

## INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 10 No. 59

## PRESS

24<sup>th</sup> Decemb. 1930

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# The International Social Democracy in the Service of Intervention.

Leading Article of the „Prawda“ of December 16, 1930.

The trial of the „Industrial Party“ has not only exposed the social democracy as participaters in the intervention plans, but has compelled them to expose themselves still further. The trial has not only revealed the role of the Russian Mensheviks, the Gromans, Suchanovs, Abramovitchs and Dans, but also the role of the whole Second International, and above all of the French social democracy. The trial has forced the whole international social democracy to expose themselves completely and fully as tools in the preparation of a capitalist military dictatorship in the Soviet Union in accordance with the plans of the leading French political and military circles.

Already at the beginning of the present year a whole number of actions of the social democracy showed that the parties of the Second International have brought their activity into harmony with the plans of imperialist intervention. They were not only initiated into these plans, but took the place allotted them beforehand in the preparation of „Public Opinion“ for the realisation of the intervention plans.

It was not due to chance that the same French social democratic leaders who according to the sworn statements of Professor Yurovsky at the trial of the „Industrial Party“

were prepared to support an armed intervention against the Soviet Union, it was no accident that all these leaders, Renaudel, Blum and their like, already at the beginning of this year had a conference with Kerensky, at which the question of the methods of overthrowing the proletarian power in the Soviet Union was discussed. Nobody attempted even to conceal the fact of these negotiations which took place at a meeting of the parliamentary fraction of the French social democracy. On the basis of these negotiations, the Second International in May last issued an appeal in which they informed the international proletariat that the „Russian Revolution is threatened by the danger of a counter-revolution“. The Second International called upon the international working class „to support the fight of the Russian social democracy for the democratisation of Russia“. The leaders of the II. International took this step in collusion with Gromann and Suchanov, who had finally formed a bloc with the „Industrial Party“ and the Kondratyev-Chayanov group in the Soviet Union. The Second International, like the French leading military circles and the Torgprom, assumed that their various agents — Razzin, Kondratjev, Gromann and Suchanov — had already sufficiently prepared the ground for an armed intervention against the Soviet Union, and that

therefore it was possible to let loose the horrors of imperialist war. The appeal issued by the Second International, calling for "the solidarity of the international working class with the social democrats who are fighting for the democratisation of Russia", was obviously issued on the orders of Poincaré and the French General Staff, just as it was upon their orders that the whole of the sabotage activity of the "Industrial Party" was carried out. This appeal was just as much an item in the series of measures for preparing "public opinion" for the counter-revolutionary intervention against the Soviet Union as was the crusade of the Pope of Rome, the campaign against Soviet "dumping" and the Kutjepov affair. When speaking of "securing democracy" in the event of an upheaval in the Soviet Union, the leaders of the Second International had in mind the setting up of a "dictatorship of engineers", or a "democratic Republic". This was to be a bait for the engineers and Ramzin and Laritchev, Kondratjev, Suchanov, Gromann and Co. therefore recruited engineers for the sabotage activity and for the setting up of a dictatorship of Generals.

The whole of the international social democratic press reacted to the trial with a howl of exposed criminals. The Russian mensheviks and social revolutionaries, both before and after the trial, in the columns of the central organ of the French social democracy "Populaire", the "Vorwärts", the Belgian "Peuple" and the bourgeois press, heaped abuse and calumny on the Soviet Union. On the 1st of December the evening edition of the Berlin "Vorwärts" published a report emanating from Paris of a "campaign of the Red Army against Moscow". In the Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung" Otto Bauer complained about a "regular attack upon the professors", about the arrest of a "group of prominent scholars such as Kondratyev and Chayanov, eminent scientists as Gromann, of a brilliant statistician as the old socialist Suchanov". The bourgeois press of Germany and France described Rjabushinsky as being dead, so the Berlin "Vorwärts" "killed" the defendant Laritchev by declaring: "as a participator in the conspiracy there is mentioned a certain Larichev who was shot long ago".

In addition to these "revelations" of the social democrats, we see as a consequence of the trial an indubitable self-exposure on the part of the social democracy. The "Populaire" was no longer able to speak of "securing democracy in the event of an upheaval in the Soviet Union". But before the trial this paper informed its readers that the counter-revolution had begun in the Soviet Union and that "one cannot hope for a democratic solution of the Russian Revolution". This declaration of the "Populaire" was intended to prepare "public opinion". The leading French circles knew very well, just as did Denissov, Millukov, Abramovitch and Dan, that the trial would expose their plans for setting up a military dictatorship in the Soviet Union, and they therefore endeavoured in this manner, with the help of the social democratic press, to prepare "public opinion" for these exposures.

Both before and after the trial the French social democracy did its utmost to spread a pacifist fog. At all costs it had to be proved that the old thesis of the II International: "war threatens from the East, from the Bolsheviks", should not be refuted by the exposures regarding the intervention plans of Poincaré and of the French General Staff. Even when the bourgeois press was compelled to admit that at the trial weighty evidence was brought forward which confirmed the indictment, the organ of the French social democracy took Poincaré and Co., the French military Staff and the Torgprom under its protection by declaring, "as regards foreign persons, the accusations against them are more than ridiculous. The accusation against the Russian emigrés is absolutely absurd".

Léon Blum, one of the leaders of the French social democracy, even before the Trial wrote a number of articles in which he "proved" that the seat of war danger is the "Russia of Stalin". He eulogized Briand, who "hates war just as much as we do".

The social democrats Gromann and Suchanov, who according to their own confession, in alliance with Ramzin

and Kondratyev, sought to prepare the ground in the Soviet Union for imperialist intervention and for the military dictatorship, were not only agents of French imperialism and its general staff, but also carried out the general policy of the II. International, of the social fascists, who according to the principle of division of labour dictated by international imperialism, prepared in their own countries the hinterland of the imperialist armies for intervention.

Thanks to the confessions of the social democracy, it has become still clearer that the II. International stands for armed intervention against the Soviet Union, not only theoretically in open articles of the old renegade Kautsky. The French socialist leaders, who were never particularly in need of a theory for their treachery, carried out on the instructions of Poincaré that which Kautsky has been theoretically preaching for a number of years.

Boncour's law, the aim of which is the militarisation of the whole of the French nation, including the children, was a preparatory measure both for imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union and for attack on the standard of living of the working class of France. Since the preparations for intervention began anew, since the French social democracy began to support these preparations, the expenditure of French imperialism on military armaments has greatly increased. In the period from 1926 to 1930, France's military expenditure per head of the population increased from 149 to 304 Francs. In this same period the indirect taxes, customs duties etc., increased from 286 to 324 francs per head of the population. The same thing is to be seen in Poland, Rumania and Finland, where, with the aid of the social fascists, an all-round attack is taking place on the standard of living of the working class.

The facts which were brought to light at the trial, on the one hand, and the whole policy of the social fascist International on the other, are clear evidence that war against the Soviet Union is being prepared with the active co-operation of the social fascist leaders, and that this policy is accompanied by fierce attacks on the standard of living of the working class in the capitalist countries. The social fascist International is taking a no less active part also in the fascist enslavement of the working class and the peasantry by the imperialist bourgeoisie. The pacifist phrases and the open strike-breaking activity of the social fascists serve equally the aim of organising military intervention against the Soviet Union, which, as is to be seen from the trial of the Industrial Party, had not been abandoned but only postponed to the year 1931.

The trial has shown that the proletariat of the Soviet Union is well able to deal with the "patriotic" saboteurs. No sabotage organisations could check the triumphal advance of socialism; no mensheviks could become a hindrance in the path to the complete victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union. But behind them stand international imperialism and Gromann's and Suchanov's party comrades in the capitalist countries. Blum and Renaudel in France, Breitscheid and Severing in Germany, Bauer and Renner in Austria, and all their comrades in the other capitalist countries have not yet lost their followers in the ranks of the working class; they are still able with the aid of their press and their widely ramified organisations to prevent the setting up of a revolutionary united front of the working class for the protection of the vital interests of the working masses, for the counter-attack against the bourgeoisie and also for the defence of the Soviet Union.

In the fight against the preparations for imperialist military intervention, against the further increase of the exploitation and subjugation of the working class, there must now be set up this united front of the international working class, which shall become a bulwark of the Soviet Union. This united front, this protecting wall, can be set up only if a ruthless fight is waged against the social fascists who are in the service of intervention.

## POLITICS

### The Formation of a Government in France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

After exactly a week of complicated manoeuvres between the various bourgeois cliques in search of the best possible formula of the "Republican Concentration", the Ministerial crisis was suddenly solved in the night of 12th December by the formation of a Steeg Ministry, the main support of which is the Radical Socialist Party.

The Ministerial crisis has only been solved temporarily by Steeg. In the midst of the atmosphere of political-financial scandals it was necessary to form a government very quickly, but the political crisis still continues, as the broad concentration which was aimed at has not been realised.

In the atmosphere of scandals, in the midst of the most amazing rumours regarding the venality of one and the other cliques, the political cliques were compelled to give some heed to the distrust of their electors and the demand of the groups of the electors influenced by them for "political integrity".

It was necessary, however, to set up as quickly as possible a government on a broad basis. The big capitalist papers such as "L'Information", plainly indicated the danger of the present situation. After Barthou and Laval there came Steeg; for the third time recourse was had to one of the politicians who had betrayed one after the other the parties or the persons whom they had served; and this is striking proof of the fragility of the artificial barriers which divide the Rights and the Lefts from one another and of the demoralisation of the highest persons of the Republic.

Steeg immediately abandoned the idea of the great concentration. Encouraged by Poincaré, who certainly desired that the present Ministry should soon prove a failure, he formed behind the scenes the first best Ministry. He confined himself to seeking in the Chamber a majority similar to that which had brought about the overthrow of Tardieu in the Senate, in order thereby to avoid a constant conflict between the two Houses which would be damaging.

For this purpose Steeg chose as the main prop of his Ministry the Radical Socialists of both houses; gave the group of the Radical Left, which two weeks ago had abandoned Tardieu, a strong position, and, as he was not able to win the other centre groups in a body, he endeavoured to demoralise them by giving positions in his Ministry to individuals belonging to this group. Some of them, however, were so unreliable that scarcely a few hours after the formation of a Ministry two Under Secretaries of State, one from the Franklin-Bouillon group and the other from the Tardieu group (Left Republicans), withdrew.

A bad beginning! It is true, Steeg has in his Cabinet Briand and his "continuity of foreign policy", as well as Chéron, who enjoys great prestige in the Senate, but he also has some non-entities who represent nobody and compromised persons of the Radical Socialist Left such as the former leaders of the Left Bloc, Daladier and Chautemps.

There is another remarkable fact: For the first time a Prime Minister has also taken over the office of colonial Minister. Steeg, former governor of Morocco, who bloodily suppressed the revolt of the Rifis, was the right man for this job. This choice only emphasises the great importance which the bourgeoisie of France attach to their colonial possessions in connection with their plan for overcoming the crisis, and the tremendous imperialist progranda which they intend to carry on in connection with the Colonial Exhibition in Paris next year.

The Vote of Confidence moved by the deputy Pacard of the Left Radicals was passed by 291 votes against 284, i. e., a majority of seven for the Steeg Government. There is no doubt that the Ministry will have a very shaky majority in the Chamber. In the most important questions, including the military budget, it will no longer have the support of the socialists, for the social fascist party do not wish to compromise themselves absolutely. Their demagogic opposition must be continued, as it brings them advantages, and their collaboration

with the bourgeoisie in the commissions and in the State apparatus is also advantageous to the bourgeoisie.

M. Léon Blum has declared that Tardieu's overthrow was a very good thing for the working class. Frossard now declares that the Steeg Ministry represents such a big advance compared with the former Ministry that in "certain details" they must not be too strict towards it. Thus the socialist party is continuing to promote the extremely dangerous illusion that there exist within the bourgeoisie two hostile wings, and that a "Left" policy is possible at present which would permit of a solution of the economic crisis without causing too great injury to the working masses.

