we
may place the impetus of a faith —
to be subsequently described — which
Communists will not allow us to call a new
religion, but which has all the impelling
force our religions have elsewhere posses-
sed. Whatever may be thought of Soviet

Communism, it certainly seems to give to its adherents not only a sure and certain conviction of absolute truth, but also the consciousness of a special mission for the improvement of humanity, a mission intensely attractive, in the twentieth century, to ~~young~~^{young} and ardent spirits. Of its eventual success, in the complete transformation of human society throughout the world, they entertain no doubt. Difficulties do not daunt them. Hardships and suffering, even on the largest scale, do not slacken the recruitment.

Secondly, there is the desire, much more widely spread than is commonly supposed, for fuller opportunity to exercise one's personality; the wish to wield influence in the little world in which every in-

dividual lives; the ambition to rise to
work of "greater responsibility" — in
short, the craving, even of the ordinary
man or woman, for power. It is
noteworthy that the main object and
purpose of public education in the USSR,
from the nursery school up to the highest
technical institute & university college, is
to arouse in the pupils, even those of the
poorest parents, their desire for individual
expansion, and in every way to foster
its development in as large a proportion of
the population as possible. With an accumu-
lation of personal wealth barred, membership
of the Party offers, in the USSR, at
any rate to all but the infinitesimal number
of artistic or intellectual geniuses, the only
opportunity of "rising in the world."

These motives, it will be allowed, are not in themselves unworthy of respect. Within the statistics of the past eighteen years before us, we cannot doubt their proven efficacy in securing the recruiting of millions of members. But does the incentive last? Can a Party grown to such magnitude maintain throughout its colossal membership Lenin's standard of personal conduct; devotion to Party duty; implicit obedience to the Common will, and pecuniary self-abnegation? Communists freely admit the frequent presence, in the Party membership, of backsliding & sloth; of hypocrisy & self-seeking; of disgraceful personal misconduct; of "right" and "left" deviations from the General Line; of jealousies and perverted

ambitions, leading to intrigues and faction-
alism. These evil influences, they suggest,
cannot be wholly excluded. But they
can be kept down by vigilant and perpetual
scrutiny of the behaviour of all the members
and by the drastic disciplining, even to
peremptory expulsion from the Party, that
is constantly going on, of members found
guilty of offences against Communist ethics.

The disciplining & removal of offenders
against Communist ethics, and the
periodical "purging" of the lists, is carried
on in a manner and to an extent which
is, we think, unknown in any other or-
ganisation in the world. Any member
of the Party who falls below the standard
set for a Party member is dealt with,

first by the Party organ to which he belongs, & further by the Central Commission of Party Control, which investigates every accusation or report that is received. There is, accordingly, in the present gigantic membership, a constant host of criticisms and reprimands, private or public, followed if necessary by disciplinary removal or demotion; suspension from membership for a year or more; or summary expulsion from the Party, coupled in serious cases, by notification throughout the departments that the delinquent is to be refused employment in any representative function; or, where necessary, by communication of the offence to the Deptⁿ of the Procuration with a view to criminal prosecution.

The misconduct of the Party member to which serious attention is called may be of various kinds. Any manner of life habitually inconsistent with "Communist ethics" will lead to trouble. Thus, drinking is not forbidden, nor a failure to live continuously up to the highest sexual standards. But habitual drunkenness which impairs health and judgment, or a loose living that causes public scandal, is severely dealt with. Peculation or embezzlement, involving public loss, not only entails expulsion from the Party but is also referred to the Procurator for criminal prosecution; as may also a high degree of negligence causing waste or negligence. Ostentatious expenditure, or a luxurious standard of life incurs crite-

cism, and may easily lead to censure as being "inconsistent with Communist ethics". On the whole, there appears to be a steadily rising standard of personal conduct from one end of the USSR to other, with the increasing influence of the Comsomols, there seems even to be a growing "puritanism" in manners & morals expected from the Party member.

Anti-Godism (P.P. 1004-1016)

Here it must be recalled that in Tsarist Russia Christianity was at its worst. The Tsar was the supreme antichrist of the Orthodox Church; and he had, during the last few years of his reign, Rasputin as his spiritual adviser. This adventurer had, by his uncanny combination of drinking bouts and sexual orgies with religious fanaticism, together with habitual venality, completely disgusted, not only the ordinary Capitalist but also the corrupt inner circles of Russian Society — a disgust so great as eventually to lead to his violent removal from the scene by a relative of the Tsar himself. The village priesthood, taken as a whole, was illiterate and grasping. The monasteries, enjoying large

revenues, were nests of miracle-mongering. Throughout the vast Eurasian Continent indigenous pagan magic and incantations held their own amid the Christian rites and such Christian doctrine as the peasants was taught. It is scarcely to be wondered that, after reading a "plain, objective and not unsympathetic account of Russian religion," the professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of London declared in 1934 that he could "only come to one conclusion, and it is a conclusion that all true friends of religion will share — namely all that religion has been, and has meant, in Russia ought to perish for ever from the face of the earth, and from the memory of men".

