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## The Indian Railway Strike

By Chattopadhyaya.

The General Strike that broke out on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway (G.I.P.R.) on February 4th is of more than usual interest because in addition to the various economic demands that have been put forward by the workers the movement has assumed a definitely political character. The G.I.P.R. Workers are among the best organised and most class-conscious in India and their struggle for better conditions of life during the last few years has been accompanied by a realisation of the fact that no improvement is possible without the overthrow of imperialist exploitation.

Ever since 1927, the G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union had been making attempts to obtain redress of their grievances, but the Agent of the I. C. V. V. paid no attention whatsoever to the workers' demands. In May 1928, the leaders of the Union recommended that the weapon of the strike should be employed. After having received a final definite refusal from the Railway Agent, the Managing Committee of the Union in November 1928 formed a Committee of Action to organise a 100% membership and to collect a fund sufficient to guarantee the victory of the workers. The Union was under the leadership of Comrades Thengdi, Bradley, Joglekar, Jhabwala and Kadam, and the enormous enthusiasm that was aroused among the railway workers during the course of their organisational work, led the Government to order the arrest of these five comrades, in March 1929, whereby the workers were deprived of their ablest leaders. These comrades are still undergoing their trial along with 26 other revolutionary workers at Meerut

on a charge of attempting to overthrow British imperialist domination and to establish a Workers' Republic, or, in the words of the Public Prosecutor, "a Coolie-Government".

It may be noted in passing that comrades Thengdi and Joglekar had been elected by the Trade Union Congress as delegates to the Second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism held in July 1929 at Frankfurt a. Main, so that after their arrest it became necessary for the Trade Union Congress to appoint new delegates. One of those who were nominated was comrade V. B. Purandare, General Secretary of the G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union, who had been 13 years in the railway service. The President of the Union, D. B. Kulkarni, who is also the Vice-President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, was elected by the Frankfurt Congress to the General Council of the League Against Imperialism.

It was under their leadership that the G.I.P. Union at its Conference in July last formulated some 16 demands, which are the demands of the strikers to-day. The most important of these are

1) A demand for the minimum wage of Rs. 30 (45 sh.) per month, whereas the vast majority of workers do not receive more than half of the amount.

2) An 8 hours day for all, including the commercial staff who work no less than 10 hours a day and many of whom have to work as much as 16 hours a day.

3) One day's rest in the week and other holidays.

- 4) Regular holiday periods.
- 5) The abolition of the daily wages system.
- 6) Free passes for all railway employees and Union officials.
- 7) Supply of uniforms and waterproofs.
- 8) Abolition of racial discrimination.
- 9) Abolition of periodical medical examination (which is often used as a pretext for dismissing large numbers of workers).
- 10) No victimisation of Union workers.

In addition to these demands the strikers are calling upon the authorities to re-instate comrades Kulkarni and Purandare who had been dismissed at the end of last year by reason of their political activities as members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party and of their connection with the League Against Imperialism.

The above demands were placed before the Agent for the last time on December 22nd, 1929 and it was decided to declare a one day strike on February 4th 1930 to enforce the demands, and to declare a general strike if they were not granted.

These demands having been categorically rejected by the railway authorities, first 20,000, then 75,000 and then 125,000 railwaymen went out on strike. The workers organised pickets before the workshops and railway-stations which were guarded by strong military and police forces. In spite of the terror of the police, the strike was very successful. At all the important stations such as Mammad, Poona, Nasik, Nandgaon and Kurla the stations are without light, the important workshops at Matunga, Parel and Wadibunder are completely closed and the whole tram service has been partly delayed and partly stopped. The Government is turning the trains with the help of strike-breakers who are protected by strong military forces. It is significant that the strike-breakers are confined mostly to the literate section of the staff, whereas the porters, sweepers, gatekeepers, cabinmen and the rank and file generally are absolutely firm and united.

Another important feature of the strike is that it is not confined to the Indian workers only. All the Chinese workers who are concentrated at Matunga have joined the strike in a body and have declared their determination to stand by their Indian comrades, while on the other hand Anglo-Indians (Eurasians) and Parsis who receive favoured treatment at the hands of the Imperialist Government have been helping the Government as scabs and blacklegs.

The G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union is receiving the moral support of other railway unions such as the Southern Mahratta Railway, the South Indian Railway and the Bengal-Baroda and Central Indian Railway. The All-India Railwaymen's Federation, of which the G.I.P. Union is an important member, played a decisive role at the All-India Trade Union Congress at Nagpur on December 1st, 1929, and along with the textile-workers were responsible for the strongly anti-imperialist line adopted at the Congress, which resolved to boycott the imperialist Whitley Commission, to fight against the reformism of Amsterdam and Geneva, to affiliate to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and the League Against Imperialism.

It is obvious that the MacDonald Government will use all its power to break the revolutionary movement of the workers who are leading the whole struggle for national independence.

Nor are the leaders of the Indian National Congress, including the President, Jawaharlal Nehru (who is also a member of the Executive Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress) giving any help to the strikers; they are advocating the reference of the "dispute" to an arbitration board. But the workers will not be fooled. Only a few days before the strike began, they gave the proper character to the "Independence Day" on January 26th by hoisting the Red Flag all over the country. It is in this anti-imperialist atmosphere that the struggle is being conducted by the railway workers who receive the support of the entire Indian working class and to whom every help should be extended by the international proletariat.

## The All-India T. U. C. Begins to Work.

By A. G. E.

A good indication of the strength of the militant „Red Flag“ elements in the Trade Union movement of India was given in the removal of the open supporters of capitalism, of those who sabotaged the struggle of the workers, Joshi, Chamanlal Bakhale, at the last Congress of the Indian T. U. C.

To the degree that the Executive Committee carries out a militant policy, to that degree will they retain the sympathy and active support of the Indian workers. At the meeting of the Executive Committee, on January 19th and 20th, resolutions were passed which if carried into operation represent a policy of struggle based on the fight of the working class.

The Secretary of the Hamshedpur Labour Association, tried to get carried a resolution rescinding the resolutions passed at the Congress, affiliating to the League Against Imperialism and demanding the boycott of the Whitley Commission. This was ruled out of order by the Chairman, who stated that the Executive Committee had no authority to rescind resolutions passed at the Congress.

The Executive Committee gave their whole hearted support to the Great Indian Peninsular (G.I.P.) railway strike and called upon all workers in other railways to help in every possible way in making the strike a success.

A very important decision was taken with regard to the Meerut prisoners. (The National Meerut Prisoners Defence Committee, which was formed by some politicians and lawyers, including the „left“ Jawaharlal Nehru, has now dissolved, frightened away by the fear of being dubbed Communist). A resolution was passed, stating that the Executive Committee „is of the opinion that the committal order of the special Magistrate of Meerut makes it clear that the 31 accused in the conspiracy case are being prosecuted for holding certain views, and for their active part in the Trade Union movement, and further that the prosecution is a direct attack upon the workers' movement. It demands that the case be immediately withdrawn.... It further declares that the defence of the accused is one of the most important tasks of the working class movement in its fight against imperialist oppression, and resolves to form a Central Defence Committee to organise and coordinate the activities of local committees to be started under the auspices of the T.U.C. It calls upon each union to undertake to contribute a definite sum per month to the Defence Fund.“

I was also decided that „the 20th March be celebrated as 'Meerut Day' and demonstrations be held all over the country to protest against the trial and collect funds for the defence.“

Here, there is no expression of fear of any action which might be taken against them by the Government, with the excuse that the case is 'sub judice', as is the case with the lawyers and politicians.

This resolution on Meerut was followed by a strong resolution calling for the strengthening of the Trade Union movement and deploring the action „of those gentlemen who have been trying since the Nagpur Session to split the workers' ranks by trying to form a rival organisation“, and appealing to the rank and file of the workers and the unions „to stand by the Trade Union Congress and support its militant programme, on the basis of which alone the solidarity of the working class can be maintained and a united front presented to common enemies“.

The meeting of the Executive Committee ended by outlining the following programme of work:

1. Collection of fund for all India propaganda for carrying out the resolutions of the T. U. C.
2. Consolidation of existing Trade Unions and the establishment of new ones where none exist.
3. Organisation of transport workers throughout India.
4. Organisation of metal workers, and mine workers, including oil and petrol works.
5. Organisation of workers in tea and other plantations.

If the Executive Committee carries out this programme of struggle, and rallies the Indian workers for the defence of the Meerut prisoners, then the Indian workers themselves will be able to expose the pretences of Gandhi, and free themselves from the domination of lawyers and politicians. The formation of a strong Communist Party of India is on the order of the day.

## **International Fighting Day Against Unemployment**

# **The Cause of the Unemployed is the Cause of the whole Working Class.**

By A. Lozovsky.

Unemployment is now occupying the chief attention of millions of proletarians, for in the big capitalist countries there is hardly a worker's family which is not affected by unemployment. Capitalist stabilisation, which was lauded to the skies by the bourgeoisie and the social fascists, is now cracking at every joint. The wave of unemployment is mounting steadily higher and is confronting the international proletariat with a number of exceedingly important and complicated problems.

The first question that must be answered is whether it is possible at all to set up the slogan, "Fight against Unemployment". The fight against unemployment is organically connected with the fight against capitalism. Whoever separates the one from the other, whoever thinks that it is possible to solve the problem of unemployment under capitalism, is a reformist and not a revolutionary. All this is an elementary truth. The slogan of fight issued by the C. I. and the R. I. L. U. includes within it the slogan of fight against the system which creates unemployment.

Mass unemployment is one of the elements tending to disturb capitalist relations. Every unemployed worker constitutes a centre of ferment: hundreds of thousands of unemployed are a menace to the prevailing capitalist system. It is this that causes the bourgeois and social fascist parties to pay special attention to the unemployed. The starving and exhausted worker can for a time be deluded by the demagogy of the fascists. He may for a time deviate from the class path, but the objective situation, the situation which has caused him to be eliminated from the process of production, impels him to protest against the prevailing system. Great discontent is accumulating among the masses suffering from unemployment. Wholesale unemployment is a reservoir of revolutionary energy. We must understand how to organise this force, to divert this energy into proper channels, to translate the demands of the unemployed into definite, correct economic and political slogans. We must find suitable forms and methods of organisation in order by this means to guide the whole energy of the unemployed in the same direction.

What is the best way to organise the unemployed? According to occupation, round the factories, at the Labour Exchanges, by the creation of elected committees or unemployed councils, at the same time rousing the initiative of the masses of unemployed. The unemployed represent a powerful revolutionary force: but this force can be made use of only if we create an appropriate organisation, if the unemployed are firmly united, and if we succeed in getting the unemployed and the workers in the factories and workshops to realise that their interests are identical with the interests of the working class as a whole.

Our fundamental task is to link up the movement of the unemployed with the general class movement of the proletariat. There must be no organisation which consists entirely of unemployed. We must not regard the fight of the unemployed as a particular form of movement, for unemployment is not a calling or occupation, as the worker who is out of a job to-day may find work tomorrow, while on the other hand the worker who at present has a job may find himself on the street tomorrow. The isolation of the movement of the unemployed can result in splitting the working class into two separate groups, into those who have work and those who are out of work; this however can involve disastrous consequences for one or the other party. Therefore, the revolutionary trade unions must devote chief attention to the task of creating an organic contact between the employed and the unemployed workers, drawing both categories into the fight and setting up joint demands, which must be fought for not by the unemployed alone, but by all organisations of the whole working class. **The cause of the unemployed is the cause of the whole working class.**

If we, however, know beforehand that unemployment cannot be got rid of without the abolition of the capitalist system, what object is there then in demanding state unemployment insurance, in submitting demands to the municipalities and parliaments? Is this not making a misuse of partial demands? This question leads us to the question of partial and general demands.