The Steeg government is confronted with a rapid development of this crisis. Even according to the official returns unemployment is increasing from day to day. It is necessary to present the budget, which is already six weeks overdue, and to find means to stimulate industry.

It is still the policy of the big bourgeoisie, which is well aware of its class interests and is determined that they shall prevail over the interests of the different groups, to reach a Concentration Government by means of a new ministerial crisis. All parties are in favour of this idea of a Concentration Cabinet; but it is necessary to proceed cautiously, for the economic crisis is already far advanced and the unrest and discontent of the broad masses is already very great.

### The New Trades Dispute Bill — A Fraud.

By R. Bishop (London).

Far from being a fulfilment of the Labour Government's pledge to repeal the infamous Trade Union Act of the late Tory Government, their proposed amending Act is a gross betrayal of the working class.

The Act is one mass of legal trickery and verbal alteration that leaves the actual position entirely unchanged. One or two minor concessions are made in the draft Bill to working class opinion but nothing is more certain than that these are mere window dressing. The London "Star", a Liberal newspaper said on 19th December: "It is certain that this Bill to amend Trade Union law will be subject to drastic alterations before it reaches the Statute Book".

Even in its present form the Bill is merely part of a corrupt bargain between Lloyd George and MacDonald for the purpose of prolonging the life of the Labour Government.

The consent of the Liberal Party has been obtained for unimportant amendments to trade union law in return for an electoral Reform Bill planned to obtain a greater Liberal representation in Parliament.

Under the new Bill sympathetic strikes are still illegal for any other purpose than those "connected with the employment, non-employment, or the terms of employment, or with the conditions of Labour". Strikes for political purposes are definitely declared to be illegal.

The Tory "Daily Telegraph" says on December 20th: "The notion that there can be a great sympathetic strike of these big unions for purely industrial purposes, which is apparently the postulate of this ambiguous clause is grotesque". Exactly, and any other sort of strike is declared illegal.

The phrases concerning picketing, intimidation etc., are verbally altered from the previous Act, but their meaning and the penalties attached remain the same. The old method of contracting out for payment of the political levy is reverted to. The Labour Party needs money. In 1925, the last year of the old method of collecting the levy resulted in over £ 50 000 for the Labour Party funds. In 1929, under the contracting in system, only £ 24 000 was realised.

Another change is that once more civil servants are allowed to belong to Trade Unions having political objects, because they are considered to bear good influence — from the bosses' viewpoint in the Trade Union world.

The Communist Party are campaigning around the demand in the Workers' Charter for the complete repeal of the Trade Union Act, a demand which expresses the wishes of the mass of British workers.

## The Offensive against the Foreign Born Workers in the USA.

By Louis Kovess (New York).

"Policemen armed with shotguns patrolled the Capitol grounds as President Hoover's message to Congress, outlining his legislative proposals for the short session, was sent to both Houses for reading at noon today." (United Press report from Washington, Dec 2.)

When these lines appeared in the American press the hundreds of delegates to the "National Conference for the Protection of Foreign Born" were on the way back to their cities except those sent to jail or hospital after the fight at the stairs of the Capitol. But still the House of Representatives of J. P. Morgan and Co. and the coal senators, lumber senators, manganese senators continued their phrase-mongering about "relief to the unemployed" under cover of armed guards, in deadly fear of the militant demonstrators.

With the deepening of the economic crisis, with the growth of resistance of millions of American workers to unemployment, starvation, wage cuts, speed-up, and against preparations for war against the Soviet Union, the ruling class is desperately looking for ways and means to split up the ranks of the workingclass in order to divide and crush them. To attain this, the old forms of discrimination must be strengthened and new forms found. In addition to existing state laws discriminating against foreign-born workers (paying less accident compensation to the foreign-born than to natives, refusal to hire the foreign-born for public works, etc.) the ruling class plans to create new federal laws, providing for the registration, fingerprinting, photographing and mass deportation of foreign born workers. The new forms of discrimination are being developed side by side with the tremendous growth in the number of lynchings, with brutal police attacks upon the unemployed, injunctions against the workers striking against wage cuts. At the same time, the capitalists are trying to create competition for the jobs in the workshops, mines, factories. Mass lay-offs of foreign-born workers, mass lay-offs of one nationality are going on in every industry with the aim of pitting native against foreign-born and one nationality against the other.

Against this system of discrimination and persecution the National Conference for the Protection of Foreign-Born was convoked on Nov. 30 at Washington, D. C. 502 delegates from all parts of the country, representing 300,000 workers, were present at the conference, which worked out a series of demands upon Congress, and also upon state legislatures and municipal councils, for the abolition of all laws, ordinances and practices discriminating against the foreign-born and Negro workers.

The last act of this great and enthusiastic conference was to vote with raised fists, in defiance of the preparations of the police against the demonstration, which would march to the Capitol the next day, at noon when the 71st Congress opened.

On December 1st at 11 a. m. the Capitol swarmed with policemen, detectives federal agents, who had orders to prevent any demonstration and especially to prevent the demonstrators getting into the Capitol. Eight minutes before 12 there was still no sign of the impending demonstration, as the delegates and many local Negro and white workers had been leisurely walking around. But 5 minutes before 12 the new National Committee elected at the National Conference arrived and stopped at the House of Representatives and Supreme Court wing of the Capitol and in a minute hundreds and hundreds of workers gathered around the National Committee, the signs and banners came out from under their overcoats, and the demonstration started with full force. As the police forces rushed at the demonstrators with raised clubs, hitting men and women about the head and face, the National Committee passed through the police line and walked up the stairs straight into the Capitol. At that moment, one group led by **Herbert Newton** Negro worker, who is charged with "incitement to insurrection" in Atlanta, with the death penalty demanded against him, marched into the House of Representative building and the other group led by **Mother' Bloor**, veteran fighter in the revolutionary labour movement, into the senate building, to present the demands of the National Conference. It was exactly

12 o' clock and the Congress opened. But only for a minute, as from the outside the sound of shooting, yelling, booing and the strains of the "Internationale" broke into the halls of Congress. Due to the turmoil the session could not continue for minutes.

Outside the struggle between the police and their fascist collaborators continued for 10 minutes at the same place, even after police reinforcement were called out. Only when gas shells had been shot repeatedly towards the demonstrators, by this time numbering close on a thousand, did they back up towards Pennsylvania Ave where new hundreds of Negro and white workers joined their ranks. 11 workers have been arrested, and 3 sent to the hospital suffering from wounds and from the effects of the gas. The "Gas Session" of Congress then continued under heavily armed guards.

All through the 2 days the delegations spent in Washington demonstration followed demonstration, against Jim Crowism. In the Capitol City of the United States, where the "Negro is liberated", he is not allowed into restaurants, stores, etc. owned by whites. The Negro and white delegates went together to these places and when they refused to serve the Negro workers, plates and other things were accidentally broken to pieces, the white delegates marched out in solidarity with the Negroes and demonstrated in front of these restaurants. Four such demonstrations were held in Washington and one in Oxford, against Jim Crowism and segregation. As a result, when the delegations left Washington a large number of Negroes gathered around the place and made a spontaneous demonstration for the white delegates.

The struggle against the splitting up of the working class, against discrimination against any part of the working class, against class persecution, just started with this national conference and with the demonstration at the Capitol. The National Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, supported by the Communist Party, is calling local and state united front conferences, mobilizing and organising great masses, whites and Negroes, natives and foreign-born, for the demands worked out by the national conference.

## HANDS OFF THE SOVIET-UNION

### The Interventionist Plot Against the USSR.

#### Manifesto of the Friends of the Soviet Union.

The trial of the counter-revolutionary plotters — before the workers' own revolutionary court of justice — is now concluded. The miserable conspirators — execrated by millions of workers all over the world — can be left to the fate which, thanks to the clemency of the Soviet Government, sure in the strength of its own might, is far less onerous than their crimes richly deserve.

But what of the other criminals, the imperialist warmongers, the instigators and paymasters of the saboteurs? What of Poincaré and Briand, Churchill and Deterding, and the imperialist bond-holders of France and England whom they represent? These stand indicted before the international working class.

The proceedings of the historic Moscow trial — the indictment of the accused, their confessions, the revelations of the various witnesses, themselves implicated in the plot confirm to the last degree the intrigues and war preparations of the imperialist powers against the USSR, which the "Friends of the Soviet Union" has consistently proclaimed.

Wide-spread and systematic sabotage from within; the organisation of naval and military intervention from without. This was the plot. Aided by French guns, ammunition and finance the Border States (Poland, Rumania) were to attack. The English fleet was to co-operate in the Black Sea and the Gulf of Finland. The workers' power was to be overthrown, the great work of Socialist construction destroyed, and the Soviet workers and peasants driven back into the miseries of capitalist wage-slavery. Imperialist France was to receive payment of the Tzarist debts and important concessions for exploitation. Imperialist England was to receive the oil wells in Caucasia. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet workers and peasants were to be annexed and handed over to the tortures

and miseries now being endured by the unfortunate inhabitants of the Polish Ukraine.

MM. Poincaré and Briand may disown the miserable instruments of their intrigues! The British "Labour" Government, out of the hypocritical mouth of its Foreign Minister, may protest against the alleged implication in the plot of its capitalist paymasters! Mr. Winston Churchill with hands still red with the blood of the workers who paid the price of his adventures at Antwerp and Gallipoli, may strive to cover his complicity with vituperative outbursts against the Soviet power! The capitalist press of the whole world may scream in its rage of a "frame-up", a "faked trial" etc.! There is more than the confessions of the saboteurs to establish the guilt of the imperialists.

What was behind the expulsion of the Soviet embassy from England in 1927 and the subsequent infamous raid on the Soviet commercial institutions in London is now shown in a clearer light. The pouring of French armaments into the Border States, the visit of French admirals to the Baltic States in the spring of this year, the exchange visits between British warships and those of Finland and Rumania in the early summer, the visit of French and British admirals to Rumania to discuss the strengthening of the Rumania fleet and the establishment of naval bases in the Black Sea — these facts of themselves confirm the confessions of the saboteurs.

The trial of the counter-revolutionaries is at an end. In spite of sabotage from within, in spite of the provocations of the imperialists from without, the Soviet workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party, proceed in the building up of Socialism in the Soviet State. **But the danger of intervention remains.** The same economic and financial interests that, in all the capitalist countries, are attacking the wages, hours and social conditions of the working class, are conspiring, intriguing and preparing for war against the U. S. S. R.

The International Bureau of the Friends of the Soviet Union appeals to all honest workers to join in establishing in all capitalist countries strong militant sections of the F. S. U. for the defence of the Soviet Union against the coming imperialist attack. The existing national sections of the F. S. U. must renew their vigour and redouble their energies to organise the ever-increasing sympathy of the workers with the Soviet state, to expose the slander campaigns of the capitalist press and the war preparations of the capitalist governments, and to organise delegations of workers, directly elected from the factories and workshops, the mines and mills, to visit the Soviet Union for May 1st.

The fight for the defence of the Soviet Union is the fight against Fascism, for the social and economic emancipation of the whole working class.

**Defend the Soviet Union, the Socialist fatherland of the working class!**

**Fight against the war preparations of your imperialist governments!**

**Organise workers' delegations to visit the Soviet Union for May 1st.**

**Build up the F. S. U.**

**The International Bureau of the Friends of the Soviet Union.**

## Fresh Revelations Regarding the Intervention Plans.

### The Czechoslovakian Fascists Tell Tales out of School.

By Paul Reimann (Prague).

The Moscow trial, in which the intervention plans of the imperialists against the Soviet Union were disclosed, is still subject of lively discussions by the proletarian masses, and already there is a fresh revelation which confirms anew the bloody war plans of imperialism against the Soviet Union. The bourgeois press endeavoured in vain for weeks to deny the existence of intervention plans; to represent the facts brought to light at the Moscow trial as being pure inventions. The bourgeois press and its lying reports of the trial were overwhelmed by the enormous mass of evidence adduced

at the trial. In this situation the "Narodni Liga", the organ of the notorious Czechoslovakian fascist leader Gajda, publishes revelations regarding the war plans against the Soviet Union. The reports published in Gajda's paper are of the greatest importance to the whole of the international proletariat, as they lead to further disclosures of the war plans against the Soviet Union.