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Marx and Engels, in all their voluminous writings, took up a position of positive and

uncompromising atheism. Like them, Lenin insisted, as the basis of all his teaching, on a resolute denial of there being any known manifestation of the supernatural. He steadfastly insisted that the universe known to mankind (including mind equally with matter) was the sphere of science; and that their steadily advancing knowledge, the result of human experience of the universe, was the only useful instrument and the only valid guide of human action. There is, it was declared, nowhere any miracle, nowhere any "immortality"; no "soul" other than the plainly temporary "mind" of man; and no survival or revival of personality after death. Lenin refused to admit any hesitation or dubiety in the matter. He would not consent to any veiling of these dogmatic conclusions by

the use of such words as agnosticism or spiritualism. He wrote a whole volume (viz. "Materialism & Empirio-Criticism") to mark off, most resolutely, from his own following, anyone who presumed to treat religion as anything but superstition, leading to mere magic without scientific basis, and serving, as Marx had once said, as opium for the people.

The social atmosphere in the USSR is unfriendly to any form of supernaturalism, just as the social atmosphere of the U. S. A. or Great Britain is unfriendly to any dogmatic atheism. But so far as the present writers could ascertain in 1932 & 1934, there is, in the USSR today, nothing that can properly be called persecution of

those who are Christians, any more than there
is of Jews, Moslems or Buddhists. There
is no law against the avowal of belief in
any religious creed, or the private practice
of its rites. There is no exclusion from office
(apart from the voluntarily recruited Vocation
of Leadership) of men or women who are believers.
There is nowadays no rejection from the public
schools and colleges of the children of Christian
Churches, mosques and synagogues are
still open for public worship, which any
person is free to attend. The services are
conducted in each case by the religious
teachers (priests, mullahs, etc) whom the
respective congregations chose to maintain. All
the buildings are national property, and they
are leased free of rent, but subject to
the payment of the ordinary taxes, and

to the keeping of the Cemetery in proper repair,
to self-formed registered societies of parti-
cular religious denominations, which make
themselves responsible for the maintenance of
the clergy & other expenses. Birth, marriages
and burials may be blessed by religious rites,
either in the home, at the cemetery or in
Church; by decree and at the expense of
the persons concerned. The priests of the Greek
Orthodox Church are to be seen, in the cities,
walking the streets in their religious garb,
and in the country working in their gardens,
without molestation or abuse. Christians,
Jews and Moslems are not, as such, refused
employment, nor are their children excluded
from the schools and colleges, although no
provision is made there for religious instruction
of any kind. Parents are not forbidden

to give, within the home, religious teaching to their own children; but no school (and no assemblage of children outside each family) for the purpose of religious instruction is permitted. The religious societies & the clergy are forbidden to undertake or promote any educational or charitable or recreational work, as a corporate function of their congregation, or in connection with the church. The priests, in short, are allowed to do nothing beyond holding services for worship, and performing religious rites connected with births, marriages and funerals at the request & expense of the family concerned. By an alteration of the law made in 1929, any public propagation of religion (apart from conducting services and preaching sermons in church) is made a penal offence; although anti-religious ^{propaganda} (by

"The Union of Militant Atheists") continues to be permitted and even encouraged. No religious books (at any rate in the Russian language) are issued by the govt publishing establishments; and none are allowed to come in from abroad. In short, although there is no persecution of individuals because of their holding any religious belief, there is a great deal of restriction of any corporate or public religious activities. The Soviet Govt & the Communist Party show no favour to any religious belief, and persistently direct the whole force of public opinion against it. To imagine or believe that there is anything in or affecting the universe or mankind, in any unnatural or supernatural way, contrary to the ascertained truths of science, & at the same time not

amenable to scientific investigation, is —
so the Communists declare — merely the
superstition, and the faith in magic, of
an ignorant. But an ordinary citizen is
not punished for his ignorance in ~~being~~
being a believer, even in what is thought
to be magic. There is no persecution of the
silent yearning for a spiritual vision
of the universe. What the Communist
Party maintains is a rigid rule for
itself. Its own membership, including
probationary candidature for its membership
is open to no one who does not whole-
heartedly and outspokenly declare himself
an atheist, and a complete denier
of the existence of every form or kind
of the supernatural.

The persistence of this intolerance of any

faith in supernaturalism may be attributed to a mixture of motives. The clergy of the various religious denominations are believed, not unnaturally, to continue in a state of determined hostility to the very existence of the Soviet Govt, & to all its activities. ----- All these motives for intolerance may fade away as the Soviet Govt finds its own existence definitely ensured. But even then the continuance, among the people at large, of religious belief as inculcated by the priests, may still be regarded as an obstacle to their whole-hearted acceptance of the science by which alone the people's work in agriculture & other forms of production, can be made ever more efficient. In the rural districts the priests have allowed the peasants to go on fixing when to sow and when to begin to reap, not from any knowledge of agriculture or the weather, but upon the traditional saints' days. ----- Even today the priests are apt to

inculcate, for the maintenance of health & the prevention of disease, not the preventive or remedial measures advocated by the medical practitioners provided by the Commissariats of health but the incantations & prayers in which alone the priests themselves believe - - - In some cases there was even self-incantation by masses with some mysterious faith of thereby ensuring salvation in immortality. In short, it seems to the Communist Party & to the Soviet Govt, as if religion, even where it is not an opiate to the people, discouraging all effort for social improvement in this world, must be regarded as no better than the superstitious magic characteristic of barbarism and savagery. As much it needs to be resisted & if possible extirpated.