There is no doubt that in the present period the bourgeoisie is by no means inclined or in a position to grant any serious concessions in the sphere of social reform. This does not mean, however, that nothing can be forced from the bourgeoisie. It would be political puerility to say to an unemployed worker: wait with your demands and starve until capitalism has been abolished. We must rather say to the unemployed: "organise, wrest from the clutches of the bourgeoisie everything you can by joint demonstrations of employed workers and the unemployed, by fights on the barricades, by mass actions, including the armed revolt; fight for your demands and proceed from partial demands to the general demands of the working class; keep in mind the fact that only by destroying the capitalist system is it possible to put an end to unemployment". In this way we can mobilise and unite the unemployed and the workers in the factories: in this way it will be possible to concentrate the whole energy of the working class and to link up the present demands of the empty stomachs with the problem of overthrowing capitalism and setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, we must most emphatically reject the formula "Either partial demands or general demands". We set up partial demands (state provision for the unemployed, seven-hour day etc.) and link up these demands with the fight against the whole capitalist system. Neither the slogan "Only partial demands", nor the slogan "Only general demands", but linking up of the partial with the general demands — that is the sense and meaning of the international day of fight against unemployment. This day is in essence a day of fight against the whole capitalist system.

With the growth of unemployment we witness a recurrence of social-reformist schemes and projects. There are no statesmen, from the most rabid reactionaries to the social fascists, who do not recommend their own prescriptions for solving the unemployment problem. Particularly rich in such plans is England, where Mr. J. H. Thomas is busy inventing ever fresh palliative measures. What does Mr. Thomas suggest to the unemployed? That they shall give up demanding a reduction of the working day, and go and try their luck in the colonies. What do the German and the Polish social fascists recommend? They shed crocodile's tears over the hard fate of the unemployed, but at the same time do not consider it possible to put forward with all seriousness the demand for adequate support for the unemployed, but devote themselves chiefly to trying to persuade them not to give ear to the advice of the wicked communists.

Against the demagogy of the social fascists we must set up plain concrete demands. We must reply to their attempts to bind the unemployed hand and foot and disarm them both ideologically and politically in the interests of national capital, by putting forward our own non-compromising line, which is directed towards organising all sections of the workers against capital and social fascism. A specially important role in regard to making plain the true character of social fascism is played by the bloody suppression of unemployed demonstrations by the social fascist parties. He there is shown most strikingly how far the social democratic parties have travelled on the road to fascism. Our most urgent task in the fight against unemployment is to increase the fight against social fascism.

The mass unemployment confronts us with the question, whether under the present conditions it is possible for the workers to fight, and whether it is not necessary to postpone the demands of the workers, their collective actions, such as strikes, until such time when unemployment is at an end.

Strikes can arise directly in connection with unemployment: for example, on account of mass dismissals from the factory. Shall the workers quietly submit when a fourth or a third of their workmates are thrown on to the street? Shall they not put forward the demand that not a single worker be discharged? Shall they not stand for a shortening of the working day with the continued employment of the whole of the staff rather than the dismissal of a considerable portion of the working men and women? A depressed business situation naturally renders an economic struggle more difficult, but it does not make it impossible. In connection with the growth of unemployment, political actions of the workers (demonstrations, armed collisions with the police etc.) will become more frequent even than economic conflicts. The economic struggles are not done away with because of unemployment: strikes can and must be organised. The slightest attempt to renounce the strike weapon, pleading the bad business situation as an excuse, must be ruthlessly opposed.

The mass unemployment has everywhere dealt a severe blow to the legend of capitalist prosperity. Herein lies the great political significance of the present wholesale unemployment.

If the most powerful country of present day capitalism, the United States, is now experiencing a most severe crisis, what is to be said of the other countries? The events taking place at present in all countries (Germany, France, Poland, the Balkans and Latin-America) show how rapidly unemployment is revolutionising and rousing the masses.

The upsurge of the Labour movement is calling forth the fiercest resistance of the bourgeoisie and the social fascists. Inspired by the desire to divert the attention of the broad masses from the difficult and hard situation at home, the bourgeoisie and their social fascist lackeys have increased their incitement and agitation against the Soviet Union. They are increasing this incitement also because the crisis and unemployment in the whole of the capitalist world occurs at a time of powerful economic advance and growth of the Soviet Union. This contrast is so striking, this fact has such a revolutionising effect upon the masses, that the bourgeoisie and their social fascist lackeys are doing their utmost to weaken the impression created by this contrast which is so unfavourable for them.

The II and the Amsterdam Internationals are now occupying a special place among the war-inciters. They are now mobilising the masses against the Soviet Union. Herein lies the meaning and purpose of the white-guardist speeches delivered by Kerensky before the socialist fraction in the French Parliament and in the presidium of the French reformist C. G. T.

Hence it is necessary to increase the vigilance of the workers, to link up the problem of the fight against unemployment with all the questions of domestic and foreign politics of every single country, and to lead the masses to the fight on the basis of the programme of the C. I. and the R. I. L. U.

## The Approaching Revolutionary Crisis in Greece.

By Prynós.

We are confronted in Greece by a severe economic and political crisis such as was hitherto unknown in this country. This acute crisis is caused before all by the agrarian crisis, which again is the result of the international agrarian crisis. Greece produces mainly such agrarian products as tobacco, sultanas, rice, oil which for the most part are exported, and in return imports half of the grain consumed in the country. During the year 1929 the prices of the above mentioned products fell 40 to 50 per cent. compared with 1928.

Industry is suffering from an over-production crisis, due to the diminished mass consumption and the disproportion between productive capacity and the market. The bankruptcies in the year 1929 were twice as high as in 1928. All shares of industrial joint stock companies declined on an average by 30 per cent. A number of factories were closed down. In

the month of January, in a suburb of Athens, 12 carpet weaving factories were closed down, with the result that 3000 working men and women were thrown onto the streets. According to our estimate, the number of unemployed figures at 100 000, i. e. a third of the Greek proletariat. Only a third of these unemployed receive any unemployment benefit.

The peasants are not in a position to pay their taxes and debts. According to a declaration of the Minister for the Interior, in one district of Greece, 280,000 warrants for arrest have been issued against poor peasants, for not paying taxes, whilst the total number of peasant families in Greece does not exceed 800,000. As the poor peasants, in spite of brutal measures on the part of the gendarmerie, are unable to pay their debts, the gendarmerie levy distress on the clothing and furniture of the peasants and sell them by auction.

In spite of all these oppressive measures, the Minister for Finance had to report that 70 to 95 per cent. of the direct taxes have not yet been paid in, although the financial year is coming to an end. The budget, which appeared to be balanced during the last three years, is becoming shaky.

The upsurge of the revolutionary movement is spreading, the counter-attack of the working class is assuming a more aggressive political character. There is fermentation not only amongst the proletariat, but also among the petty-bourgeois strata. The partial strikes, the partial mutinies in the army and the armed demonstrations of 1929 are the precursors of new, bigger and more general fights. The idea of the political mass strike and of armed demonstrations of the peasants is gaining ground.

The terrified bourgeoisie is preparing its fascist reserves, as Venizelos is losing more and more influence. The fascist block of the agrarians and of General Kondvils wishes to "save the country from social anarchy". All the fascist elements are beginning to speak of a new war of expansion of Greece which is "suffocating". This war can only be a war against the Soviet Union.

It was in this situation that the Plenum of the C.C. of the C. P. of Greece was recently held. The Plenum recorded the approaching revolutionary crisis in Greece and the possibility of a rapid transition to a revolutionary situation. The most important tasks of the C.P. of Greece were laid down: preparation of the political mass strike and the mobilisation of the toiling peasants by means of armed demonstrations and under the slogan of refusal to pay taxes, the mobilisation of workers, of the suppressed nationalities and of the soldiers.

The Plenum exposed by means of a sharp self-criticism the weaknesses and shortcomings of the Party, and emphasised the great disproportion between the exceedingly favourable objective conditions and the lagging behind of the subjective factor. In many cases, and particularly with regard to the peasant movement, the C.P. of Greece was at the tail of the movement. The organisational position of the Party and of the revolutionary trade unions has become worse. The circulation of the press has declined.

The Plenum concentrated its attention on this situation of the Party, improvement of which is a necessary precondition to the fulfilment by the Party of its mission in the approaching great struggles.

The C.P.G. is conscious of its responsibility towards the international proletariat, and the III. Plenum emphasised the necessity of developing its international feeling, of defending the approaching revolution in Yugoslavia and of promoting the work of the Balkan Federation.

## Change of Address!

The address of the "Inprecorr" is now:

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## Unemployment in Fascist Italy.

By A. S.

The fascist figures regarding unemployment are very incomplete and, as the official statistical organs themselves admit, "far from being exact". Enormous masses of unemployed (agricultural workers, seasonal workers, domestic employees etc.) are not included at all in the State statistics. One can assume that the actual number of the unemployed is at least twice as high as that given in the official records.

The following official figures denote the position regarding unemployment on the 31st of December of each year in question:

1922	.....	381,968
1923	.....	258,580
1924	.....	150,449
1925	.....	122,200
1926	.....	181,493
1927	.....	414,283
1928	.....	363,551
1929	.....	408,748

The fascist methods of "combating unemployment" are, so to speak, an illustration of the fascist labour policy in general. The law passed on the 30th December, 1923, and the decree issued on 2nd December, 1924, did away with the Labour Exchanges which had existed hitherto. At the same time, the annual state subsidy of 40 million Lira to the fund for relief of the unemployed was abolished. The millions of land workers were completely excluded from the unemployment insurance. Various labour organisations which had rendered support to the unemployed, did not receive any further grants from the unemployment insurance organs. The latter were completely bureaucratised.

The unemployment insurance extends only to a portion of the workers and employees from the age of 15 to 65. The following categories of workers are excluded from the unemployment insurance: landworkers (numbering at least 4 millions), commercial employees receiving a salary of over 800 lira, State and municipal employees, seasonal workers, film and other actors, domestic employees etc.

The amount of the contributions and the amount of benefit payable is to be seen from the following table:

Daily Wage	Contribution	Amount of benefit per day
Up to 4 Lira	0.70 Lira	1.25 Lira
4 to 8 Lira	1.40 Lira	2.50 Lira
Over 8 Lira	2.10 Lira	3.75 Lira

The length of period for which unemployment benefit is paid is 90 days, and in the highest case 120 days in the year.

It is extremely difficult to obtain unemployment benefit. Thus, for example, the benefit must be called for daily. The places at which benefit is paid out are situated exclusively in the big centres, so that the unemployed, including old and sick people up to 63 years of age and pregnant women, have daily to trudge in all weathers as far as 10 to 15 kilometres in order to fetch the miserable unemployment pittance, which is paid out of the funds to which they have contributed for months and even years.

In case of sickness the unemployed loses the right to benefit during the whole period of sickness. The monstrous character of this measure is only fully realised when it is remembered that in Italy there exists no national health insurance law.

It is not surprising that the great majority of unemployed have no other recourse than to apply to the public welfare institutions. The municipal and private charitable societies make collections for "cheap public kitchens". Fascist "city fathers", catholic parsons, ladies, who devote themselves to the care of the poor and fascist organisations deliver tickets entitling the recipient to a basin of watery soup and a crust of bread. It is only rarely, in the days of greatest unemployment, that Mussolini makes a gesture and grants a trifling sum for distribution among such of the unemployed as have large families.

Also the relief work provided for does not in any way alleviate the lot of the unemployed. Rather it enables the

hardest work (draining of fever-ridden swamps, irrigation works, etc.) to be performed at the cheapest rates by taking advantage of the helpless position of the unemployed worker.

Fascism is in a continual state of fear of the proletariat of the big towns. A particular source of anxiety to the fascists is the migration of the peasant population from the villages to the big centres — a circumstance which is not only fraught with political consequences but also results in the big landowners, as well as the enterprises and organisations for draining swamps, irrigation works etc., losing their supply of cheap labour power. Draconic measures such as are usually only employed against citizens of a hostile State, are used against the unemployed who have flocked to the towns. Persons who have migrated from the provinces or the village to the big towns are placed under police supervision. If they do not find any work or lodging, or even if they obtain work and lose it later, they are sent back to their place of origin. Immigrant workers may not be employed without the permission of the police. The employers are compelled to report the dismissal of such a worker to the authorities in order that he may be expelled from the town. The State, public, co-operative and welfare organisations may not let a house or dwelling to workers or employees unless they have been domiciled in the town for at least three years.