The "Narodni Liga" writes:

"The trial just concluded in Moscow of the so-called inner enemies of the Soviets and the intervention plans of the Western Powers reminds one of another plan which was prepared in the year 1927. It was obviously an English plan, because its originator and organiser Kennard, the English Ambassador in Belgrade, had the greatest share in winning the support of the interested States for the plan. After Kennard's visit to Bulgaria, it came to a meeting between King Alexander and King Boris in Munich (this meeting, by the way was afterwards denied). Simultaneously with the action of bringing about an rapprochement between the Serbs and the Bulgares, Lord Rothermere conducted an action for the separation of Slovakia from Czechoslovakia and for the revision of the frontiers in favour of Hungary. At this time negotiations aiming at bringing about an agreement between Hungary and Poland were proceeding."

"It was in the Balkans that the most drastic changes were to be made. The frontiers of Yugoslavia were to be guaranteed by all States which were in favour of altering the map of Europe. Bulgaria was to abandon its claims to Macedonian territory which is situated within the frontiers of Yugoslavia and forms a continual bone of contention between the two States. In return, Bulgaria was to receive a slice of Turkish territory bordering on it and also a part of Rumanian Dobrudja. As compensation for this concession to Bulgaria, Rumania was to receive a further extension of territory in Bessarabia, i. e., at the cost of Soviet Russia. Poland also was to obtain further territory at the cost of Russia. In addition, its Western frontiers were to be guaranteed in their present form. Germany, which was to be the supplier of munitions for the campaign against Russia and which had been promised a revision of the war debts, was to receive into its sphere of influence not only Austria but also Bohemia and Moravia. This remarkable solution arose from the fact that Hungary had been promised Slovakia, and it was assumed then, just as it is assumed now, that the Czechs did not wish to take part in the campaign against the Soviets. The real loser was to be Czechoslovakia, which should in time disappear as an independent State."

To this report in the war plans the "Narodni Liga" adds the following comment:

"If the Soviets now accuse the French as being the originators of the Plan and give 1928 as the time of the commencement of the action, this is quite logical, for up to that year it was certain English circles that organised the campaign against Russia."

These are the revelations of the Gajda paper. Herr Gajda was formerly chief of the Czechoslovakian General Staff, and is therefore a man who was undoubtedly well informed regarding the war plans of the imperialists. One can give all the more credence to his statements as the motives which have induced him to make these revelations are perfectly obvious. At the trial in Moscow the role of French imperialism was thoroughly and completely exposed, and in connection therewith also the role of Czechoslovakian imperialism, which is the outpost of French imperialism in Central Europe. The Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie, who have not succeeded in denying the intervention plans, are now attempting to do so with other methods. They are talking about the war plans of English imperialism in order to divert attention from the role of French imperialism. They are trying to represent the war plans as if Czechoslovakia was to be the innocent victim of the imperialists so as to be able to veil the active imperialist role of the Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie, the role of the Czechoslovakian armament industry etc. In pursuit of this aim Herr Gajda blabs out what

he knows regarding the imperialist opponents of Czechoslovakia. These are the motives which induced Herr Gajda to make these exposures, but it is equally clear that these disclosures are by no means inventions. The Czechoslovakian fascists openly admit the reality of the war plans against the Soviet Union; they disclose the details of the imperialist bargaining in forming the anti-Soviet front.

## AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

### France's New Military Budget as a Contribution to the Disarmament Conference.

By Nemo.

It is significant that France of all countries, the classical land of bourgeois revolutions and bourgeois democratic progress, is taking the lead in the preparations for a new mass slaughter unprecedented in world history. France bristles with weapons in order to defend the rich fruits of its victory, to assist its vassals, to be prepared for the fresh distribution of the world markets, to fight its rebellious colonial slaves and working masses, and to take part in that intervention against the Soviet Union which the French General Staff intends to launch in 1931. France bristles with weapons, and thereby at the same time reveals the whole inner weakness of French imperialism, which can rely only on bayonets.

It is only necessary to take a glance at France's expenditure on armaments in order to obtain an idea of the tremendous extent and the seriousness of the war preparations of the French bourgeoisie. **Already the official figures of the army estimates for the year 1931/32 run into 12,200 million francs. The actual sum however, is nearly 20,000 million francs.**

There is hardly any section of the budget in which expenditure for purely military purposes has not been smuggled in. Thus the War Ministry, in addition to the sum of 4,800 millions contained in the army budget for the building of fortifications, has been granted a further 1,300 millions for fortifying the country, which sum does not figure in the military budget. Under the financial law the War Ministry is entitled to further credits for war material, industrial mobilisation, clothing and maintenance of troops to the amount of 709 millions, so that with these outgoings alone the official budget will be exceeded by 6,900 million francs.

The budget of the Air Ministry likewise gives no real picture of the expenditure on air armaments. The military air budget provides 1,662 million for military aviation and 600 million subventions for civil aviation. Under the credit law for the year 1930 the Air Ministry is granted further credits amounting to 1,070 million, so that **the budget for air armaments amounts in reality to 2,872 million.** In the same way the actual expenditure of the Ministry for the Marine amounts not to 2,856 millions, but to 3,241 millions francs, as the sum of 127 millions for coast-defence and 258 millions supplementary credits are simply not mentioned in the budget.

Further, the official military budget does not mention the increase in the pay of officers. The sum involved amounts to 569 millions francs, and is contained partly in the budget of the Ministry of the Interior and partly in the budget of the Pensions Ministry. In the budget of the Ministry for Health there is an item of 15 millions francs for the building of officers' dwellings; in the budget of the Ministry for Agriculture, an item of 30 millions for the purchase of military horses, in the budget of the State Secretariat for physical culture an item of 19 millions for the military training of the youth.

These examples serve to show how the French government conceal their actual expenditure on armaments and for this purpose attempt to smuggle purely military expenditure into other budgets.

The military preparedness of the French bourgeoisie is in keeping with the tremendous expenditure on armaments. With a standing army of 600,000 men and 5½ millions trained reserves, France is today simply armed to the teeth. If we also take into account the military forces of France's vassals; Belgium, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, whose six million men must also take the field when so ordered by France, the ten years' of "disarmament work" of the League of Nations is seen in its true light.

## Polish Intervention Preparations in Western White Russia.

Minsk, 15th December 1930.

The leader of the workers and peasants from a former member of white-Russian fraction in the Polish Seym, Metla has arrived in Minsk.

He reports that the exposures made at the trial of the counter-revolutionary saboteurs in Moscow have not had any retarding effect on the preparations for war against the Soviet Union being conducted by the Polish bourgeoisie with the support of French imperialism. These preparations are particularly obvious in White-Russia which is under Polish rule, as this area is intended as the basis for the opening of military operations against the Soviet Union. The Polish colonists who been chosen to settle in west White-Russia and in Western Ukraina are armed to the teeth. Every settlement has several machine-gun detachments and the colony buildings are supplied with loopholes and are more like fortified points than normal dwellings. Heavy concrete works have been carried out with subsidies granted by the Polish government.

Although there is a severe industrial crisis in Poland and most industries are paralysed, the war industries are working 24 hours a day. New factories for war purposes, and in particular chemical factories are being built. In West White-Russia a number of great mechanised bakeries had been built and left. Obviously they are intended to supply troops with bread on a mass scale in this neighbourhood.

A strategic railway line from Druya to Voropayevo was being built and much attention was paid to the roads, particular the Slenien-Lida, Vilna-Grodeo, Kosovo-Volkovysk, Vilna-Pinsk and Pinsk-Grodno where special bridges were being built. In the meantime the campaign of suppression against the toiling masses in the frontier districts was being continued with all possible terrorist means in order to secure the Hinterland in preparation for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### The Terror in Indo-China.

By An (Paris).

Whilst the workers and peasants of Indo-China are starving and are overburdened with taxation, their "civilisers" are holding feasts and receptions. A short time ago the Governor General of Indo-China, M. Pasquier, gave a banquet to his colleague of Dutch-India, de Graeff. On this festive occasion Pasquier spoke of "peaceful policy" and "co-operation in the Pacific", which means nothing else but a common fight of the imperialists of France and Holland against the oppressed peoples of Indo-China and Indonesia and against the Soviet Union. De Graeff spoke of the necessity of combating with the utmost energy the Communist "plague" which threatens the whole work of civilisation.

Pasquier has very little to learn from de Graeff, who bloodily suppressed the revolt in Java in the year 1926. By the fierce bombarding of Co-Am in February last and, two months later, by the execution of 17 insurgents in Yen-Bay, Pasquier sufficiently proved his capacity as hangman and watch dog of the colonial capitalists. Since August he has continued his bloody handiwork in North Annam. On the 12th September alone his aircraft killed more than 70 insurgent peasants in Vinh. In Hung-Nguyen more than 300 insurgents were killed, whilst the number of wounded amounted to over a thousand.

The whole country is in the occupation of the military. Military columns, aircraft and motor lorries equipped with machine guns are scouring the country and murdering the exploited masses of Indo-China who are in revolt.

In the penal settlement on the isle of Poulo-Conder there are more than 600 revolutionary Annamites whom the governor intends to have conveyed from Indo-China to Cayenne, there to be imprisoned for life. Among these 600 are the 76 members of the Nationalist Party who were condemned in July 1929, the numerous insurgents of Yen-Bay, and the

Communists who have been condemned in the course of this year. Many of them have probably been killed as a result of torture. This is the fate which has already fallen the revolutionary Ho-Van-Mich, who died some months ago; and he will certainly be followed by others.

In Saigon three revolutionaries, Ngo-Thiem, Nguyen-Van-Hue, and Nguen-Van-Thien are threatened with execution. Hundreds of revolutionaries are pining in all the prisons of the province of Cochinchina. On the 4th July, on the 1st and 2nd August workers, peasants and students died in Cho-Moi, Hoc-Mon, and Duc-Hoa, with the slogans of the slogans of the Communist Party on their lips. In Annam hundreds are imprisoned in the Lao-Bao prison.

In the Vo-Liet district the imperialist terror beggars description. The punitive expeditions every day shoot down peasants who offer resistance to their "purging operations". They set fire to the villages, lay waste the fields, desecrate the graves etc.

In Tonking the penal commission is raging: it pronounced 13 and later 39 death sentences in Yen Bay, 10 in Phu-Tho, 12 in Hanoi, 6 in Hai-Duong and hundreds of sentences of hard labour.

In May last four executions took place in Yen Bay and another 13 in June. On 22nd November 5 executions took place in Phu-Tho. New victims are awaiting execution.

Guillotines, bombing planes, machine guns, burning down of villages, wholesale arrests and banishments, — all this is part of the regime of white terror at present raging in Indo-China.

It is the duty of the international proletariat to stay the arm of the executioners who are murdering their oppressed brothers in the colonies.

Amsterdam, 14th December 1930.

News has just reached Amsterdam through private sources concerning guerilla fighting in Indo-China all news of which has been suppressed by the French colonial authorities. In the night from the 7th to the 8th November during the visit of the Dutch Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, Jonkheer de Graef, to his French colleague Pasquier in Indo-China, armed collisions took place between natives under communist leadership and the government forces.

At midnight, just after the special train containing the two Governors had passed the military post near Canloc, the latter was attacked by about 600 insurrectionaries. The attack was beaten off and the insurrectionaries are said to have lost 2 dead and 3 wounded. A similar collision took place at the same time near Hongson, where the insurrectionaries were also beaten off. A group of 200 insurrectionaries is said to have been driven off by a detachment of the Foreign Legion near Yen Huan.

500 insurrectionaries seized the railway station at Chasl and arrested the Station Master. A detachment of the Foreign Legion retook the station and drove off the insurrectionaries. The latter are said to have left 4 dead and 4 wounded behind them.

Later on 1,500 insurrectionaries attacked the citadel of Phudien. They were also beaten off and are said to have lost 30 men.

The fighting was limited to the northern area of French Indo-China (Northern Annam and Tonkin near the Chinese frontier).