It is, however, now recognized by the responsible leaders that it is unnecessary, and even

unprecedented, to affront the feelings of pious
believers by insults to their religion & by ridicule
of its observances. The Soviet Govt has more
than once intervened to moderate the provocative
activity of the Union of the Godless. No
Church can now be closed in the cities (otherwise
than the removal for a structural improvement), unless
no religious society can be formed to undertake its
maintenance, & provide for its use by regular
services; or in the villages, unless an over-
whelming majority of the inhabitants of the
locality insist upon the transfer of the building
to secular use. - - - "A believer", writes
Kerzhantsev, "whose religious feelings are affronted
will only become still more religious - - -".

But this is not enough. It is being argued
by some that the sweeping denial of all possibility
of any supernaturalism, which is now insisted ^{on} by
the Communist Party in the USSR, is detrimental

able to personal veracity & clear thinking, & to
scientific progress. It is one thing to take a
stand upon science, which comprises all that
is known, & to refuse to believe or assent to
any statement about the universe or about
mankind, which is either contradictory or
unsupported by evidence that will stand
scientific examination. What seems un-
warranted even according to dialectical
materialism, is the dogmatic denial of ^{the} ~~any~~
possibility of the existence of anything that is
unknown to science — unknown, that is
to say, to the scientists of to-day. After
all, the science of each generation is not only
perpetually contradicting many of the dicta of
the scientists of the preceding generation, but
is also demonstrating the existence of whole
ranges of phenomena — we need only instance

radiology — of which our grandfathers had no
inkling. Moreover, we have to recognise that
the human species is not "the only pebble
on the beach". The universe known to man is
greater than, & different from, that known
to the dog; and both of these are hopelessly
beyond the ken of the ant. Can we be quite
sure that there do not exist, within what
we call the universe, in a way as unimagin-
able to us as the wonders of radiology were
to Marx & Darwin, entities as completely
beyond our ken as we are beyond that of
the ant. Their possibility affords no warrant
for a belief in the existence of gods or angels,
any more than in Buddhas or devils; & no
ground whatever for a belief in personal im-
mortality, or in heaven or walhalla. But
the very limitations of our present knowledge should

Suggest that it might have a healthier
educational effect on the unlearned if we
explained that ^{we} simply did not know, and
why we could not necessarily expect to know
— that is to say, if we took up the position
not of a dogmatic atheism but of a strictly
scientific agnosticism. To put an ~~case~~ ^{case}
on Tower's ground, an dogmatic atheist
is not unlikely, as Kergueler has explained
unexpectedly & by repulsion, to create an
obstinate theist!

Whether further study of the nature of man's
mind, & of the not uncommon craving for the
assumption of some purpose inherent in the
universe as a whole, may not one day lead
to the recognition, even by the scientists them-
selves, of something beyond the knowledge
gained by man's actual experience —

some means of communion with some-
thing ^{antecedent or} superior to the universe itself —
remains a speculation; perhaps a yearning
about which nothing can be ascertained.



1/2
Soviet Communism (PP 1100-1101)

The difficulty of discovering "what it (the Controversy between Stalin & Trotsky) was all about" is increased by the characteristic method of controversy adopted by both sides. The question was not put as "which policy would be likely to be most advantageous ~~or~~ most successful". It was perpetually argued as "what was the view taken by Marx and Engels, and by Lenin himself; and what exactly did these authorities mean by this or that text discovered among their voluminous writings." It is now obvious that no one has directly & explicitly grappled with the particular problem, in the light of all the facts, economic, social & political, even as they were in 1845 or in 1905; and, of course, these great authorities were none of them

Convergent with the state of things in 1925,
which alone was relevant to the issue. Ig-
noring their vain appeal to dead authors,
to which all the disputants cling,
let us try to examine the problem in itself.

" Report of the Agricultural Tribunal
of
Investigation " P. 139.

Prosperity of agriculture is the prosperity of persons, not of acres. At some cost or other in labour, it is obviously possible to increase yields, but the terms of our Reference impose the condition of a fair return to the individual. What can be earned depends ultimately on what can be produced per person engaged; if high yields are accompanied by high returns to the individual, the position is good; otherwise, a defence of the result must be set up on such other grounds as national emergency, to which, in effect, agriculturists have to contribute. Product per person, and wage-rates, cannot be smelted from a complete comparison.

Memorandum II

Considerations of National Health

By

William Ashley (July 1923)

P.P. 236-37.

And now, taking national health as a whole, health of mind as well as health of body, the serious consideration has to be weighed that Town & Country are not separate compartments in national life, but mutually affect one another. And one of the most important of the ways in which this takes place is by migration from the Country to the Towns. If, as there is no doubt, the rural population is healthier than the town population, the settlement in the Towns of people coming from the Country must tend to check further deterioration in the urban population.

The country may appropriately be called a reserve of physical and mental health, upon which urban industry now draws. For London this was abundantly proved by the study of influence of population which Sir Herbert Llewellyn Smith made five and thirty years ago. He points out that it is on the whole the most vigorous in body who leave the country for the town; and their valuable mental qualities are indicated by the fact that country-bred men are so often preferred in London for "employment requiring special steadiness and imposing special responsibility."

"London is kept up in tone & sinew by the country element flowing in --- It is the result of the condition of life in great towns that muscular strength and energy get used up; the second generation of Londoners

is of lower physique and has less power of
perseverance than the first; and the
third generation (where it exists) is lower
than the second."

Associations so sweeping as these
may now require to be put rather more
guardedly; but one can hardly dissent
from the general conclusion that "the
drain of Countrymen into London is a
vivifying stream". And what is true of
London must be true in its measure of
our other cities. If so, it is desirable
in the interests of the town itself, that our
Country side should not be decimated of
its inhabitants. If a reservoir
should be drawn from, it must be kept
up.