At the same time measures have been adopted in order to prevent the inhabitants of villages and localities in the provinces from leaving their place of residence. Even when anyone wishes to go abroad the greatest obstacles are placed in the way; the members of the intending emigrants family must remain in Italy as hostages. The difficulties which the authorities have placed in the way of intending emigrants have resulted in an alarming increase in secret emigration. According to fascist calculations, between march 1926 and 31st December 1928 about 80,000 persons crossed the Italy—French frontier.

The regime of terror and spying prevents the unemployed from creating organisations of their own and openly proclaiming their demands. Nevertheless, there are ever increasing cases of demonstrations of starving masses who have been driven to desperation.

In the rural districts and in the provinces, where the fascist police and spy apparatus has not been brought to such a state of perfection, it frequently comes to spontaneous demonstrations of landworkers and small peasants demanding bread and work. Sometimes these demonstrations end in a raid on the municipal offices, attacks on the representatives of the authorities and of the Fascist Party. Thus, a little while ago in Milan, and previously in various other towns, unemployed demonstrated with their pockets turned inside out and ironically called out: "Long live Mussolini". Of late the demonstrations of the unemployed have been assuming a fiercer and more stormy character, particularly on the occasion of mass dismissals. According to press reports, the staff of the "Miani and Silvestri" metal factory in Milan replied to the wholesale dismissals by wrecking the offices of the manager and "insulting" Mussolini's picture. Disturbances have broken out in numerous other factories for the same reason. The workers in the Fiat works, when it was announced that the works would be closed down for a time, beat up several members of the managerial staff.

The Communist Party of Italy and the illegal Trade Union Federation are adopting measures in order to organise and lead the spontaneous movement of the masses of unemployed. The following demands are being set up as slogans of the unemployed in the towns: payment of benefit amounting to 10 Lira during the whole period of unemployment; fight against ejectments; exemption of the unemployed from payment of rent etc. In the villages, the slogans for the starving mass of peasants are: against the charity of public soup kitchens; State support for the unemployed landworkers to the amount of at least 5 Lira a day; against the taxation of the poor peasants; for the taxation of the big landowners for the purpose of raising funds to support the unemployed. Peasants to be given the right to cut wood in the forests of the big landowners.

All these slogans are linked up with the summons to fight against the podesta (fascist prefects), against the big landed proprietors and the capitalists; against the fascist Labour Exchanges and trade unions, and against the fascist regime.

## Mass Unemployment in Canada

By Tim Buck (Toronto).

The economic crisis that has engulfed the United States, is paralleled by the equally severe crisis shaking the economies of Canada. Following the Wall Street crash (which was sharply reflected on all Canadian exchanges), production which had been steadily slowing down since August, declined rapidly, losing ten percent during November, while the rate of decline during December was the highest for the past ten years.

With the combination of the general crisis and the agrarian crisis that has hit Canada, Railway Carloadings declined during the month of November (the month of the "grain rush"), by about 25%, from 83,044 cars for the week ending November 10th 1928, down to 62,825 for the corresponding week of 1929. Steel production declined from the highest point of post war production to 60% of capacity for November, with further drastic declines continuing steadily until the present time. The Automobile industry has been virtually shut down for several months, and all industries with the exception of the Newsprint paper industry report heavy falling off in production.

Mass unemployment has developed as a result. As early as the later part of November, the unemployment problem was already so acute as to constitute one of the chief issues of the Municipal elections which are mostly held at the end of the year, while in the larger cities of Western Canada, unemployment had already assumed mass proportions, and the unemployed workers were organised under the leadership of the **Communist Party of Canada** into definite organisations. During December the unemployed workers of the larger cities in the East were also organised, including **Montreal** where forty thousand workers of the population of 750,000, are reported to be unemployed.

The worst of the crisis has not yet been felt, neither has the peak of unemployment been reached. Canadian economy is inextricably involved in the World crisis. She stands fifth among the nations of the world in aggregate foreign trade, while her foreign trade per capita is approximately four times as great as that of the United States. Her key exports are Wheat, non-ferrous metals and metallic ores such as Blister Copper, Nickel Matte, Aluminium ingots and bars etc. Wood Pulp products, principally Newsprint paper and cellulose, and Animals and animal products. With the single exception of Wheat, her main market for all of these is the United States, and all of them reflect immediately and sharply the industrial situation prevailing there. — Production of Newsprint paper may be maintained at a comparatively high level, because of the rapid transplanting of the industry from the United States to Canada, to seize advantage of the immense forest areas, and abundant hydro-electric power. But the closing of mines in Montana and the sharp decline of production in all industries using the metals produced by Canada is a decisive factor for decline in these industries in Canada, and in the numerous others dependent or partly dependent upon them.

The **Agrarian crisis** is of major importance. The wheat crop of 1929 was only 272 million bushels as compared with the crop of 545 million bushels in 1928, and this alone represents a tremendous shrinkage of both the home market and exports. (Grain exports from Canada for 1929 were 183 million dollars below the 1928 figures.)

Its effect upon the poor farmers, is catastrophic. This is particularly so in Canada, where mechanisation of agriculture has proceeded faster than in any other capitalist country, on the basis of an almost fantastic increase in the indebtedness of the poor and medium well-to-do farmers to the banks and implement trusts.

And the agrarian crisis which is a part of the general crisis, will also intensify. Canada entered the crop season of 1929, with a "carry-over" from the 1928 crop of 96 million bushels of wheat. Due to the world wheat situation, Canadian shippers have disposed of only seventy-five million bushels of the 1929 crop to date, and the enormous carry-over of 200,000,000 bushels is being held in storage in the country on the flimsy hope of being able to secure higher prices "in the Spring".

Nominally the wheat still belongs to the farmers (collectively at least through their membership in the Wheatpool). In fact of course it belongs to the Banks which advanced the loans against it for the "interim payments". If by political

manoeuvring (representatives of the Wheatpool are now in London negotiating with the British government) higher prices are secured, then the farmers will have further small payments to collect. But if — as is more probable — world wheat prices remain stationary or decline, then the farmers will start the crop season of 1930, with 200 million bushels of their 1929 wheat, for which they have already been paid, stacked against them.

The result for the farmers will be disastrous. **Recrudescence** of wholesale mortgage foreclosures, ejections, and resistance on the part of desperate farmers to sheriffs sales, is an immediate prospect in the wheat growing districts of Western Canada.

And inasmuch as the agrarian market is still the main sector of the home market, this foreshadows further intensification of the general economic crisis. It shows how shallow and hypocritical the current "explanations" are, such as for example the following from the Financial Post:

"The anomaly arises in that the Dominion Bureau of statistics index number remains at the highest point for any December on record, and that at the same time, the severest unemployment problems of many years are having to be faced by several big Canadian cities. The answer lies in the fact that although Dec. did set an unusually high record, it also set a record through an unusually heavy slump from the November total, which would account for the sudden pressure on the big cities to handle the sudden surplus". Financial Post Jan 23rd.

What the "Post" conveniently leaves unsaid, is that from August 1st to November 1st, there was a steady decline in production and employment, which was reflected in a decline of the "index number" of the Bureau of statistics, from 127.9 for August, to 119.1 for the first of November. This decline represents a reduction in the total number of workers employed, of more than ten percent, due to the fact that the "index number" does not cover all workers. It can be seen therefore that if we add the number of workers thrown out by the slump during November, then "the unusually heavy slump from November" which took place during December, disposes of the "anomaly". To talk of the "index number" remaining at a high point is sheer humbug. It is an attempt to ignore the tremendous expansion of Canadian industry during the past six years, and the influx of European immigration, which has been met this year by an equally large influx of workers from the United States, who in endeavouring to escape unemployment there, have come to swell the ranks of the unemployed in Canada.

As everywhere, the worst enemies the workers must face, is the **trade union bureaucracy** and the reformists in general. Locally and Nationally, these social traitors see in the present situation and the increasing militancy of the workers, a threat to themselves in their chosen role of "saviours" of capitalism. As a result, they oppose or divert every move the workers make.

When the unemployment crisis forced several Western Cities to demand a National Conference to consider the problem of Unemployment, **Heenan**, the "Independent Laborite" minister of Labour in the present Liberal government categorically rejected the demand on the ground that the "index number" for employment was high, and a conference would aggravate the situation.

The local reformists took up his cry, and **Moore**, president of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada while interviewing **MacKenzie King** the Prime Minister, as head of a delegation during January, seized the opportunity of placing the trade union officialdom as a whole on record as being against doing anything for the unemployed workers, through the following assurance to the government:

"We have found in the past that unemployment or depression generally has a cumulative effect if it is emphasised. If we are to have a national conference on the subject, it should be at some other time, when the country is not face to face with serious unemployment". Toronto Star Jan 22nd.

In reply to which King, the representative of capitalism in Canada, expressed on behalf of the bosses, the following keen appreciation of the worth while assistance of the social traitors who are so rapidly integrating themselves in the machinery of the capitalist State:



"We felt exactly as you do, that such a conference would serve to focus attention on the present conditions and would work harm in the long run." Toronto Star Jan 22nd.

Meanwhile, the crisis deepens, and the lot of the workers becomes worse. Recently 26 unemployed workers who had sought shelter in a disused Railway car were sentenced to two months jail sentences, because as the magistrate said, when sentencing them, they had no where to go. For the first time in years, thousands of Railway workers are discharged, while the decline in industrial employment continues. Mass demonstrations of unemployed workers are a regular occurrence, and in one city, Vancouver clubbing has already been resorted to by the police, while the local leader of the unemployed workers, comrade McEwan, has been arrested and held for deportation to Scotland.

The Communist Party is organising the unemployed workers as a definite part of the militant working class movement, in close association with the workers still employed. As the crisis deepens and extends, the reformists will find that unemployed whom they now so cynically disregard or despise, will be in the front rank of the army that sweep them into oblivion.

## Unemployment and the 6th March in Czechoslovakia.

Unemployment in Czechoslovakia is growing daily. The iron industry in the Silesian district is now suffering severely. Dismissals are the order of the day. This week the wire factory in Oderburg has dismissed 150 workers, and the foundry in Karlshutte 400 workers. In the A.E.G. and Hardt factories similar dismissals have taken place. 50% of the Hardt workers have been dismissed and the remainder are working half-time. The Huckels factory in Neuticheln has also dismissed a number of workers and the hat factory Boehm is working half time. The stocking industry in the Welpert district is in such a bad state that half the factories have closed down altogether whilst the remainder are working short time. In the textile factories in Bruenn there have also been mass dismissals.

In consequence the unemployed workers movement is growing in strength and activity. The unemployed workers in Aussig have deposed the old inactive committee and elected a new committee, they also elected two delegates to attend the unemployed workers congress in Prague. Following their meeting a demonstration was made through the streets. The police did not interfere.

In M. Ostrau a joint meeting of employed and unemployed workers took place last night followed by demonstrations on the streets. Collisions occurred with the police who were unable to break up the demonstrations. 9 workers were arrested.

The co-operation between the employed and the unemployed workers is steadily gaining in importance. Chodau near Karlsbad reports that the workers of a large china works have elected a committee of action to join in the preparations for international day against unemployment on the 6th March.

## The Labour Movement in China before the 6th of March.

By T. V.

The upsurge of the labour movement during the past year shows that the Chinese working class has recovered from the serious defeat which the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie inflicted on it in the year 1927. The position of the workers, who have lost all the achievements of the revolution of 1925/27, has greatly worsened as a result of increased capitalist exploitation and the white terror of the Kuomintang. The working day is frequently over 12 hours. The hygienic conditions in the factories are appalling. Insults, blows and fines on account of the least oversight are daily occurrences. The average wage is 12 to 15 Chinese dollars monthly, which means that the worker and his family are actually starving. Capitalist rationalisation is accompanied by wage cuts, increased exploitation and mass unemployment. The Chinese manufacturers,

in particular the textile manufacturers, employ mainly women and children, because they work at far lower wages, are less revolutionary and less organised than the men.

