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Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered post: International Press Correspondence, Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72
Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Berlin. Telephone: Dönhoff 2856 and 2867

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The New Political Situation in Britain.

By R. Palme Dutt.

Rapid changes are taking place in the political situation in Britain. The effects of the economic crisis, and the new directions of policy of British capitalism, are shaking up the old parties, undermining the relative measure of political stability that had been reached, and thrusting forward new forces. The star of the Labour Government is in decline, both with the capitalists and with the working class. Increasing disillusionment of the workers; intensified activity of the capitalists and throwing up of new political forms; the spread of cries against parliamentary routinism, for new policies, for stronger government, not only within the Conservative, but also within the Labour ranks; crises of leadership and policy within all three existing leading parties; experimental formation of new parties—all these are the familiar signs of a process of political **disintegration** of the old forms, of transition to a new stage, of advance towards ever more open fascism on the one side, and to revolutionisation of the working class on the other.

The old stability of the political structure of the British bourgeoisie was based on the "two-party system", by which for over a couple of centuries power was alternated between two closely associated and inter-related governing groups, thus ensuring the essential continuity of policy in the hands

of a small ruling minority, even while the forms of parliamentary democracy were nominally being extended. This system received a heavy shock from the war, the revolutionary wave and the prolonged economic crisis following the war, which began the revolutionising of the working class, and threw up, as the first confused expression of that process, the new Labour Party and made it the largest parliamentary party, to the replacement of the old liberalism. The key to British bourgeois politics in the past ten years has been the **absorption of the Labour Party into the governing political machine**, and on this basis the establishment of a Conservative-Labour alternation and continuity to replace the old Conservative-Liberal system. The Labour Government of 1924 was the first experiment towards this, but the ground was not yet fully prepared, and it was overthrown after nine months owing to its weakness in resisting the militant working class elements. The battle of the General Strike, the crushing of the militant working class elements, and the disciplining and transformation of the trade unions and Labour Party on the Mondist basis had first to be carried through; reformism had to be developed to the stage of social fascism. Only then could the second Labour Government of 1929 be set up as a normal solid capitalist government, working in alliance with

the Liberals, and in close association with the Conservative opposition on all important questions; and on this basis a new relative political stability be reached.

But this relative political stability has been smashed by the new and intenser economic crisis and world crisis opening out since the autumn of 1929. The Labour Government had counted on the falling figures of unemployment and apparent signs of trade improvement in the first half of 1929, and on this based its facile election promises. Instead, the opposite happened; unemployment rose to record heights. The disillusionment of the working class at the failure of the Labour Government and at its policy of rationalisation and hostility to the working class (wage-cuts and police suppression of strikes), has been intense; in the by-elections since the General Election the Labour vote has fallen 20 per cent (in an industrial constituency such as Sheffield, where there was a Communist candidate, it fell 50 per cent); and the expectation is widely expressed in the Labour ranks that a general election at the present movement would see considerable losses for the Labour Party.

On the other hand, the capitalists, spurred by the urgency of the crisis, press for a new and more active policy, and are no longer satisfied with the role of either a Labour or a Baldwin Government. The industrial and financial leaders now begin to enter directly into the political arena, to express their impatience and discontent with the existing parties, and to form new emergency political organs of their own. The stream of manifestoes of the bankers, of the Chambers of Commerce, of the Federation of British Industries; the Beaverbrook-Rothermere campaign in close association with big business interests; the formation of the National Council of Industry with all the leading industrialists for "non-party political" purposes; the turnover of a large proportion of conservative votes to candidates of new party groupings associated with these campaigns; these are all signs of the process at work.

The new capitalist programme is one of direct and intensified attack on the workers to meet the crisis. Through all the varying forms of expression, its essentials cover: 1. tariffs and empire preference; 2. reduction of direct taxation; 3. reduction of expenditure on unemployment insurance and on social services; 4. "strong government" at home and in the colonies. Thus the standards of the workers are to be lowered, and the costs of production brought down, no longer merely by sectional wage-cuts, but by the general all-round cut of a tariff and of the reduction of social services; while at the same time by the means of a tariff a secured market is to be found in the home market and in the empire. This programme can, however, only be carried out against the intense opposition of the workers; hence the demand for the advance to stronger political forms of an increasingly fascist character, either through the existing Conservative and Labour Parties, or outside them.

These new capitalist demands and directions of policy reflect themselves in a process of crisis and transformation in the existing governing parties. The Conservative Party is in the throes of inner conflict, which expresses itself in the fight of the rising fascist-inclined forces against the leadership of Baldwin, whom they find too moderate. Baldwin manoeuvres, seeks to reconcile the old and the new, makes concessions and adapts his programme continuously to the new forces, but seeks at the same time to avoid the open advocacy of the unpopular food-taxes, etc., and to cover them in alternative forms. But the new forces press him hard. In their most direct expression, in the Rothermere and Beaverbrook campaigns, in their "Empire Crusade" and "United Empire Party", the forms of expression and programme are already openly fascist, directly greet Hitler as a colleague, etc. The Executive Council of the United Empire Party, declares the "Morning Post", "is almost entirely composed of military officers". Lord Rothermere writes:

"Under Herr Hitler's control the youth of Germany is effectively organised against the corruption of Communism. It was with some such purpose that I formed the United Empire Party in England."

The actual "United Empire Party" may be no more than a temporary experimental form, not destined to live. But that the tendencies represented are already very strong in the local conservative associations is manifest in the present by-elections which take place and the difficulties of the Conservative headquarters to maintain control.

The "Times" writes (17. 10. 30):

"That 'Baldwinism' would be followed by some form of 'Die-Hardism' — whether dictatorial or bureaucratic or purely commercial — is hardly open to question if these malcontents were to have their way. They may have it yet."

At the same time the Labour Party is faced with the crisis, on the one hand of the new insistent demands of capitalist policy, on the other hand with the growing dissatisfaction of its working class supporters. The process of adaptation from the old liberal free-trade basis to the new tariff and empire lines of policy goes busily forward; the ground was prepared by the Nottingham Trades Union Congress, with its adoption of the empire economic memorandum, reached in union with Melchett; the role of the Labour Government at the Imperial Conference prepares the further change. The Labour Party, like Baldwin, endeavours to manoeuvre; it endeavours to combine the cry "against food taxes" with the actual adoption of variants which mean the same thing (quota system, import boards, etc.). In the face of the crisis, the Labour Party endeavours increasingly to establish a "national" basis, to move to closer coalition between the three parties, as in the invitation to reach a common three-party policy on unemployment, the present three-party committee on unemployment insurance, united three-party delegation for the Indian Round Table Conference, etc.

But the process of revolt also goes forward in the Labour Party, and takes a variety of forms. The strength of working class dissatisfaction was reflected even in the agenda of the Llandudno Labour Party Conference, where the host of resolutions from the local labour parties were almost without exception critical of the Labour Government, although showing no consciousness of a clear alternative policy. The immediate future line of direction of these growing disillusioned working class forces is now the key question of the political situation. On the one side, the revolutionary workers, led by the Communist Party and the Minority Movement, seek to organise the discontent, to organise the fight against the new capitalist attack, along the lines of the "Workers' Charter" of immediate demands, and so to build up a fighting mass movement for the struggle ahead. On the other hand, the "left" leaders of the Labour Party are now brought to the front to canalise the discontent. But these "left" campaigns also begin to take new forms, corresponding to the present period. It is no longer only Maxton and the Independent Labour Party, with its old propaganda of paper socialistic programmes and practical support for the Labour Government, that is brought to the front, and widely boomed in the capitalist press as the fearless leaders of the "left", the incorruptible champions of the working class, etc. More significant is the new Mosley type of playing to the "left" and to the new fascist tendencies at once. Mosley, who resigned from the Labour Government for its inaction on unemployment, was the hero of the Labour Party Conference. He advocated a policy of the "national socialist" type: tariffs, empire consolidation, high standards for the workers behind a tariff wall, strong government and reform of the obsolete parliamentary machine. His policy received a vote from the Conference of 1,046,000 against 1,251,000 for the Government, or very nearly a defeat for the Government. He was triumphantly elected to the Executive, to the replacement of Thomas. Here are portents for the future role of the Labour Party in the drive to fascism.

The political situation in Britain is thus at a critical turning point. The old forms are passing away; the new are arising. Fascism begins to become the growingly dominant line of the entire bourgeois camp. The mass of the workers grow disillusioned with the Labour Government, but are uncertain of the path forward. The danger of the spread of fascist and semi-fascist propaganda (partly in "left labour" forms) among them is great, because the revolutionary section is still small and of limited influence. To prevent the growth of a hold of fascism within the working class, while there is yet time and forms are still fluid, depends on the strength and intensity of the revolutionary working class campaign, centring at present around the immediate demands of the Workers Charter, and arousing consciousness of the whole political situation and direction of events, in such a way as to expose and throw aside the demagogic issues of the fascists and social fascists, and bring to the forefront in their place the working class issues of the struggle against the new capitalist attack in all its forms.

The Manifesto of the II. International against the Soviet Union.

By H. Valetzki.

Who says that the heroes of the II. International have become incapable of fighting, that according to their very nature they are cowardly, given to compromise and to grovelling before the bourgeoisie? See, a solemn Manifesto is going round of all the social fascist papers of the world and calling upon "all Sections of the Socialist International" to take "a determined fight with all the means at their disposal".

The fight referred to is of course against the Soviet Union. The Manifesto emanates from the Russian-White guardist émigrés and is signed on their behalf by Messrs. Abramovitch and Dan, members of the Executive of the II. International. The occasion for this Manifesto is "the new wave of terror", i. e. the discovery of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the "specialists" Groman-Kondratjev and their consorts and the execution of the 48 saboteurs of the food supply.

The Menshevik document proves above all the complete solidarity of the official Mensheviks and the II. International with the worst and vilest counter-revolutionary criminals in the Soviet Union.

The 48 saboteurs—who have themselves confessed their crimes and described in the fullest details their year-long activity in sabotaging the meat, fish, and vegetable supply of the mass of the people, hoping thereby to escape capital punishment; who have given the names of their foreign capitalist backers and principals on whose instructions they were acting—are represented by Abramovitch and Dan as being "well known harmless and innocent officials". All of them! without exception! Dan and Abramovitch know it. They swear to it before the whole world. It suffices for the heavy hand of revolutionary justice to seize wholesale murderers who have been proved guilty of their crime, in order to cause the leaders of the II. International to testify on oath to their "harmlessness and innocence".

The criminals have named the amounts which were paid to them in English pounds for organising their "work"; the persons who handed the money over to them and the share received by each member of the gang. But Messrs. Abramovitch and Dan are better informed. Without first waiting for a denial by the English intermediary, Mr. Fotherhill, they declare the "English money" to be a mere legend, a pure invention on the part of the lying Bolsheviks, a calumny of the honest British capitalists. Who ever has heard of Georgian Chervonetz forgers, Ukrainian "social democrats", Armenian Daschnaks and all the other genuine Russian fighters for freedom in and outside of the II. International ever receiving a Pound, a Franc, or even a Zloty to fill their treasury from the capitalists or from espionage funds!

With even more zeal if possible than for the 48 saboteurs of the food supply, the Menshevik leaders give testimonials on behalf of the other group of counter-revolutionary conspirators who have been their ideological and moral tutors: on behalf of "eminent professors" such as Kondratjev, and "old socialist scientists" such as Gromann. Dan and Abramovitch are ready to guarantee that these "scientists" have done nothing else but worked loyally with the Soviet government; have striven for nothing else than "to help to create the foundation of the Soviet economy". They—Dan and Abramovitch—who make no secret of the fact that they themselves speculate on the "ruin of the Soviet Power and the overthrow of the Soviet government" and desire to bring this about "with all means", come forward and testify to the "loyalty", "innocence" and the "purity" of people who themselves no longer deny their deliberate destructive activity, their attempts to undermine and sabotage socialist construction, who admit having attained positions in Soviet offices in order to cripple and destroy its constructive work.

But the Menshevik leaders who summon the "socialist parties of Europe" to the "greatest possible activity", to the "determined fight against the Soviet Union", themselves feel that their "arguments" will not appear very convincing to the workers of the capitalist countries. They realise that the workers in Europe understand the necessity of severe penalties against those who wish to hinder with criminal manoeuvres the "birth of a new world of Socialism".

With a direct allusion to Vandervelde's reports on the successes of socialist constructive work, which appeared in the bourgeois press but of which the social democratic press did not publish a word, Dan and Abramovitch implore the social democratic workers "not to uphold this illusion". They are afraid that the testimony of the chairman of the II. International—who, although he hates Communism and the Soviet Union no less fiercely than they themselves, perceives that it is impossible to fight against them with base and palpable lies and wishes to continue this fight with more cunning and sly means—might frustrate their tactics of openly supporting all agents of capitalist counter-revolution who are active in the Soviet Union.

The Manifesto of the representatives of the Menshevik Party in the Executive of the II. International will have only one result: it will increase their credit in the capitalist circles who contribute to the fighting funds of the Russian, Georgian, Ukrainian and other counter-revolutionary adventurers. But on the workers in the capitalist countries, who are themselves engaged in a fierce fight against the effects of the world economic crisis, unemployment and falling wages, against the fury of political reaction, against the attacks of fascism—on the workers who are experiencing the fury of the capitalist terror and hear with admiration and longing of the successes of the fight of their Russian brothers, the summons to "fight with all means" against the Bolshevik "wave of terror" will make just as little impression as the Papal crusade, or the "anti-dumping" campaign of the trusts and banks.

GERMANY

Continual Mining Disasters in Germany.

By Albert Norden (Essen).

Germany has just experienced a week of disasters. The victims of the mining disaster of Alsdorf near Aachen numbering nearly 300 had not yet been buried when, on the 25th of October, fire-damp exploded in the Maybach pit in Friedrichstal. Again a 100 miners, a 100 heroes of labour were killed. In the three disasters which have occurred in the last four months (Neuenröde, Alsdorf, Maybach) more than 500 mineworkers were sacrificed to the Moloch of capitalist profit-making.

The disaster in Maybach was also solely due to the fact that large portions of the mine workings were not at all ventilated, although large quantities of fire-damp had accumulated there, of which the mine management was quite aware. What was the use of workers protesting for months against the criminal negligence of the management, for whom safety measures were too dear! Nothing was done in order to remedy this scandalous state of affairs. Only two weeks ago the miners in a section of this pit went on strike because the temperature in the mine was over 93 degrees Fahrenheit and there was an accumulation of fire-damp.

The management disregarded all this, and when the disaster occurred, instead of immediately doing everything in order to rescue the entombed miners, they first sat down to a discussion lasting three hours. Whilst below in the pit the men were suffocating or being driven mad by the heat, were running frantically here and there in order to find an escape from the poisonous gases, the directors sat at their ease in arm chairs in the colliery offices, refused to allow the workers' first aid to enter the pit, and at six o'clock in the evening—the disaster occurred at three o'clock—had the red cross brigade fetched.