The above details come from a representative of the Dutch press agency "Aneta" who was a member of the Dutch Governor-General's suite.

## New Victory of Socialist Construction.

Moscow, December 17, 1930.

The railway line from Vyasma to Bryansk, 236 kilometres in length, connecting the Leningrad industry with the Donetz basin by the shortest route, has been completed ten months before the stipulated time.

## SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

### Letter to the Soviet Press.

By Maxim Gorky.

Several organs of the provincial press have asked me to send them a message on the occasion of the completion of ten years of hard and courageous work. I decided to send birth day congratulations to all these papers at once. As an old newspaper man I know how much nervous energy newspaper work in Soviet Russia demands in our days, when a new history is being made; for the main idea of the work which is undergoing such a powerful development in our country is the creation of a new history of humanity.

In this courageous work, comrades, your role is an exceedingly important one. The best among you realise quite well that you are the pioneers of that idea in the hearts of the working masses which alone is capable of uniting the proletariat of the whole globe into a peaceful family of Communists.

You are working splendidly. During its thirteen years of existence the soviet press has been ably organised by you into a tremendous power which is promoting the cultural and socialist education of the masses. For thirteen years now Communist revolutionaries have been supported exclusively by the working and peasant masses. In the meantime, the socialists are on most friendly terms with kings; kings solemnly accompany them to their last resting place, as was the case in Sweden. Their "activity", like the activity of the murderer Noske, calls forth enraptured approval; they receive handshakes from monarchs like Nicolai Romanow, who shakes hands with Alexander Kerensky the socialist, because the latter wished to save this last of the Romanovs from merited punishment for the mass murder of workers and peasants.

The socialists also do not scorn to maintain friendly relations with the scoundrels and parasites who live on the working people, as is to be seen from their Parliamentary work, or more correctly said their treacherous work, and as is also to be seen from the utterances of the Menshevik Abramovitch. The "socialist leaders" are honoured and patronised by the bankers and factory owners. They are ready to proceed shoulder to shoulder and hand in hand with them against the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union. They will support the intervention, for this is a "business" which offers unparalleled advantages. This was said by the Russian capitalist Rjabushinsky, who is scarcely a human being but a degenerate creature resembling a man, the ideal type of the modern capitalist.

Comrades, you have read Rjabushinsky's article, but I will remind you of a few lines contained in it. Rjabushinsky is urging the extermination of the Communists and says: "No enterprise in the world can be more advantageous from the economic standpoint, more profitable than the liberation of Russia. By expending 1,000 million roubles humanity will have an income of at least of 5000 millions, that is to say, 500 per cent a year with the prospect of a further annual increase of 100 to 200 per cent".

The "liberation" of Russia means the extermination of many millions of workers and peasants — a fact which Rjabushinsky admits. As a business man he is used to making calculations, and he is probably calculating as follows in an elegant Paris Hotel: "Probably 500,000 men will suffice in order, in three or four months, to conclude the work in its main outlines. The crushing of different communist bands will, of course, still take some time. This, however, will be rather the task of the police than a war operation." It is such a degenerate and his like that the socialist leaders together with all the scoundrels of the petty bourgeoisie will support. The diabolical intentions, calculations and speeches of Rjabushinsky, Hervé, Hopkins and other parasites are, at bottom, the convulsions and cries of despair evoked by the realisation that they are doomed to perish. Never before have the capitalists and their lackeys shown with such a revolting candour and with such a disgusting cynicism the spiritual poverty of their true character.

The self-revelation of the former rulers is very advantageous for our work, in which your energy, your shock-brigade

work plays a splendid role. The former rulers, driven to despair, see their impotence and at the same time forget all their fine-sounding words about "cultural interests, humanitarianism". The reciprocal relations have become simplified: the workers of France and other countries will finally realise into what an abyss their rulers wish to plunge them. The pitiable whims of their masters have become sufficiently audible. Desperation is always the sure sign of impotence. To drive the enemy to desperation is half the victory. For this reason I congratulate you, comrades.

## Rational Utilisation of Labour Power in the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 17th December 1930.

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union has published a decree concerning the rational utilisation of labour power in the Soviet Union in view of the acute shortage of labour power in all branches of industry.

The decree points out that the great successes of the socialist industrialisation plan and the speedy development of the collective agricultural undertakings have completely abolished unemployment. This has made it necessary to train new workers for industry, and at the same time to secure a more rational utilisation of the labour power at the disposal of the economic system. The measures for the rational utilisation of labour power must be connected with the development of the socialist forms and methods, such as the socialist competitive movement and the shock groups. At the same time a struggle must be conducted against the irresponsibles who disorganise industry. The decree instructs all authorities to favour workers and engineers, who distinguish themselves by loyal work in the same factory for a lengthy period, by making valuable proposals for the better utilisation of labour power, or inventions, or in any way contribute to the development of the economic system.

The privileges of these workers are to be favoured treatment with regard to housing, favoured treatment for their children at high schools, technical schools, recreation homes etc. Further, a series of other privileges such as extra holidays, etc.

Workers who leave their places of work on their own initiative and without urgent reason shall not be given work in industry or transport for a period of 6 months. Workers registered at the labour exchanges who reject work offered them by the authorities in their trades without sufficient excuse, shall be struck off the lists for a period of 6 months.

## Vandervelde on the Soviet Union.

Brussels, 15th November 1930.

The central organ of the Belgian Socialist Party, "Le Peuple" of 14th December contains a long article by Vandervelde concerning his observations during his recent stay in the Soviet Union. Vandervelde has of course numerous objections to the Soviet system, as befitting one who is for a long time the chairman of the Second (Labour and Socialist) International, but he is compelled to give the devil his due in a fashion exceedingly uncomfortable to the incorrigible liars amongst the socialists. Vandervelde writes, inter alia, the following:

"During my six weeks stay in Moscow in 1922 I saw no sign of any building activity. I did not even see one single brick laid. At that time the civil war had just ended and the remnants of the old regime were everywhere. The New Economic Policy was in its initial stage.

"To-day the situation is very different. The first thing which one notices to-day is the tremendous, feverish, and by the way, very impressive efforts at economic construction and reconstruction. A Japanese diplomat said to me, 'I have returned to Moscow, but I feel as though I had the trembling ground of Tokio under my feet'. And in fact at the moment the Ivan the Terrible Street and Lenin Street look like great building places. The streets are being paved and asphalted. The restoration of the Kremlin is also being carried out very efficiently. Tremendous and low price blocks of dwelling-houses are being built. Modern industrial undertakings are springing up on American principles. It is enough to take one single number of the Soviet journal, "The Soviet Union in course of Building", to see photographs from all parts of the

country showing building operations. This will easily convince one that the famous Five-Year Plan, and the "Five-Year Plan in Four Years" is not merely a theoretical affair or a Potemkin bluff, but a practical possibility which is being realised with an iron hand in order to turn the Soviet Union into a powerful industrial State.

"By the way, there are great exaggerations and absurdities current concerning the famine which is supposed to prevail in the Soviet Union. We were told, for instance, that in Trans-Siberia we would get nothing to eat, and that on the second day of our journey the tables of the dining car would be bare, and that at the stations the peasants would surround the train trying to sell their breadcards instead of wanting to sell us food.

"As a matter of fact, we experienced nothing of the sort. The food supplied in the dining car was of medium quality (Vandervelde probably means in comparison with the luxury hotels which he is accustomed to stop at on his travels in capitalist countries), and à la carte orders cost more. At almost every station at which the train stopped we were offered bread, cucumbers, eggs, butter, milk, roast chicken and roast sucking-pigs by the peasants, although the prices were three or four times as high as in Europe. The truth is that there was a good harvest this year and there is sufficient bad rye bread (In Belgium as in France only white wheat bread is eaten, and the cheaper and very much better rye bread looked down upon. Ed.) for everyone. Brain workers receive 750 Grams a day and handworkers 1 kilogram daily. On the other hand, there is not enough fats, butter and milk. What there is is for the children and . . . for the travellers of whom there are about 2,000, mostly Americans and Germans. A supporter of the Soviet regime declared to me in Moscow that the masses would have to "draw in their belts" a little for a few years, but that when the Five-Year Plan had been carried out it would guarantee them a better standard of life."

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Revolutionary Movement and the C. P. of Spain.

The illegal organ of the C. P. of Spain "Mundo Obrero" ("World of Labour"), publishes in its issue of 6th December 1930 a leading article entitled, "Before the last strikes", in which it is stated:

"The characterisation given by the Communist Party of the economic and political situation of Spain is daily being confirmed by events. The strike movements which have seized the whole country during the last week clearly prove that the political line of the Communist Party is correct. The proletarian masses are heroically fighting in the streets of Madrid, Barcelona, Alicante, Seville etc. by throwing stones at the armed forces, which is proof of the radicalisation of the working masses and shows that the latter have fully realised that only the fight in the streets can lead them to victory.

These battles of the working class against the fascist power must, however, be a lesson for the workers. They teach them that the fight is impossible without a revolutionary organisation and leadership. The will to fight of the toilers is being throttled by the treachery of the leaders, who drive them defenceless into the hands of the hired murderers of the monarchy of bloody Alfonso and his lackey, the fascist Berenguer.

The proletariat must draw from the last strikes the lesson for the future fights: it must organise itself and prepare for capturing the right to the street, in order to defend its life and its class interests. The painful experience of these bloody days must be a lesson for the future. The illusion which the leaders tried to spread among the workers regarding an early Republican-Democratic revolution is a shameful lie. They wish thereby to dull the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and to disarm it in order to enable the armed hordes of the bourgeoisie to slaughter it without resistance.

In these recent fights it has become obvious that the republicans, social fascists and anarchists are afraid of the mass fight in the streets. They persistently promise to throw themselves into the revolution in order to overthrow the monarchy of Alfonso XII, but at the decisive moment they betray



the toiling masses. If all these elements really wished to fight against the dictatorship and against the monarchy, which is responsible for the disasters in Africa, then they would have approved of the strike movements; instead they are betraying them; their "revolutionary" promises and manoeuvres are only intended to deceive the proletariat and to divert it from its real class aims.

The toilers must ponder all these questions and prepare for the fight for their own class interests by rejecting the promptings of the agents of the bourgeoisie and setting up the bloc of all workers for the struggle against the class enemy. The measures to achieve this aim are those outlined by the Communist Party. Only if it fights under the Communist flag will the proletariat be able to achieve its emancipation.

Toilers! The Communist Party, the class party of the proletariat, calls upon you to fight against the murder-government and against the monarchy and for your class interests. Your place is in the ranks of the Communist Party. Join the ranks of the Communist Party!

Long live the revolutionary proletariat! Long live the Communist Party of Spain! Down with the fascist dictatorship and the monarchy! Down with the treacherous leaders, the enemies of the working class! Long live the workers' and peasants' government which will give land to the peasants and the factories to the workers!

## The Norwegian Elections.

By A. de Vries.

On the 20th October last the elections to the Norwegian Parliament the Storting, took place. These elections were a victory for the capitalist parties, who succeeded by their incitement against the Soviet Union and Communism in mobilising hundreds of thousands of petty bourgeois electors who formerly had taken no part in elections.

The social fascist Norwegian Labour Party was able to achieve a slight increase in its vote; it increased to 373,000 as compared with 368,000 in 1927. The much greater participation in the elections, however, resulted in the number of the reformist seats being reduced from 59 to 47, while the bourgeois parties won 15 seats. The share of the reformists in the total number of votes cast has fallen considerably.

The decline in the influence of our Party, as is clearly indicated by the election results, is very serious. The Communist Party of Norway polled 22,000 votes, thus losing about 45 per cent. of the 40,000 votes which were cast for its candidates in the year 1927.

This fact must cause all the Communists of Norway and also of other Parties to examine thoroughly the reasons for this defeat. We are in the midst of an ever increasing crisis of the capitalist system; the revolutionary wave is rising throughout the world; the progress of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is undermining the world of capitalism; the economic crisis is driving the working masses to desperation and compelling them to go over to the counter-attack. In such a situation, provided a correct policy is pursued, the Communist Party can be sure of success in their actions, as the example of the C. P. of Germany shows.