The year 1929 was a year of rapid upsurge and growth of the Chinese labour movement. On the 1st of May, the 1st of August and International Youth Day, hundreds of thousands of workers marched in the streets of Shanghai, Canton, Hong-kong, Tientsin etc. under red flags and anti-Kuomintang, Communist slogans, and demonstrated their devotion to the world revolution and their readiness to defend the fatherland of the working class, the Soviet Union.

Whilst in 1928 Shanghai was the only centre of the labour movement in China, in 1929 the strike wave extended to other provinces, in particular to Tientsin, Peking, Tanshan, Shantung and partly to Manchuria. In Tientsin the tramwaymen, the printers and the textile workers and the seamen of the English Shipping Company struck work (about 1000 workers fought for over a month); in Tanshan the textile workers, metal workers and railwaymen struck work; in Kaiping 20,000 workers of the Kailan mines downed tools.

In Peking, where the labour movement is much more backward, the telephone operators held a political demonstration on 30th of May, the anniversary of the Shanghai events. In November last 50,000 to 60,000 unarmed ricksha coolies, scavengers, water carriers and other municipal workers defended themselves for eight hours against the attacks of police and regular troops, although the latter were armed with revolvers and machine guns. This movement was exclusively directed against the capitalists (tramway company), against the Kuomintang regime, which is imposing fresh taxes on the ricksha coolies and has considerably increased the rates payable by the coolies for hiring a ricksha, and in addition made the payment of high contribution fees to the yellow trade unions compulsory. The movement was also directed against the police brutalities.

50,000 workers of Tsingtow struck work for four months in reply to the lockout of the Japanese textile and match factory owners. The strike was throttled as a result of the treachery of the Kuomintang, which received a big Judas reward from the Japanese.

In Shanghai, 24 strikes took place in May, 28 in June, whilst in July every day 20,000 workers struck work. On the 1st of May 50,000 downed tools.

In Ussu and Hantchow the silk spinners went on strike. In Teinde 100,000 workers in the pottery works struck work as a protest against the repressive measures of the authorities during the August demonstrations; in Szechwan over 20,000 workers of the salt mines struck work demanding an increase of wages and protesting against closing down of works.

Of great significance is the struggle of the railwaymen on the Tientsin-Pukow, Tientsin-Mukden, Shantung, Shanghai-Hankow and Shanghai-Nanking lines. The railwaymen demanded a wage increase and reduction of working hours. In addition the railwaymen of the Peking-Hankow line demanded the removal of Kuomintang instructors in the railway unions. The seamen's movement is gradually getting rid of legalist tendencies and of the reformist Kuomintang influence. It is fighting under the leadership of the revolutionary trade unions.

The labour movement in the South, which suffered most under the white terror, has not yet recovered to the same extent.

The Bourgeoisie is using every means, ranging from shooting to reformist propaganda, in order to suppress the labour movement. In September and October 1929, the Nanking Government ratified the trade union law, which converts the trade unions into strike-breakers' organisations.

The "Left" phrases of the reformist trade unions, however, can no more mislead the working masses, who have learned from their own experiences of the treacherous role of the trade unions and are now seeking new paths and new organisational methods of struggle.

The importance of the red revolutionary trade unions and the influence of the Communist Party upon the working masses have greatly increased during the last year. In Tsingtow the striking ricksha coolies beat up the leaders of the reformist trade unions who wished to persuade them to resume work. In Kaiping the miners, protected by armed pickets, occupied the building of the Kuomintang trade union, prevented the calling of the police and elected a new Executive. The Chinese trade

union movement is passing through a severe crisis; in many unions the leadership is passing into the hands of the revolutionary opposition.

In addition new red trade unions are arising which are rapidly gaining the confidence of the workers and becoming mass organisation. The red Trade Union Federation of Shanghai comprises 24 legal trade unions with 50,000 workers. In Hongkong the Red Council of workers' deputies includes representatives of 10 trade unions with 5000 workers. The red trade unions have their own press, which describes the life and struggles of the toiling masses. In the last few months of 1929 factory councils were established in the big factories, which serve as a lever for mobilising the broad masses for the fight.

On the 7th of November the 5th Trade Union Congress of China took place, and sent telegrams of greeting to the workers of the Soviet Union, to the workers of the whole world and to the Far-Eastern Red Army. As the Congress was completely illegal, the attendance was not very numerous. Nevertheless, the great centres of the labour movement, such as Shanghai, Hongkong, Tientsin, Tsingtow, Manchuria, Wuhan etc were represented.

In addition Conferences of workers according to their industry took place under the leadership of the Red trade unions. Thus in Shanghai, in December last, there was held a conference of the textile workers, and a district conference of the shop assistants, in Tanshan a conference of the miners, and in Baodin a railwaymen's conference. Everywhere workers' demands were formulated, decisions were passed regarding the organisation of strike pickets, founding of nuclei of the Red Aid in the factories etc. Experience shows that such conferences are the best method of establishing contact with the unorganised working masses. By these means the Chinese revolutionary working class is preparing for the 6th of March, lining up in the international fighting front against unemployment.

## Twenty Million Unemployed.

By L. B. (Moscow).

How large is the present world army of unemployed? It is impossible to answer this question with complete exactitude. Even in those countries where the bourgeoisie compile statistics on the number of unemployed, its figures do not reflect the real situation on the labour market. But even these official, incomplete statistics speak a very impressive language.

In regard to the absolute amount of unemployment the USA. occupies first place at present. Official sources give the number of unemployed at 3 million. In reality it is much higher, as even the President of the American Federation of Labour, Mr. William Green, asserts, that 19 per cent. of the members organised in the trade unions affiliated to the AFL. are unemployed.

The total number of factory workers and employees in the USA. amounts to about 30 million. Assuming that the percentage of unemployed in general is not higher than that obtaining among that portion of the proletariat which is organised in the A.F. of L., i.e., only 19 per cent, then we arrive at a total figure of the unemployed in the whole country of 5,700,000. But as is known, the A. F. of L. has only 3.5 million members, chiefly recruited from the privileged strata of the working class. If unemployment among these privileged strata amounts to 19 per cent, it is clear that the percentage of the unemployed among the great masses outside of the A. F. of L. must be much higher. Therefore, the most cautious estimate would place the number of unemployed at certainly not less than six million.

Second place is taken by Germany. On the 25th of January the number of unemployed in receipt of benefit amounted to 2.5 million. To these several 100,000 must be added who do not receive unemployment benefit, as well as the huge army of workers on short time. The total number of German proletarians who have no work at all or are on short time thus amounts to 4 millions. Together with their families they comprise 12 to 15 million people, i.e. more than a fifth of the total population.

An idea of the extent of unemployment in Germany is conveyed by the fact that on 30th of December, at a time when the situation on the labour market was not so acute, 20.3 per cent. of the members of the free trade unions were unemployed and 8.2 per cent were on short time. Thus

already at the end of December 28.5 per cent of the trade union members were more or less affected by unemployment. This percentage is undoubtedly now much higher.

Germany is followed by England. The number of the officially registered unemployed amounts to 1,500,000, but not all the unemployed are on the "live" register at the Labour Exchanges. Last year 100,000 workers were deprived of benefit for "not genuinely seeking work". One can certainly put the total number of unemployed in England at 2 million at least.

If we pass to the other countries, we see that the absolute figures of unemployment are smaller, but compared with the proletarian population as a whole, unemployment has almost reached catastrophic dimensions, before all in Poland and Austria.

In Poland, at the middle of January, 240,000 unemployed were registered at the Labour Exchanges. In addition, there are tens of thousands of unemployed who are not registered, before all the unemployed agricultural workers; further, the percentage of unemployed in the territories of the national minorities is still higher than in Poland proper. In addition, there is in Poland a huge army of workers on short time. The total number of unemployed and short-time workers amounts to 500,000, i.e. half of the Polish proletariat.

No less catastrophic is the situation in Austria. In this small country, with a total population of 6.5 million, there are 360,000 officially registered unemployed. But the total number of unemployed and workers on short time certainly exceeds 400,000; which means that about two fifths of the Austrian working class has been "set free".

Everywhere in Europe, in Italy and Hungary, Norway and Sweden, Rumania and Bulgaria, the number of unemployed is growing rapidly and amounts to tens and hundreds of thousands. There is only one exception—France. The lack of a natural increase of the population is creating a favourable situation on the labour market. The boom period of the last few years was accompanied by a strong influx of foreign workers into France. As soon as the business situation deteriorates these foreign workers will be compelled to leave France. Hence there is hardly likely to be great unemployment in the near future.

In the overseas countries, which are likewise in the grip of a serious economic crisis, the number of unemployed is also very great. No statistics on unemployment are published in these countries. From various reports in the Press, however, conclusions can be drawn which permit of an approximate estimate of unemployment.

In Canada, the number of unemployed amounts to 200,000, in Mexico to 700,000, in Cuba to 300,000, in Colombia to 150,000 and in Argentina, Chili, Peru and the other countries of South and Central America hundreds of thousands of proletarians are thrown onto the street. In Japan there are about one million unemployed. In China, Indonesia, Australia and South Africa hundreds of thousands of workers have lost their jobs, owing to the crisis.

If we estimate the total number of unemployed in the capitalist countries at 20 million, we think it is rather an understatement than an exaggeration of the actual state of affairs.

## How the Unemployed are Cared for in the Soviet Union.

By Schwarz.

The number of the unemployed in the Soviet Union is declining from month to month. The rapidly growing economy is absorbing all the more or less skilled labour forces. Among the unemployed who are registered at the Labour Exchanges the unskilled workers or people without trade or profession who have not hitherto worked as wage earners, predominate. The Labour Exchanges are not in a position to meet the demand for skilled workers on the part of the new factories which are being constructed on the whole territory of the Soviet Union.

The tasks of the organs controlling the labour market, consist before all in training the unemployed worker into a skilled worker and then immediately placing him in industry.

In the last economic year 1928/29 83,300 unemployed were trained in various institutions and different courses; this



year their number has risen to 280,000. In addition thousands of unemployed are trained in the vocational schools and courses of the organs for People's Education.

So as to raise the qualification of the unemployed, there have been formed under the direction of the Labour Exchanges: collectives of unemployed, who are organising workshops etc. Such collectives obtain all-round assistance from the Soviet state. Frequently empty workshops are placed at their disposal; the collectives and their undertakings are exempted from various taxes, they need not pay the cost of the social insurance for the unemployed working in their workshops although the latter enjoy all the rights to the legally existing benefits (in case of temporary incapacity to work, sickness etc.) i. e. they are in this respect placed on the same footing as all the other wage workers.

Whilst in 1928/29 140,000 unemployed worked in such collectives (125,000 in productive undertakings and 15,000 in trading enterprises), at present 163,000 are engaged in these collectives, of whom 150,000 work in productive undertakings.

Another form of productive provision for the unemployed connected with vocational training and increasing the skill of the worker is the accommodation of a definite part of the unemployed in the undertakings of the handicraft industries, which are united in co-operatives. Experience has shown that unemployed workers who have been provided with work in the handicraft industries, can be engaged by the big factories. Under an agreement with the Productive Co-operatives 55,000 unemployed are this year being passed on to the handicrafts industry by the Labour Exchanges.

The unemployed who are provided with work in the collectives and in the handicraft workshops not only receive their wages, but also enjoy all the privileges granted to the unemployed. Their names are retained on the unemployed register at the Labour Exchange until such time as they obtain permanent work.

The increased training of the unemployed, and the frequent shortage of even semi-skilled workers in the new factories and in the building trade are gradually pushing relief work — which was formerly very much used as a means of alleviating unemployment — into the background. As a rule the unemployed who are put on relief work are for the greater part unskilled workers.

Material aid, unemployment benefit, still remains the chief means of alleviating the lot of the unemployed. In addition they enjoy numerous privileges such as do not exist in the capitalist countries. In the Soviet Union the social insurance contributions, including the contributions for unemployment insurance, are not paid by the workers and employees. All such outgoings are borne entirely by the undertaking, be it a private or a state undertaking.

The right to unemployment benefit is enjoyed by all unemployed who have worked for a definite time as wage-workers. For members of trade unions the period of qualification is two years, for unorganised workers three years. It should be remembered that in the Soviet Union 95 per cent. of the wage-workers are organised in trade unions. For young workers up to the age of 18 years the qualification period is three months, and for young workers between 18 and 20 years of age six months.