Horst Wessel was born in 1907. After the War he became progressively a Reichwehr volunteer, a student at the University of Berlin, a Nazi, and, after May (1929), an S. A. leader. For the purpose of combating Communism more effectively, he moved to Berlin's east end where, on Jan 14, 1930, he was shot by Communists.

Die Fahne hoch
Horst Wessel Lied

By

Horst Wessel, the martyr

Song Number
One
of Germany.

Raise high the flags! Stand rank on rank together.
Storm troopers march with steady, quiet tread.
Our Comrades Grave, shot down by Red front and Reaction,
In spirit march before the ranks they led.

Make free the streets for Brown Battalions marching!
Make free the streets! Storm troopers stride ahead.
Already millions gaze with hope on our Banner.
The day now dawns for Freedom and for Bread.

Once more the storm appeal calls us to combat.
We stand prepared. Our cause we shall defend.
Soon Hitler flags will fly o'er all the rooftops.
Our servitude will soon be at an end.

Raise high the flags! Stand rank on rank together.

It was in Berlin that Horst Wessel wrote the above song which became the battle hymn of NSDAP. The martyred composer of the Nazi anthem has become one of the major saints of Germany.

Dietrich Eckart's
Deutschland Erwache
 (Germany, Awake!).

// Song Number
 Two
 of Germany

Störm, störm, störm, störm!
 From tower to tower peal bells of alarm.
 Peal out! Sparks fly as hammers strike.
 Comes Judas forth to win the Reich.
~~Alas our martyred hero~~
 Peal out! The bloody ropes hang red
 Around our martyred hero dead.
 Peal out — that thundering earth may know
 Salvation's rage for honour's sake.
 To people dreaming still Comes woe.
 Germany, awake! Awake!

Deutschland Erwache was the slogan first used by
 Justizrat Heinrich Class, President of the Pan-Germ
 League, in 1892. The above song was composed
 by Dietrich Eckart, one of the mentors of Hitler,
 who had joined NSDAP before Hitler.

Oh! it's also the little hymn of the
 by E. Ottwell 1896

3.

Rise Up in Arms.

Rise up in arms to battle, for to battle are we born.
Rise up in arms to battle now, to battle for the morn.
To Adolf Hitler, Leader, have we sworn our solemn oaths,
To Adolf Hitler, Leader, how we fast and true our teeth.

Of fearless, fear we never the Moscow Legions bold,
We're fearless toward the Reichsbanner — black
and red & gold.
Our enemies and foemen, may the Devil seize them all.
The grafters, crooks, and cowards, may each criminal
hear his call.

We never fight, nay never, for the gold of million-
aires.
To defy the Bourse & Capital our courage ever dares.
For national honour only do we all exert our might,
For the future Bright of Germany, united all,
we fight.

Our hero brave, Horst Wessel, falls martyr to
Red plot,

Our Berlin's noblest victim of criminal, bestial shot,
But Freedom's will, invincible, they cannot slay
For soon the page of Destiny will turn, ^{nor burn,}

4.

God Who makes His Iron Grow.

God who makes His iron grow, He wishes now no slaves
He gives to man in righteousness his spears and pikes and ^{glades.}
He gives to man his bravery, the anger of hot breath
Which man keeps keen in combat fierce, till bloody feud
Gives death.

Let sound what now can only sound: * the drums
and cymbals' clash.
Today we stand, each man for man. The iron's bloody flag
With hussars' blood, with Frenchmen's blood: our
vengeance now is sweet.
For Germans all, this is our goal. Hear drums
and trumpets beat.

Ernst M. Arndt
of German texts in the pamphlets of the "Material
Socialist Literature" (Berlin: Schmidt); the two
typical songs given above are taken from Band 6 of
this series.

The Aryan myth, with its corollary of Teutonic
superiority, was first persuasively presented in 1852
by Comte Arthur de Gobineau in his
"Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines". In
1899 the Germanized Englishman Houston Stewart
Chamberlain published "Die Grundlagen des
neunzehnten Jahrhunderts", which also
affirmed the superiority of the Germans, but
defined them by moral qualities rather than
physical characteristics. These two books were
points of departure for all later advocates of
white superiority & Nordic supremacy. That a
Frenchman & a Briton should first have de-
monstrated that the Germans are the cream of
the race is regarded merely as another evidence
of the correctness of the Nazi Weltan-
schauung.

Nazi Songs.

1. Song of the Standards.
2. Forward by Baldur Von Schirach [Song
of the Hitler Youth].
3. Die Fahne hoch or the Hosi Wiesel Song.
4. Deutschland über Alles (war song)
5. Deutschland Erwache by Dietrich Erwache.

Books of Nazi Germany.

(Propaganda)

1. Das Erwachende Berlin By Dr. Goebbels

[It is a book on the struggle for Berlin

which marks an epoch in political methods.]

(Nazi Philosophy)

2. The Third Reich (1922) By ^{Toeller von} Van Den Bruck.

[Immediate source of Nazi Philosophy]

3. The Decline of the Occident. } By Oswald

(Heroic Song)

4. Preussentum und Sozialismus } Spengler.
(1919)

5. The Myth of the Twentieth Century } By Alfred

(Nazi Philosophy)

Rosenberg [Most important work - Here we have the mature philosophy of National Socialism]

6. The Peasant as the Life-source of the Nordic Race

7. The New Nobility of Blood & Soil.

8. The Struggle for the Soul of the German Peasant
(1934)

By Dr. Walter Darré.