What, then, is the cause of the defeat in Norway, a country where at one time the Russian October Revolution aroused the greatest enthusiasm among hundreds and thousands of workers?

Is it perchance that Norway occupies an exceptional position in the capitalist world? Are the consequences of the crisis not felt in Norway? Is there no unemployment here? Are the employers in this country, with the help of the Norwegian Labour Party, not going over to the offensive against the working class? And finally, are not the working masses becoming radicalised as a result?

The exact contrary is the case. In addition, the Norwegian bourgeoisie, like the imperialists of the whole world, are preparing for war. The war industry is being developed, the army reorganised, the fleet enlarged. The fascist organisations are being strengthened. The army of the unemployed is growing; in this little country of Norway there are 60,000 unemployed.

The Norwegian workers are not looking calmly on while

attacks are being made on their conditions of living. A process of radicalisation is taking place among the masses of agricultural and industrial workers and among great parts of the village poor. Since the big strike of the building workers in 1928 the Norwegian proletarians have shown in many conflicts that they are determined to fight against the exploiters; that there exists among them the firm will to defend themselves bravely and persistently if only they find correct leadership in their fight.

It is true, the Norwegian reformists are not a whit better than their colleagues in the other countries. They know just as much as their colleagues how to avoid a struggle, and should it nevertheless break out how to place themselves at the head in order to strangle it. At the same time the Tranmael party makes a skilful use of "Left" phrases and cunningly manoeuvres in order to conceal its treacherous actions and to make out to the workers that it is different from the other reformist parties.

It would be a great mistake to attribute the election defeat exclusively or mainly to the work of the Communist Parliamentary fraction or to the way in which the election campaign was conducted. The cause lies much deeper. It lies in the whole political and organisational practice of the Norwegian Party. The third Party Congress, which took place in February 1929, gave the Party a line which in general accorded with the decisions of the VI. World Congress. **But the line was not followed in practice.** The Party Congress decided on a decisive turn to real Bolshevik mass work. The turn was not, however, carried out. It is the Party leadership which bears responsibility for this. It has talked a lot about the new policy; more than once it has even accompanied opportunist practice by outspokenly Left sectarian errors, as for instance during the October Plenum in 1929 when the Central Committee described the Norwegian Labour Party (Tranmael Party) as the "leading party of capitalism".

As is to be seen, no distinction was made between the reformist leaders and the workers who followed them. These workers were often treated as social fascists or even factory fascists. Simultaneously with these "Left" deviations there existed in various parts of our Party the notion that the Norwegian Labour Party is a real workers' party. This idea led in many cases to local cooperation with the Norwegian Labour Party, to abandonment of the fight against this party, to collaboration with it in the municipal councils, to underestimation and denial of its social fascist development, and to capitulation to it. We need only point to the conflict of the municipal workers in Trondheim in 1928, when the Communists voted with the social democrats for the liquidation of the fight on the basis of toleration of strike-breaking.

With all the temporary "Left" deviations the opportunist course of the Norwegian Party leadership, which still remains the greatest danger to the Party, was uninterruptedly continued. This applies especially to the work in the factory. How many decisions were adopted to the effect that it is necessary to perform really mass work, and that therefore the basis of the whole Party work must be transferred to the factories. These decisions remained on paper; they were never taken seriously. In its Open Letter of July last the Party leadership insisted upon the extreme urgency of this task. Nothing was done however, or at least very little.

It naturally follows that without the basis of energetic work in the factories there can be no Bolshevik work in the trade unions. This is shown by the example of Bergen, Skien etc., where the Party lost its position as it was incapable of mobilising the masses for the revolutionary policy.

After the leadership of the C. P. of Norway, with the help of the Communist International, corrected the errors for which it was responsible, did any improvement take place? No. The carrying out of the anti-war action was very feebly; there was no energetic work in the factories, and no advance of Party work in any other sphere. With regard to the election campaign the "Arbeidern" the central organ of our Party wrote on October 24:

"We began the election campaign three or four weeks before the election day by issuing a larger edition of our press. Of our election manifesto and our election literature at the very highest only 15,000 copies were issued. And these did not reach the great mass of the workers. Only individual members did canvassing work, factory work and

fraction work in the trade unions. Very many of our basic and local organisations have not held any meeting for months."

With such a state of affairs is it at all surprising that the Party lost nearly the half of its vote? Is it to be wondered that in the capital town of Oslo our vote declined from 1748 to 640? That also in other important industrial centres, as for instance in Bergen where our Party had a great influence in the trade unions, our vote declined from 9262 to 5600, and in Skien from 1614 to 327? We have to record the fact that in an objectively favourable situation our Party has suffered a defeat.

After the elections do we find a correct estimation by the Party leadership of its policy? Nothing of the kind. The "Arbeidern" published an amazing article in which it records that "the Communist movement" is weak; that "the Communist Party of Norway" has not exposed the social democratic policy of supporting the government; that the opportunist mistakes of "the Party" in a number of strike struggles etc. show that "our Party" has not got beyond the propaganda stage. After then enumerating a long list of sins of "the Party", this "self-criticism" culminates in the truly classical sentence: "To this is to be added, that a great part of our Party Comrades have no correct Bolshevik ideology".

If the leadership of the C. P. of Norway enumerates the mistakes and shortcomings of "the Party", then it must clearly realise that it, the leadership, bears the political responsibility for this faulty policy, and that it would do well not to saddle the rank and file with this responsibility. The 3rd. Party Congress of the C. P. of Norway adopted decisions which were essentially correct and which were subsequently confirmed by many resolutions passed by the Party Executive. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Communist Party of Norway has still to make its real turn from agitation and propaganda to organising and leading the broad masses. At the same time it is equally clear that this turn can be made only if our Party, not only in words but in fact, turns its face to the masses and, no longer on paper but in reality, commences a revolutionary mass work in the factories.

## Bringolf Expelled from the C. P. of Switzerland.

Basle, 16th December 1930.

At its last session the cantonal committee of the Communist Party in Schaffhausen dealt with the resolutions of the branches for the expulsion of comrade Bringolf. A resolution was unanimously adopted expelling Bringolf, Gamper and Wildberger from the Party.

The resolution points out that the comrades mentioned have repeatedly committed serious breaches of Party discipline and that recently they have openly worked against the Communist Party of Switzerland and against the Communist International. With regard to Bringolf the resolution points out that he had failed to keep his promise to work for the restitution of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" which had been seized by the renegades, and further, that he had failed to revise his wrong political opinions.

"Bringolf who previously pretended hypocritically to be in agreement with the Communist Party of Switzerland and with the policy of the Communist International, has since sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Switzerland opposing the decisions of the Swiss Communist Party congress, of the fifth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions, and of the Communist International, and putting forward his own platform which agrees in every particular with the platform of the Brandlerists."

The resolution points out that Bringolf has shown in his current activity that he has broken with the Communist Party and the Communist International and that he belongs to the renegade group Erb-Thalman-Mandel. The resolution also calls on Bringolf to resign from the Swiss parliament into which he was elected on the communist ticket. It is reported that Bringolf refuses to do this.

The resolution then pledges the masses of the members to continue the struggle against opportunism in the Swiss Party with increased energy and above all to fill up the ranks of the Party with workers from the factories.

## Plenary Session of the C. C. C. of the C. P. of the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 17th December 1930.

The second plenary session of the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has just ended. The session expressed unanimous approval of the essentials of the working programme of the commission for 1931. The Presidium of the commission was instructed to work out the final form of the programme and to incorporate the suggestions made during the session.

The session confirmed the appointment of comrade Orjonnickidze as chairman of the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Union, and released him from his duties as chairman of the Central Control Commission. Comrade Andreyev was unanimously elected to take Orjonnickidze's place as chairman of the commission. Comrade Andreyev was born in 1895 as the son of a textile worker. When he was sixteen he began to take part in the revolutionary movement. Since 1928 he has been the secretary of the party organisation in Northern Caucasia. He is also a substitute member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

## Against the Right Danger

### The Trial of the Saboteurs and the Fight against Opportunism.

Leading Article of the "Pravda" of December 15, 1930.

The trial of the Industrial Party and the revelations of the Kondratyev people and of the Grohmann-Suchanov Group prove that this whole bloc of bourgeois counter-revolutionaries attached great hopes to the fight of the opportunists within the Party against the Party's general line. Just as formerly the petty bourgeois criticism of the Trotzkyists, their attack on the Party leadership, and their utilisation of the difficulties encouraged the bourgeoisie and aroused its hopes of being able to restore the capitalist order by means of the breach made by the Trotzkyists, so, after the defeat of the Trotzkyists, after Trotzkyism has openly gone over to the position of the counter-revolution, this role in the Party is now played by the Right opportunists and their friends with their Left phrase-mongering, who however display less talent in employing the most evil methods of the Trotzkyists against the Party and against the Soviet Power.

The circumstance that recently, in connection with the most important questions of Party policy, there was plainly revealed a certain affinity between Trotzkyism and Right opportunism, only shows that while they both only express moods and efforts of various sections, objectively they stand behind the bourgeois-capitalist elements. Here the "Lefts" become Rights, and vice versa. The Trotzkyist opposition bloc, in its time, united no less open Right opportunists on the basis of "Left" Trotzkyism. Everyone knows the value of the "Left" phrase-mongering, for example of Sosnovsky, Rakovsky and others holding Right opportunist views who are known to every Party member.

The line of the Right opportunists and of those "Left" phrase-mongers who have now concluded a bloc with them in order to attack the Party, leads in reality to capitulation to the kulak-capitalist elements in our country, instead of exterminating these elements by means of the one hundred per cent collectivisation of agriculture. This line leads to a panicky retreat in face of difficulties and to a demagogic exploitation of these difficulties, instead of overcoming them in a Bolshevik manner. This line leads to a repetition of the basest calumnies about the feudalistic domineering attitude of the State apparatus towards the needs of the workers and peasants: to a retardation of the tempo of the realisation of the Five-Year Plan; to a disorganisation and demoralisation of the ranks of the Party; to a shaking of Party discipline and to deception of the Party.

Is it surprising that the saboteurs, the counter-revolutionaries who wish to restore the bourgeois order, from the white guardist emigrants of the Toroprom to the Mensheviks, set their hopes on the Right opportunists and saw

in the Syrzov-Lominadse bloc a rebellion of the "younger part" of the Party against the dictatorship of the proletariat? The saboteurs stated openly before the Court and in their depositions that they calculated on the undermining work which the Right opportunists would carry out; that "the inner Party fight which was flaring up, the fierce criticism by the Right opposition of the policy of the Soviet government finally settled them in their conviction that this policy was fatal and had to be fought" (Ramzin). Fyedorov openly declared before the Court that the saboteurs considered it necessary to support "the ideas and tendencies which are known by the name of Right deviations". These ideas appeared so useful, so suited to promote the chances of a development of the N.E.P., of a development of ideas which were, at bottom, of a bourgeois character, that it was considered desirable and necessary to support them. This kulakist cadre of Right opportunism played such a big role in the plans of the bourgeois counter-revolutionaries that the victory of the general line of the Party at the XVI. Party Congress and the defeat of the Rights directly prompted them to raise the question of postponing the intervention.

There exists a remarkable affinity of ideas between the Right opportunists and the Kondratjev people. The Right opportunists have often simply not noticed that they were talking Kondratjev prose. But the kulak nature of Right opportunism becomes even clearer when we become more closely acquainted with the foundation upon which the Groman-Suchanov Menshevist group built. These people, who were in direct touch with the saboteurs in the Industrial Party and who themselves were engaged in sabotage work, considered it necessary directly to support the Right opportunists, especially in the village. The victory of the general line of the Party and the defeat of the Rights was felt by the Mensheviks as if it were their own defeat. Everywhere where these "former", but in reality present, mensheviks were employed; in the Centrosyos, in the State Planning Commission, in the People's Supreme Economic Council etc., they supported the line and the plans of the Rights.