These restrictive provisions are due to the non-industrial character of unemployment in the Soviet Union. The proportion of purely proletarian elements among the unemployed is very small, and in many cases such elements are lacking altogether. On the other hand, there are a great number of unemployed who are season workers and are closely connected with the village. They work in the town during the busy season, register at the Labour Exchange and then return to their peasant farm, where as often as not there is plenty of work to keep them occupied. Such "unemployed" do not, of course, require support in the same measure as the unemployed in the town.

Among those seeking an occupation for the first time are a considerable number of from members of the petty bourgeoisie, and even of the big bourgeoisie.

Frequently they are not suffering any material want. Many of them work for a short time solely in order to come under the category of workers, in order then to smuggle into the

trade unions. Having attained their object, they give up their work and register at the Labour Exchange, i. e. they secure for themselves all the rights and privileges accorded to the workers in the Soviet Union, draw unemployment benefit, and in addition pursue their former occupation: speculation, exploitation of other people's labour power. During the revision of the unemployed registers at the Labour Exchanges many cases were come across where former princes, Tsarist governors and police presidents, factory owners, wholesale traders etc. were in possession of unemployment insurance cards. Such "unemployed" were of course immediately struck off the register. It is, however, not always easy to get on the track of such people, and the fixing of a definite period during which the applicant must have worked as a wage-earner before he is qualified to receive unemployment benefit, serves as a means of combing out these intruding elements.

The actual unemployment benefit consists of a definite sum and an allowance in accordance with the size of the family. The family allowance is granted in respect of all children up to the age of 16, and all members of the family who are incapable of work, including the mother of the unemployed if she is over fifty years of age, and also the father if he is over 55.

The period for which unemployment benefit is granted is in all cases eighteen months; after the expiry of this term, however, it can be renewed. The benefit paid during the eighteen months does not include any benefit received during temporary incapacity for work, allowances and wages paid while attending courses of technical instruction in the factory.

In addition to the benefit granted by the State the unemployed member of a trade union receives a monthly allowance from the funds of his union.

Apart from the monetary benefit, the unemployed in the Soviet Union are accorded various other privileges, which greatly improve their material situation. For example, they pay next to no rent. According to the Soviet laws the rent payable by an unemployed worker amounts at the very highest to 5.5 kopeks (about three halfpence) per square metre of dwelling space. The unemployed have the free use of all the municipal services such as light, gas, water, drainage etc. Under no circumstances can an unemployed worker be evicted from his dwelling. The children of the unemployed receive free instruction at all educational establishments, without exception.

The Labour Exchanges distribute stamps to the unemployed entitling them to free dinners, or dinners at greatly reduced charges, free tramway tickets etc. The unemployed worker has exactly the same right as the employed worker to every kind of medical aid, treatment at sanatoria and residence at health resorts and convalescent homes, as well as every kind of insurance (maternity benefit, allowance for babies during the nursing period).

It is especially worthy of remark that whilst the number of unemployed is steadily decreasing, the sums applied for combating unemployment are increasing from year to year. In 1927 the organs of the State unemployment insurance paid out 69,400,000 roubles, in 1928 113,600,000 and in 1929 139,100,000 roubles. These sums do not include the amounts expended by the local Soviets nor the sums granted out of the funds of the trade unions for combating unemployment.

In recent times the sums employed in training unskilled workers and teaching skilled workers fresh trades have been considerably increased. Thus, the sum allotted for the retraining of building workers in the current year amounts to 6,800,000 roubles. The training of the unemployed and the establishment of new cadres for the Soviet economy, which is developing at a pace absolutely unknown in the capitalist world, is to-day one of the most important problems in the Soviet Union.

The best means of combating unemployment is . . . the abolition of unemployment. This means, which is perfectly unimaginable under capitalist conditions, is realisable and is being realised in the Soviet Union, where the victorious proletariat is building up socialism on a broad front, where the drawing into socialist production of the whole population which is capable of work is on the order of the day and has already in part been carried into effect.

## POLITICS

### The Sugar Lobby Scandal and the U.S. Imperialist Bankers' Control of Cuba.

By Harry Gannes (New York).

After spending more than \$500,000 in graft, the United States imperialists who control 79 % of the sugar industry in Cuba have won a victory against the rich beet-sugar growers in the United States on the tariff question.

The beet-sugar farmers, 90 % of whom are organised in the United States Beet Sugar Association, with an investment of \$ 250,000,000 in beet sugar properties, and with an output of 1,100,000 tons a year, attempted to force a raise in the sugar tariff rate from 1.76 to 2.50 cents per pound on Cuban sugar, and from 2.20 to 3.00 cents on sugar coming from other foreign countries to the United States.

Alarmed at the possibilities of success of the beet sugar farmers, the imperialists who control \$600,000,000 in sugar properties in Cuba, organised a grafting lobby to force their will through Congress. This special organisation of the sugar barons reached from **Machado**, bloody puppet-president of Cuba, to the chief imperialist executive in the United States, **Hoover** himself.

At the head of this lobby were the National City Bank, which controls the greatest share of the U. S.-Cuban investments; the Chase National Bank of New York; the Cuba Co., with \$ 175,000,000 invested in Cuban sugar interests; and a large group of American manufacturers who use a great deal of the Cuban sugar output.

Their first task was to pay \$ 75.00 to the friend and personal attorney of President Hoover, Edwin Shattuck. Mr. Shattuck used his influence with Hoover to get special tariff rates, favourable to the U. S.-Cuban sugar bandits. Facts brought out by the Senate Lobby Investigating Committee showed that Hoover helped his friend earn the graft by working very closely with the sugar robbers. Thousands of dollars were paid, among others, to General Enoch Crowder of the U. S. Army, and former ambassador to Cuba, to enlist his support in behalf of the imperialists in their tariff fight. General Crowder gave the bankers the war secrets of the U. S. War Department in order to help them in their manoeuvres against a higher tariff demanded by the rich beet sugar farmers in the United States.

When these facts were exposed in the capitalist press, Hoover remained absolutely silent on his part in the grafting.

In its argument against a higher tariff on Cuban sugar, the National City Bank of New York pointed out that while Cuba nominally was independent, under the Platt Amendment it in reality was a colony of the United States. They went even further in their frantic and successful efforts to keep down a rise in tariff. They pointed out that Cuba was an integral part of the war strategy of U. S. imperialism in the next World War. In its bulletin of June, 1929, the National City Bank said:

"The fact that the United States has an important naval base on the southern coast of Cuba makes the island practically a first line of defence in the event of our being involved in war, and the Guantanamo base is one of the most important defences of the Panama Canal."

The Guantanamo base, while on Cuban territory, is owned by the United States and is not only used as a base for the next World War, but as a point of mobilisation against uprisings of the masses in Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, and other Central and South American countries.

When the Senate voted to keep the tariff rate on Cuban sugar at 1.76, which was in accordance with the will of the imperialist bankers, and even though the great mass of profits that are wrung out of the impoverished Cuban sugar workers reaches the pockets of the American bankers, the Cuban embassy in Washington went wild with joy over the news. The Cuban Ambassador to the United States, Ferrara, said (N. Y. Times, Jan. 17, 1930):

"I believe that the vote of the Senate is the first step toward more intimate commercial relations between the

United States and Cuba... If, politically, the United States and Cuba are two separate entities because that is the will of the American and Cuban people, economically they are united by the same interests."

The ambassador conveniently overlooks a few important facts. Cuba is chained to American imperialism by strong gold bands on the one hand, and complete political and military servility, on the other. No country in the world is so thoroughly controlled economically by an imperialist power as is Cuba. A glance at the U. S. investments in Cuba show the sway that the Wall Street bankers hold in "bloody" Cuba:

Industry	Wall Street Investments
Sugar Industry . . . . .	\$ 600,000,000
Public Utilities . . . . .	115,000,000
Railways . . . . .	120,000,000
Mines . . . . .	50,000,000
Tobacco industry . . . . .	20,000,000
Hotel and amusement . . . . .	15,000,000
Agricultural . . . . .	25,000,000
Factories . . . . .	15,000,000
Office buildings, real estate . . . . .	50,000,000
Loans to Machado's government . . . . .	100,000,000

Total \$1,140,000,000\*)

In retaliation against the victory of the U. S. bankers who control Cuba, the rich beet sugar interests are now carrying on agitation for the "independence" of the Philippines which produces 9 per cent of the sugar imported in the United States. This sugar comes in duty-free, because the Philippines are an outright American colony. In this projected campaign, the rich beet sugar interests have no more possibility of success than they achieved in their attempt to raise the Cuban sugar tariff. The new adherents to the "independence" cause of the Philippines embarrass the petty-bourgeois Filipino politicians now in the United States who are united with the worst enemies of the Filipino people and do not want independence from Wall Street. For instance, the leading Filipino bourgeois politician Quezon wired to the head of the "Independence Commission", Roxas that he should not antagonise Senator Bingham, chairman of the Insular Committee, who is the foremost enemy of Filipino independence.

The victory of the U. S. sugar barons exposed the close connections between the bankers, the President of the United States, and the Senate. It exposed more clearly than ever before the fact that the American imperialists consider Cuba as an inseparable part of the American Empire and a first line of defence in the next World War.

### Appeal of the Communist Party of Spain.

The Spanish Communist Party has issued an appeal to the workers, peasants and students against the dictatorship of General Berenguer.

The appeal declares that the fall of Primo de Rivera was caused by the growing contradictions of Spanish capitalism and by the intensifying class struggle. The new dictatorship would attempt to transform the military dictatorship into a parliamentary bourgeois regime, save the monarchy and avoid social convulsions. The liberal bourgeoisie supported this policy out of fear of the masses, whilst the socialists and reformists support the liberals and republicans in order to save the regime. The appeal points out that only the oppressed and exploited masses under the leadership of the Communist Party can solve the present crisis in the interests of the broad masses of the people. The C. P. opposes the liberal-socialist combination with the struggle for the setting up of a democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants on the basis of workers and peasants councils.

The appeal points to the evidence of increased working class activity, the great strikes in Asturia, Seville, Biscaya and Barcelona, and declares that the moment has come for

\*) Figures from "Our Cuban Colony", by Leland H. Jenks. The National City Bank in its bulletin of June, 1929, says U. S. investments in Cuba total more than \$1,250,000,000.

energetic action. The C.P. calls for the formation of councils of action in the factories, mines and working class quarters to fight for wage increases, the seven hour day, unemployment insurance, the right to organise and the right to strike. The appeal also calls on the poor peasants to continue their struggle against feudalism and to confiscate the land of the rich landowners. The C.P. appeals to the soldiers not to let themselves be misused against the workers and peasants, to form soldiers committees and demand the immediate evacuation of Morocco. The C.P. repeats its support for self determination for Biscaya and Catalonia up to and including complete independence and appeals to the working masses in these districts to continue their struggle for freedom in the form of an alliance with the toilers of Spain and against their own bourgeoisie for a socialist soviet federal republic of the Liberian peninsula.

The Party also expresses the opinion that it is the duty of all revolutionary proletarian emigrants to return to Spain, in order to take part in the revolutionary struggle. The appeal concludes with a call for mass action to release the revolutionary political prisoners, to secure the legal existence of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary trade unions, for the right to organise, the right to strike and the right to demonstrate on the streets.

Down with the liberals and their socialist allies! Mass strikes and mass action of the workers against the Berenguer government! Down with the monarchy! Long live the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the toilers all over the world!

## HANDS OFF THE SOVIET-UNION

### Anti-Soviet Campaign of Austrian Social Fascism.

By Guido Zamis (Vienna).

Austrian social fascism is making great strides with regard to the development of its German nationalist ideology. Its nationalist propaganda is closely linked up with the slogan of "incorporation with Germany". This slogan was represented to the workers as a panacea for all the economic ills from which Austria is suffering. In order to spread this idea and at the same to establish contact with the national bourgeoisie, there was founded the "German-Austrian People's League". This organisation arranged a demonstration in the Summer of 1929 in Klagenfurt, advocating union with Germany, at which the Republican Defence Corps took part together with the Heimwehr, and at which social democrats and national socialists (fascists) came forward as speakers.