9. The Unknown Hitler (1932) } By Baldur

10. The Triumph of the Will (1932) } Von Schirach

11. To the Führer!

Youth

Foreman

12. Sinn und Gestaltung der Arbeitsdienstpflicht
(Labour Camps). By Konstantin Hieck.

[Here the 'Hieck Plan' of Labour Service has been worked out]

13. Deutsche Gottschau By Wilhelm Hauer
(Religion) (Anti-Christianity book) ^{whose} ^{is} ^{the} prophet of the German Faith Movement.

14. National Ethics as the Source of Law -
(Law) [A booklet or a pamphlet which gives the National Socialist conception of Law].

15. Volk ohne Raum (1925) By Hans Grimm
(Colonies) [A famous novel which can be described as the Bible of the Colonists].

"Handbook of the Jewish Question" By Theodore Fritsch
"Race Science of the German People" By Gunther
"Protocols of the Elders of Zion" (A mysterious document supposedly prepared as a campaign plan of Jewish World Conquest which first appeared in Moscow in 1905).

"Marxism is Dead" (1939)

By
Prof. Brij Narain (PP. 102-105)

Non-violence.

Non-violence or ahimsa is not a new creed. It is a part of Hindu religion. The orthodox Hindu believes in Ahimsa today as he did in the past. But Mahatma Gandhi deserves credit for making ahimsa a political weapon for achieving freedom.

In 1927, while in Holland, the present writer spent a great deal of time and labour in translating into English a manuscript account of the trade and inhabitants of the Western Coast of India by a Dutch factor. W. Geleynssen De Tongh. De Tongh was in the service of the Dutch East India Company. He came to our India at the end of 1621, and was promoted to

the rank of head factor in 1623. From 1623 to 1632 he served at Burhanpur and later, till 1640, as assistant director at Broach and Surat.

- - - - -

De Toughe has a great deal to say about the philosophy, manners and customs of "De Benjanen" (Baniyas) of the Western Coast. He uses this term to indicate Hindus of the Commercial Caste, and often Hindus in general. He thus describes the whimsy of De Benjanen:

"Baniyas, who live in the largest numbers in this town (Cawbay), as has been said before, are the most kind-hearted of all people who live in the Province of Gujrat. They are much interested in poor people, give much alms to the needy, secure the release of many people who are captured by their enemies or robbers, and help many who are reduced to poverty or are

oppressed by the ruler. It is not only poor men who are the objects of their Charity, but all animals in general, for they have a hospital (pingzafale) where injured or sick beasts are taken care of — birds as well as four-footed animals — until they recover. Then they take the birds into the forest and let them fly away. Similarly, when four-footed animals are cured of their diseases, they set them free in places where they can live free and out of reach of man's power, so that they are not caught again by hunters, who are not so kind-hearted as the Banias. When any Moor or Rajpoot, who have not the same scruples about killing animals, captures one and takes it to a Bania, threatening to kill it, if its price and more were not paid, the Bania immediately buys it and pays more

for it than it is worth, rather than let
it be killed. If any one is too poor to
pay the price himself, he asks others to
contribute, until the sum required to satisfy
the seller is found. Having bought the animal,
they set it free or let it fly away. The
religion of these Camias does not permit them
to kill anything that has life, much less to
eat the abomination that others have killed. They
say that their religion forbids them to kill any-
thing that has life — only he may kill who gave
life. They also say that all animals, without
any exception, possess a soul like man, things
man is a nobler creature than cattle or birds.
Therefore, it does not become man to kill any
of these creatures; only God may do so whom
they call Ram Ram or Permisses." (pp. 34-35
of De Remonstrantie). — — —

In a later passage De Togh thus explains why the roads were not safe for travellers:

"The reason why the roads are unsafe is that they are daily used by Hindu and Arabian merchants, who travel with their goods but take few or no armed guards with them. The robbers attack them without hesitation and take what they please. For these merchants would rather lose their goods than kill any one (even their enemy), which these thieves or robbers know very well. If trade were carried on by Moors and Christians alone, and they alone used the roads for travelling, so many robberies would not be committed as at present, for Moors or Mahgals (or also Christians) would rather die fighting than be robbed of their goods" (p. 44)

[The manuscript was edited by the late Prof. Caland, the well-known Sanskrit scholar, in 1928 and published in 1929.]

Salaries of M. L. As

Speaking of the Governing Class, G. B. Shaw says on p. 73 of his book "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism etc": —

"By not paying for public work (sic), or paying so little for it that nobody without an unearned income can afford to undertake it, and by attaching to the upper division of the Civil Service examination tests that only expensively educated persons can pass, this work ~~is~~ kept in the hands of the rich. That is the explanation of the otherwise unaccountable way in which the Proprietary Class has opposed every attempt to attach sufficient salaries to parliamentary work to make those who do it self-supporting, although the proprietors themselves were the holders of the main parliamentary posts. Though they officered the army, they did everything they could to make it impossible for an officer to live on his pay. Though they contested every parliamentary

seat, they opposed the public payment of members of Parliament and their election expenses. Though they regarded the diplomatic service as a preserve for their younger sons, they attached to it the Convention that no youth should be eligible for it without a private income of four hundred a year. They fought, and still fight, against making government a self-supporting occupation, because the effect would be to throw it open to the unpropitiated, and destroy their own monopoly of it.