It must again and again be proclaimed before the whole world that these disasters were not the result of "unavoidable causes", but that each one of them represents a gruesome mass-sacrifice that has been offered up on the altar of capitalist profits. That which has occurred in the past weeks in

the two pits in West Germany can occur any day in any other pit. One could quote innumerable instances to show in what a criminal manner the mining companies gamble with the lives of the miners. Hecatombs of human victims are sacrificed every year in order to swell the profits of the mining companies. In 1924, 1490 German miners entered the pits never to come out alive. In 1929 the number was already 1647. The harvest reaped by death this year will be even greater. In the period from 1924 to 1929 the number of accidents rose from 8,000 to nearly 13,000, although the number of workers employed in the mines had fallen by 140,000. These are terrible figures showing the murderous attacks of rationalisation. These are figures which indict the whole system.

If today here and tomorrow there one, two or three miners are killed, the bourgeois press contents itself with devoting a small and obscure paragraph to the matter. Nobody troubles about it. No authorities bother their heads over it. It is only when the number of killed is appallingly high that official fascist Germany sheds a few crocodile's tears. Then the stock-exchange speculators who convert the sweat of the miners into bright gold interrupt their business for five minutes. Then the ministers of the social democratic government, who in the Prussian Diet sneeringly rejected all the Communist proposals for the introduction of the seven-hour shift and adequate safety measures, and obstinately turned a deaf ear to the Communist warnings—the Ministers of this government who every month sent the police against the miners, come and desecrate the grave of the victims of rationalisation with a wreath which costs little and pledges them to nothing. 24 hours later everything is again in order, reports the „Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung“ Nr. 248 regarding the Alsdorf disaster.

“The disaster will have no influence on the dividend of the Company, as the 14 per cent dividend is guaranteed.”

That is the true countenance of the capitalist class which pays to the miners' widows, the orphans and injured, of whom there are about 100,000 in Germany, a miserable pittance of 48 marks a month. And these pittances, which amount to 51 million marks a year for the whole of Germany, is only a quarter of the sum which the government pays to former Ministers and higher generals. Nevertheless, Stegerwald, the Minister for Labour, considers these 48 marks a month too much; he wishes to reduce them.

The miners in the whole of Germany, who are constantly facing death, are filled with the most bitter indignation. The mining group of the Red Trade Union Opposition in the Ruhr district has just issued an appeal to the miners in all the German coal fields, calling upon them to take up the fight for a six-hour working day with full wages, for the immediate abolition of all piece work, for the extension of the rights of the pit councils. The demands for safeguarding the lives of the miners are of special importance: setting up of pit controllers and their election by the workers in the pit; careless officials to be immediately deprived of their functions; abolition of all machines which cause explosions of fire-damp and coal dust; the right of every member of the workers' council to see that the pits are free from fire-damp etc.

The open fight to obtain these demands has already broken out. In the Wurm coal area, on the 27th and 28th October, the miners in a number of pits such as Carolus Magnus, Karl Alexander and Eschweiler refused to commence work because a number of miners and red factory councillors had been victimised on account of a protest strike on the occasion of the Alsdorf disaster. The strikers declare that they are fighting not only for the reinstatement of the victimised miners, but for adequate safety measures, for higher wages and a shorter working day.

The signal sent out by the Wurm coal area will be heard in the Saar district, where the Red Trade Union Opposition has proclaimed a 24-hour protest-strike for 29th October on the occasion of the burial of the Maybach victims. The signal will also be heard in the Ruhr district and in Upper Silesia, where the miners are in the midst of preparation for fighting the intended wage cut, for shorter shifts and better wage conditions.

In the midst of all the misery and anguish, caused by the wholesale murder of the miners, there is one single comfort: fresh hundreds of thousands have been mentally awakened,

have been profoundly stirred. They have come to recognise the criminal ruthlessness of the capitalist system. “A corpse is usually a dumb insignificant thing. There are corpses however, which speak more loudly than a trumpet and illuminate more brightly than a torch” (Rosa Luxemburg). The corpses of the murdered miners of Maybach and Alsdorf are not dumb; we hear their summons, we hear the weeping of the fatherless children, the helpless painful groaning of the parents and also the faintest sob of the many who have lost their dear ones. The murdered are flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood. We will raise millions of proletarian hands and march forward to a socialist future in which exploitation will be unknown.

POLITICS

Before the 1st of November in Hungary The C.P. of Hungary Organising the National Hunger March to Budapest.

By Schasch (Budapest).

At the commencement of September there was held the 6th Plenum of the C.P. of Hungary. Besides several important questions two questions formed the main subject of discussion: last and the action of the Party for the 1st of November, and the action of the Party forth the 1st of November, i. e. the organising of a national hunger march of the unemployed and the factory workers to Budapest.

The proposed hunger march is engaging the attention not only of the C.P. of Hungary, but also of the whole of the Hungarian proletariat and the poor peasantry. In the factories, in the trade unions, and particularly in the places where the unemployed gather, one hears constant talk of this hunger march—not in whispers, but openly, loud. This is the case not only in the capital but also in the provinces. Working men and women travelling on the railways are discussing the hunger march just as are the starving agricultural workers in all parts of the country. Even the poor peasants are talking about the national action of the C.P. of Hungary and what results it will have. At the Congress of the Denes party, a semi-fascist peasants party, the peasant delegates, in spite of the terror exercised by the fascist leaders, adopted a decision to take part in the action of 1st of November. On the 1st of November they will send a delegation of 1,000 to Budapest in order to protest there against poverty, the high taxes etc.

How great the response to the action is in the country can be seen from the fear with which the first preparations for the action have filled the ruling class. Already in the first days of October, in the capital and especially in the mining areas there commenced the arrest of workers who are believed to be engaged in preparations for the action, whilst on other occasions such arrests have set in only about a week before the action.

The Party, the national unemployed committee which is under the influence of the Party, and other committees as well as the red trade union opposition and the opposition of other workers' organisations have issued tens of thousands of leaflets which from week to week have found their way into all parts of the country. The leaflet issued by the Party to the poor peasants and soldiers has everywhere aroused the greatest enthusiasm. Up to the present about 100,000 leaflets have been distributed. By the 1st of November about 250,000 leaflets will be issued by the Party and the Red Trade Union Opposition. In addition, illegal Party newspaper, factory leaflets, factory newspapers, illegal and semi-illegal wall newspapers, the mass organisations etc. are being issued.

In spite of exceedingly strict illegality the action for the 1st November is being discussed by the Communist nuclei in fractions wherever they have influence in an illegal, semi-legal or legal form, in the factories and workers' mass organisations. Committees of action for the preparation of the 1st of November are being elected. At the beginning of October a national Conference was held at which a national committee, consisting for the half of sympathising and non-Party workers, was elected for the purpose of carrying out the hunger march. In the provinces and districts etc. the unemployed workers' committees and committees of action consist for the most part of sympathising workers. The election of workers' defence guards on the factory basis is also proceeding.

The revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses has increased since the 1st of September not only because the street fighting in Budapest was a great stimulus to it, but also because the objective circumstances which called forth the will to fight of the workers on 1st of September have ripened still further since then. The economic crisis has become still more acute; production has declined, unemployment has increased from week to week and from day to day and already reaches 50,000. This means that in a country with a population of 1½ million, the unemployed along with their families make up an army of 2¼ million starving people. These hundreds of thousands of industrial and agricultural workers do not receive any benefit or relief, and are absolutely destitute. In addition, as they are unable to pay the exorbitant rents, they are being thrown out onto the streets in thousands. Thousands of families with numerous children are "living" in tumble-down shacks made out of old boxes or in most cases only of straw and clay. Families with five or six children "live" in this gipsy fashion in Budapest and the provinces. These however, are the "better off" people; for there are hundreds who have no roof over their head or shelter whatever, and who are forced to sleep as best they can on the benches in the public parks and squares, under railway bridges and in the open fields.

It is no wonder that arrests for "vagrancy" were never so numerous as at present, that never before have suicides reached such record figures and that Hungary holds the world's record in regard to death from pulmonary diseases.

But the situation of those who still have work is not much better. In hardly any other country in Europe are such starvation wages paid. The average hour's pay of an industrial worker is equal to the price of half a kilogramme of bread; that of a skilled worker is equivalent to the price of one kilogramme of bread. A day's pay of an agricultural worker amounts on an average to 1½ pengos, i. e. the price of four kilogrammes of bread. But the bourgeoisie is making constant attacks even on these starvation wages. A leading big capitalist, **Franz Chorin**, and the Prime Minister **Bethlen** issued a programmatic declaration that they see three important ways of alleviating the crisis: 1. Increase of capitalist rationalisation; 2. further reduction of wages; 3. increase in the "Boletta" (present to the big landowners at the cost of the consumers).

In the last year or two workers' wages have fallen by 8 to 10 per cent. At what a rapid rate not only the workers but also the broad mass of the peasantry are being plunged into poverty and destitution is shown by the fact that in the present year 12,000 small peasant farms came under the hammer.

The fascist government is seeking to overcome the crisis at the cost of the workers. Unemployment benefit is quite out of the question. Even the demagogic promises to provide relief remain unfulfilled "because there is no money for it". Instead, an action for the relief of misery is being organised on a national scale. The social fascists are sending deputations to the mayors of the towns requesting them to permit begging. At meetings they speak against the government, but at the same time they help it to suppress workers who strike against wage cuts and are attempting by means of "Left" demagoguery to hold the masses back from the revolutionary fight. The social basis of fascism is becoming rapidly narrower, so that all the bourgeois parties are compelled to resort to oppositional demagoguery. The quarrels and antagonisms within the ruling class have become further aggravated by the crisis; there is growing confusion among the upholders of the ruling fascist system.

The revolutionary wave has been rapidly rising since the turning point of 1st of September. This is shown by the numerous strikes, such as that of the women textile workers at the Goldberger factory, who went on strike against wage cuts and whose fight in a few hours assumed a political character. The women workers received the police who arrived at the factory with a hail of stones. 30 working women were arrested. The growing eagerness to fight of the working class is to be seen in such small but significant examples as the fact that the workers on 1st September began to arm themselves. They brought with them 150 hand grenades from the munition factory. Similar incidents are reported from other rifle and munition factories. In Kispest, a suburb of Budapest, distributors of leaflets beat up a police officer who tried to prevent them from posting up a Communist placard. In Angyalföld, another industrial district, working women in broad daylight released a Communist worker from the hands of the police who had arrested him. The agitation of the party among the soldiers is successful.

The fact that the broad masses are today everywhere preparing with magnificent revolutionary enthusiasm for the national hunger march and are following their advance guard, the C.P. under the slogan of work, bread, land and power! shows that not only the crisis but also the revolutionary wave has reached a height hardly attained in any other country in Europe.

And even if the hopes of the small peasants that on the 1st of November the workers and peasants committees will commence an armed revolt are exaggerated; even if the deadly fear of the bourgeoisie, especially in the provinces, which expects a revolution in the winter or latest in Spring, is, unfortunately, premature—one thing is certain: no forest of fascist bayonets and no social fascist demagoguery in the country will be able to prevent the revolutionary movement of the Hungarian proletariat and the second proletarian revolution.

The Working Peasants in Austria and the Elections.

By Guido Zamis (Vienna).

The revolutionary movement of the working peasants in Austria is still very young. Although the agrarian character of Austria is still very pronounced, the Communist Party for a long time almost completely neglected propaganda and agitation work among the small peasants and agricultural workers. According to the statistics for the year 1923, out of a total of 3,342,996 following an occupation, 1,426,238 were engaged in agriculture and forestry, as against 1,009,952 engaged in industry and trade. The political importance of the rural districts is to be seen from the fact that all the fascist parties, with the single exception of the national socialists, find their main support among the peasant population. Therefore, there can be no talk of a serious fight against fascism without revolutionary propaganda in the village.

Such a systematic work, however, was only commenced at the end of the last year with the agitation for the Berlin Congress of working peasants. There was then set up a preparatory committee, and meetings were convened at which delegates were elected for a **Peasants Conference** which took place in January 1930 at **Bruck on the Mur**. Here a national committee was elected which represented the working peasants of Austria at the Berlin Conference, and then immediately commenced organisation work in Austria. It should be noted that this Committee, as well as the local committees founded by it — numbering about 20 at present —, consist to a very small extent of Communists. For the most part they consist of non-party peasants, and also social democrats. In **Ferlach** in Carinthia there exists a district committee representing the Slovenian peasants of the former plebiscite area. The demands of the national minorities in Austria, especially of the Slovenians, play a big part in this movement of the working peasants. A few months ago the "**Republikaner**", a weekly paper appearing in Graz, joined this movement. This paper is a somewhat vague and confused petty-bourgeois organ, but nevertheless has always fought energetically against the priests, the nobility, the officers and fascists and stood for the defence of the Soviet Union. It has always had a fairly wide circle of readers among the peasant population of Styria.

The National Committee of the working peasants of Austria is now preparing a **delegate conference** of peasant committees to be held on Sunday the 2nd November in **Deutschlandsberg**, West Styria. At this Conference concrete fighting measures for the following demands are to be decided on:

Expropriation and distribution of the big landed estates. Small peasants to be free from all taxes, and tax alleviation for the middle peasants. Cessation of all distraints on the peasants. Drastic action to relieve the peasants from indebtedness.

Against fascism, against imperialist armaments.

Against the incitement over the alleged Soviet dumping, for the defence of the Soviet Union.

For the right to self-determination of the national minorities in Austria!

For the alliance of the workers and peasants! For a workers' and peasants' government in Austria!

As the Communist Party is the only party which has included these demands in its election programme and is fighting for them, the Committee of the working peasants calls upon the broad masses of the toilers in the country to vote for

the Communist Party, which has also placed working peasants as candidates on its lists.

The National Committee is holding numerous meetings in preparation for the Conference in Deutschlandsberg. In addition, however, the Communist Party is this year holding numerous election meetings in purely agricultural districts, 90 per cent of which have been very successful. From the 12th to 20th October there were held about 65 meetings, which were either purely peasant meetings or meetings of C. P., the audience consisting for the greater part of peasants.

The discontent among the peasants is continually increasing; they are suffering fearfully from the crisis and are therefore displaying great interest in these meetings. Such questions, for example, as whether the price of agricultural products shall be raised or whether it will be possible to reduce the price of industrial articles, whether a grain monopoly or higher import duties, or whether instead drastic reduction of taxation will help the peasants, are being eagerly discussed. The proposals contained in the above demands everywhere meet with enthusiastic approval. On the other hand, it is difficult to organise these sympathetic peasants. Here there is felt the almost complete lack of an appropriate apparatus for this work.

The big peasants are of course opposing this movement. In many places they tried to disturb the meetings, but these attempts were repulsed by the peasants, most of whom were in a revolutionary meeting for the first time. Only in isolated cases in West Styria have the Heimwehr succeeded in breaking up the peasant meetings. The fascists are also threatening to prevent the National Conference on 2nd November.

This fascist terror is accompanied by the terror of the public Prosecutor. The appeal to the working peasants was confiscated, as was also an appeal to the Slovenian peasants and workers in Carinthia. Those responsible for issuing the appeal are being prosecuted for high treason.

The revolutionary movement has, however, obtained a firm foothold among the peasants and landworkers and it will not be exterminated by the machinations of the fascists and the Public Prosecutor. The Communist votes cast on the 9th of November by the peasants in Burgenland, in West Styria and in Lower Carinthia will furnish further evidence of the strength of the revolutionary movement among the peasants.

THE BALKANS

Change of Government in Rumania.

By Martino.