This Klagenfurt demonstration, however, created a considerable amount of bad blood among the social democratic workers, with the result that it could not be repeated. Now, however, the President of the Vienna Town School Board, Herr Glöckel, a prominent social democratic leader, has issued a decree to all the schools and educational institutions under his control pointing out that the German national song "Deutschland über alles" represents the "official expression of the consciousness of unity prevailing among the whole German people". Therefore the Town School Board expects that this song shall be practised in all schools and sung on suitable occasions in order to promote the national and republican education of the young.

The latest phase in the development of Austrian social fascism is the leading article of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" of February 16th, dealing with the policy of the Soviet Government towards the Church. Whilst on the same day the christian socialist "Reichspost" announced in big headlines, "crusade against Moscow" the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" wrote as follows under the title: "Church and Soviets":

"A new wave of violence is sweeping over Russia . . . This policy, which believes that it can, with the bayonet collectivise the mass of the peasants numbering millions, and by means of arrests and trials enforce the industrialisation of Russia and the intensification of work, is also the outcome of the opinion that it is possible to transform the entire mentality of a 150 million people by measures of vio-

lence, to exterminate religion within a few years and destroy the church. Thus, since last year the Soviet Government has departed from the original policy of separation of the Church and State, and gone over to the policy of combating the Church by the State, to a policy which reminds one of the Jacobin phase of the great French Revolution".

The comparison with the Jacobins is the last trump card with which it is hoped to terrify the philistines. The "Arbeiter-Zeitung" then enumerates the terrible crimes of the Soviet Government: how it is converting the churches, synagogues and mosques into meeting rooms, melting down the church bells, and does not also forget to remind its readers of the arrested and banished priests, in order to declare finally:

"We social democrats, who fight on principle for freedom of conscience against clericalism, must also fight against the new turn of the Soviet policy. It is not permissible to use force in order to impose one's views on free human beings . . . Stalin's policy, which aims at changing by means of State power not only the economy, but also the world view of 150 million people, is not ours".

As a matter of fact the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" has never allowed any international campaign against the Soviet Union to occur without actively participating in it, so that there is no need for us to be surprised that it is now joining in the campaign of clericalism.

We do not in any way underestimate the importance of such articles in connection with the international war preparations against the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, we believe that this time the Austrian social fascists have uncavalierly exposed themselves too much. The Austrian workers, who know to their own cost what the power of the church means, follow with warm sympathy all the endeavours of the toilers of the Soviet Union to do away with the last remnants of clerical influence.

In the sphere of home politics this working up of national feeling is causing social fascism to incline more and more to the national parties. In many questions, as for instance the conversion of the existing professional army into a militia (which would mean nothing else but the legalisation of the Heimwehr), there is to be clearly seen the formation of a social-democratic-national united front.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Bankruptcy of the Reconciliators in Germany.

Declaration of Comrade Ewert.

The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany has received from Comrade Ewert the following communication:

"Dear Comrades!

The increasingly acute political situation in Germany, the united front, which is becoming ever more firm, of all the forces of reaction, including the Social democratic party of Germany, against the Communist Party, and the growing danger of war against the Soviet Union demand from every member of the Party a clear attitude to the policy of the C.I. and of the C.P. of Germany. As up to the Wedding Party Congress I adopted in regard to a number of questions an opinion which deviated from important decisions of the C.I. and of the C.P. of Germany, I wish now to make the following declaration:

I recognise the views advocated by me, both verbally and in writing, up to the Wedding Party Congress, and which were rejected and combated by the Party, to be false. The appraisal of the situation given by me has proved to be incorrect. Among other things the crisis in the U.S.A. and the sharpening of the situation, before all in Germany, has confirmed the correctness of the estimate of the situation made by the C.I. and the C.P. of Germany. The same likewise applies to the tactical questions, in which I adopted a position contrary to the decisions of the Party (trade

union question, factory council elections, social fascism).

I undertake to carry out in all questions the decisions of the Party and recognise the impermissibility of forming any fractions or groups.

I am completely in agreement with the general line and tactics of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., and reject the views advocated by Comrade Bukharin.

I undertake, under the leadership and guidance of the C.C., to carry on the fight against all opportunist views within the Party, against the Right Party enemies in the Brandler organisation, as well as against the reconciliatory attitude towards them.

My approval of the decisions of the C.I. and of the C.P. of Germany and the pledge actively to carry them out, apply also to the decision of the C.I. in the matter of Wittorf.

With communist greetings,  
(signed) **Artur Ewert.**"

Commenting on this declaration the Berlin "Rote Fahne" of February 23rd writes:

Since a year there could exist for the great mass of the party comrades no doubt as to the political and ideological bankruptcy of the reconciliators. The Party takes note of the fact that now also the leader of the group of reconciliators has himself admitted this bankruptcy.

It is clear that the Party, in view of the experiences it has repeatedly had with the diplomatic manoeuvres of anti-party groupings, especially of the group of reconcilers itself, cannot by any means accept the simple declaration of Comrade Ewert as a sufficient guarantee that he has actually abandoned his opportunist standpoint and found his way back to the Party. The mere paper declaration of a comrade who has committed such grave errors and caused such serious damage to the Party as the leaders of the group of reconcilers is no proof that he has really broken with his past, and must be received by the Party with mistrust.

The attitude of Comrade Ewert, the confession of the bankruptcy of the group of reconcilers, the admission of the fact that the bolshevik leadership of the Party was right in all questions with regard to the reconciliatory deviations and has saved the Party from the serious crisis into which it would inevitably have been led in the event of the reconciliators having been successful, is for the working class a sign of the strength of the C.P.C., an indication of its inner bolshevik firmness and unity, which brings to nought every speculation of the bourgeoisie and social fascists on differences in the ranks of the revolutionary movement. The determination with which the bolshevik Party of the German proletariat has defended in the past and will defend in the future its Leninist line against all vacillating elements in its own ranks, is a pledge that the Communist Party will always preserve its unbreakable fidelity to its aim and the class interests of the proletariat. It is precisely by the bolshevik firmness with which the C.P.G. overcomes vacillations and weaknesses in its own ranks that it wins the right to the firm confidence of the broad proletarian masses.

## PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### Theses for International Women's Day March 8th 1930.

#### I.

The Communist Women's day, "March 8th," is a day of international women's solidarity, a day for mobilising the broad mass of working women of all lands for the struggle against capitalism, against fascism, Social Fascism, for the struggle against the dangers of new imperialist wars and the defence of the USSR—the only Fatherland of the workers.

The fact that I.W.D. coincides with the international day of struggle against unemployment gives it a special character.

The 8th. March this year is more than ever before a day of struggle—against the unheard of excesses of political reaction and fascism in all bourgeois countries, against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to transfer the burdens of the economic crisis on to the shoulders of the proletariat, against

capitalist rationalisation, against mass dismissals of workers from factories, against the ever-growing mass of unemployment, against lowering of wages, against part-time work, etc. On the 8th March all working women must come out in a united front of class struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party, for overturning the power of capitalism and setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat in all the world.

Besides this the 8th March is a day of verification of achievements as to the economic, political and family liberation of the working women masses in the land of the Soviets, of contrasting these achievements with the oppression and slavery in capitalist countries.

The deadly struggle of countries or of whole continents to win markets, the considerable sharpening of the contradictions of imperialism in the Third period of post-war development, the increased danger of new imperialist wars, forces the bourgeoisie to carry out a ruthless attack on the working class. The swing to the Left and the growth of activity of the working class is the answer to this attack.

Only the class solidarity of the international proletariat can hinder new bloody wars; only the active revolutionary struggle of the proletariat at the head of the struggle of the toilers of all countries, can put an end to the monstrous exploitation of the masses under the capitalist system.

The growth of activity and the rapid revolutionising of the working masses, the increase of their resistance and their passing from defensive struggles to offensive ones, all these increase every day. In these struggles women are playing a more and more important role. The women's proletarian mass movement is growing beyond the ordinary forms of a movement of subsidiary workers, which formerly was a hindrance to the movements of the basic mass of the proletariat, and it is being transformed into one of the fundamental forces in the growing struggles of the proletariat.

The exploitation of the labour of women and girls has reached exceptional dimensions, both in capitalist factories and in agriculture. Capitalist rationalisation not only draws women into all branches of industry, but owing to the unequal pay for men's and women's work, it is assisting the replacement of men's work by women's. This has made a radical change in the role of women both in industry and in the general struggle of the proletariat. In some branches of industry women are gradually becoming the fundamental labour units (artificial silk the silk industry, food, textiles, etc.). It very often happens that a woman becomes the only worker in a family, and the lower pay for women's work lowers the level of life of workers families.

Women workers and peasants are being more and more drawn into the general and economic and political struggle of the proletariat and the peasants. Their activity is growing. Working women insist with special tenacity on the fulfilment of the demands of the working class. In many cases women are in the forefront in strikes, they take part in political demonstrations and in conflicts with the police, and they show tremendous reliability and bravery.

The campaign of the 8th March must unite the ranks of men and women workers more closely than ever before, must force all workers to pay attention to the situation of women proletarians, to their changed role in industry and in revolutionary struggles, to the indissoluble bond in the struggle of the workers of all lands independent of nationality or sex in the fight against capitalism.

#### II.

During the past year the contradictions between two systems—the Socialist and the capitalist—have been extremely sharpened.

The Five-Year Plan of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and the successes of its First year, demonstrate to the whole world what can be achieved by men and women workers who have taken power into their own hands.

The results of the First Year of the Five-Year programme accompanied by a rapid growth of Socialist industry and socialist elements in the national economy, demonstrate the tremendous achievements of the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the matter of Socialist Construction.

The revolutionary activity of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. and the correct policy of the C.P.S.U. has brought about the tempo of development, such as has never been seen under

capitalist system. In spite of the absence of foreign loans and credits, the U.S.S.R. is by its own forces settling the problem of saving up the means necessary for the construction of heavy industry. The investments in this industry increased by 46 % in comparison with last year (1928-29)—1,300 millions in 1928-29 and 2,500 millions in 1929-30.

The peasants of Russia are passing at a great speed from private-capitalist to collective-Socialist forms. In the U.S.S.R. there has been organised a net of big Soviet farms and more than 100,000 collective farms. In 1928-29 the sown area of the collectivised sector occupied six million hectares and had grain surpluses of twenty one million centners. During the present year the Socialised sown area is 18,280,000 hectares and will give about 50 % of the surplus grain of all Russian agriculture. These successes make it possible in the U.S.S.R. to pass from the policy of limiting the exploiting powers of the Kulak to the full elimination of the Kulaks in districts which are collectivised throughout, and to the policy of liquidating the Kulaks as a class.

In direct opposition to the situation in capitalist countries, the past year has been marked in the U.S.S.R. by a further improvement in the situation of the working class, a growth of real wages (by the end of the Five-Year Plan wages will be Rs. 210 for every working family), industry has been transferred to the unbroken working week of five days, a considerable part of the workers have received a 7-hour working day, and there has been a great improvement in the life and the cultural services received by the working class from Government, trade union, and Co-operative organisations.

The November Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. stated: "The tremendous successes of the last few years, the tremendous size and unheard of tempo of economic development is a proof that the task of the Soviet Government to catch up to and pass the foremost capitalist countries in technical and economic matters, can be fulfilled in the shortest historical period. The undoubted advantages which the Soviet economic system possesses in comparison with the capitalist system is proved more and more by the exceptional rapid tempo of national economic development, by the tempo of material and technical instruction, and by the increase of the material and cultural level of life of the working class and the toiling mass of peasants.

The rapid growth of Socialist forms of agriculture, the increase of their influence in the national economy, the increase of their influence on individual peasant farms, which is seen in the striving of poor peasants and middle peasants to adopt collective forms of agriculture,—all this is proof that the decisive successes of the political attack of Socialism on the capitalist elements is guaranteed to be successful, and that the construction of socialism in a country with a proletarian dictatorship can be carried on in the minimum historical period".