But as the work of government must be done, they must do it themselves if they will not let other people do it. Consequently you find rich men working in Parliament, in diplomacy, in the army, in the magistracy, and on local public bodies, to say nothing of the management of their own estates. Men so working cannot accurately be called the idle rich. Unfortunately they do all this governing work with a

was in favour of the privilege of their class to be idle. From the point of view of the public good, it would be far better if they assumed themselves like most of their class, and left the work of governing to be done by well-paid officials and ministers whose interests were those of the nation as a whole."

"Lights and Shades of Military Life"

edited by

Sir Charles Napier.

"The English were the aggressors in India -
--- and a more base and cruel tyranny
never wielded the power of a great nation.
Our object in conquering India (bath?),
the object of all our cruelties, was money
--- lucre; a thousand millions sterling
are said to have been squeezed out of India
in the last sixty years. Every shilling of
this has been picked out of blood, wiped,
and put into the murderers' pockets; but
waste and waste the money as you will, the
"damned spot" will not out. There it sticks
for ever, and we shall yet suffer for the
Crime, as sure as there is a God in heaven,

where the Commercial interests of the nation
find no place, or, heaven is not what
we hope and believe it to be. Justice and
religion are mockeries in the eyes of a great
manufacturing Country', for the true God
of such a nation is Mammon. I may be
singular, but, in truth, I prefer the
despotic Napoleon to the despots of the
East India Company. The main ambition
of universal power generally rules to do good
to subdued nations; but the main ambition
of universal speculation rule only to make
themselves rich, to the destruction of happiness
among a hundred-millions of people. The
one may be a fallen angel; the other
is a hell-born devil" (pp. 297-98).

A Handbook of ^{Marrism} ~~Socialism~~
By

Emile Burns.

Letter by Marx to Engels on India

Page 192
of the Hand-
book.

The Indians will not reap the fruits of the new elements of society scattered among them by the British bourgeoisie in Great Britain itself the now ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or else the Hindus themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether. At all events, we may safely expect to see, at a more or less remote period, the regeneration of that great and interesting country, whose gentle natives are to use the expression of Prince Soltykow, '

even in the most inferior classes, "plus
~~plus~~ ^{plus} ~~adroit~~ ^{adroit} et plus adroit, que les Italiens",
whose submission even is counter-balanced
by a certain Catalan nobility, who, not-
withstanding their natural languor, have
astonished the British officers by their
bravery, whose country has been the
source of our languages, our religions,
and who represent the type of the ancient
German in the Lat, and the type of
the ancient Greek in the Brahmin."

By Mark

The above quotation is from an article, entitled
"The Future Results of British Rule in India"
published in the "Tribune" of Aug. 8, 1853.

published in the Soviet
Press, 12 June 1936,
to be considered &
adopted by the Special
Soviet Congress due
to meet in Nov. 1936.

Scene From Soviet Life

By

P. & L. Coates (1936).

Appendix.

[Draft] Constitution (Basic Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Chapter I

Art 4. The economic foundation of the U.S.S.R. consists in the socialist system of economy & socialist ownership of the implements and means of production, firmly established as a result of the liquidation of the Capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production, and the abolition of exploitation of man by man.

Art 5. Socialist ownership in the U.S.S.R. has either the form of State ownership (public property) or the form of Cooperative and Collective farms.

ownership (property of individual Collective farms, property of Cooperative associations).

Art. 7. Public enterprises in Collective farms and Cooperative organisations, with their livestock and implements, products produced by the Collective farms & Cooperative organisations, as well as their public buildings, constitute the public, socialist property of the Collective farms & Cooperative organisations.

Each Collective farm household has for its own use a plot of land attached to the household and, as individual property, subsidiary establishments on the land attached to the household, a house, productive livestock and poultry, and minor agricultural implements in accordance with the statutes of the Agricultural Cartel.

§ 1. The land occupied by Collective farms is

secured to them for use without time limit
that is, in perpetuity.

✓ ✓ Art. 9. Alongside the socialist system of economy, which is the dominant form of economy in the U.S.S.R., the law allows small private economy of individual peasants & handicraftsmen based on individual labour & excluding the exploitation of the labour of others.

Art 10 The personal ownership by citizens of their income from work & savings, home and auxiliary household economy, of objects of domestic and household economy as well as objects of personal use and comfort are protected by law.

Art 12. Work in the U.S.S.R. is the obligation of each citizen capable of working, according to the principle: "He who does not work shall

not eat." In the U.S.S.R. the principle of socialism is being realized: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work".

Chapter III

Art 50. The Council of the Union & the Council of Nationalities elect Credential Commissions which verify the authorization of the deputies of each Chamber [these two ^{councils} are the two Chambers constituting the legislature called the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.].

On representation from the Credential Commission the Chambers decide either to recognize the authorization or annul the elections of the individual deputies.

Chapter IV.

Art 118. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to work — the right to receive guaranteed

work with payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the absence of economic crises, & the abolition of unemployment.

Art 123. The equality of the rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all fields of economic, state, cultural, social & political life, is an irrevocable law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights, or conversely the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of the race or nationality to which they belong, as well as any propagation of racial or national exceptionalism or hatred

and contempt, is punishable by law.

Art 124. To ensure to Citizens freedom of Conscience the Church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the State & the School from the Church. Freedom to perform religious acts & freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all Citizens.