At the beginning of October the Maniu Government in Rumania resigned. This national-Zaranist government had been in office since 1928. At that time it succeeded the government of the Liberal Party, i.e. the party of Rumanian finance capital. The economic crisis made its appearance in Rumania already in the year 1927. The chief task of the Zaranist party (peasant party) and its Maniu government was to alleviate and liquidate this crisis, which was spreading and becoming more acute, by means of foreign capital.

The impoverishment of the workers and small peasants and the further oppression of the national minorities made great progress under this government. But the economic crisis has not been alleviated but has become more acute than ever. During the past year the production of iron fell by 60 per cent, while the timber industry has almost ceased production. The oil industry, which was faced with bankruptcy, has been placed on a "sound basis" by the two largest world oil trusts, Standard Oil and Royal Dutch, by reducing the output by 25 per cent. The textile industry, after having formed a cartel, has reduced its production by 40 per cent. The economic crisis however is making itself felt still more keenly in agriculture, which constitutes 70 per cent of the total production of the country. There is a glaring disproportion between the prices of agricultural products and those of industry. A peasant must sell more than 2 kilogrammes of maize in order to purchase a box of matches. As a consequence, the class differentiation in the rural districts has made great progress; the peasants, in addition to the exorbitant taxes are subjected to frightful extortion by the banks, often having to pay as much as 50 per cent interest.

Under the Maniu government foreign capital, and especially French capital, gradually captured important positions and thus created the economic preconditions for exercising ever increasing influence upon the policy of Rumania. For this reason Maniu, in the farewell speech which he delivered after his resignation, was able to state that the return of King Carol who came to Rumania at the wish of French imperialism, took place with his active participation.

The disastrous accentuation of the economic crisis had, however, also sharpened the antagonisms between the different sections of the bourgeoisie and, on the other hand, led to mass strikes, street demonstrations of the workers and revolts of the impoverished peasant masses and oppressed nations.

The "new" Mironescu government, which mainly consists of the old Ministers minus Maniu and in which there are three generals, has therefore received from Carol the task of becoming a transition government to the open fascist dictatorship. Maniu has resigned "for reasons of health" and intends by this manoeuvre, as party leader of the National Zaranists, to protect this party from being completely compromised in the eyes of the peasant masses and national minorities. At the same time however, on the orders of King Carol, he is working behind the scenes in order to bring together the most important sections of the bourgeoisie. The Liberals under Bratianu have already altered their programme and declared themselves in favour of foreign capital; they are even prepared to hand over the railways and the post office to foreign finance capital.

The programme of the new government is to restore the State finances by cutting down the expenditure for social and cultural purposes by 5,000 to 6,000 million Lei, but at the same time to raise the military expenditure by 3,000 million Lei, to cut down the civil servants and militarise the administration by the appointment of high officers to the most important positions, and in addition to raise fresh foreign loans and carry out the economic and financial blockade and the other preparations for war against the Soviet Union. The present Minister for the Interior announces in the newspapers that a conference of police inspectors is being prepared in order completely to exterminate Communism in Rumania.

The social democratic party welcomes the new government as a government which will place the State finances in order, conduct a fight against corruption and set industry going by means of foreign loans. The social democrats have also worked out a project for balancing the budget. The chief point provides for an extra taxation of the workers by the introduction of unemployment insurance, the chief costs of which are to be met by deductions from the workers' wages. In addition, the social democrats are playing the leading part in the anti-Soviet campaign and are demanding drastic measures against the alleged "Russian dumping". It is interesting to note in this connection that the bourgeois press occasionally admits that the socialist economy in the Soviet Union already surpasses capitalist economy and that in reality there is no question of Russian dumping. The only point against which the social democratic press makes any show of opposition is against Carol's intention to prorogue Parliament and exclude it from any control over the government.

The Communist Party carried out a campaign on the occasion of the imperialist Balkan Conference in Athens by distributing leaflets and holding meetings and demonstrations against the growing impoverishment of the workers and peasants, and against the fascist dictatorship and the preparations. These demonstrations were very effective, especially in Kishinev, the capital of Bessarabia, where the workers demonstrated under red flags.

The Party is endeavouring to carry out together with the Hungarian proletariat, big unemployment demonstrations on the 1st of November, to organise a mass action for 7th November and link this up with the preparation of a great demonstration on 5th December in the whole of Rumania for State benefit for the unemployed, for the seven-hour day against capitalist rationalisation, for refusal to pay taxes, for State relief to the poor and ruined middle peasants, for the expropriation of the big landowners without compensation for the demands of the national minorities up to separation from Rumania, against Carol and his fascist government against the imperialist war danger, for the defence of the Soviet Russia, for a Balkan Federation of workers and peasants.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Two Weeks of the Berlin Metal Workers Strike.

By Paul Peschke (Berlin).

For two weeks the professional strike-throfflers have been trying to find a way to end the strike of the 140,000 Berlin metal workers. But that is not such a simple matter as it was formerly. The influence of the revolutionary trade union opposition is rapidly increasing, not only politically but also organisationally. Acting in accordance with the decisions of the V. World Congress of the R.L.L.U., the Red Trade Union Opposition is consolidating and organising its political influence in the midst of the fight. 20,000 new members in two weeks. And that is only the beginning. The more plainly the treachery of the bureaucracy becomes apparent, the greater the influx of the workers into the R.T.U.O. Among these masses there are also social democratic workers. The free trade union functionary at the Deutsche Telefonwerke in Oberschöneweide has come over from the S.P. of Germany to the C.P.G. and also joined the R.T.U.O.

Thus, this tremendous strike is creating the mass basis in the R.T.U.O. for building up a red metal workers' union in Berlin. And this fact is being recognised by the gentlemen in the directors' offices, in the ministerial seats and in the trade union bureaus. And therefore it is so difficult for them to throttle the strike. In more than 150 works, among them being the largest and most important, the R.T.U.O. alone is carrying on the fight through the strike committees elected by the workers themselves, or it has the majority of the workers behind the strike committee. In nearly all these works the reformist functionaries have set up their strike committees, having behind them only a trifling minority of the workers. They are confining themselves to examining the trade union cards of the organised workers, and as a rule leave the work of picketing to the revolutionary strike committees. It is only very rarely that they call meetings, and only then when they feel certain that they will not be disturbed by the R.T.U.O.

For the rest, they are restricting themselves to a shameless campaign of incitement and lying against the R.T.U.O. But all this does not help them in any way; not even the fact that, under the tremendous pressure of the masses, they are beginning to praise in the press the unorganised workers, upon whom recently they were heaping abuse, to whom they refused to grant any strike pay, sneeringly recommending them "to withdraw their savings from the banks". Nevertheless the R.T.U.O. has succeeded in setting up the united front of the organised and unorganised workers. The staffs of dozens of works which are not affiliated to the employers' federation, entered the strike with their own demands. The workers understood the importance of extending the strike front as propagated by the R.T.U.O., whilst the bureaucracy, on the other hand, forbade any strike in such works.

This fact has opened the eyes of further thousands and brought them under the leadership of the R.T.U.O. A particularly pleasing feature of the strike is the wonderful solidarity of the working masses, who by their financial support are enabling the R.T.U.O. to lead the strike, who have placed the W.I.R. in a position to set up with the aid of the Solidarity Committees elected by the strikers, 60 kitchens at which the strikers are provided with free meals. In addition, thousands of strikers' children are being received into proletarian families as guests for the duration of the strike. In fact so great was the response of the Berlin workers to the appeal of the W.I.R. for this form of proletarian solidarity that the offers of hospitality exceeded the number of children for whom it was required.

The response which the metal workers' strike has aroused in the whole of the working class is tremendous. Throughout the whole country the metal workers, encouraged by the example of their comrades in Berlin, are preparing to repel the threatened attack on their wages by a strike under the leadership of the R.T.U.O. The national socialists, the Stahlhelm and other fascist organisations are openly exposing themselves as strike breakers. Under the protection of the social democratic police, they led their people in a body into the

Knorrbremse factory to act as strike-breakers. The social democratic strike committees did nothing to prevent this. On the contrary, they egged on the police against the mass strike pickets of the R.T.U.O. who barred the approach of the fascist strike-breakers. National and social fascists are working hand in hand in order to disintegrate the strike front. The great mass, of workers, are standing firm. They are fighting under the leadership of the R.T.U.O. for their demands.

All attempts of the trade union leaders and of the Brüning government to deceive the workers by means of a bad compromise and to get them off the streets and back into the works and factories, have proved in vain against this firm will of the masses. Now Severing is again taking part in the negotiations which are proceeding between the social democratic leaders, the government and the employers. Just as in the Ruhr struggle in 1928, Severing will pronounce an award to which the employers and the trade union leaders are to "submit" beforehand. To the betrayers of labour this seems the only possible way to end the strike.

The workers, however, know Severing, who has just now been appointed Prussian Minister of the Interior. They also know the arbitration system. They know that the leaders of the socialist party of Germany are putting forward Severing in order to save the robber-programme of the Brüning programme which is threatened by the strike. They expect nothing more from the S.P.G. The majority are following the R.T.U.O. and the Communist Party as the only power which is leading their fight and creating with them the preconditions for victory.

Berlin, 29th October 1930.

According to official reports, at the negotiations which took place yesterday evening at the Ministry of Labour between the Brüning government, the employers and the trade union leaders, the following agreement was arrived at:

Work shall be immediately resumed under the old conditions; there is to be no victimisation.

The questions dealt with in the arbitration award of 10th October are to be settled by a further arbitration award. The court of arbitration shall consist of three "impartial persons" to be appointed by the Minister for Labour after consulting both parties.

The proceedings of the arbitration court are to commence as soon as possible. The decision must be announced in the first days of November at the very latest, and will be final.

The chairman of the new court of arbitration will in all probability be the former Minister for Labour Dr. Brauns, member of the Centre Party.

Yesterday there was held in Cirkus Busch a Conference of metal workers convened by the Red Trade Union Opposition. There were present 4000 delegates directly elected by the strikers. Comrade Ulrich, who spoke on behalf of the Red Trade Union Opposition, reported on the situation in the metal workers' strike. Referring to the attempts of the reformist trade union bureaucracy to bring about a capitulation of the metal workers, he declared:

"Ulrich, Severing and Co. acting on behalf of the social democratic party ministers, can carry on what negotiations they like with Brüning and Borsig. Only the Central Strike Committee elected by the workers themselves, is entitled to represent the demands of the workers as against the employers. The workers will not hear of any wage cut, but insist on the fulfilment of their justified demands. It is all the same whether Brüning, Stegerwald and Co. dictate an arbitration award, or arrive at an agreement with Ulrich over a wage reduction. The metal workers will continue to carry on the strike in defiance of the arbitration award, against any wage reduction and for their other demands.

"Our answer to this bargaining is the exertion of all our forces in order to extend the strike-front in Berlin and in the whole country, to organise mass picketing, to build up the organisation of the Red Trade Union Opposition and to obtain munitions in town and country. Our answer to the intensified fighting measures of the enemies of the workers is to prepare the whole of the working class for the political mass strike."

Comrade **Dahlem**, speaking on behalf of the Central Committee and the Berlin District Committee of the Communist Party, stated:

"A tremendous storm is sweeping the German working class and particularly its advance-guard, the Berlin metal workers. Thousands and thousands of workers are coming to the Red Trade Union Opposition; a revolutionary trade union organisation is springing up out of the ground. The foundation is being created for the coming red metal workers' union. It depends to a great extent upon you delegates, assembled here in your thousands, how soon this aim will be achieved. Your example will serve as a guide and inspiration to the whole of the revolutionary trade union movement in Germany."

Following the speech of Comrade Ulbricht, in which he summed up the discussion, resolutions of greeting to the C. P. of Germany, to the R. I. L. U., and to the Central Council of the Russian Trade Unions were adopted.

In conclusion, the Conference adopted an appeal to the metal workers, to the working men and women, calling upon them to extend the strike front, to collect munitions for the fight in the factories, to organise mass picketing and calling for a mass entry into the R. T. U. O.

The R. I. L. U. and the Berlin Metal Workers Strike.

Berlin, 23rd October 1930.

The European Secretariat of the Red International of Labour Unions and the International Metal Workers Committee have issued an appeal in connection with the strike of the metal workers in Berlin. The appeal describes the strike of the 130,000 metal workers and declares that the Bruening government is now concentrating its forces against the metal workers in order to beat them into submission and carry out its policy of wage-cuts, new taxes, new burdens for the workers, unemployment and health insurance cuts.

The struggle of the Berlin metal workers is an outpost fight of the coming great mass struggles between labour and capitalism, which the workers will develop into the seizure of power. The international bourgeoisie is striving with all the means at its disposal to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the workers. The national and social fascists are affording the bourgeoisie active support. The striking metal workers are fighting against the capitalist State, against the employers and against the social fascist trade union bureaucracy which bound up with the bourgeois State power.

The active solidarity of the workers of all countries is necessary if the great struggle of the metal workers is to be a success. The metal workers of other countries in particular must support the strike. The individual acts of solidarity must develop into a powerful stream of international proletarian solidarity. We appeal to the workers of all countries to afford active support to the Berlin metal workers strike, and in particular, to the metal workers to organise solidarity actions. Solidarity committees must be formed everywhere in the factories and districts. The social fascist trade union bureaucracy are already trying to split the ranks of the strikers by refusing all support to the unorganised workers. Collect funds to support the strike immediately!

Metal workers and working women of Germany and the neighbouring countries, you have a special task. Take care that your factories perform no strikebreaking work either directly or indirectly. Practise active solidarity, prepare yourselves for a struggle on behalf of your own demands!

Metal workers and working women of Berlin! You will only win if you rally to your own elected strike committees and to the Central Strike Committee of the revolutionary trade union opposition. Declare openly and clearly that you will accept no tariff and no agreement that is not accepted by you in ballot vote and that is not agreed to by your elected representatives.

Strengthen your own organisation, the revolutionary trade union opposition! Elect factory committees of the opposition for your factories! Elect revolutionary shop stewards! Create the basis for the continuation of the struggle against the will of the trade union leaders who are preparing to betray you! Create the basis for a powerful class trade union movement in Germany! Organised workers, see through and frustrate

the manoeuvres of Urlich and Co., who are trying to play you off against your unorganised fellow workers! Organise defence groups against the fascist strike-breakers! Connect up the work in the factories with the work in the Labour Exchanges! Form a united front of the strikers with the unemployed workers! The wives of the strikers, the young workers and working girls and the apprentices must be drawn into the struggle. Striking metal workers and working women! Do not let yourselves be deceived by the manoeuvres of the Urlich and Co. The workers of all countries look to you with pride and confidence. Be obstinate and persistent in the struggle under the leadership of the revolutionary trade union opposition! The class-conscious workers of all countries, the revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary trade union oppositions are on your side in solidarity with you in this struggle.

Long live the struggle and victory of the Berlin metal workers!

Long live the international solidarity of the working class!

Long live the revolutionary trade union opposition in Germany!

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET-UNION

The Political Aims of the Campaign against Soviet Exports.

Declaration by the Deputy Commissar for Trade of the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 22nd October 1930.