Is it surprising that there often arose a certain **contradiction** between the Party directives and their realisation, and that **in individual cases the Party directives were not carried out at all?** We must clearly see this, and we must revise all the links of our Soviet machinery with a view to securing fully the correct Party leadership. This task was already formulated by Comrade Stalin at the XVI. Party Congress with the full approval of the Congress. He stated that the essence of Bolshevik attack consisted, among other things, "in isolating and ousting the bearers of the Right and Left deviations from the Leninist line and placing in the forefront the firmest Leninists".

We are entering the third, the most strenuous year of the Five-Year Plan, which demands of the Party and all organs of the Soviet apparatus unshakable Bolshevik firmness in realising the whole programme. The Party will know how to reform its ranks where it is absolutely necessary and to solve successfully the most difficult tasks. The bourgeois politicians regard the changes of personnel which are being carried out with us, from the standpoint of their bourgeois system and talk about a crisis. We proceed on our way and carry out our organisational changes and our changes, of personnel, for under the new conditions the crux of the question lies likewise in the choice of persons; it means only a consolidation of the Leninist line, securing the Bolshevik tempo in the socialist attack, the doing away with even the slightest vacillations in our leading organs.

We can say to our enemies with conviction: Do not imagine that you can succeed in weakening our Party. Our Party is as strong as it was before, nay even stronger.—strong and firm in its fidelity to Leninism, in its Bolshevik unity. It is supported more than ever by the confidence of the working class. It is gaining a still firmer support in the masses of poor peasants, land workers and middle peasants, who are strengthening socialist economy on the Soviet and collective farms.

None of the forces of the old world can divert the Party from its path, nor check the victorious Communist movement of the millions who are inspired with one aim, who know what they want, who have learned to fight for Socialism, to overcome collectively all obstacles, to triumph collectively under the leadership of the Leninist Party.

## PROLETARIAN MASS ORGANISATIONS

### Ten Years of the Workers International Relief.

The Central Committee of the Workers International Relief publishes the following appeal:

In August 1931 it will be ten years since, on Lenin's suggestion, the Workers International Relief was founded. In the nearly ten years of its existence the Workers International Relief has carried through unweariedly, and thanks to the self-sacrificing support of millions of toilers in all countries, a number of international relief actions of the greatest political importance, and supported thousands of strikes and economic struggles.

Some of these actions, such as the relief action for the famine-stricken Volga districts in 1921, for China, Japan, for the English miners in 1926 and for the German proletariat in the famine winter of 1923 and during the Seeckt dictatorship, constitute the greatest international solidarity actions recorded in the history of the revolutionary labour movement.

Since its existence the Workers International Relief has collected the huge sum of 3½ to 4 million pounds and distributed it in its relief actions. What enormous self-sacrifice, what splendid solidarity of many thousands of proletarians and what work of the W.I.R. members and friends is contained in this sum, which has been collected penny by penny.

The W.I.R. is today an important and indispensable portion of the revolutionary labour front and is acquiring an ever increasing importance for the class struggles as a result of the economic mass fights which are breaking out more frequently and growing in extent.

Our bourgeois opponents have in vain attempted to check the growth of the mass movement of the W.I.R. or to suppress it by means of police prohibitions, chicaneries on the part of the authorities on the occasion of collections and relief actions, by campaigns of calumny and by the setting up of rival organisations (S.P. of Germany: Workers' Welfare Centre, Hitler: National Socialist Workers' Relief).

Supported by the sympathy and the devotion of many millions of workers and small peasants, as well as of intellectuals who sympathise with it, the W.I.R. has in its ten years' existence created the greatest international organisation and undertakings, which constitute important channels for approaching broad indifferent masses of workers, peasants and petty bourgeois.

The Workers' International Relief today numbers in its organisations 15 to 16 million individual and collective members. During the last few months a number of W.I.R. national organisations, such as the German, Austrian, Dutch *vsu.*, have recruited a considerable number of new members, whilst in a number of other countries such as Switzerland, Iceland, Canada, Bolivia, new W.I.R. Sections have been set up. In India and China the first W.I.R. committees have been established.

On the occasion of the ten years' existence of the W.I.R. the International Central Committee of the W.I.R. is convening for September 1931 a broad international Congress of the Workers' International Relief. Particulars regarding the place of the Congress, the exact date and the agenda will be sent out in due course by the General Secretariat.

But today we already call upon all W.I.R. organisations, all committees and members, as well as friends of the W.I.R., to assist in the ideological, organisational and financial preparation of the Congress. A broad discussion on the programme, the principles and the tasks of the W.I.R. must be carried out in all countries by all W.I.R. organisations, committees and friends.

In Spring 1931 an intensive mass recruiting of individual and collective members must be carried out in all countries. It is our aim, by means of the "ten years' recruitment", to reach the figure of 20 million members of the W.I.R. by the time of the International Congress. Special collections to finance strong delegations to the International Congress must be carried out in all countries. In addition to the delegates of W.I.R. organisations and their women's, youth's and children's departments, the delegations shall include representatives of factories, of collectively affiliated bodies and of other workers' organisations. The undersigned Central committee send a brotherly invitation to all revolutionary organisations, in particular the

Red trade unions, the Minority groups in the trade unions, the small peasant and peasant organisations, the committees and organisations of the unemployed, the International League of the War Victims, the International Red Aid, the red sport organisations and all other social, political and cultural workers' organisations to send delegations to this Congress.

The economic crisis prevails in all capitalist countries and is assuming ever sharper forms. The ruling class is attempting by means of ruthless rationalisation and fascist dictatorial measures to cast the enormous burdens of the world war and of the world crisis on to the shoulders of the working and peasant masses. Rationalisation, cutting down of social welfare, increase of customs duties and taxes with a simultaneous reduction of wages—these are the means used by the employers in all capitalist countries in order to overcome the crisis. The consequences are, increasing poverty, famine and misery in millions of workers' families. By the participation of all the proletarian organisations the Congress must become a powerful international demonstration against the cutting down of social welfare in all capitalist countries.

Workers. Toilers of all countries! Take part in the discussions for the World Congress of the W.I.R. Elect delegates to the Congress and join the Workers' International Relief, the most active and greatest proletarian relief organisation of the world.

## PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### Chinese Working Women in the Revolutionary Struggle.

It is the working women of China who have to suffer most under the burden of the protracted war of the Kuomintang Generals and the extraordinarily severe economic crisis. The strike struggles of the working women against the capitalist offensive, against wage reductions and the lengthening of working hours are becoming more frequent; the peasant women too are taking an increasingly active part in the strikes against taxes and ground rent and also in the armed fights in the Soviet districts. The approaching Soviet Congress is calling forth great sympathy among the working masses. Among the first to elect delegates to the Soviet Congress were the thousands of working women of the Shanghai silk mills, who elected three delegates at the strike Conference on 23rd October last. This campaign soon spread to other branches of industry.

In the middle of October practically the whole of the 106 spinning mills in Shanghai were closed. More than 100,000 working women were thrown out of work. They do not receive any relief whatever and their sufferings were indescribable. In the last few months the Kuomintang government has issued a State loan amounting to 10 million Chinese dollars for the purpose of subventioning and maintaining the silk industry. The first condition for the reopening of the factories is a general wage cut of 2 per cent. The working women were told that they must share the burden of the economic crisis together with the employers for the benefit of the community. A part of the working women, driven by the whip of hunger, returned to work. Nevertheless there prevailed a very militant mood. The women are saying: rather be without work than accept wage cuts. Today the clerks and employees have taken up the fight. The stokers in the new factories have ceased work in order to render it impossible to start the works again. The employers' proclamations are everywhere torn down. The Kuomintang sent police reinforcements to guard the factories, and threatened the ring leaders with severe punishment.

In August the working women in the silk factories carried out a general strike, which however ended in a defeat. The chief reason for this defeat was the inadequate leadership of the red trade unions. In the meantime a general wage cut was effected. Wages now amount to 30 to 60 Pfennigs a day. Rationalisation is carried out to an unheard of extent; at the same time the working women are subjected to corporal punishment. But the working women are not despondent. A number of smaller strikes are being carried out with courage and tenacity. The families of the working women who were arrested enforced their release. The yellow and reformist

trade union leaders were driven away with blows of fists and chairs. Equipped with the lessons drawn from the former struggles, the working women of the silk factories are facing new and greater struggles.

Great struggles against wage cuts, lengthening of the working day, corporal punishment and dismissals have taken place in the textile, cigarette and match factories. In October last 7000 textile working men and women went on strike in Shanghai and 4000 in Tsingtao. The strikes in these industries embraced 21,000 working men and women in October, and were mostly led by the Red trade unions. In spite of suppression by the Kuomintang and betrayal on the part of the liquidators and renegades, partial victories have been achieved.

In November the American tobacco factory resumed work; Nanyang Brothers, the largest Chinese Tobacco company, are about to resume work. There is taking place a systematic replacement of dear by cheaper labour, the substitution of male labour by female labour, of the skilled by the unskilled. The textile factories are also adopting the same course.

The temporary armistice between the Kuomintang Generals has only led to a partial revival of industry. The armaments for new wars place enormous taxation burdens upon industry. The capitalist offensive is encountering the resistance of the workers: mass strikes will be the inevitable outcome of the situation.

In the Soviet districts in South West Kiangsi two thirds of the women are engaged in production, the remaining third are debarred from production owing to the small crippled feet, a result of the old barbaric practice of binding the feet. Since the Soviet law has given them equal rights with men in regard to elections, the usufruct of land, marriage, they are developing a great activity in the revolutionary struggles. For the greater part the women are small-holders or agricultural workers. They are organising agitprop groups, courier service, first aid groups, laundry and tailors' groups. They are active in every defence organisation as pioneers, red guards and even in the Red Army. Shock troops of women took part in the fights for Kian; they number about 2 per cent of all the revolutionary troops.

Women are represented in every Soviet committee, agrarian committee etc.; they even occupy the posts of chairmen and secretaries. Women's Committees, dealing chiefly with women's questions, are organised by the Soviets. The political and economic questions are solved without difficulty. But the greatest difficulties arise from the marriage and divorce questions. This is not surprising if one bears in mind that the Chinese women have for thousands of years been without any rights, suppressed and enslaved, and now all at once they are receiving full freedom. In the Yun-Shin district a Soviet delegate conference, after a very lively discussion of this problem, finally agreed that marriage must be quite voluntary, but that divorce can only be granted on the following grounds: 1. counter-revolutionary activity, 2. long separation from the husband (except in the case of Red soldiers and those who are in the military service of the revolution), 3. on account of vice, 4. mutual agreement. The Soviet Congress will settle the details in this respect.

In June last the number of organised women in South West Kiangsi was 100,000 and has since increased to 300,000. Their demands are: 1. participation in the Red Army; 2. economic independence; 3. absolute freedom in marriage; 4. establishment of children's nurseries and kindergarten; 5. instruction in reading and writing. In order to realise the demands they are heroically fighting for the Soviet Power.

The women in Tunkiang are already on a higher cultural level and have undistorted feet. They have already gone through several revolutionary struggles and therefore display greater activity. Vast numbers of them are organised in peasant leagues and trade unions of agricultural workers. The following are a few statistics showing the number of women organised:

Maishin .....	300,000
Funshun (in peasant leagues) .....	45,000
Wuhua .....	over 10,000
Shinin .....	over 1,000
Tapu (in the trade union of agricultural workers) ....	500
Chauguan (in peasant leagues and others) .....	15,000
Yauping (in peasant leagues and others) .....	over 2,000

## First Canadian Working Women's Delegation to the Soviet Union.

By B. Gordon (Montreal).

The return of the First Canadian Working Woman's Delegation from the Soviet Union at the present time is of great significance to the Canadian revolutionary movement.

Canada, which is a growing Imperialist country, is involved in a deep going industrial and agricultural crisis, which is part of the world capitalist crisis. The various rationalisation measures imposed upon the working class have considerably lowered the workers' standard of living and already thrown 30 per cent. of the Canadian workers into the ranks of the unemployed.