Art 125. In accordance with the interests of the toilers, for the purpose of strengthening the socialist system, the Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed —

- (a) freedom of speech.
- (b) freedom of the press.
- (c) freedom of assembly & meetings.
- (d) freedom of street processions & demonstrations.

These rights of the Citizens are ensured by placing at the disposal of the toilers & their organisations

printing presses, supplies of paper, public
buildings, streets, means of communication
& other material conditions necessary for
their realization.

Chapter VI.

Art 138 - Citizens serving in the ranks
of the Red Army have the right to
elect & be elected on equal terms with
all other citizens.

Art 141 - Candidates are put forward for
election according to electoral districts.

The right to put forward candidates is
granted to social organisations & societies of
the toilers: Communist Party organisations,
trade unions, Cooperatives, youth organisations
& cultural societies.

It is a criticism of a now-forgotten programme of the German Social Democracy, which is an extremely important work.

Practical Economics, by

G. D. H. Cole (1937).

The problem of remuneration in the transition between Capitalism & Socialism was discussed long ago by Marx in his Critique on the Gotha Programme. Marx there proclaimed the principle "From each according to his Capacities, to each according to his needs" as the only rule of distribution for a fully developed Communistic society. But he held this principle to be inapplicable in the transition stage for which he proclaimed instead the principle of unequal remuneration according to the value of the work done by the individual. (P. 80).

"The Red Star over China"
Chapter "The Soviet Movement,"
pp. 161-62.

A conversation I had with Tiao Tse-ting concerning the much disputed cause of the spring of 1927 seems to me of sufficient interest to mention here; and as a personal reflection on what was a turning-point experience in the life of every Chinese Communist, it is important to note.

I asked Tiao whom he considered most responsible for the failure of the Communist Party in 1937, the defeat of the Wuhan Coalition Government, and the whole triumph of Nanking dictatorship. Tiao placed the greater blame on Chen Tu-hsin whose "wavering opportunism" deprived the Party

of decisive leadership and a direct line of its
own at a moment when further compromise
clearly meant catastrophe."

After Ch'eu, the man most responsible
for the defeat was Borodin, Chief
Russian political adviser. Tiao explained that
Borodin had completely reversed his position
favouring a radical land ^{re-}distribution in
1926, but strongly opposing it in 1927, with-
out any logical support for his vacillations.
"Borodin stood just a little to the right
of Ch'eu ^BTu-hsin," Tiao said, "and
was ready to do every thing to please the
bourgeoisie, even to the disarming of the
workers, which he finally refused." Roy, the
Indian delegate of the Comintern, "stood a
little to the left of both Ch'eu & Borodin,
but he only stood." He "could talk," according

to T'ao, "and talked too much, without offering any method of realization". T'ao thought that, objectively, Roy had been a fool, Borodin a blunderer, and Ch'en an un-conscious traitor.

"Ch'en was really frightened of the workers & esp. of the armed peasants. Confronted at last with the reality of armed insurrection he completely lost his senses. He could no longer see clearly what was happening, & his petty-bourgeois instincts betrayed him into panic and defeat."

Ch'en was at that time complete dictator of the Chinese Party, & took vital decisions without even consulting the Central Committee. "He did not show other Party leaders the orders of the Committee, nor even discuss them with us." But in the end it was

Roy who forced the break with the Koumintang. The Comintern sent a message to ^{Borodin} ordering the Party to begin confiscation of the landlord's land. Roy got hold of a copy of it, & promptly showed it to Wang Ching-wei, then Chairman of the Leftist Wuhan Govt. The result of this caprice [An interesting account of this incident is given in the Inner History of the Chinese Revolution by Tsang Liang-shan, London, 1930] is well-known. The Communists were expelled from the Koumintang by the Wuhan regime, its strength collapsed, and soon afterwards Chiang Kai-shek destroyed Wuhan itself.

--- The fiasco of Wuhan became, of course, a pivot of the struggle in Russia over the nature of the world revolution. It was following this period that the Opposition in Russia was crushed. Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution" was discredited, & the Soviet Union set out

is connected to a large in the country. From contact with the party is now arriving at the position of conflict.

Excerpts

from

"The Red Star over China"
By " (1937)

Edgar Snow

"The victory of the Chinese national liberation movement," said Mao Tse-tung, "will be part of the victory of world Communism, because to defeat imperialism in China means the destruction of one of its most powerful bases. If China wins its independence, the world revolution will progress very rapidly. If our country is subjugated by the enemy, we shall lose everything. For a people being deprived of its national freedom, the revolutionary

Task is not immediate Socialism, but
the struggle for independence. We cannot
even discuss Communism if we are
robbed of a Country in which to
practise it." Page 417. [The
lined sentences are italicized in the
original). Mao Tse-tung is
the Chairman of the Communist
Govt in N. W. China.

Chinese Communism & the Communists.

It is possible to divide the history of
Sino - Russian relations from 1923 to 1937
roughly into three periods. The first, from
1923 to 1927, was a period of de facto
alliance between the Soviet Union and
the National Revolutionaries, consisting
of a bloc composed of strange bed-

followers aligned under the ^{leaders} ~~influence~~ of the Kuomintang and the Communist parties and aiming at the overthrow by revolution of the then extant Government of China, and the achievement of China's independence from foreign imperialism. This exciting enterprise ended with the triumph of the Republic of China, the founding of the Kuomintang, the founding of the Nanking Government, a compromise with imperialism, and the severance of Sino-Russian relations.