In connection with the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union on the economic measures against those countries which have introduced a special regime in regard to trade with the Soviet Union, Comrade **Rosengold**, Deputy Trade Commissar, made the following declaration to representatives of the press:

Some time ago a campaign against Soviet exports set in in the Western countries and has increased considerably in the last few months. This campaign spread from the columns of the bourgeois press to the Ministries and Parliaments, and has already found expression in government decrees and almost in draft bills. An attempt is being made by the Western countries to use as a starting point for this campaign the existing severe economic crisis, which the originators and conductors of the campaign are endeavouring to attribute to Soviet exports. This explanation is of course intended for economically and politically ignorant people, for people who have any knowledge of economic and political questions are bound to realise that the crisis which the Western countries are experiencing has quite other, deeper roots and causes and that the question of Soviet exports has nothing whatever to do with the crisis problem. It is well known that economic crises—industrial, agrarian and general crises—are bound up with the capitalist order and that they used to appear periodically even before the war. Nobody at that time thought of seeking the causes of the crisis in the exports of this or that agrarian country or seeing a way out of the crisis in the abolition of exports of raw materials.

To the general causes which are innate in capitalist economy, there are to be added other ones called forth by the war and its consequences, which have not yet been got rid of. Not so long ago the non-participation of the Soviet Union in the world turnover of goods, or its insufficient participation in the same, was looked upon as one of these consequences having an unfavourable effect on world economy and for which Russia was blamed, it even serving as a reason for the hostility of the West towards the Soviet Union.

Now that our country, having recovered from the devastation caused by the war and interventions, is beginning to participate in world trade, this circumstance, against all logic, is given as the cause of the world crisis and being made a fresh occasion for accusations against the Soviet Union.

Tsarist Russia exported absolutely greater quantities of raw material than the Soviet Union, and its share in world exports was considerably greater than at present, as the export of corn from the Soviet Union is, unfortunately, only a third of what it was before the war. Thus, for example, in 1913 Russia's wheat exports accounted for 25 per cent of the

total exports of all agrarian countries, whilst in the year 1926, and even in the current year, the exports from the Soviet Union did not amount to 7 to 8 per cent of the total exports of wheat. Nevertheless, exports from Tsarist Russia were considered quite in order and did not give rise to any objection.

The exports from the Soviet Union are treated quite differently by the bourgeois countries. As a result of the war, and later of the blockade, the intervention and economic boycott, our country was unable for a number of years to place any exports on the world market, and other agrarian countries have taken its place for the time being. But the increased exports of these countries, which undoubtedly affect world prices, have not called forth any objection. But our country has hardly commenced to recapture its old positions and to secure a quite modest place in the total exports, when it encounters a general outcry as if it were committing a crime against world economy.

It is stated that the appearance of our corn on the foreign market has called forth a price drop and a crisis in the agrarian countries. Those who put forward this argument, however, forget that the price drop of wheat began already in the year 1920 and continued also in those years when we exported no corn abroad.

It is true, thanks to the Foreign Trade Monopoly and thanks to the circumstance that in the Soviet Union there are no export firms, no exchange jobbers, and no middlemen, we have the possibility of selling corn at reasonable prices, which is undoubtedly in accordance with the interests of the broad masses of consumers.

It is not to be denied that this circumstance, the mere fact that the appearance of our corn in accordance with the law of supply and demand, could not but have a certain effect upon world prices. But the appearance of corn from Canada, Argentina, the U.S.A., Australia, Yugoslavia and other countries, whose exports far exceed those of the Soviet Union, must have the same and even a far greater effect upon prices. The question now is, why is the blame for the drop in prices placed on Soviet corn, and why, in order to raise world prices, is it demanded that Soviet corn be excluded and not Canadian, American or Australian corn, whose share in the total exports considerably exceeds that of Soviet corn and has a greater effect on prices.

In any event, the exclusion of Soviet raw materials from the world market is impracticable, and it will be hardly possible by creating abnormal conditions for their sale to raise the selling price and the world price of these raw materials. It is interesting to note that even such institutions as the American Ministry of Agriculture, which can hardly be accused of Bolshevism, attributes the fall in the price of wheat not to Soviet exports but to the following factors:

1. The world production of wheat has rapidly increased from the year 1924 to 1928. The stores of wheat have grown from year to year and at the end of the season of 1928/29 reached a high figure.

2. Whilst the world consumption of wheat increased for many years, in several countries there exists the tendency to restrict consumption, and in some countries import restrictions have been introduced which have the tendency to reduce the consumption of wheat and to replace wheat by other cereals.

3. The financial and economic depression, which bears the character of a world depression, was accompanied by a general drop in the prices of all commodities, including wheat. ("World Wheat Outlook" 1930, Page 6.)

With regard to the accusations of "dumping" brought against the Soviet Union, the ridiculous and unscrupulous character of these accusations has already been sufficiently exposed by reputable organs of the economic press in Western Europe and America. I will only refer to the "Bulletin Maritime Commercial de Marseille" issued by the Havas Agency, in which the sale price of Soviet Corn from the Black sea area, in spite of all market fluctuations, is given as being higher than the price of corn from the Danubian countries. Thus for instance, corn from Novorossisk and Taganrog was quoted on 10th October in Marseilles at 119/115 English shillings a ton, whilst Rumanian wheat of the same quality was sold at 111 shilling a ton. Further, the "Bulletin des Halles de Paris" writes in its issue of 13th October: "If we follow the Russian position we have to say that it is not the Soviets but the Danubian countries which are carrying on dumping. Whilst

the Russians sell sort 110 — 80 kilogrammes for 120 shillings and sort 112 — 116 shillings for 78.79 kilo, the Danubian countries are quoting their consignments at 108/110 shillings for 78 kilogrammes. When it is remembered that the Danubian countries do not possess the above-mentioned advantages of the Soviet Union regarding the abolition of the middle men, and that in these countries relatively backward forms of land cultivation prevail, one can safely conclude that these countries are selling corn at less than cost price and are thereby carrying on a so-called dumping of which the Soviet Union is accused. That this campaign against Soviet exports does not arise from motives of an economic nature is proved by the fact that the conduct of this campaign has been taken over by precisely the countries which are at the bottom of the list of those countries importing raw materials from us, or do not compete with us with their own raw materials.

Thus our exports to France amounted in the year 1928/29 to 4.9 per cent of our total exports. Neither Esthonia nor Latvia export wheat, but on the other hand consume foreign wheat. Nevertheless, these countries along with Poland took part in the first agrarian conference which, as the Rumanian Minister of Trade admitted, was directed against the Soviets. Is there any proof needed that this campaign could not alleviate the economic depression of the West? Is it not clear that the chief cause of the world crisis is the over production of industry and the inadequate markets, and that this over production would only be further aggravated if the Soviet Union were barred off as a market for foreign industrial production as a result of the cessation or limitation of Soviet exports?

At present there are in many Western countries branches of industry which are mainly engaged in carrying out supply contracts for the Soviet Union, the disappearance of which would result in a complete or partial stoppage of big works and whole branches of industry, with a corresponding increase in unemployment. Is that a means for overcoming or alleviating the crisis? It is hardly necessary to point out that no country, and still less the Soviet Union which does not possess any big credits, can develop its imports without exports.

One might ask: do not the instigators and leaders of the anti-Soviet campaign realise the serious results to which their campaign might lead if it proved successful? To which I must reply, firstly, that this campaign has been initiated and is being conducted by those countries which have only themselves to blame for the fact that normal economic relations have not been established with the Soviet Union, and they therefore have relatively little to loose from the breaking off or restriction of commercial relations with the Soviet Union. They know that the evil results of this campaign will chiefly affect the interests of other countries, which have already succeeded in establishing active relations with the Soviet Union, and they now wish to carry out this campaign at the cost of these countries.

Secondly — and I must specially emphasise this — the campaign does not in any way arise from the facts of the crisis and does not in any way aim at alleviating this crisis. On the other hand, it pursues definite political aims of individual countries and a common aim of an all-round fight against the Soviet Union. The enemies of the Soviet Union, even after the failure of the military intervention, never cast aside their weapons, but every year invented and tested new anti-Soviet weapons. The present campaign against Soviet exports has the same task as the Papal campaign of this year, i. e. to prepare public opinion for an intervention. I am convinced, however, that this campaign will prove a fiasco, without achieving its aim, just as all former anti-Soviet campaigns.

The Soviet Government cannot remain a passive spectator of the anti-Soviet actions by which this campaign is accompanied. When the French Government recently introduced special regulations regarding the importation of various commodities from the Soviet Union, our Ambassador in Paris energetically objected. He raised objection to the introduction of special regulations for trade with the Soviet Union. The French Government is trying to justify its decree by pointing out that the Soviet Union also places restrictions on imports from abroad. But our Foreign Trade Monopoly and licence system applies equally to all countries, and we would have no grounds for complaint if France introduced the same regulations for all countries. We cannot, however, tolerate the

setting up of exceptional laws for the Soviet Union, and it is to this that we are objecting. We cannot, however, confine ourselves to objections if they do not achieve their purpose.

The decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union which was published yesterday, imposes upon the Trade Commissariat the duty of resorting to protective measures against those artificial hindrances and prohibitions which have been created by exceptional laws and exceptional decrees. That is the meaning of the decision of the Council of the Peoples' Commissars of the Soviet Union.

"Pravda" on Soviet Counter-Measures against Ban on Imports.

Referring to the decision of the Council of People's Commissars to cease or radically limit Soviet purchases in all countries which attempt to discriminate against soviet exports, the "Pravda" writes on 21st October 1930:

The campaign against "soviet dumping" is the newest slogan of the anti-soviet front now that the "crusade" business has fallen through. The latest effort is to make the Soviet Union responsible for the world economic crisis and thus prepare public opinion for an attack on the workers and peasants State.

Truth and reason have nothing in common with this new campaign and it is therefore bootless to point out that the economic organs of Europe quote innumerable instances of real dumping on the part of capitalist countries, or to quote the evidence of the London "Times" that France itself is dumping wheat on the British market and selling it at a shilling per quarter lower than the price in France.

French imperialism needs the new war-cry to prepare a new economic, political and military attack on the Soviet Union. Briand's Pan-Europe plan has fallen through, Briand and Flandin suffered a fiasco in Geneva when they attempted to organise an international boycott of soviet goods through the League of Nations, and French imperialism is now indulging in a series of hostile acts against the Soviet Union.

The success of the socialist constructive work in the Soviet Union show up still more clearly the world crisis of the capitalist economic system. The French government fears the creeping crisis. The workers in France are becoming more and more radical and frequent outbursts are occurring in the French colonies. It is not so long ago that the French capitalist press wrote ironically and contemptuously of the Five Year Plan of socialist construction in the Soviet Union; to-day it does nothing but foam at the least reference to it. The success of the collectivisation on the land and the increasing liquidation of the Kulaks as a class are destroying the hopes of Millebrand, Tardieu and the "socialist" Leon Blum of a capitalist restoration.

The talk of "soviet dumping" covers the fierce and irreconcilable hatred of the bourgeoisie of the most aggressive militarist State in the world against the country of socialism. The masses of the Soviet Union are well aware of the real situation. They know that there is no economic reason for the attack launched by French capitalism on the soviet export trade. The soviet share of French imports is less than 1.5 %. The French government cannot expect us to remain content with the discrimination made against our goods. It cannot expect us to enter into any discussion concerning measures which have as much to do with commerce and trade as the "agrarian conferences", attended by more military attachés than agricultural experts, have to do with agriculture and the interests of the great masses of peasant agriculturalists.

Our economic experts are excellently informed concerning the economic situation of those countries in which they place their industrial orders. The French government had better consider the economic consequences of its latest attack on soviet exports. Further, the intensification of the world economic crisis of capitalism makes the question of defending the Soviet Union a matter for the whole proletariat. To-day the imperialist intrigues against the Soviet Union are meeting with more and more resistance on the part of the workers of all countries.

The decree published by the Council of People's Commissars to-day is an answer to the French government and to all those vassal governments which are at its beck and call; it is an answer which will meet with the approval of the workers and peasants of all countries.

IN THE COLONIES

Advance of Communism in the Arabian Countries.

By Bob Jaffa.

The results of the world economic crisis are making themselves very perceptibly felt in the Arabian countries. The imperialists are everywhere increasing their pressure upon the working sections of the population, especially upon the workers and peasants. The agrarian crisis is completely ruining the Fellahin, as it depresses still further their already terrible low standard of living. There is general discontent and bitterness among the population; the radicalisation of the masses is proceeding at a rapid pace.

In this situation the official nationalist parties, at the head of which are the feudal land owners and the commercial bourgeoisie, supported mainly by the clergy, have proved a failure. Whether it be the "Wafd" in Egypt, the "Kutlat Wataniath" (the national bloc) in Syria or the "Ludchnath Tanfisiath" (executive committee) in Palestine, they all prefer to bargain with the imperialists, giving as a reason the misery of the masses, instead of mobilising these masses for fight.

This is the reason of the process which Communism has been making among the Arab masses in the last few months.

In this connection first mention should be made of the **Communist Party of Syria**. It has not contented itself with proclaiming its existence, but it has also commenced active work in the most important centres of the country. The acts of repression to which the French Government resorted by arresting dozens of workers have been in vain; the Special Court which it set up by special order and before which the arrested workers led by Fuad Shmali (who was arrested by MacDonald's police in Palestine and handed over to the French imperialists) are to appear, is futile; the increased efforts of the police and spies have been without result — the Syrian Communists are constantly gaining fresh sympathy, and the workers do not allow themselves to be intimidated.

The Syrian police would very much like to make out that only the Armenian emigrants (who are especially exploited and oppressed in Syria) are taking part in the movement. As a matter of fact, however, the Syrian Communist Party is developing its activity before all among the Arab masses, in spite of the hostility and incitement of the Christian parsons in the coastal district and of the Mohammedan Sheikhs in the interior of the country.

The **Communist Party of Palestine** is also on the way to becoming a party in which elements from the native Arab population predominate. The carrying out of the resolution of the E. C. C. I. on the "insurrectionary movement in the Arab countries" (16th October 1929) has become the basis of the Party line, and the fight against the right (nationalist) deviations thereby stands on the order of the day. The Party is making use of actions such as the ejection of the Arab settlers from "Wadi Hawaras" in order to give concrete form to and popularise the slogan of the agrarian revolution and the union of the workers and peasants.

The third Communist Party of the Arabian countries, the **C. P. of Egypt**, is active above all among the town workers. After long struggles it has again become consolidated and is once again coming before the public. The fresh persecutions to which Sidky Pasha is subjecting the Party are not able to hinder its progress.

In connection with the progress of Communism in the Arab countries there again arises the question, which has been already broached by the E. C. C. I., of a closer co-operation of these parties and a common leadership, say in the form of a federation. The fact of the close co-operation of the British and French imperialists whenever it is a question of suppressing the revolutionary movement suggests the necessity of such a communist co-operation. As soon as the preconditions thereto have been created in the different sections, the Arab Communist Federation—as an instrument of the revolutionary movement in the Arab countries—can be realised.

Thirteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

The Thirteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution and its Importance to the Czechoslovakian Proletariat.

By G. Reimann.

The rapid pace of industrialisation, the transformation of the Soviet Union from an agrarian into an industrial country, the going over to mass collectivisation in agriculture, the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, the general attack on the last stronghold of capitalism in the Soviet Union, undertaken on the basis of the decisions of the XVI. Party Congress—all these historical achievements of the past year have made a profound impression upon the international proletariat.