Such a growth of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. became possible only because of the strong Leninist line of the C.P.S.U., which, at the head of the tremendous working enthusiasm of the working masses who were striving towards Socialist forms of work, to Socialist contests to shock brigades, shock departments and factories was able to develop the creative initiative of the working class, to increase its activity for overcoming all difficulties which lay in the way. The construction of Socialism became possible owing to the enormous steadfastness, the clear class line and the firm discipline of the C.P.S.U., which carried on a decisive struggle with deviations in its own ranks, drove out foreign elements from the Party and replaced them by the most advanced parts of the working class. A decisive resistance to all who deviate from the Leninist line of the C.P.S.U., an unsparing struggle with right deviations and conciliations, a struggle with left deviations, the iron unity of the party of Lenin—all these are guarantees of further successes in Socialist construction in the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### III.

Together with the activity of the whole of the working class of the U.S.S.R., there was a tremendous growth of activity amongst the working women masses. Thousands of advanced women amongst the women workers and peasants take an active part in all economic government and Party

life. In the Soviets of the U.S.S.R. there are 301,999 women, in the trade unions there are 3,078,000, of whom 56,608 are serving on factory committees; in the lower trade union activities there are 290,000 in Party Committees. The number of women has increased to 20 %, the number of delegates in comparison with the previous year has increased by 30 % (there are now about 820,000 delegates). The delegate corps is an active helper for the Soviet Government and the Communist Party when carrying on political or economic campaigns. Hundreds of thousands of women workers are directing the work of co-operative organisations. From the ranks of working women in the U.S.S.R. there have appeared workers who do not in the least lag behind men as regards experience, energy, reliability and loyalty. Women workers take an active part in Socialist contests and in Shock Brigades, and demonstrate their changed views and attitude to work that they know is now assisting to construct Socialism. Women peasants in many cases are the pioneers of collective farm construction, and in matters of passing on to new forms of Socialist life. In spite of the fact that women's labour in the U.S.S.R. costs more than men's labour, owing to the widely spread protection of mothers and infants, the number of women workers engaged in industry has grown still more during the last year.

The success of Socialist construction has made it possible for the Workers' Government to put into force further measures for liberating the working women of the U.S.S.R. Last year it was categorically forbidden to allow women to work underground. (This prohibition was reflected in the earlier Soviet labour laws, but in view of the considerable number of unemployed women, the trade unions insisted on them being left the possibility of working underground on condition that they were gradually transferred to other work. The increased demand for workers, in connection with the rapid tempo of industrialisation in the U.S.S.R., has called forth this decision). The sums paid by Government industry for building institutions to serve the needs of women workers and peasants, has been greatly increased. The 5-Year Plan includes the following increase of these institutions:

	1927-28	1932-33
Creches . . . . .	34,000	65,000
Kindergartens . . . . .	107,000	217,000
Playgrounds . . . . .	203,000	505,000
Childrens Clinics . . . . .	1,469	2,692

During the course of the 5-Year Plan, 94,340,000 roubles will be expended on cultural construction.

In the matter of social feeding, the Second Year of the 5-Year Plan has made it possible to review the first figures of the 5-Year Plan. According to this plan, it was proposed to issue 250,000,000 roubles for the organisation of Social feeding, and by the end of the 5-Year Plan to give service to 5,600,000 people. According to the new Plan, 1,500,000,000 roubles will be issued, and by the end of the 5 Years, service will be given to 20,000,000 people. (For comparison we give the following data: on the 1st. October 1928 every day 720,000 dinners were served. At the beginning of 1930 1,400,000).

Every Soviet has set up a Commission for improving conditions of life. The task of these commissions is to seek out further measures for lightening the lot of women. Creches are beginning to be put at the service of women workers not only while they are at the factory, but while they are studying or engaged on social work. The increased construction of social institutions, which increases year by year in the Five Year Plan, annihilates one of the most difficult contradictions of capitalist society. The contradiction between the drawing of working women into industry and the preservation of the individual home.

The Soviet Government has exerted great efforts to overcome illiteracy amongst working women, and for raising their cultural level. The promotion of working women to responsible tasks is widely carried on, and they are sent to higher schools and universities.

Such an attitude to women's work is possible only in a country which is building up Socialism. The comparison of the situation of women workers in the U.S.S.R. and in capitalist countries shows that only the winning of power by the working class makes it possible really to liberate working women.



## IV.

While the working class in the U.S.S.R. are constructing the new life at a great speed, in all capitalist countries the attempts of the bourgeoisie to strengthen the shattered capitalist stabilisation are meeting with failure. Capitalist competition is continually growing, and leads to barbarous intensification of labour. The situation of the working class grows worse from day to day.

The growing world economic crisis and capitalist rationalisation is throwing out of industry and leaving to starve a tremendous army of unemployed. The size of the reserve industrial army has reached 20,000,000 and the number of members of the families of unemployed condemned to hunger has reached 80—100,000,000. Europe and America, far-flung continents and colonies are in the throes of unemployment. In the U.S.A. there are 6—7,000,000 unemployed, in Germany over 3½ millions, in England about 2 millions, in Poland a third of the workers are unemployed, in Italy there are 800,000 unemployed, in Austria 235,000, in Czechoslovakia over 300,000, in Spain 200,000, in South America about 1 million unemployed, in Mexico 500,000, in Japan, in China — everywhere there are hundreds of thousands of working men and women who have been thrown out of industry.

Millions of unemployed agricultural workers are starving in China, Japan, India, Indonesia, South America. Everywhere, besides mass unemployment, there is an increase in the number of workers part-time.

The growth of unemployment has an extremely bad effect on women workers especially in connection with the sharp crisis in the textile industry, in which women's labour is employed to the extent of 50—80%. Unemployment in other industries also affects the situation of women just as badly.

The world economic crisis and the growth of unemployment has completely smashed up the worn-out theories of the role of organised monopolistic capitalism.

Unemployment, which has grown to unheard of dimensions owing to the world economic crisis, becomes converted into a mighty weapon for speeding up the disintegration of capitalist stabilisation. Every day there is a growth of the revolutionary movement of the unemployed which joins up with the strike movement of the workers in the factories, in Germany, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Spain, Austria — everywhere a great wave of mass protest is rising against dismissals from the factories. The bloody repression directed by the bourgeoisie and the Social Fascists against the growing movement of the unemployed is unable to break up or dissipate the forces of the proletariat. The struggle against unemployment is everywhere growing into a general struggle of the proletariat against capitalism and for the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

**On the sixth of March, on the Day of Struggle Against Unemployment, the women workers will take their place in the ranks of the Proletariat in the struggle against dismissals and unemployment, against capitalist rationalisation, against Fascism and Social Fascism, and for the decisive revolutionary storming of capitalism, for the proletarian dictatorship.**

The gradual growth of the organic part of capital threatens a lowering of profits, and drives the capitalists to seek cheap labour power. By paying women workers only 50—60% of men's wages for the same work, the bourgeoisie are trying to make use of the competition between men's and women's labour so as to sow discord in the ranks of the proletariat, to shatter and paralyse its fighting forces. The capitalist system is continually worsening the conditions of the workers, by repealing laws of social insurance, by introducing additional or indirect taxes, by the worsening of the laws with regard to dwelling houses, by increasing prices of the necessities of life, by repressive measures against abortion, by the increased exploitation of women's and children's labour.

The employers unions openly defend a programme which will lead to still greater pressure on the proletariat. The German bourgeoisie demanded from the Reichstag a lowering of wages for German workers, an increase of prices of the necessities of life, the freeing of large industry from taxation, the abolition of relief for the unemployed, the further reduction of expenses on the social needs of the working class, etc. A similar programme is put forward by the capitalists of other countries.

In a number of countries — Germany, Austria, Italy, Rumania, Czechoslovakia — the capitalists, with the help of the Government apparatus, and with the support of the trade union bureaucracy and the Social Democratic Party, have introduced laws for fixing wages. These laws fix the minimum wages and the hardest conditions of work, and introduce compulsory arbitration so as to deprive the workers of the freedom to strike.

During the past year, the bourgeoisie, in their attempts to remove the leaders of the working class in these revolutionary struggles which are looming ahead, have made a direct attack on proletarian mass organisations, using methods of the greatest brutality, even including mass shootings, and not sparing women or children. As an index of this attack we see the prohibition of the Red Front Fighters and the shooting of unemployed in Germany, the mass arrests of the leaders of the Left trade union movement and the shooting of strikers in the U.S.A., the law for the defence of the Republic in Germany, a similar law in Austria, MacDonald's law of Crimes against Public Order in Palestine, etc. The bloody suppression of Haiti, the terror against striking workers in Poland, Holland, Czechoslovakia, America, India, the inhuman tortures of revolutionary workers in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, China, Poland, Hungary, Mexico, Brazil, and the using of bayonets, machine guns and gas bombs in South Africa, etc.

The bourgeoisie are trying to deprive the working class of the right to the streets. The bloody suppression of the Berlin workers by the Social Democratic police president Zörgiebel on the 1st May 1929, clearly showed the Social Fascist reality of the so called "Labour Party". In this conflict 33 workers lost their lives including 11 women. The repression of the 1st May served as a commencement for a number of other bloody repressions of workers and unemployed in Germany, Poland, Austria, U.S.A. and other countries. The bourgeoisie represses not only the leaders of the revolutionary movement, but every man or woman of the proletariat who in any way protests against the unbearable conditions of life. The international bourgeoisie have declared a crusade against the Communist Parties of all countries. They are trying to drive the Communist Parties underground and to leave them without leaders by means of mass arrests of active Party workers. They are carrying on a fierce struggle against the Party press, they are confiscating newspapers, arresting editors etc.

**The increase of capitalist exploitation and the worsening of the condition of the working class is an indisputable proof of the falseness of the social fascist theory of the role of organised capitalism, of the collaboration of classes and of peace in industry.**

## V.

The continually growing world economic crisis, accompanied by a deep agrarian crisis, the continued growth of capitalist competition, the sharpening of world contradictions and most of all, the contradiction between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union, tremendously increase the danger of new wars, especially of imperialist war against the U.S.S.R.

The Young Plan transferred the whole burden of reparation debts on to the working class. It has for its aim the further unification and centralisation of finance capital, and this increases the danger of a financial blockade of the U.S.S.R. and the danger of new wars against the Soviet Union. The centralisation of finance capital assists in the formation of new world monopolies of capitalists, increases the danger of the further pauperisation of the masses, because a monopoly on the necessities of life is a means of robbing broad sections of the workers.

However, neither the Young Plan nor other capitalist agreements are in a position to put a stop to the growing capitalist competition, since the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system are deepening more and more. The surplus of goods on hand as a result of the inability to realise these goods, as a result of the drop in the buying power of whole sections of the population, forces the capitalists to seek new markets. The existence of the Soviet Government, which has established a monopoly of foreign trade, owing to which one-sixth of the globe has been removed from the capitalist sphere of influence, compels the imperialists to prepare feverishly for an aggressive war against the U.S.S.R. Under the cloak of the Kellogg Pact on the outlawry of war, under the hypocritical speeches



of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party on pacifism and class collaboration, all the imperialist governments are increasing their war forces at an alarming pace and are spending fabulous sums of money.

The war expenses of capitalist countries use up a tremendous part of the Government budget. The war expenses of France, including payments for war debts, uses up 78 % of the Government budget. America expends 49 % of its budget on armaments. Rumania, Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia expend 50 %, Poland 40 % etc. During the last year Germany was drawn into the Anti-soviet Block by the coalition Government which had signed the Young Plan. Thus, the danger of a new war has been increased.

The war preparations of the bourgeoisie are not limited to the strengthening of their armies, fleets and air forces. The imperialists of all countries are doing everything in their power to prepare new and numerous cadres of people for the future bloody struggles. In a number of countries the bourgeois governments have already commenced to militarise women.

The bourgeois and the fascist unions do not spare their funds in developing the work of preparing women's reserves for the bourgeois armies. In all countries, especially the countries bordering on the U.S.S.R. and in Germany, the fascist organisations have formed women's sections for preparing women for war service. Besides this special bourgeois women's unions are carrying on work for militarising women — "the Union of Queen Louisa" in Germany, "Lotta Svärd" in Finland, the Women's Guild of Empire in England, "Strelok" in Poland, similar unions in Austria, Sweden, America, etc. At the same time the clergy, the hiring press and the social Fascists of all kinds, deceiving the women workers by their sermons on the pacific intentions of capitalism, create false illusions, poison their minds, and paralyse the participation of women in the economic and political struggles of the proletariat.