The role of the Canadian working women at this time assumes ever greater importance. The working women at all times represented the more exploited section of the working class. The social-fascist trade union organisations in Canada, the All Canadian Congress of Labour and the Trades and Labour Congress, were never interested in organising the large masses of Canadian workers. They only embrace a small section of the working class which is largely confined to the upper strata. Working women in Canada number 500,000, of which 125,000 are industrial workers and only 1 procent organised. Owing to their total disorganisation women workers have been subject to the greatest exploitation. Women have replaced men in a great many industries and owing to lack of organisation, have maintained the workers' standard of living on a lower level as well as made it more difficult to organise the working class as a whole.

The Canadian Working Women's Delegation consisting of six women were sent through local and district conferences of the militant Canadian workers to the Soviet Union last July. The delegation were mainly rank and file workers from shop and mine district. The mining areas of Nova Scotia and Alberta were represented; needle trades shop workers came from Montreal, Winnipeg and Edmonton. A domestic worker was sent from the Northern Ontario gold mining fields and the leader of the delegation was an active revolutionary from Toronto. The delegation was representative of the National composition of the masses of Canadian workers, for the most exploited section of the Canadian working class comprise the masses of foreign born workers who are the mainstay of heavy industry.

The arrival of the delegation back to Canada has aroused considerable enthusiasm. On November 9th at the Monument National Theatre, Montreal, 1000 workers paid admission to greet the delegation. Since the early days of the revolution, Canada has not witnessed the stormy applause and enthusiasm of the working masses. Local representatives of the Communist Party greeted the delegation before and after their speeches.

The main report was delivered by Comrade B. Buhay, leader of the delegation, on the tremendous socialist construction under the guidance of the 5 Year Plan.

The other members of the delegation, Comrades Shechterman, Zen, Wedro and Tynjala, dealt with various phases of the socialist life, embracing the role of women, the National question, the role of the Youth, the RILU and International Woman's Trade Union Conference, etc.

Preceding the mass meeting a conference of working class organisations of Montreal was held where the delegation submitted their report and a resolution embodying the following important tasks, was adopted:

1. To call upon the National Committee which organised the delegation to popularise the Report of the delegation through mass meetings with the various delegates throughout the country.
2. To call upon the National Committee to issue a pamphlet and book embodying the Report of the delegation as soon as possible.
3. To call upon the National Committee to immediately organise a campaign to popularise the International Organisation known as the „Friends of the Soviet Union“ whose chief purpose is to organise the broadest masses for the Defence of the Soviet Union, to combat in every possible way the lies of the bourgeoisie and their henchmen the social fascists; and to organise through the Canadian Section of the FSU a campaign for a broad

workers and farmers delegation to the SU during the year 1931.

4. To call upon the Workers Unity League, Canadian Revolutionary Trade Union Centre, to strengthen its Woman's Dept. and draw up a plan for the organisation of the unorganised women workers in conformity with the decisions of the RILU and the International Woman's Conference; in which connection, the delegation must be fully utilised and the Montreal Conference pledges its fullest support.

Following the Montreal Demonstration, Comrades Buhay and Wedro made a tour throughout Southern Ontario, holding a series of very successful meetings in London, Hamilton and the Border Cities. Comrades Zen and Tynjala also addressed crowded meetings of Ukrainian and Finnish workers in Montreal and Toronto. Comrade Wedro further addressed well attended meetings in Toronto of the Women's Labour League and the Industrial Needle Trades Union of which she is an active member and which she represented in the Profintern. The Fascist Police terror in Toronto makes it impossible to procure a hall for a demonstration, but this police terror will be broken through in the near future.

The National Committee will intensify its plans of propaganda on all fields and will rouse the thousands of poor farmers and workers of Canada against the lying, rabid propaganda that is today assuming such sharp forms in Canada. The Wheat and commodity anti-„dumping“ propaganda is featured in all Canadian papers. The Canadian bourgeoisie, like its class fellows in all other countries, is attempting to distract the attention of the workers and poor farmers from the real cause of the intense crisis by blaming the Soviet Union for it. The unemployed workers are clubbed and jailed by the fascist police in their continual demonstrations against hunger. The crisis on the land is very severe; nothing like it has even been known in the history of the country. The social fascists in city and country are busy in their betrayals and are allied with the bourgeois state to stem the tremendous tide of discontent. The social fascists are in the first lines in spreading the filthy anti-Soviet lies. The Canadian bourgeoisie today are not even hiding their intentions. Last week, Lieutenant. Cockshutt, former General of Ontario, in a speech stated that before there could be any peace „we must have one more war, we must clean up the Soviet Union“.

Under these circumstances, the role of the Woman's Delegation is a very important one and already there is every indication that the Canadian masses will eagerly rally to the new mass organisation about to be formed here, the „Friends of the Soviet Union“.

## PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

### Manifesto of the Chinese Young Communist League to the Proletarian Youth of all Countries.

To all our fellow young toilers and sailors of the world!  
Comrades,

The Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Young Communist League is being held just at a time, when the wave of the world revolution is steadily rising and when the imperialists and the Kuomintang are launching a joint attack on the Chinese Red Army and the Soviet Districts in Central China. We call on you immediately to make strong protests against the oppression of the Chinese masses and the intervention against the Chinese revolution on the part of the imperialists.

Since it set up its government the Kuomintang has done nothing but surrender completely to the imperialists and massacre over a million of the revolutionary masses. As a consequence, on the one hand, the exploitation of the Chinese workers and peasants by both the imperialists and the Chinese landowners and capitalists has been daily intensified and, on the other hand, conflicts between the imperialist powers for the greatest spheres of influence and markets in China have been so serious that unprecedentedly cruel militarist wars were and are unceasingly waged. In addition to hundreds of

thousands of innocent people who were brutally killed in the war areas, millions died of starvation throughout China, in particular in the famine provinces (Shensi, Kansu etc.). The daily newspapers are full of reports of evictions, unemployment figures, of cases of starvation, suicide, executions, massacres etc. All this is driving the Chinese masses to struggles and uprisings under the slogans: "Down with imperialism!", "Down with the Kuomintang!", "Land to the peasants!" "Turn the militarists' war into a revolutionary war!", "Fight for Chinese Soviets", "Defend the Soviet Union!"

In Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupeh and other provinces in the South of China, the Kuomintang has already been overthrown: Soviets have been established, the land of the landowners confiscated and distributed to the peasants, and over 100,000 men organised in Red armies. Out of a population of 400 million, 60 millions already live under the flag of the hammer and sickle. In every struggle of the masses now, no matter whether big or small, the chief slogans must be: "Fight for the Soviet regime", and "Protest against the Kuomintang". The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers elected delegates from their own ranks to the First All-China Congress of Soviets which was held on December 11, the anniversary of the Canton uprising in 1927.

In the present period all capitalist countries in the world are suffering under an unprecedented crisis, and tens of millions of workers are unemployed and delivered over to starvation. On the other hand, the Soviet Union, the centre of the world revolution, has made marvellous achievements in the sphere of Socialist construction. Therefore the imperialists are more eager now to squeeze the life-blood out of the working masses in their own countries and out of the oppressed peoples in the colonies in order to prolong the capitalist system. At the same time they are working most strenuously at preparing war against the Soviet Union; they are attempting to destroy the First Workers' Republic which is the greatest stimulus to the fighting spirit of the world proletariat and the peasantry. China, which is as large as the whole of Europe, is the greatest semi-colony of imperialism, especially of the USA, Great Britain, Japan and France. These imperialists have been organising militarist wars and for this purpose using the Chinese militarists as their tools in order to seize more booty in China. At the same time the Kuomintang, the faithful watchdog of the imperialists, has become the vanguard of the forces against the U.S.S.R. The imperialists in addition to directly attacking the Chinese Red Army themselves, energetically aid the Kuomintang militarists in suppressing the revolutionary forces. Therefore the task of the Chinese revolution are: to emancipate the Chinese masses from oppression and exploitation by imperialism; to overthrow the Kuomintang regime; to carry out thoroughly the agrarian revolution; and to put into operation the 8-hour day (6-hour day for youths), etc. The recent occupation of Changha, the capital of the province of Hunan,

and of Kian, an important city in Kiangsi, by the Red Army shows the rapid development of the Chinese revolution. The present stage of the Chinese revolution is the transitional stage from partial attacks to a general offensive. As the Chinese Soviets are wholeheartedly supported by millions of peasants in China and by the proletarians in the capitalist countries and the masses in the colonies the victory of the Chinese revolution is drawing nearer every day. The victory of the Chinese revolution means the death blow to international imperialism, a strengthening of the Soviet Union, and will also greatly promote the world revolution. The imperialists, who realise this danger, have been uninterruptedly sending many military advisers, warships, aeroplanes, ammunition, poison gas etc. to China in order to suppress the Chinese revolution and to slaughter the Chinese workers, peasants and toilers.

On behalf of the Chinese working and peasant youth the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Young Communist League calls your particular attention to the fact that the **critical moment** of the Chinese revolution has arrived. During the last two months the warships of the imperialist Powers have attacked our Red Army on both banks of the upper Yangtze river 107 times. In various parts of China hundreds of revolutionary youths are daily being executed by the imperialists and by the Kuomintang.

Comrades, we are fighting on the same front! Imperialism is our common enemy. Let us weld our forces together for the fight against imperialism. The victory or defeat of the Chinese revolution is not only a life and death question for the Chinese workers and peasants, but also for the world proletariat and peasantry. It is not only necessary to help the Chinese revolution by propaganda, but to support us by your actions. Carry out strikes and demonstrations! Raise powerful protests against the sending of troops and marines and armaments to China! Fight for the immediate withdrawal of military advisers and military, naval and air forces from China! Organise "Hands off China Committees" throughout your countries! Organise Communist propaganda among your troops and marines sailing to China!

Foreign sailors in China! The imperialists, your class enemy, make use of you to slaughter the Chinese toiling masses who are your brothers. Do not listen to the deceitful words of your rulers who say, that the Chinese red soldiers are "Communist bandits". Turn your weapons against your own officers who are your oppressors! Join our fight against imperialism! Render immediate practical help to the Chinese Revolution!

**The Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Young Communist League.**

(Section of the Young Communist International.)

November 28, 1930.

## Organisational Questions

# The Work of Factory Nuclei.

Letter from the Org.-Department of the E. C. C. I. Confirmed by the Polit-Secretariat.

In February 1930, the Presidium of the ECCI, proposed, by way of a fundamental direction, to all the Communist Parties "to give a further impetus to agitational propagandist work and to ensure a change in the forms and methods of work in accordance with the tasks connected with leadership of the mass demonstrations of the proletariat (strikes, unemployed movement, demonstrations), the agricultural labourers and poorest sections of the peasantry (within the country, as well as in the colonies) carrying out the necessary preparation of these mass demonstrations".

The way in which this direction has been carried out has shown that all the Communist Parties, without a single exception, must work more energetically for the consolidation of factory nuclei, because without an actual reorganisation of the Party on a factory nucleus basis, this direction cannot be fully carried out.

Owing to ever growing repression, Communist work in the factories is becoming more and more difficult. However, these great difficulties can be overcome. What has been done in this direction by the CP. of Germany can serve as

an object lesson. During the last election campaign, the CP. of Germany established 188 new Party and 56 YCL factory nuclei. Not content with this success, the CP. of Germany worked up the Berlin Metal workers' strike on the basis of intensive work in the factories. It is above all due to the energetic work of the Party direct in the factories that this strike movement has developed on such revolutionary and organised lines.

In summing up the results of the election campaign, the CC. of the CP. of Germany declares, "that it is quite possible to enlist the sympathy of the workers for our policy and tactic in a relatively short time, provided efficient Bolshevik work is done". This inference based on the experience of a well conducted successful campaign must constitute the base of the practical daily work of all Communist Parties.

**The Principal Shortcomings in the Work of Factory Nuclei and how to Bring about a Change.**

The following are the major shortcomings that come to light in the work of the factory nuclei of all Communist

Parties, even of the strongest ones, such as the CPG:

1 There are very few factory nuclei and they are not organised in all the factories.

2. The majority of factory nuclei are to be found in small enterprises. In the large factories there are either no nuclei at all or these are very weak and unimportant.