In these circumstances the bourgeoisie is compelled to increase the incitement against the Soviet Union and to endeavour to check the growing sympathies of the working class for the first Workers' State. In Czechoslovakia the columns of the bourgeois press are full of sensational reports of "starvation" in the Soviet Union. In the last few days the bourgeois press published a terrible story about the introduction of compulsory labour in the Soviet Union. The occasion for this canard was the decree of the People's Commissariat for Labour ordering the cessation of payment of unemployment benefit because unemployment has been liquidated in the Soviet Union. Whilst in capitalist Czechoslovakia hundreds of thousands of unemployed are delivered over to starvation and, under the rule of the social fascist Ministers, the great majority of them do not receive any benefit or relief, the bourgeois press and social democracy are making a great outcry over the fact that in the Soviet Union, where unemployment no longer exists, payment of unemployment benefit has ceased.

The anti-Soviet incitement has been greatly increased by the international campaign against Soviet dumping. In response to this incitement the Executive Committee of the Czechish agrarians at its last meeting adopted an exceedingly provocative proclamation against the Soviet Union, and there is very little doubt that as a result of this campaign an attempt will be made also in Czechoslovakia to create difficulties in the trade relations with the Soviet Union, just as imperialist France has done in the last few days. On the 2nd November an international conference of the green Agrarian International will meet in Prague which will play an important role in the efforts to form a bloc against the Soviet Union.

As was to be expected, the Czech social democrats, as one of the firm buttresses of the present regime in Czechoslovakia, are coming forward actively as propagandists of the fight against the Soviet Union in the ranks of the working class. At the last Party Conference of the Czech social fascists which took place a few weeks ago in Prague, a resolution was adopted protesting against the shooting of the counter-revolutionary saboteurs in Russia. The same party Congress approved the new programme of the social democrats. The foreign political section of this programme openly supports the armaments policy of Czechoslovakia and even contains the express demand that Czechoslovakia shall maintain all the existing treaties of alliance with foreign powers. At the same party congress Herr Soukup, the representative of the Czechoslovakian social democracy in the II. International, had the impudence to declare that the Communists are for war whilst the social democrats are for peace. How genuine this love of peace cherished by the social democracy was revealed by the Czech social democrat Srba in the debate on the military budget in the Czechoslovakian committee of defence. He declared:

"Our military tactics must consist in transferring the defensive force from the artillery to aviation. The expenditure on the old types of weapon must be limited and that on the new types of weapon increased. Speaking as a civilian I thank the Minister for Defence for having

increased the expenditure on the air force from 60 to 90 million".

The war incitement of the ruling class in Czechoslovakia was revealed even more plainly in connection with the recent events in the Parliamentary Foreign Committee. In this committee Benes made a speech in which he argued that there does not exist any actual danger of war, giving as a reason that war would not find sufficient support among the masses. When Comrade Haken in his answer to this speech exposed the war preparations of the Czechoslovakian imperialists, Benes declared that he would not agree with the Communist speaker on this question because he stood on the other side of the barricade.

All this shows that the fury of the ruling class against the first workers' State grows with the progress of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. For this reason the solidarity demonstration of the Czechoslovakian proletariat with the Soviet Union on 7th November acquires extraordinary importance. The celebration of the 7th November this year in Czechoslovakia is closely connected with the campaign which the C.P. of Czechoslovakia is conducting on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Party and of the heroic December strike of the Czechoslovakian proletariat in 1920. In the carrying out of this campaign the workers of Czechoslovakia will certainly not forget that their movement is a child of the Russian Revolution. They will call to mind that the first attempts to found a revolutionary class party of the Czechoslovakian proletariat were made in Soviet Russia soon after the establishment of the Soviet Power; that the Czechish Communist Party was formed in Russia in the fight against the Siberian legion which fought on the side of Kolchak against the Red Army, and that the formation of this party provided the first big historical impetus to the separation of the Czech labour movement from the treacherous social democracy.

The 7th November will demonstrate the growing sympathy of the Czechoslovakian working masses for the Socialist State. A few weeks ago a workers' delegation to which a whole number of national socialists and social democratic workers belonged, returned from the Soviet Union. The reports delivered by these delegates have aroused the sympathy of fresh sections of the Czechoslovakian working class for the Soviet Union. A great change is taking place in the ranks of the social democratic and national socialist workers. At the conference of national socialist functionaries in Prague which took place a few days ago, the workers from the factories refused to take part in the annual demonstration and parade in honour of the President of the Republic and demanded that on this day there should be held a protest demonstration against the policy of the present social fascist government. And as in Prague so is the mood of the social democratic and national socialist workers in other places. These workers who have hitherto held aloof from the class struggle are beginning to realise that the State which up till recently they still regarded as an expression of their national emancipation, is in reality an expression of bourgeois class rule, and they are beginning to see that the real emancipation of the workers is only possible under the Soviet system. For this reason there can be no doubt whatever that the 7th November will be a day of demonstration of the sympathy of the broadest working masses of Czechoslovakia for the Soviet Union and that on this day the Czechoslovakian workers will demonstrate their readiness to take up the fight for the defence of the Soviet Union and against the rule of the bourgeoisie and against the social fascist parties.

Against Fascism! For the Soviet Power!

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International

To the Working and Peasant Youth of all Countries!

Comrades!

On the 7th November next it will be 13 years since the toilers of Tsarist Russia, under the leadership of Lenin and his Bolshevik Party, broke the imperialist chains and created the first proletarian State of the world, the Soviet Union. These 13 years have been filled with struggles of the proletarian dictatorship for socialism, with a unique creative work of the broadest masses; they are a challenge to the old accursed order of society which is based on starvation and oppression.

On this day the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. calls upon the toiling youth of all countries to arrange powerful fighting actions under the slogans:

Against fascism! For the Soviet Power!

On the 13th anniversary of the victorious October, capitalism is experiencing a profound ever sharpening economic crisis. The army of the unemployed, numbering millions and millions of adult and young workers, who are doomed to starvation and misery, is growing uninterruptedly. Under the brutal pressure of the employers, the working day is prolonged, wages are reduced and mass dismissals are taking place.

It is only in the Soviet Union that unemployment has disappeared, that wages are increasing, that the working day is shortened to seven hours for adults, to six hours for young workers and that every fifth day is a day of rest. The constructive work of the masses which is proceeding at a giddy pace and creating the giant factories and the collective farms of the peasants, is leading to the socialist development of the Soviet country, is consolidating its power and that of its gallant Red Army.

The bourgeoisie is feverishly arming for an attack on the Soviet Union. The anti-Soviet war bloc of the countries bordering the Soviet Union is being organised under the guidance of the general staffs of the imperialist Powers. In order the better to organise this robber-bloc the fascist dictatorship has been established in Finland and Rumania. In Poland the fascist dictatorship is holding a bloody assize against the insurgent Ukrainian peasants. The recent Reichstag decisions in Germany show that here also the bourgeoisie is determined to adopt a firm fascist course. The fascist ring of economic blockade and war is being closed ever more tightly round the Soviet Union.

Simultaneously the imperialists and the counter-revolutionary elements in the Soviet Union are organising bands of saboteurs who are bent on undermining the proletarian economy from within.

Young Workers and peasants!

The offensive of the bourgeoisie is directed with particular fierceness against the youth front of the class struggle. In Germany compulsory labour is being gradually introduced for the young workers after the pattern of Bulgaria. In Poland the period of apprenticeship is being prolonged up to four and five years. The rationalised factories are absorbing thousands of young lives and sucking out all the energies from the young proletarians. In all capitalist countries the youth is being forcibly militarised in the fascist sport and other organisations. The enormously growing army of young unemployed is deprived of all benefit and doomed to starvation and destitution. The working youth is being robbed by the bourgeoisie of its last rights; its exploitation is enormously enhanced; it is being prepared to serve as cannon fodder for the bourgeoisie.

But the toilers and oppressed in all countries, both adults and juveniles, are rallying round the Leninist banners of the Comintern and of the Young Communist International; they are fighting with increasing determination, against the offensive of the bourgeoisie, for the overthrow of capitalism. The great victory of the C.P. and Y.C.I. in Germany, when more than 4½ million votes were cast for Soviet Germany, the great participation of the young workers in this election struggle, are the harbingers of the approaching great revolutionary fights of the German proletariat for power. The economic strikes are everywhere assuming a distinctly political character. Demonstrations are being turned into fights of the workers for the street and are uniting with the revolutionary movement of

the peasants and of the oppressed nationalities. The heroic struggle of the Chinese Red Army and the revolutionary actions of the Indian toilers are proof of the further progress of the world revolution.

Young Workers and Peasants! Soldiers!

The bourgeoisie wishes to crush the upsurging revolutionary movement with blood and iron. In the first ranks of capitalist offensive there march the storming columns of the bourgeoisie, the fascists. The fascist dictatorship brings the working masses instead of bread—the gallows, instead of freedom—bloody assizes after the pattern of the Italian, Polish, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Rumanian and Yugoslavian hangmen. The fascists bring to the working youth final enslavement and imperialist war. The task of the fascist dictatorship is to force the working class to its knees, to place the toilers in the fetters of brutal terror, to bend the toiling youth under the yoke of unbounded exploitation and to drive them into the war against the Soviet Union. In this the fascists are actively supported by the social fascist agents of the bourgeoisie and their imitators in the Socialist Youth International. These “socialist” champions of imperialist world war, of punitive expeditions against the toilers of China and India, these guardians of order during the May Day fights of the Berlin proletariat, these murderers of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, these professional strike-breakers, are the direct allies of the fascists. It is necessary energetically to repel the offensive of the bourgeoisie and their fascist and social fascist agents.

On the 13th anniversary of the October Revolution the Y.C.I. calls upon the working youth of all countries to hold powerful anti-fascist demonstrations. Young Communist, non-Party young workers, young peasants and young workers who are still in the ranks of the social fascist, fascist and other bourgeois organisations but who have already realised the necessity of defending the Soviet Union, of fighting for bread and freedom, will demonstrate shoulder to shoulder in a united front. On the 13th anniversary of the Soviet Union, the young workers and peasants will strengthen the world-front of the anti-fascist fight by streaming in masses into the Young Communist League, the anti-fascist organisations, the red trade unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition.

We summon you to the fight: in defence of the Soviet Union! against the fascist offensive of capital! against capitalist rationalisation! For the six and seven-hour working day, for wage increases, for full benefit for the unemployed young workers! Against the militarisation of the youth! For the proletarian self-defence! For the full right of the oppressed nations to self-determination! For land without compensation! For the workers' and peasants' government! Down with the fascist watchdogs of capital! Long live the Soviet Power in all countries! Long live the Comintern!

On the 7th of November—the whole toiling youth into the streets, under the banners of the anti-fascist struggle and for the proletarian revolution!

Moscow, 10th October 1930.

The Executive Committee
of the Young Communist International.

The Thirteenth Anniversary of the Soviet Union.

(Manifest of the F. O. S. R.)

On November 7th the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union will celebrate the 13th anniversary of their great revolution, which overthrew the power of tsarism, landlordism and capitalism in the old Russian empire and established the rule of the workers and peasants over one-sixth of the globe. But November 7th will not only mark the 13th anniversary of the Soviet Republic. It will signalise also the passing from the second to the third year of the great Five-Year Plan; by means of which the last remnants of capitalism are being eradicated and the new order of Socialism is being erected in the Soviet State.

Two questions are now the centre of world politics. On the one hand the developing world economic crisis with the consequent impoverishment of the working class in all capitalist countries. On the other hand, the Five-Year Plan of the S.U. and the abolition of unemployment. In capitalist economics there is a reduction of production by 25 per cent; in the S.U.

an average increase of 30 per cent. This increase in production in the Soviet Union is being carried through for the benefit of the workers and peasants; the standard of life for the workers and peasants is being progressively raised.

In the early months of 1930 wages had already reached 133 per cent of 1913. The figures for the whole year 1929-30 show an increase in the income of the proletariat over the previous year of 27.3 per cent. The funds hitherto used for the maintenance of the unemployed workers are now set aside for training workers drawn into industry from the agricultural districts. The five-day week (four days' work and one day's rest) is the rule throughout the Soviet Union, the seven-hour day is being rapidly introduced in all industries, and social benefits are enjoyed by the workers—sickness and old age insurance, annual holidays with pay, medical and health services, etc.—unequalled in any other country in the world.

In the field of culture and education the same advance is revealed. The tsarist heritage of illiteracy, complicated by the large number of national languages, is rapidly being liquidated. In 1929-30 over nine million hitherto illiterate workers and peasants were taught to read and write, and the plan for the coming year will extend the benefits and enjoyment of education to fifteen million more. This year a new law has made elementary education obligatory for all children between the ages of eight and twelve. Universities, colleges, scientific and technical schools, and all forms of cultural life and activity are at the free disposal of the workers and peasants. In this great work of educational regeneration, the trade unions and the Soviet institutions, including the Red Army all play their part.

In the face of all this evidence of social and economic progress it is surprising that the capitalist governments of western Europe and America watch the developing power and strength of the workers' republic with hatred and dread? Is it any wonder that they are preparing, openly and covertly, for the coming attack on the Soviet Union, and that all points of the anti-Soviet cordon—from Finland in the North, through Poland, to Rumania in the South—are being strengthened and fortified? Does it not explain the developing campaign of lies and slanders against the Soviet Union, of which the recent "convict labour" scare in the United States and the present "anti-dumping" campaign in Britain are typical examples?

Capitalism is everywhere trying to divert the attention of the workers from the defects of its system by an intensified campaign of slander against the S.U. Especially in Poland, the fires of war are at present smouldering and if not quenched by the watchfulness of the workers will develop into a new world conflagration. The economic crisis in Poland has long since developed into a political one, under the cover of which Pilsudski will seek to hide the catastrophe of his politics through a war against the S.U. The Nationalist and anti-Russian slander campaign have reached a point in Poland, that makes war against the S.U. an imminent possibility.

In all capitalist countries—especially in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia during the past few months—the menace of fascism is rapidly growing. Under the slogan: "Fight against Bolshevism", the powers of reaction everywhere are rallying for an attack on the Soviet State.

Only the mass action of the workers can prevent the realisation of these sinister designs. And it is the task of the Friends of the Soviet Union to mobilise and organise the workers of western Europe and America for this purpose: by the organisation of delegations of workers and peasants to visit the Soviet Union, by exposing the lies of the capitalist press and explaining the nature and progress of the Socialist construction in the Soviet State, by agitation amongst the workers of all capitalist countries for mass action to protect the workers' republic from imperialist attack.

On the 13th anniversary of the great proletarian revolution, on the approach of the third year of the Five-Year Plan, the Friends of the Soviet Union send cordial fraternal greetings to the workers and peasants of the Soviet State, and pledge themselves to struggle ceaselessly for carrying out their task.

Defend the Soviet Union against capitalist attack!

Explain the great work of Socialist construction in the Soviet State!

Long live the free Union of Socialist Soviet Republics!

Build up the "Friends of the Soviet Union" all over the world!

The International Committee of the F. O. S. R.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Open Letter from the C. P. of Sweden to the Members of the Kilbom Party.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sweden has addressed an Open Letter to the members of the Kilbom Party in which the anti-communist and anti-working class policy of the expelled renegades is subjected to a thorough criticism.