The military work of the Fascists, the Social Fascists and the clerical organs must be opposed by all working women, and they must reply by creating new organisations of proletarian self-defence. The 8th March must become a day for the mass entry of women workers into the organs of Workers Self-Defence, a day for strengthening the ranks of revolutionary women's organisations which are fighting against imperialist wars.

In their wild hate against the proletarian Government, the imperialists inspired a treacherous attack by the hiring hands of the generals of China against the borders of the U.S.S.R. The sending of white guard bands more or less secretly to attack the U.S.S.R. became an open interference by the Government of big capitalist countries in this conflict, even after the peace, after the high military qualities of the Red Army and also the revolutionary wave in China had compelled the Chinese generals to capitulate.

The proletariat of the whole world answered by revolutionary protests, by demonstrations on the 1st. August 1929, against the attempts at imperialist wars and in defence of the U.S.S.R. The class conscious workers of all lands know that the defence of the U.S.S.R. against intervention is a matter for the whole of the proletariat, the men and women workers must increase their fighting powers so as turn the coming imperialist war into civil war.

## VI.

The attacks of the bourgeoisie are speeding up the tempo of the swing to the Left of the working class, and call forth great resistance of the Broad masses. The deep belief in the final victory of the proletariat becomes stronger together with the growth of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. The great strengthening of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and the rise of revolutionary waves in capitalist countries deepen the general crisis of capitalism and brilliantly confirm the analysis given by the VI. Congress and the X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., on the inevitable smash of capitalist stabilisation.

The working class answer the attacks of capital, answer the concentrated capitalist front and the government power and the power of reformist trade union bureaucrats, by increasing its economic struggles, mass political strikes and demonstrations, by strengthening international proletarian solidarity, by a growing wave of revolutionary contests, by a wide campaign in defence of their proletarian fatherland the U.S.S.R.

During the whole of the recent period, the strike struggle in Europe and in America, and also in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, continues to develop more widely, and takes on a more clearly aggressive character. The previous high tempo of the strike movement in France, Czechoslovakia and Germany has been preserved. The wave of strikes in America, especially in the Southern states, has tremendously increased. The heroic struggle of the Gastonia textile workers called forth a wave of sympathy from the whole world. As a mark of solidarity with the demands of the Gastonians, as a mark of protest against the bloody repression of the strikers, there were tremendous demonstrations in Rosario, Argentine, Mexico and in all the Southern states. Women took an active part in all these demonstrations. Great demonstrations of solidarity were carried out by American women in spite of the resistance of the police, during the prolonged strike of restaurant workers in New York.

In Great Britain, capitalist rationalisation has taken on extensive forms during the last year. The strike movement, which was greatly weakened after the defeat of the miners in 1926, has once more arisen during the past year. The British Workers have carried on a number of strikes in the mining, steel, textile and shipbuilding industries — in the mining districts of Dawdon, Binley, Scotland, in Lancashire, Yorkshire etc. There were big textile struggles in Lancashire and Yorkshire. The treacherous role of the fascised Labour Bureau-cracy, including the Labour Government, in these struggles, has assisted in causing a rapid swing to the Left of the working masses of Great Britain and has helped to overcome their Social Democratic illusions.

In the Balkan countries — in Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Albania — in spite of fascist terror, the class war of workers and poor peasants has extended and deepened. During the last year, we had in Greece the heroic strike of the men and women tobacco workers, the chemical workers, the carpet makers; in Bulgaria we had mass strikes of tobacco workers and textile workers, the greater part of whom (80 to 85 %) is composed of women; in Rumania there were mass strikes in Bukovina, among the wagon-building workers, in Shithal among the miners, and in Maroshtal among the wood workers; in Yugoslavia there was the first strike that has happened since the military fascist dictatorship was set up, and it caused bloody struggles between the workers and the fascists.

During the past year, in all capitalist countries, we find the growth of partial strikes in separate factories — even in departments — against the oppression of capitalist rationalisation. In all these strikes women take part as well as men. They serve as pickets, they are exposed to beatings, arrests (America, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Austria, etc.) but they show tremendous class firmness and reliability.

Every woman proletarian must make it clear to herself that it is only under the general banner of revolutionary struggle that she is in a position to fight for her partial demands, for equal pay, for equal social assistance during unemployment, for the defence of her motherhood and her labour, for the lowering of taxes, against capitalist rationalisation, against fines, against housing laws which make her condition worse, against high prices, taxes, etc., and that only the general struggle of the proletariat and its final victory will liberate the woman workers.

In addition to economic demands, the working masses are more and more often putting forward political demands, directed chiefly against fascism and war danger. Even in the Balkan countries, Roumania, Greece, Bulgaria, Yugo-Slavia, in spite of the white terror, the strikers act against fascism in defence of the Communist Party and the YCL. In the developing strike movement in Austria, the workers in a number of factories demand the dismissal of "christian fascists", for example, the workers of the Vienna milk farms, the textile workers of Pölsen, etc. On the 1st of August, 1929, the demonstrations and strikes against war dangers and in defence of the USSR, had a purely political character. In France, in spite of the concentration of 50,000 police and soldiers in Paris, the anti-war campaign had considerable success, especially amongst the metal workers and miners, the gas workers, postal workers and railway workers. The workers of Berlin carried out tremendous demonstrations of international solidarity on this day. The women workers of Germany took an

especially active part in this campaign. Women took part in the anti-war demonstrations and other activities in unusually great numbers, and put forward slogans of the struggle with imperialism and in defence of the USSR. The women workers of America took an active part in celebrating International Red Day for the struggle against imperialist wars, and they offered great resistance to the police who attempted to disperse the demonstration in Chicago, New York, Milwaukee, Grand Rapids, Ironwood, Pittsburgh, Hancock, Los Angeles and in many other towns.

The strike movement in Japan has greatly increased in comparison with last year. Here, there were an exceptional number of conflicts in the metal, textile, chemical and soya industries and in transport. In these conflicts a great part was taken by Japanese working women who comprise more than 35 % of the working class of Japan, and whose part in Japanese industry is continually growing.

There has been a tremendous increase in the **strike movement in colonial and semi-colonial countries**, and the wide scope of the national liberation movement in all colonial countries has taken on tremendous importance.

A new wave of revolutionary movement among the working and peasant masses of India has arisen. The strike movement has developed widely, 140,000 textile workers — men and women — have struck in Bombay, there was a dockers' strike in Karachi, a prolonged strike of the workers in jute factories in Bombay and Calcutta, a strike on the Indian railroad which included 125,000 workers.

A number of big strikes were carried on in China. For example there was a big strike in the Anglo-American tobacco factory in Shanghai where, in addition to economic demands, they demanded the dismissal of Russian white guards from the factory. In Tsindao there was a strike and lockout of textile workers, in Tientsin there was a stay-in strike of printers in the French concession. There were a number of big conflicts between the employers and the workers, of the coal mines in the Tsinan and Tsion Chuan district, in the small spinning factories of Shanghai, etc. In China last year there came into force the new law of trade unions which puts trade unions under the full control of the local government, who are given the right to confirm the rules and financial estimates of the unions, to rescind its decisions, etc. This law prohibits strikes and replaces them by compulsory arbitration, and forbids Chinese trade unions to enter any foreign trade union organisations.

An anti-imperialist revolutionary wave has arisen in Syria and Egypt, in the Sudan in French Congo, in Cape Colony. There has been a wave of revolts and strikes in native districts — the workers in Brazil, Haiti, Kenya, Samoa, South Africa and Nigeria where the English police in the towns of Apobo and Abako brutally shot 43 women, there was a strike of the unorganised workers in the sugar plantations of Porto Rico, a strike of carpet workers in Persia, etc. In Indonesia the revolutionary peasant masses are striving towards a revolt against the Dutch imperialists.

Everywhere the revolutionary proletariat rises on the crest of a revolutionary wave and organises the national revolutionary struggle with imperialism. The development of the revolutionary movement in the colonies the rapid growth of activity of the oppressed worker-peasant mass of imperialist colonial and semi-colonial countries raises the question before the world proletarian movement, especially before the proletariat of imperialist countries of **giving real help to the revolutionary movement in the colonial countries, of forming a united revolutionary front of the working class of all countries and the oppressed colonial peoples.**

A special characteristic of the economic struggles of the past years is the drawing into these struggles of new sections of workers — mass strikes of farm hands, the activity of farm workers, **poor peasants, women agricultural workers and peasant women.** While in USSR, the collectivisation of agriculture forms a firm basis for raising the material and cultural level of farm labourers, of poor and middle peasants, in capitalist countries, in spite of the agrarian reforms of the bourgeoisie, the working peasants are being disintegrated by the

pressure of the credit and tax policy of finance capital. Unbearable conditions of life powerfully draw in agricultural workers and poor peasants to the struggle, with capital. During the past year there have been strikes of agricultural workers in Poland and Western Ukraine, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, mass activity in Yugo-Slavia, Norway Bulgaria and Roumania, armed peasant risings in Greece, Italy and China. In all these events women occupied the first ranks. Together with all peasants, they are becoming more convinced every day of the truth of Lenin's teachings that **only by the revolutionary overturning of the bourgeoisie and by soviets of workers' and peasants' deputies will the land be given to the working peasant.**

## VII.

In the strike struggle of the past year reformist and social-fascist trade unions have played the treacherous role of agents of capitalism. In carrying on tactics of conciliating class interests, they have damped the fighting ardour of the working class. As intermediaries between the workers and the capitalists, they have misused the trust of the worker and have sacrificed their interests for the sake of preserving class peace. The English Labour Party, on coming into power, officially gave up the demand for the 7-hour day for miners, and agreed to a lowering of the wages of the Yorkshire textile workers. The social-fascists of Czechoslovakia refused to support the textile workers against reductions of wages.

Numerous big strikes have been broken owing to the indecision and treachery of the yellow trade union leaders. For example, the strike of the Hungarian miners, the strike of the workers in the Salgotarian mines, the 6 months strike of agricultural workers in Holland, the heroic 3 months strike of the shipbuilding workers at St Lazare, the leather workers' strike at Vienna, the miners of Newcastle, the transport workers and glass workers of Czechoslovakia, the printers of Shanghai, etc. In a number of countries (Austria, Holland) the social-democratic trade unions refused to give strike pay to the strikers because of the political demands put forward by them and in this way they broke the strikes.

**The men and women workers of all countries must carry on a decisive struggle with the treachery of the social fascists, must expose the difference between their words and deeds, must show their despicable role as agents of the bourgeoisie, and by facts they must disprove their theory of the collaboration of classes.**

In spite of the treachery of social fascists and reformists, in spite of terror and repressive laws, in spite of bloody repressions by the bourgeoisie, the activity of the working class is growing in all countries, the economic struggles spreading wider and wider and growing into mass political strikes.

The sharper and crueller the white terror of the fascist bourgeoisie and the stronger the capitalist attack on the working class, the more does activity of the working class grow in all lands, and the economic struggles become more revolutionary. **Every success of the working class in capitalist countries in the struggle with capitalism increases the strength and firmness of the U.S.S.R. Every success of the working class of the U.S.S.R. increases the forces of the working class of all the world.**

Working women! On March 8th you must show your readiness to struggle in present and future fights with capitalism in the general ranks of the whole of the proletariat.

Strengthen the ranks of the Communist Party by entering it in masses. Declare a decisive struggle against repression which is directed against the Communist Party and the revolutionary organisations of the proletariat!

Repulse the attacks of capital by a united front with the whole of the working class! Equal pay for equal work! Equal social insurance!

The solidarity of workers and unemployed in the struggle against mass dismissals, against the growth of unemployment!

In answer to the provocation of the fascists and social-fascists, strengthen the organs of workers' self-defence.

With closed ranks, advance to the struggle against the danger of imperialist wars and in defence of the U.S.S.R.