3 The nuclei are as a rule not very active and are torn away from the daily life of the factory.

4. Among the working class members of the Party there is a strong tendency to avoid activity in their nuclei and consequently not all of them join their nuclei. Thus in Czechoslovakia workers constituted on July 1st, 1930, according to the figures of the Central Committee, 57 per cent of the members, but only 14 per cent were organised in factory nuclei.

5. The factory nuclei as a rule are not linked up with the Communist fractions in their unions.

6. The work of the factory nuclei is badly linked up, or not at all with the other activities of the Party in view of the inadequate attention of the leading Party organs to it.

In order to alter this state of affairs, in order to convert the factory nuclei into basic organisations of the Communist Parties, these shortcomings must all be eliminated. The first thing that must be done of course is to change the position of the factory nuclei in the general system of Party work. At the present time the position of the factory nuclei in an overwhelming majority of Communist Parties may be described as follows. All big political campaigns conducted by the Parties as a rule have but a very poor cooperation of the factory nuclei, or not at all. The methods customarily used in the political campaigns of the Communist Parties are the old methods brought from the social democratic parties which have already been many times condemned by the CI. These methods are: general agitation, public meetings, Party members taking part in the carrying out of campaigns in their residential neighbourhoods and not where they are employed, the national Party press and National Party agitators are the principal driving factors in campaigns. Upon completion of a campaign the leading organs sum up the results, they point out self-critically the mistaken methods that were used and the major conclusion is made that the next political campaign will have to be conducted on the factory basis. But the next campaign is carried on in the same way. The explanation given usually by the Party workers is that the given political campaign requires an exertion of all the Party forces and a maximum utilisation of the whole Party apparatus. They say that because of the weakness of the factory nuclei it is impossible to carry out a campaign on the factory basis. But the fact that the factory nuclei stand aside during campaigns has as its inevitable outcome the failure to reorganise the Parties on the factory nucleus principle. Thus the Parties are unable to bring the slogans to the notice of the fundamental mass of the workers, and to properly expose the treacherous and counterrevolutionary work of the social-democrats, reformists, and fascists.

The factory nuclei, not getting definite tasks from the Party, remain sickly organisations, playing no important role in the life of the Party organisations. This state of affairs in the factory nuclei is to a great extent due to the ever growing regressions against the work of Communists in the factories. But the chief reason of this state of affairs is the existence of social democratic traditions in the daily work of the Communist Parties. A real reorganisation of the Parties on a factory nucleus basis, and consequently their genuine Bolshevisation, cannot be thought of without a complete liquidation of these traditions.

#### Necessary Changes in the Methods of Work of the Party Committees.

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties must do their utmost in order that the whole system of Party leadership be directed to the factory. First of all the Party press must take this turn. The national and all local organs of the Party should establish direct connections with the factories. The material they publish should reflect most of all the current struggles of the workers in the factories. Moreover, these articles must be certainly written in simple language, so as to be understood by workers of average intelligence, including non-Party workers who are not yet well up in various specific political terms and formulae. The

political articles dealing with the line of the Communist International, with decisions of congresses and of the Central Committees, should not be couched in abstract phrases and general theoretical formulations but should as a rule present the concrete tasks confronting the Party members and sympathisers in the factories, illustrating how the general line of the Party is to be put into daily practice, how that line is to be constantly explained to the masses in the factories, how the masses should be organised for the struggle under Communist leadership on the basis of that line. Apart from these general articles the Party papers should contain communications from the locals and from the factories. The most intensive work must be undertaken to extend the network of worker correspondents, to organise worker correspondent study circles in all factories, to attract to that movement not only Party members but non-Party sympathisers, revolutionary social-democratic workers and members of reformist unions. Apart from the worker correspondents, groups of friends of the Party press should be organised in the factories, such as for instance the group of "Humanite" friends in France. The worker correspondent circles may join these groups of friends of the Party press and on the other hand, the groups of friends should select their worker correspondents to supply the Party press with information on what is going on in the factory. Mail sent out from factories should as a rule not be the work of some individual correspondent. Sympathisers in the factory should be invited to help in writing and, if police conditions permit, the correspondence should be read at group and general meetings of workers in the departements so that corrections may be made and the desires of the workers stated. If police conditions permit, the editors of Party publications should call more or less regularly and frequently conferences of worker correspondents, inviting also other workers to attend so as to consider together with them the necessary improvements of the papers with a view to bringing them closer to the working masses. In a word everything must be done that the working class may find in the Party organ a real workers' paper and that, on the other hand, the Party organ should use plain language and deal with questions which are near to and understood by the broad masses of workers.

What has been said with regard to Party papers fully holds good, but in different form, with regard to Party committees and especially those which have to deal directly with the factories. **The factory nuclei can be strengthened and made to become the basic organs of the Party provided the Party committees assist them in their daily work.** For this a radical change in methods used by the Party committees for routine work is necessary. Instead of bureaucratic connections through circulars the Party committees must establish direct and live contact with the factories and factory nuclei. The Party committees must use every possibility for that. In the newspaper offices of legal Party papers there should always be a representative of the Party committee when worker correspondents are expected to come, which is usually before and after working hours. The representatives of the Party committees should most carefully gather information through them on what is going on in the factories and give them the necessary advice and instructions concerning further work. The same is true with regard to legal unions and their publications. Members of the Communist fractions in the unions should be in close touch with the corresponding Party committees, they should regularly inform the latter on what is of most interest in the factories, on the sentiment of the union membership, etc. Through the Communist fractions in the unions the Party committees should establish connections with the factories by getting in touch with the most revolutionary union members. On the other hand the factory nuclei have to establish new connections through the Communist fraction of the union in order to get leadership and to strengthen their organisation in the factory. It is particularly important for the Party committee to be able to give systematic and direct instructions to the factory nuclei in their daily work. For this purpose all Party committees in charge of the work of the factory nuclei must establish regular contact through meetings of their representatives with representatives of the factory nuclei, say every second or third day, and in time of preparations for struggle even more often. Such meetings with representatives of factory nuclei are particularly important for the large factories where owing to factory rules members

of the nuclei working in different departments cannot get together and no meetings or conferences can be organised. In such instance the Party committee is the natural organising centre for the separate workshops and departments. As far as police conditions permit regular conferences (legal, semi-legal, illegal) should be organised of representatives of factory nuclei for the purpose of an exchange of experience of daily work and of laying down the immediate tasks in carrying out the instructions of the leading organs. Such conferences are particularly necessary when big political campaigns are in preparation or when big demonstrations or strikes are about to take place. In order to lead all the big political campaigns on a factory basis the plan of such campaigns should be first drawn up and discussed at meetings of the active Party members of the factories. It is quite natural that when the problem of dealing with the factories and when the tasks are formulated on the basis of concrete demands and the needs to intensify Party work in the factories, that will bring about a corresponding reorganisation of all Party forces and means so as to bring them closer to the factory, and it will put a stop to the old traditions and methods in the carrying out of political campaigns.

### The Tasks of Party Committees with Regard to Instructing Factory Nuclei.

In the matter of giving daily instructions to the factory nuclei, steps must first of all be taken to prevent bureaucratic formalism in giving instructions. It is to be regretted that at the present time this happens to be the case too often. When investigations are made as to what the factory nuclei do, the Party committees take as a criterion the formal sides in the activities of the factory nuclei: they enquire as to whether the nuclei meet regularly, as to whether there is regular attendance, as to whether all questions mentioned in the decisions of the leading Party organs are put on the agenda, etc. It is easy to imagine a factory nucleus which lives very accurately up to all these formalities but which is nevertheless not a genuine nucleus of a Bolshevik Party. What the constitution of the Communist International puts forward as a principal demand to the factory nucleus is that it be first of all an organ linking up the Party with the masses of the working class. Therefore when we investigate the activities of a factory nucleus this must be borne in mind. It is desirable that the nucleus does meet regularly, that its meetings are regularly attended by all members, but it is absolutely essential that a factory nucleus gets together every time there is some movement in the factory, every time when the workers are about to strike, etc., regardless as to plans and schedules. Party committees and the leadership of factory nuclei must take all the necessary measures to ensure, at all workers' meetings where questions connected with the struggle for their immediate demands, preparations of demonstrations, strikes, etc. are discussed, the attendance of Party members and sympathisers specially instructed by the nucleus and the Party committee as to what should be done at these meetings, what line should be followed, etc. This fundamental principle must be understood by each Party instructor and each active member of the factory nucleus.

In connection with this the factory nucleus must be in closest contact with all that concerns the daily struggle of the workers in the given factory. It must closely follow all that is going on in the factory, it must watch the work of the administration, the work of the various political organisations and groups among the workers, the changing sentiment of the workers, and use the slightest opportunity in order to increase the Party's influence among the workers and to mobilise the latter for the struggle in their own class interests. Meetings of Party nuclei must by all means discuss all the general Party problems, but at the same time one should take into consideration the manner in which these instructions are to be concretely applied to the given factory, as to what is needed for that, what auxiliary organisations have to be organised in the factory in connection with that, what concrete tasks have to be assigned to each individual member of the nucleus. On the other hand, when discussing the conditions in the factory, or the sentiment of the workers, etc., the factory nucleus must at the same time consider

the question of the manner in which the given state of affairs or the given sentiment is to be used for the purpose of increasing the Party's influence in the factory, what must be done, and what particular tasks must be given to each member, etc.

### The First Steps in the Organisation of a Factory Nucleus.

One of the most difficult points in the organisation of a Party on a factory basis is the creation of factory nuclei in factories where there are no Party members or where there is only one or two. As the matter stands today when as a rule, the Communist Parties have no, or very small, nuclei in the big factories, as a result of which they can play no important role in the development of the Communist movement in the factory, the Communist Parties are confronted with the essential and urgent task of immediately setting up strong factory nuclei in all big factories.

The first step in the matter of creating a factory nucleus in an enterprise where no such exists is to find out through the fractions of mass organisations (Y.C.L., trade union, Red Aid, sport organisations, delegate meetings) whether any of their members belong to the Party or are its sympathisers. If no Party members are found through the employment of this method it is necessary to find through the fractions of the mass organisations working class sympathisers and to try through the latter and with their assistance to organise a nucleus in the factory. The question of setting up a factory group in a given factory should also be first taken up with the fractions of the mass organisations, especially the trade union fraction, and then through the medium of that group contact should be established with workers sympathising with the Party and then with the help of the latter steps can be taken to organise a factory nucleus. For the establishment of connections with the factories one should also make use of possibilities such as calling conferences of electors supporting the candidate list of the Red factory committee, conferences of readers and friends of the Party and revolutionary trade union press, etc. Finally in some instances the question has to be considered of sending Party members to a given factory where they must try and get jobs.

The last named methods can be applied with benefit in relation to the plantations, sugar refineries, distilleries, etc. which are very often far from industrial centres and which usually employ the most backward sections of the proletariat and semi-proletariat.

When organising such nuclei the street nuclei existing in the neighbouring districts should also be used. With the help of these street nuclei contact can be established with the workers of the given enterprise who can be met when leaving or going to work, in the restaurants and lunch-rooms and also at home.

The forms of using the connections with the revolutionary minded workers may be of various kinds, beginning with presumably chance-conversations in the course of which the political tendency of the companion can be discovered. One may start a conversation on the latest news in the papers or organise walks during which political conversations are held with individual workers, distribute literature, Party papers, leaflets, the factory paper, etc.

In some factories it may be expedient to organise shock troops of members of several factory and street nuclei with the special purpose of getting in touch with workers of a given factory and of organising a factory nucleus there. In setting up such special groups the specific conditions of the given factory must be borne in mind and the personal make-up of the groups be carefully considered. For such a group it is, for instance, best to select comrades, who owing to their residential district and work have better opportunities of getting into contact with the workers of the given enterprise. It is also highly important that the members of such groups quit work when the given factory begins to work. Finally, it is necessary that the selected comrades know roughly the nature of the given factory and the specific needs and questions of interest to the workers.

(To be concluded)