When, a year ago, the renegade leaders behind Kilbom broke with the Comintern, they maintained that the E. C. C. I. had deliberately brought about the split and that it wished to remove some leaders on personal grounds and to place others at the head. To-day everyone knows from the experiences of the past year that the differences of opinion turned on questions of principle, and the split was caused by the fact that the leaders, Kilbom, Samuelsson and Flyg disagreed with the policy of the Comintern on principle. In words these leaders declared their agreement with the Programme and the decisions of the VI. Congress of the Comintern, and at the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. in July 1929, at which Flyg and Samuelsson were present, they did not raise any objections. At this Plenum it was recorded that the influence of the Comintern had increased after the expulsion of the opportunist elements (Brandler, Hais and Lovestone). In his capacity as official speaker for the Swedish delegation Flyg declared:

"I am in entire agreement with the statements of Comrade Kuusinen and his theses. It is our duty, with the aid of the Comintern and supported by the experiences of the other sections, to build up a strong Communist Party in Sweden."

In August the same group of leaders signed the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the Party; but already in September they opposed the Comintern analysis of the political and economic situation and Kilbom wrote in the "Folkets Dagblad" that "it would be a conscious or unconscious fraud to try and persuade the workers that we are facing an economic crisis". On the contrary, there is every indication that the capitalists will be able to reckon "with a further continuation of the trade boom, with increased production and larger profits".

When Kilbom wrote that, the first signs of the crisis were already to be observed in Sweden, and to-day every worker knows that the estimate given by the Comintern was perfectly correct. It was a manoeuvre when the renegades declared in an Open Letter that they intended to fight for their readmission and to appeal to the VII. Congress. In actual fact this Open Letter was only an ultimatum of a hostile group which was striving to annihilate the Comintern as a world party. Their letter contained nothing but complaints and repeated the lie about "Russian gold" which has been spread a thousand times by the social democrats.

During the last six months the renegades have made malicious and base attacks in the "Folkets Dagblad" against the Finnish communists and designated as cowards and poltroons these comrades who are conducting a hard fight, involving great sacrifices, under the blows of the brutal white terror. On the other hand, the same paper praises those renegades who, in alliance with the social fascists, have destroyed the trade union federation and set up a new organisation affiliated to Amsterdam. The founding of this organisation, to which no communist is admitted as member, is described by Kilbom as "the first step towards the establishment of trade union unity".

In their hatred against the revolutionary movement the renegades do not even shrink from deliberate falsification. On August 18, the "Folkets Dagblad" asserted in a leading article that Lenin had been against the founding of the R. I. L. U., and tried to make out that the leaders of the R. I. L. U. had acted contrary to the teachings of Lenin. Before the Reichstag elections in Germany the renegades reported numerous great victories of the Brandler group, and after the 14th September they insisted that the tremendous victory of the C. P. of Germany was nothing but a defeat. If, however, the influence of the Brandlerists was really so great as Kilbom

maintains, then every reader of the "Folkets Dagblad" is bound to ask how comes it that the Brandierists were unable to put up a single candidate at the Reichstag elections.

The renegades write in their press about "the regime of inner terror" in the C.P.S.U., which is being imitated by the other sections of the Comintern; they compare Stalin with Robespierre and maintain that production in the Soviet Union is declining; and these calumnies are quoted at length by the most reactionary newspapers in Sweden. They venture to serve up these impudent lies to the workers, although they know full well that industrial production in the Soviet Union increased by 29 per cent in the first quarter of 1930.

It is now up to the workers in the Kilbom Party to decide whether they wish to follow their bankrupt leaders back to the social democracy or whether they will break with this party and reunite with the Comintern. Since the 9th of October last year the C.P. of Sweden has done everything in order to realise the political line of the Open Letter of the E.C.C.I. On the 6th of March it organised meetings and demonstrations in all parts of the country, which were opposed in an equally malicious manner by the renegades, the social democrats and the bourgeoisie. On the 1st of May it broke for the first time with the old tradition of the opportunists who demonstrated along with the social democrats, and the C.P. succeeded by means of independent demonstrations in rallying considerable masses round the Communist slogans. The demonstration of 1st of August against the danger of imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union showed once again that the C.P. can rally and lead the masses under the slogans of the Comintern. Also on this occasion the renegades fought along with the social democrats against the Party, and when the C.P. called for protest actions against the fascist terror in Finland the renegades demanded that the reformist trade unions should take over the leadership in this fight!

In the big conflict in the paper industry the C.P. fought for the extension of the strike, whilst the Kilbom Party supported the defeatist strategy of the reformists. The renegades also took advantage of the mistakes committed by the C.P. and its members in order to damage the revolutionary movement, although these mistakes were in contradiction to the line of the Party and were stigmatised by the Party in a ruthless self-criticism.

In conclusion the Open Letter calls upon the workers in the Kilbom party to discuss at their meetings the question of reunion with the C.P. and expresses the conviction that the great majority of the workers who are still for the time being behind Kilbom will honestly perceive their mistakes and find their way back to the Comintern.

FASCISM

Against the Reign of Terror of Polish Fascism in the Western Ukraine.

Appeal of the C.P. of Poland and of the C. P. of Western Ukraine.

To the revolutionary proletariat!

To all toilers!

Comrades!

The Western Ukraine, which is under the mailed fist of Polish imperialism, is again experiencing a terrible time. As an answer to the rising flood of revolutionary mass fight against the occupation in the West Ukrainian villages, the Polish fascist dictatorship has let loose its hordes as punitive expeditions against the toilers. Several regiments of cavalry, two "expeditionary corps", each consisting of a thousand police, innumerable smaller "flying squads" are raging through the country. Wherever they appear the men are tortured, the women flogged and the school children beaten. Wherever they appear the farms of the peasants go up in flames, the peasants' corn is trampled down and everything which the toiling peasantry have won in long decades of struggle in the way of co-operatives and cultural organisations, is reduced to a heap of ruin. The number of the arrested, who are subjected

in the prisons to every form of sadistic torture by the jailers and occupation authorities, runs into thousands and thousands. Numerous Ukrainian peasants and students are murdered by the police and military bands or shot "while attempting to escape". The population of the districts visited by the fascist bands fly in thousands to the woods and fields, in order to escape from the hands of the dehumanised "guardians of order".

The work of the punitive expeditions is completed by the fascist bands and administrative terror. The Ukrainian elementary schools, numerous village co-operatives, and the premises of the Central Union of Ukrainian co-operatives have been demolished with bombs by Polish fascists. The Ukrainian elementary school in Stanislaw, the Ukrainian high schools in Tarnopol, Rohatyn, Drohobycz, as well as many cultural and sport organisations, have been closed by the fascist occupation authorities; the closing of further schools has been announced. The increased terror against the working masses is raging through the whole of Poland. Not only prison sentences but also death sentences, as the death sentence on Kahan, Sosnoviec and Niebielski in Biala-Podlaska, are being pronounced in order to throttle the revolutionary fight of the Polish workers and peasants, to frustrate the revolutionary election campaign of the working masses of Poland under the leadership of the C.P. of Poland, and to secure an absolute majority for Pilsudski in the Polish Sejm.

The purpose of the annihilating campaign in the Western Ukraine is to create there the peace of the graveyard and convert it into a peaceful, safe hinterland for the anti-Soviet war which Polish imperialism, along with the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, is organising under the guidance of world capital. But all is vain. This campaign of annihilation will be shattered by the will to fight of the working masses, by their will to overthrow the fascist dictatorship, to drive out the occupation, to defend the Soviet Union, to set up the workers and peasants Power, to unite the Western Ukraine with the Soviet Ukraine.

The West Ukrainian workers and peasants are not following the Ukrainian bourgeoisie who, in alliance with Polish fascism, are today licking Pilsudski's boots, and, in the midst of the reign of terror of the occupation, are increasing their incitement against the Soviet Ukraine and, by means of their organisations, the counter-revolutionary fascist Ukrainian military organisation, are causing bombs to be thrown into the editorial offices of the workers' and peasants papers. Nor are they following the Polish social fascists who approve of the punitive expeditions, nor the Ukrainian social fascists, whose whole activity consists in serving the bourgeoisie and fascism. The workers and peasants of Western Ukraine know that only the revolutionary class struggle can bring them their social and national emancipation, that only international proletarian solidarity can help them in this fight. They are forming their defensive and offensive front, they are closing their ranks under the red flags of the Communist Party. From you, comrades of all countries, they are expecting fighting solidarity and support.

Comrades, workers and peasants of all countries!

In the name of thousands imprisoned, condemned and tortured workers and peasants, in the name of the masses of the socially and nationally oppressed workers and peasants of Western Ukraine, we appeal to you:

Practise international solidarity!

Protest against the reign of terror of the Polish occupation in the Western Ukraine, against the death sentences passed on the revolutionary workers in Biala-Podlaska, against the terror of Pilsudski's hangmen!

Raise your voices in all factories and at all meetings in protest against the bloody regime of the fascist dictatorship.

Increase the fight against your own exploiters for the common victory over murderous imperialism!

Down with the fascist dictatorship in Poland!

Down with the occupation of the Western Ukraine!

Down with Polish imperialism!

Release Comrades Kahan, Sosnoviec and Niebielski! Release all proletarian political prisoners! Long live the international proletarian socialist revolution!

The C. C. of the C. P. of Poland.

The C. C. of the C. P. of the Western Ukraine.

Proletarian Women's Movement

The Work Among Women and the Tasks of the Communist Parties.

Resolution Adopted by the Conference of the Chiefs of Women's Departments of European Communist Parties (August 1930).

1. The world economic crisis which is the outcome of the general capitalist crisis, and which is developing in the various countries into a political crisis divulges the intensity of the fundamental contradiction between the country which is building up socialism — the U.S.S.R. — and the capitalist system which is disintegrating more and more. This crisis is accentuating the differences between the capitalist countries, the Imperialist countries, on the one hand, and the colonies and dependencies, on the other. Simultaneously it intensifies the **Internal Contradictions** in the capitalist countries illustrated by the growing fascisation of the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie, the merging with it of the leading circles of social-democracy and reformist trade union bureaucracy and by the growing accentuation of the class struggle. Monstrous unemployment, big wage-cuts, lengthening of the working day, worsening of social insurance, growth of taxes and tariffs accompanied by growing repressions with regard to labour organisations and the economic and political demonstrations of the proletariat, all this combined is a characteristic of the renewed and more brutal offensive of the bourgeoisie against the working class. Whilst ever growing numbers of women are drawn into industry and male labour is replaced by female labour, the exploitation of the latter is growing, women workers' wages are continually reduced, although the gap between men's and women's wages is already considerable. Complete deprivation or considerable reduction of social insurance affects women workers first of all, they are also deprived of maternity benefit, married women workers with families to keep are dismissed and their labour replaced by the cheaper labour of younger women, etc. Apart from this, women workers are subjected to cruel repressions. The general worsening of the position of the working masses hits particularly hard working men's wives, housewives, peasant women, women employees and other sections of working women. Under these conditions ever growing proletarian masses are revolutionised and brought into the labour movement. The working class reacts to the capitalist offensive by a counter-offensive, by development of the strike movement, the economic fights being frequently converted into political demonstrations of the unemployed. One of the most characteristic features of the reviving labour movement are mass demonstrations of the female proletariat, working men's wives and peasant women who are gradually drawn into the general revolutionary struggle and become more and more revolutionary. The extension of the revolutionary movement is adding to the responsibility of the Parties for correct leadership of mass fights, especially their responsibility for drawing the female proletarian masses into these fights.

2. Under the circumstances created by the ever-growing crisis, social-democracy is devulging more and more clearly its role of active conveyor of the policy of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. Being the chief prop of the Imperialist bourgeoisie in the working class, social-democracy is substituting the interests of the latter to the interests and continuance of the bourgeoisie state. Under the pressure of the demands and revolutionary demonstrations of the masses the treacherous activity of the Social-Fascists is sharpening and is being adapted to the various strata of the working class. Lately the organisational and agitational activity of the Social-Fascists among the female proletariat has increased. They are trying to direct the growing revolutionary movement of the working women on to the path of Social-Fascism. Under the slogans "Industrial peace", "Normal Development of the Process of Production", "Class Collaboration" and "Policy of Mutual Understanding" the Social-Fascists are betraying the interests of men and women workers in time of strike and lockout. By their slogan "Pacifism as the Chief Weapon against War" they disguise active participation in the pre-

paration of imperialist war. By their slogan "Socialism via cooperation!" they mask the ever-growing merging of the cooperatives with the capitalist system. By popularising the pacts and agreements of the capitalist powers as a counterpoise to the consistent peace policy of the U.S.S.R., by glorifying church holidays as counterpoise to the revolutionary holidays of the working class, by supporting bourgeois charity as a counterpoise to state aid, by bringing forward the slogan "The Mother's place is not the Factory but the Home" as a counterpoise to the protection of women labour, etc., Social-Fascism is endeavouring to counteract the Communist influence on the female proletarian masses.

3. Side by side with the growing activity of the Social-Fascists we witness also the growing activity of the Fascist and Christian organisations among working women. By cleverly disguising with democratic pseudo-revolutionary phrases anti-proletarian measures such as curtailment of state benefit for the unemployed, establishment of workers' savings banks in the factories for the event of destitution and unemployment, wage agreements directly with the employers, and presentation of the employers' tasks as tasks "to provide bread and a living for thousands of people", Fascism is endeavouring to blunt the class-consciousness of the proletariat. With the help of slogans such as "We do not want Class Struggle", "Class Struggle divides the People into two Parts and prevents it being a Nation", the Fascists are fostering chauvinism and are endeavouring to make the proletariat place national interests above class interests. At the same time, the Fascists go into the masses and carry on special propaganda for slogans such as "Woman's Place is the Home", "The Husband is the Wage Earner", "Hard Labour for those who advocate Birth Control and Abortions". With the help of these slogans the Fascists try to popularise an ideology alien to the proletariat as a class, the ideology of sex inequality and restriction of women's role to the home. However, in time of war Fascists are not averse to "Enlisting for National Labour Service", the "Physically Unfit for Military Service", i. e., working women. They are even establishing special military women's leagues (Germany, Poland, Finland, etc.). The remarkable results with regard to women's emancipation in the U.S.S.R., Fascism describes as "Dishonouring Women", and attempts, by gross libel, to kill interest in working women's position in the Soviet country and any desire to follow their example. The Christian organisations carry on all this anti-proletarian patriotic, chauvinist and anti-soviet propaganda in the guise of Christian ideas and dogmas. Both kinds of organisations try to take an organisational footing in the factories by forming nuclei of their own, and appointing their own organisers, members of factory committees, etc. One can gauge the activity of the anti-proletarian women's organisations by the great number of congresses and conferences on various currents and questions held lately.

4. However, the ever-growing swing to the left of the female proletariat, repeatedly noticeable in the last two years in the form of women workers' mass participation in strikes and demonstrations, in picketing and fighting blacklegging, in energetic resistance to the police and gendarmery, in their participation in the political demonstrations of the Communist Party, in the revolutionary conduct of working women in the prisons, etc., bear witness not only of the rapid revolutionisation of the masses, but also of the growing influence of the Communist Parties on them.

"The masses look upon the Communist Party as the

only Party capable of fighting capitalism, as the only Party worthy of the confidence of the workers, as the only Party which it is worthwhile to follow in the struggle for liberation from capitalism." (Stalin.)