From 1927 to 1933 there was a period of isolation of Russia from China, and of complete isolation by Nanking against Russian influence. This was closed when Moscow resumed diplomatic relations with Nanking late

in 1933. The third period began with
a luncheon in Nanking - Tsochow
Zaffrockement, embarrassed consid-
ably by the continued heavy civil
war between Nanking and the
Chinese Communists. It was to end
dramatically early in 1937, when a
partial reconciliation would be effected
between the Communists and the Koming-
tang, with new possibilities opened up
for Sino-Russian Cooperation. ---

The three periods of Sino-Russian
relationships mentioned above accurately
reflect also the changes that have
taken place in the character of the
Comintern during recent years, and its
stages of transition from an organisation

of international incendiaries into an
instrument of the National policy
of the Soviet Union. It is impossible
here to enter into the dialectics of
the extremely complex series of
causes, domestic and international,
which have brought about these changes
both in the Soviet Union and in
the Comintern, but it is pertinent
to see how in the main they
affected & were affected by the Chinese
Revolution.

As everyone who has studied
this subject knows, the crisis of the
Chinese Revolution coincided with a
crisis in Russia, and in the Comintern
expressed in the struggle between Trotskyism
and Stalinism for theoretical and

practical control of the forces of world
revolution. Had Stalin not waited
till 1924 to advance his slogan
"Socialism in one country", had the
issue been fought out and had he
been able to dominate the Comintern
from then, quite possible the "inter-
vention" in China might never have
begun. Such a speculation in any
case is idle. When Stalin did
develop his fight, the ^{time is} cause had
already been lost. - - - - -

With the failure of the Chinese Revo-
lution, ~~since then~~ coupled with the
earlier destruction of Communist
regimes in Bavaria & Hungary,
as well as the general defeat of the

Comintern hopes throughout the countries
of the East, the Party grew weary
of adventures afar, and was ready
to turn to construction ^{at} home.
Stalin triumphed. ^{his} ^{first} ^{step} ^{was}
— and, if we are
evidence of the ^{fact} ^{is}
went into the railway - ^{recking}
business.

It is tedious here to enter into Stalin
Trotzky polemics.

The important thing is that Stalin won
and his policy dominated the future
activities of the Comintern in China.
After 1927 there were for a while al-
most no Russian organs in China
were closed, Russian Communists
were killed or driven from the country.

the flow of financial, military, and political help from Russia ceased and the Chinese Communist Party was thrown into great confusion, & ~~some~~ ^{some} lost contact with the ~~Comm~~ ^{Comm}. The Soviet movement ~~came~~ - Chinese Red Army began spontaneously, under purely Chinese leadership, and they did not in fact get much applause from Russia till after the Sixth Congress, when the Communist International gave it post-hoc sanction.

- - - - -
- - - - -

America, England, Germany & Italy sold banking great quantities of aeroplanes, tanks, guns and munitions,

to destroy the Chinese
of course also were.
The American Army ^{महत्वांगी} ^{रुमी} ^{अथवा}
to train the Chinese, ^{रानी} ^{वाक्य} ^{पीले} ^{अथवा}
~~the~~ demoralized ^{गुरु} ^{मिटर}
Red China, and the
instructors actually led
most destructive bombing ^{अथवा} ^{अथवा}
themselves — just as they do ^{अथवा}
Spain to-day. To Chiang Kai Shek's
aid Nazi Germany sent its ablest
general, Von Seeckt, with a big
staff of Prussian officers, who improved
Nankings' technique of annihilation. In
view of these well-known facts it seems
to me rubbish to assert that Russia
has been propping up the Chinese Red.
On the contrary, quite clearly Chiang

the flask was propped up for nearly
political, by the important aid which
and the power gave to him but
was ~~terrible~~ ^{terrible} Reed. PP 383-388.
issue. the

As the while the imperialist powers were
~~main~~ ^{main} objective allies of Germany against
~~from~~ ^{from} the assistance expected from
the world proletarian forces to material-
ize. Although in the Communist Inter-
national Programme [London, 1929] it is
clearly recognized that successful prole-
tarian movements in Semi-Colonial
countries such as China "can be
possible only if direct support is obtain-
ed from the countries in which the
proletarian dictatorship is established"
(i.e. in the U.S.S.R.), the Soviet

Union in fact did not
Chinese comrades

assistance and support
proletarian dictatorship,
degree commensurate

On the other hand,
amounting to intervention.

Soviet Union gave to China
Shek until 1927 had the
influence of bringing into
most reactionary elements
Kuomintang. Of course, the sending
of direct aid to the Chinese Com-
munist after 1927 became quite in-
compatible with the position adopted
by the U.S.S.R. — for to do
so would have been to jeopardize
by the danger of international war

the first programme of Socialist Construction
political one country, Nevertheless, it
and to note that the influence of
was rising on the Chinese Revolution
issue the great. P. 448.

Good C.

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from

ze

gate

१२. १२. ४१

मन्त्री चौक

रानी पाड़ा

अ. १७/१
५२ नाम

बनमान ३

चोती २

करता २

पाठा १

ता/मिया १

दाया १

१०

२०. १२. ४

२ करता

१ पाठा

३ अ/मान

१ ल/मान

२ रुमान

१ दाया

१०

मन्त्री रुमा, अवर-

वरा, रानी पाठा, ल/मान

पता, गेरु, पिठवरी

२०

॥ अ/मान २० नाम

को दे/दमे