5. The distinguishing feature of the period since the Sixth Congress of the Comintern is — that the work of the women's departments was given a more definite form by the resolutions of party Congresses and Conferences, and also by the decisions of the leading Party organs, as work of the Party as a whole among wide masses of working women, above all as work among women employed in industry. Simultaneously, that period is characteristic as the period of inner-Party measures with regard to getting rid of the isolation of women communists within the Party which in some cases went to the length of forming special women Communists' nuclei, electing "representatives" of women Communists to leading Party organs, etc. As a result of this we witness growing activity on the part of women Communists in the general Party work, shown by the growing number of women at Party Conferences and the growing number of speakers from their ranks at these Party Conferences. However, the correct decisions with regard to work among women are not sufficiently acted upon by the Parties, especially by their middle and lower organisations. There is no proper guidance with regard to this work, neither is work among industrial women workers carried on systematically. Side by side with this it frequently happens that with regard to struggle against separatism of women Communists, the Parties go to the other extreme, and discourage even meetings of women functionaries for the discussion of work among women (Austria, Switzerland). At the same time, women's departments, failing to realise that they constitute special Party apparatuses for work among women which must show initiative with regard to carrying out the decisions made by the Party on these questions, are frequently using complaints about the Party's inattention to work among women as a cloak for their own inactivity. Lately, liquidatory moods with regard to the women's departments have been noticeable only among a few comrades (Merker-Germany): Suggestions that women's departments should be done away with because, as it is alleged, the specific reasons which made their existence necessary, no longer exist. The Party immediately showed up the erroneousness of such views. It goes without saying that one cannot draw a complete organisational analogy between the work of Communist Parties in capitalist countries among working women and the work of the C.P.S.U. among these masses in the present period of advanced socialist construction.

6. In the general struggle against Right and Left deviations, the Communist Parties have done a certain amount of work with regard to overcoming these same deviations also in the work among women. The Right deviation in the work among women was the first to make its appearance: (1) Pre-dominance of cultural-educational work to the detriment of mass inclusion of working women into the economic and political struggles of the proletariat (for instance, in Berlin at the end of 1928, the period of many industrial fights, for women's delegate meetings only the following subjects were brought forward: excursions to the botanical gardens, excursion to the Sexual Institute, questions of mother and child, nervous complaints, etc. In the plan drawn up by the same women's department for the preparation of the I.W.D., (International Women's Day) 1928, there was not a single general political slogan, the chief slogan being "Struggle for the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood". (2) Underestimation of the role of working women in the struggle of the proletariat (in most cases working women were enlisted for the organisation of feeding centres, nurseries etc. No emphasis was laid on women's direct participation in economic and political struggles, in committees of action and defence corps against the gendarmerie and police). (3) Absence of exposure of Social-Democracy and its treacherous policy with regard to women workers, co-operation with the upper circles of Social-Democracy (establishment of a Mother's League in Austria, advice to women workers on strike to rely on help from the reformist trade unions — „Arbeiterin" Austria —), concessions to the reformists with regard to their

agreement with the employers to the detriment of the women workers, etc.

As before, opportunist mistakes are the chief obstacle to the development of the work of the Communist Party among working women, and especially among women employed in industry. These mistakes are: Under-estimation of revolutionary progress among women workers and lack of faith in their strength; opposition to and inertia with regard to the organisation of working women's delegate meetings; opposition to the inclusion of women workers into proletarian fighting organisations, such as workers' self-defence, red front fighters etc., as well as opposition to promoting working women to responsible work in the Party, trade unions and other revolutionary organisations. Similar mistakes are responsible for an inadequate carrying through of the decisions made by the Party on work among women: Right tendencies among women functionaries lead to the pessimistic conclusion that the attempts to penetrate in the factories right into the thick of the women workers have not been successful. As before "Left" deviations in the work among women take the form of: (1) failure to take into account the family and social conditions under which women workers and workingmen's wives live; (2) under-estimation of the partial demands of working women as a whole; (3) inertia with regard to capturing the masses of working women who are under the influence of opponent — Fascist, Social-Democratic and Christian women's organisations — which means relinquishment of the united front tactic from below, etc.

7. In the past period the Communist Parties, in their endeavour to overcome opportunist tendencies and Left deviations with regard to work among women and in the work itself, took a series of steps in connection with taking the lead in the strike movement of women workers and developing this struggle as part of the general struggle of the proletariat. Wherever the struggle was carried on under the leadership of the C.P., women workers and workingmen's wives have joined the Party (Mansfeld, Bradford, Copenhagen) and revolutionary trade unions (France). In economic struggles which develop into political, women workers are frequently promoted to important posts and become active participants in these struggles (May strikes, barricades in 1929 in Berlin, May Days in St. Pölten Czechoslovakia, the recent incidents in Hungary, etc.). Very significant is the successful inclusion of women workers into such general Party campaigns as elections of factory committees in Germany where the Party succeeded in heading the women workers' demands to the factory committees, and having mobilised the women workers of a series of factories and brought forward the candidatures of revolutionary women workers, secured the majority of these women's votes.

However, the Party has not yet succeeded in bringing the revolutionary activity of the women workers entirely under its influence. It frequently happens that in the spontaneous demonstrations of the proletarian women (Czechoslovakia, Germany, Sweden) Communist Parties, Red Trade Unions or Trade Union Oppositions miss the right moment for the organisation of the women workers' struggle, which helps the employers and trade union bureaucrats to bring the struggle to naught. The Party, the Red Trade Unions and Trade Union Opposition are far too slow in organising their work among women employed in factories, they do not draw them into their ranks, failing to consolidate organisationally their influence on women workers who proved themselves good fighters during strikes, and good workers as participants in committees of actions, conferences and congresses. Extremely backward is the work of Communist Parties and of the revolutionary Trade Union movement among unemployed women. This work is frequently limited to formal organisation of committees of unemployed women, but in practice even the most elementary measures for the activation and mobilisation of the unemployed women around the general problems of the revolutionary trade-union movement are lacking (Britain).

The mass of working women are not yet sufficiently drawn into the general struggle of the Communist Parties against the capitalist offensive, unemployment, reduction of social insurance and high prices, into the struggle against Fascism and Social-Fascism. As before, the Parties carry on in an inadequate manner their work for drawing women workers into the economic struggle, for taking the lead in the spontaneous demonstrations of women workers, in their strikes, they do not yet pay sufficient attention to trade union

work among women workers. It is still frequently the case that the natural protest of the masses, especially working men's wives and housewives against high prices and taxes, is not organised and headed by the Communist Parties. Millions of working women connected with co-operatives are still allowed to remain outside the class army of the proletariat, although in a few cases when the Parties mobilised the co-operated women around questions connected with the struggle of the day (Basle strike) these women became rapidly revolutionised and gave active support to the Communist leadership.

One must try much harder than has been hitherto the case to do away with the still existing disproportion between the development of the revolutionary movement of working women as a whole and the C.P.'s ratio of influence on the mass of working women, using for this purpose the experience of past class struggles.

8. Bringing forward special women's demands is a good means of drawing large numbers of women into the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. The Parties have been bringing forward lately such demands. However, this is frequently done in a mechanical way, without taking due consideration of local circumstances in every concrete case. For instance, when bringing forward and popularising the general slogan "Equal Pay for Equal Work" the Party, ignoring the present gap between men's and women's wages, does not give a concrete form to these demands in the direction of bringing up women's wages to the level of men's wages. When new wage agreements are made, it is essential to demand that women workers should no longer be placed in separate groups, but should be included in the general wage groups according to their qualification.

When bringing forward the slogan "Protection of Motherhood and Childhood" there is nearly everywhere the desire to outdo all other organisations by more comprehensive demands. And yet, very little is done in the current struggle with regard to bringing forward concrete demands for the protection of motherhood in the given enterprise or the given district (organisation of free crèches and nursery schools, setting aside rooms for nursing mothers, a break for feeding babies, free milk for young children, etc.). The energetic propaganda of Social-Fascist and Christian organisations for married women's return to the family does not meet with the required ideological and practical opposition on the part of the C.P. There are cases when Communist members of Red Trade Unions associate themselves with this slogan. This is absolutely inadmissible, and must be overcome. Communist Parties must carry on an energetic struggle against the exclusion of married women workers from industry, explaining in every possible way to the masses that under capitalist conditions inclusion of married women into the process of production is called forth by the precarious conditions of the proletarian masses, and that the Fascist and Social-Fascist slogan "Women's place is the Home" is one of the manoeuvres which is to disguise the attack on the standard of living of the proletariat. To counteract the slogan "No Married Women in Factories", side by side with the general slogans of the struggle against unemployment "The Seven Hour Day!", the "Five Day Working Week!" etc., special slogans must be brought forward, such as, "Protection of Motherhood at the expense of the Employer and State", "Organisation of cheap feeding for workers", "Insurance at the Expense of the State and Employers of all dismissed Workers", "Struggle against Reduction of Insurance for Women", "Equal Insurance of Unemployed Men and Women".

The C.P. and Revolutionary Trade Union organisations must in good earnest stand up for the demands of women workers, workingmen's wives, young women workers, women farm labourers and peasant women, women employees, women employed in handicraft, domestic helps etc. However, the partial demands of working women must not be separated from the general demands of the proletariat, they must be the necessary link for drawing these masses into the general economic and political struggle of the proletariat, for encouraging revolutionary activity among women workers in time of strikes, lockouts, demonstrations. These partial demands must be brought forward and defended by the Communist Parties as demands of the whole working class. Partial demands must be the starting point for the establishment of the working women's united front around the general campaigns of the C.P. against the capitalist offensive, against unemployment

and legislation which worsens social insurance, against Fascism and Social-Fascism, political terror and repression, they must be the most important means of drawing large numbers of working women into the general offensive of the proletariat against the foundations of capitalism. The mobilisation of working women must be given a special impetus on the occasion of big Communist Campaigns carried on by the Parties on May 1st and August 1st, of parliamentary elections and elections to municipal councils and factory committees, of campaigns connected with the conclusion of new wage agreements, etc. The I.W.D. campaign must also become more and more a general campaign of the Communist Parties, intended to draw the attention of the whole proletariat to the special needs and demands of proletarian women, and at the same time a campaign for the mobilisation of the mass of working women around the general slogans of the C.P.

9. Exceptional importance attaches, in the present period, to the inclusion of working women in the struggle against the imperialist wars which are being prepared and those which are going on in the colonies. In this direction very little has been done by the Communist Parties with regard to drawing working women into active revolutionary struggle. The Communist Parties are not doing enough in the direction of shattering the pacifist illusions spread by the Social-Fascist and Christian organisations, and of combating the inertia of the mass of working women in this question, not making sufficient use of the existing laws (France, Czechoslovakia) and of the newly promulgated laws (Poland) directed towards women's mobilisation in the event of war. Neither do they combat with the required energy the Fascist military training of women. The tempo of the work of the women's proletarian anti-Imperialist organisations lags behind the tempo of the work of the opponent organisations. In some circles of women Communists there is still under-estimation of the forces and importance of the opponent women's organisations, as well as opportunism with regard to struggle against these organisations. Ruthless exposure of opponent organisations and their leaders, more energetic propaganda against the preparation of imperialist wars by means of an active opposition, development of the fighting spirit and readiness to convert imperialist war into civil war, inclusion of the mass of working women in anti-imperialist demonstrations and strikes, consolidation and extension of anti-imperialist women's leagues, such as R.F.M.B. (Red Women's and Girls' League). (In Germany and Switzerland), Union Fraternelle (in France), Women's Sections of the Workers' Defence (In Britain) and Red Front Fighters (in Czechoslovakia) establishment of strong Communist fractions in their ranks, drawing women into the organisation of the Workers' Self-Defence, into proletarian sport organisations, establishment and extension of connections with the mothers and wives of workers and peasants called up for service in the army and navy, publication of special pamphlets and manifestoes for the exposure of some decisions and ordinances of the Imperialist cliques and pacifist organisations, strengthening the general struggle against Imperialism and Pacifism in all the domains of work among women, all these tasks must be paramount in the work of the Communist Parties among working women.

10. The most serious defect of the work among women is the absolute inadequacy of international education. This was particularly noticeable in the I.W.D. Campaigns, namely, campaigns in which the international element should have predominated. This is also noticeable in the whole current work, even in times when the Parties—in connection with the international situation—concentrate their attention on colonial questions (Britain, France) or on questions of mutual relations of the capitalist border countries. At the present juncture it is particularly important to concentrate our attention on the international education of the masses: establishment of connection between the working women's movement of the various countries, between the working women of the mother countries and the revolutionary detachments of proletarian women in the colonies, between the working and peasant women of the capitalist countries and the working women and women members of collective farms in the U.S.S.R. At the present juncture working women's attention must be drawn to the revolutionary movement in India, the struggle of the toiling masses in China for a Soviet regime, these women being mobilised against the despatch of troops and war materials to these countries.

II. The work among women with regard to organising sympathy and support for the U.S.S.R. is carried on in a somewhat onesided manner. This work is almost entirely limited to the elucidation of the social gains of working women in the U.S.S.R. The main problem is lost sight of, namely, setting the U.S.S.R., with its entire politics and economics, as a proletarian power, as the growing strong country of the world proletariat, against the disintegrating capitalist world, and on this basis propaganda for the defence of the U.S.S.R. against war preparations and attack. It is essential to make socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., development of industry and agriculture on a collective basis loom big before the eyes of working and peasant women. It is essential to explain the slogan "Five Year Plan in Four Years" to draw attention to the absence in the U.S.S.R. of the contradictions which strike the proletarian woman at every step in the capitalist world.

12. The absence of a clear enough exposure of the Social-Fascist, Fascist and Christian organisations in working women's ranks is responsible for the influence which these organisations still have on large numbers of working women. In some districts where the work of the Parties among women is better organised, the results are immediately visible (in Berlin more women voted for the C.P. in the recent municipal elections than at the Reichstag elections, 1928). This question deserves due consideration, methods must be found to bring home to the masses our agitation in this direction. It is essential to watch our opponent in the factory itself, and to expose his acts on the spot, disorganising his treacherous activity, getting away the women workers from his influence, and bring simultaneously to the notice of the masses the true character of the Social-Fascists in the general Communist press and through our representatives in the parliaments, municipal councils, etc. The existing anti-imperialist women's organisations must be drawn into the struggle to a greater extent than before by establishing a network of brigade-courses for struggle against our opponents, by using the latter, for the organisation of special meetings, conferences, etc.

13. The chief organisational task in the work among women is transference of this work to the factories. In spite of the fact that this work alone can guarantee the organisational consolidation of the influence of the Party on the mass of working women, it is decidedly unsatisfactory with regard to tempo and development. As a rule, pressure must be brought to bear on the nuclei by the central leadership to make them include in their current work questions which concern and interest industrial women workers. The opportunist errors which still exist in the lower organs of the Party apparatus, impede the consolidation of Party influence among working women. This must be overcome. Factory nuclei must take measures in their everyday work which will bring women workers nearer to the C.P. In order to carry on systematic work among women workers and to raise the influence of the Party on them, it is essential for the nuclei to appoint **organisers drawn from the ranks of industrial women workers**, to increase the number of such organisers in accordance with the number of shifts brigades, etc., especially in the factories of the most important industry of the given country and in military or potentially military factories.

At the same time it is necessary to direct the work of the Communist nuclei and revolutionary trade union movement in the factories for the defence of the interests of the women workers and for their organisation. Special commissions of women workers must be formed in the factories, attracting women workers into all the organs of the revolutionary front proportionally to their number and importance in the factory—into committees of struggle, strike committees, revolutionary delegates, unemployed committees, etc. Women workers should be appointed to the red factory committees, commissions of the factory committees, should be delegated to conferences and systematically instructed on questions of their work. The fundamental purpose of all these organisational measures must be to revolutionise the women workers, to prepare them for economic and political struggles, to attract them to the current struggle and to **attach them** firmly to the Party and revolutionary trade union movement.

14. The extremely low proportion of women workers in all Communist Parties and the excessive proportion of housewives among women Party members has a bad effect on the development of work amongst women. **At all costs the proportion of women workers in the Party must be increased.** Every strike,

every demonstration, every event, every conference must increase the number of women workers in the Party as one of its results. The work of systematically recruiting women workers into the Party must be put in order, and the course of the recruiting work must be watched. Further, more attention than previously must be paid to the organisation of Communist nuclei in factories with a majority of women. For this purpose the Party must mobilise the women Communist activists and form shock brigades from among them, attaching them to individual important factories. These brigades must be given a concrete task of attracting a definite number of women workers into the Party, of organising a nucleus, etc. **Special attention must be paid to the women workers who have already entered the Party**, by means of special measures such as discussions, classes, courses, special militant tasks, so as to increase their political consciousness and their revolutionary reliability. In all the work that is carried on—conversations, meetings, conferences, magazines—it is necessary to explain the programme and demands of the Communist Party and to show how the Communist Party differs from pseudo-Labour parties. At the same time the working women masses must be organised for the defence of the Party, its organisations, its press, especially in periods of repression of the Party, consolidating this work by attracting women workers into the C.P.

15. The increase of the number of women workers in the red trade unions is unpardonably slow. The red trade unions and the trade union opposition are not consolidating their influence among women workers who reveal great activity during strikes and struggles, and among the participators of trade union conferences and congresses. These activists usually disperse. Not all women departments verify the work of the trade union organisations in this direction. The work amongst women is beginning to be organised in France better than in other countries. The work among women revolutionary trade unionists and in the factories must be strengthened and extended, by forming commissions of women workers in the organised revolutionary trade union movement and commissions of unemployed women in unemployed committees. Women workers must be included in mass work, especially **women members of reformist and christian trade unions**, by working inside these unions and forming opposition groups of women workers in them. By attracting these women workers to congresses and conferences in various branches of industry, by more actively drawing them into the current struggles, strike committees and other committees of struggle, pickets, etc., and carrying on in practice the organisation of the united front from below. The revolutionary trade union organisations must take on themselves more decisively the leadership of the struggle of the women workers, must put forward and defend special demands for the women workers. The Party must direct this work and must systematically verify it.

16. In view of the increasing numbers of young women workers who are included in industry, a change must be brought about in the work among them. The Party must direct the attention of Communist youth organisations much more sharply to the attraction of young women workers into the economic and political struggle and also into all forms of their work.

Special attention must be paid to drawing the young women workers into the red sport organisations, at the same time taking special steps to separate them from hostile organisations. The Communist youth organisations must have friendly and comradely relations with young women workers. **A definite stop must be put to wrong attitudes towards the special discussion of this question** in all the current work of the Y.C.L. organisations and to wrong attitudes regarding the special forms of work among young women workers, which are the cause of the extremely small proportion of young women in the Y.C.L. organisations and the absence of influence of the Y.C.L. among these masses. The Y.C.L. organisations must examine the whole of their system of work among young women workers, and must put forward new methods which will give them this influence and consolidate their influence. In view of the fact that in some countries (England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway) in various branches of industry, girls form the majority of women workers, work among the girls of these countries is especially important and the special attention of the Y.C.L. organisations and the women's departments must be concentrated on them. In the strike struggles, arrangements

must be made to mobilise the young women workers around the strike committees, the committees of struggle, putting them forward as members of these committees, putting them in pickets, in the self defence detachments, appointing them as youth delegates, calling special conferences of young women workers, attracting young women workers into any delegate meetings for women which are organised, etc. The women's departments of the Communist Parties must in every way support the revolutionising of young women workers and their drawing into the Y. C. L.

17. The transference of the chief attention of the Party to work in the factories does not mean the winding up of this work among the proletarian sections of the women masses, among agricultural women workers, women peasants, home workers, housewives, the wives of workers, etc. Up to the present time these masses have been badly organised by the Party and by sympathetic organisations. In spite of the tremendous possibility of embracing new and broad sections of working women through the agency of sympathetic organisations, this work in the women's department has been completely neglected up to the present time.

Very little attention is paid to the mobilisation of the women worker masses for the setting up of a revolutionary cooperative opposition. The practical assistance given by the cooperative societies at Halle, Merseburg in Germany to the Mansfeld strikers has shown what a great role the cooperative societies can play in the struggles of the proletariat. It is necessary to take measures to strengthen the revolutionary opposition in the cooperative societies, to attract the working women. The movement of the broad women masses must tonise these masses, and to mobilise them around the economic and political struggles of the proletariat.

It is necessary to extend, strengthen and revolutionise the leading work of the Party among the wives of workers, and to link this work up better with the preparations which are going on in some branches of industry where their husbands are working. The movement of the broad women masses must be organised against attacks on wages, against lowering of insurance payments, for the introduction of State insurance, against high prices, taxation, unemployment, uniting them around the red trade unions, the trade union opposition, committees of struggle, etc., and attracting them into the I. C. W. P. A., the I. R. A., the atheist society and existing women's revolutionary organisations.

18. The question which was raised by the women Communist conference in May 1926 regarding work among women peasants and agricultural workers has not been taken up in Parties like Poland, Czecho Slovakia, where the objective possibilities were favourable and remain so for the development of this work. In spite of instructions to mobilise women peasants around the European Peasants' Congress and to send women peasants to this congress, there were only three women among the delegates, and two of them were from one country. Up to the present time, not a single revolutionary peasant organisation has started systematic work among women peasants and agricultural workers. This work must be commenced, using for this purpose the existing revolutionary peasant organisations, forming committees of women peasants in them, appointing women peasant organisers to the existing village Party organisations, organising classes, conferences, delegate conferences of women peasants, women peasant marches to the nearest centres, to organise the broad masses of agricultural women workers and poor peasants around the slogans and demands put forward by the Communist Party. Women peasants must be brought into close contact with women workers, in particular by attracting women peasants and agricultural workers to participate in the struggles of working women in neighbouring districts by supporting the children of the striking workers, by putting buildings at the disposal of the revolutionary organisations, housing strikers, etc.

19. The task of strengthening Communist influence among the women working masses demands that the C. P. should adopt more elastic and mobile forms and methods of work. In recent times, the form of mass conferences of working women has been widely adopted. The conferences take in masses of women workers and wives of workers in the majority of European countries (Germany, France, Czecho Slovakia, England). A number of conferences of women's proletarian organisations (R. F. M. B.) and the Union Fraternelle have been

held. However, these conferences contained an impermissible high percentage of women Communists, (50—60 %). At the conferences they elected very few women workers who are members of other parties and organisations, i. e. the conferences are not sufficiently utilised as forms of the united front of women workers from below. When extending the system of calling women's conferences of workers for individual districts or for various branches of industry, it is necessary to overcome this shortcoming and to pay great attention to the organisational consolidation of contacts between the members of the conferences, forming groups of activists in the factories from among them. In spite of the fact that the I. W. S. of the E. C. C. I. in its letter of March 8th, 1929, recommended the organisation of conferences with a view to calling a National Congress of women workers after a certain time, only the C. P. G. has shown initiative in this matter, and have carried on an all-German Congress of women workers, which has played a great role in the revolutionising of the mass of women workers. The other parties have not yet utilised the experience of the C. P. G. although the objective conditions for calling such congresses are almost everywhere favourable. Congresses will probably be organised in England and France in the near future. In connection with this the Communist Parties of these countries must give every possible assistance to organise and carry on these congresses. The other Parties must raise the question of calling analogous congresses.

Meetings of working women are not organised in the factories themselves, but in some cases they are carried on at the gate of the factories. Steps should be taken to call a meeting of women workers however small, in the factories themselves, to organise meetings of women workers during the dinner interval and after work. Workers' dormitories and barracks must be utilised to hold meetings to a much greater degree.

In the recent period, a number of Parties have begun to adopt some new methods in their work among women. For the first time women have been attracted to take part in a hunger march (England). A commencement has been made to organise combined sessions of women workers and peasants (Germany, Poland, Finland).

The forms and methods of work among the working women masses must not be mechanical but must be differentiated. They must be a means of carrying out in a better way the tasks which face the Communist Parties, of attracting women workers, workers' wives, women peasants, etc. into the general economic and political struggle of the proletariat. The most varied forms and methods of work among the masses must be adopted, and they must be adapted to various districts and branches of industry, to all the conditions of work and life of women workers, they must include all avenues of influence on women workers, they must not neglect a single feature which could be used for the organisation of a united revolutionary front of men and women workers independently of their party or trade union, independently of whether they are organised or unorganised.

20. In spite of the decisions of the Congresses and Plenums of the Comintern, delegate meetings have not yet become constant forms of work for the Communist Parties among the working women masses. The first steps in the direction of organising delegate meetings in 1926-27 in Germany, England, Czecho Slovakia, very clearly showed the importance of delegate meetings as one of the best methods of contact of the Communist Party with the masses of working women. However, these first delegate meetings fell through owing to the incorrect opportunist leadership of their work, dissociation from current questions of the economic and political struggle, from the daily needs and interests of the women workers, and owing to the superfluity of cultural and educational questions. The opportunists made use of this as a new proof of the impossibility of organising delegate meetings under capitalist conditions. The Communist Parties have not yet taken steps to overcome these opportunist views and have not commenced systematic work for the organisation of delegate meetings of women workers. Only Germany at the end of 1929 had started to organise delegate meetings in Berlin, but have not yet consolidated this form of work. As for the C. P.s of England, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, there are only slight attempts to organise this work. The extreme weakness of the Communist Parties in assisting the women's departments to organise

delegate meetings of women is one of the characteristic examples of the under-estimation of the special work of the Communist Parties among women, relics of social democratic traditions with regard to this work.

Further delay in the organisation of delegate meetings is absolutely intolerable, and it is necessary to commence decisively and firmly to carry out the decisions of the C.I. on this question. In view of the extension of the revolutionary movement of women workers, and in view of the experience of the C.P.s in the leadership of women workers, the objective conditions for the organisation of delegate meetings must be recognised as satisfactory. Every strike, every revolutionary action of the women workers, every campaign that is carried on may serve as the starting point for the organisation of delegate meetings. For this purpose should be used every conference, general meeting of workers, cooperative meeting, unemployed meeting, etc., both in the factories and on the territorial principle. In view of the possibility of the women delegates directly influencing the mass of women who elect them, the C.P. must pay special attention to the leadership and control of delegate meetings and to the constant instruction of the comrades who are appointed for this work. The conference of women's departments instructs the I.W.S. in the near future to issue the basic instructions for the organisation of delegates meetings.

21. In the recent period, the existing women's journals have been strengthened. The republication of "Ouvriere" in France, the commencement of a regular women's page in the "Daily Workers" in England are examples. The women's journals have improved their contacts with the masses of women workers in industry, and deal much better with the life and work of the women workers and have improved the number of women worker correspondents. However, even now the journals have not been able to become the organisers of the struggle of the women workers, i.e. they cannot cope with the fundamental task of the revolutionary press at the present period. At the same time the journals do not at all show the struggle of the Party against the Right and Left deviations and conciliation with them. In spite of the fact that the I.W.S. of the E.C.C.I. put them in contact with definite women's journals in the U.S.S.R., not a single women's journal has made use of this contact and consolidated it. These shortcomings must be vigorously overcome. The women's departments must take steps first of all to organise the movement of workers correspondents and readers. In the factories, in mass organisations, among the wives readers and distributors. They must be organised by systematic meetings and conferences. The editors of the women's journals must become a fighting staff of the worker correspondent movement, and must always be on duty to assist women workers, workers' wives, peasants, every working woman who comes into the struggle. The revolutionary women's press must become a great weapon in the hands of the Party to organise the working women masses around the demands and slogans of the C.P.

22. The Party must strengthen and consolidate the turn which has commenced in the work amongst women. The Party must continually lead and control this work and must energetically remove all relics of social reformism and Left sectarianism from its ideology and organisation, must give it proper political ideas which correspond to the tasks of the Party, with the main task for the present period, which is the preparation of women workers for active participation in the current and future mass struggles and in mass political strikes. The Party must link up this work still more with general Party work, increasing the attention of the lower Party organisations to it. The women's departments must become militant and mobile Party apparatuses who know their own masses, and through their workers take part in the revolutionary struggle of the masses, directly building up the organisational forms and methods of work amongst women, constantly connected with the masses and popular with them. The work amongst women must not lag behind general Party work either in tempo or in quality, and in this connection the Party must appoint for this work politically reliable, well-prepared active comrades, and must increase its attention on the raising of the political level of all workers among women.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Measures to Meet the Labour Shortage in the Soviet Union.

Decision of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Moscow, 22nd October 1930.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has published a decision concerning the supply of labour power in industry etc. The decision points out that the rapid progress in the work of socialist construction has eliminated unemployment and that hundreds of thousands of workers are still required in industry. The shortage of labour had become one of the "weak points" and hinders the rapid carrying out of the plans. The solution of this problem is now one of the most important tasks, particularly for the People's Commissariat of Labour. The apparatus of the Commissariat and its local organs have not adapted their work to the new tasks put them by the rapid progress of socialist construction.

This phenomenon was an expression of right-wing opportunism in the work of the former leadership of the Commissariat of Labour. In 1931 the most important branches of industry would demand 1,300,000 new workers. This demand must be met by training new cadres in the trade schools and by the continued training of the already existing cadres. In view of the acute shortage of labour power the Labour Commissariat was instructed to register the following new categories for work in addition to the old: relations of workers and employees not members of the labour unions; the sons and daughters of workers and employees, even if they have had no expert training and have never before worked for wages; the wives of workers and employees who are not members of the labour unions and have had no training; members of home work co-operatives who formerly worked for wages; the sons and daughters of such home workers and also of landworkers who are not members of the labour unions; poor peasants; and members of the collective agricultural undertakings. Where such persons refuse work offered to them they must be immediately struck out of the lists.

In order to supply the most important branches of industry with qualified workers, the Commissariats of Labour of the Soviet Union and the federal republics have the right to demand in conjunction with the labour unions and at the request of the economic organs in question, to remove qualified workers and specialists from less important branches of industry to the most important (coal, iron foundries, transport, large-scale building) and from one district to the other. It is the duty of the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Union, the Labour Commissariat and the Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions to organise the systematic examination of the qualifications of the workers with a view to promoting them to higher skilled posts and giving them the necessary extra training in specially organised courses.

The decision also declares that workers and employees who have done well in their work (members of the shock brigades and socialist competitive schemes) and those who have worked for a long time in the same factories and made valuable proposals for improvements or inventions, should be encouraged by receiving privileges with regard to their homes by being sent to special technical high schools, recreation homes, bathing spas etc., or being sent abroad for technical studies etc., by being supplied immediately with various necessary articles. The relations of shock brigade workers are to receive preferential treatment with regard to the taking in of new workers, entry into courses, trade schools, technical and other high schools etc. Workers who remain in the same foundry, engineering works, chemical works, building works or on large scale building jobs are to be given three days extra holiday or a financial compensation, providing they serve an uninterrupted period of two years from the 1st November 1929.