


Soviet 'Dumping'
and
'Forced Labor'



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**SOVIET "DUMPING"
 and
 "FORCED LABOR"**

compiled by
 JOHN J. BALLAM, Secretary, Friends of the Soviet Union

**I
 SOVIET "DUMPING"**

| Soviet-American Trade | | | |
|---|-------|---|-------|
| EXPORTS from the United States to European countries in 1930: | | IMPORTS to the United States from European countries in 1930: | |
| United Kingdom..\$784 million | | United Kingdom..\$281 million | |
| Germany | 363 " | Germany | 224 " |
| France | 254 " | France | 150 " |
| Italy | 131 " | Netherlands | 73 " |
| Soviet Union | 127 " | Belgium | 64 " |
| Netherlands | 73 " | Sweden | 53 " |
| Belgium | 101 " | Switzerland | 45 " |
| Sweden | 52 " | Czechoslovakia | 41 " |
| Denmark | 47 " | Soviet Union | 24 " |

What Russian "Dumping" Means

The above table shows the position of the U.S.S.R. in relation to U. S. imports and exports for 1930. These figures are for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930 issued by the U. S. Department of Commerce, and they expose the present outcry against the Soviet Union on the charge of "dumping" in all its absurdity. In this little pamphlet we propose to examine the charges of Soviet "dumping" and "forced labor" made by the enemies of the U.S.S.R. and to present our readers with a few facts and figures.

Here is the United States, a nation which in 1929 produced

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a total value of manufactured goods of \$68,000,000,000 (Sixty-Eight Billion Dollars). Yet we are expected to believe that this great national economy is all upset by the importation of a mere \$20,000,000 (the total of Soviet exports to the United States in 1930—and this almost wholly raw materials). A mere comparison of these figures is enough.

From the fuss made, one would think that the Soviet Union is the only country exporting goods to the U. S. A. But the fact is that Soviet goods are only 0.6% of all U. S. imports.

Then again, we see the figures on exports to and imports from the Soviet Union, and the change in these from 1929 to 1930 proves that the United States is getting all the benefit of this change.

To be exact, imports into the U. S. A. from the Soviet Union increased from \$22,500,000 in 1929 to only \$30,000,000 in 1930—or a matter of only 33%; while exports from the United States to the Soviet Union rose in the same time from \$84,700,000 in 1929, to something over \$150,000,000 in 1930—or a matter of over 78%!

In other words, the amount the U.S.S.R. bought from America increased about two and a half times as much as the increase in the amount of what America bought from the Soviet! Yet we are asked to believe that the United States is being "ruined" by this trade!

To top it all, American exports to all countries—except one—fell off in 1930. Only to one country did America sell more goods in 1930 than in 1929—and that country was the Soviet Union!

If political considerations were laid aside, it would look as if the "dumping" crusaders were acting like a merchant suddenly gone crazy, who beats up his best customer and kicks him out of the store. But these same "dumping" crusaders **do not** lay political considerations aside!

They are inspired by the most reactionary political interests and are anti-Soviet regardless of "dumping," which is merely their latest excuse. They figure that the success of the Five Year Plan, involving as it does the immense betterment of the conditions of the Soviet workers, will inspire "their own" workers, millions of whom are starving, to revolt.

Thus the lie about "dumping" serves the double purpose of concealing from the people of the United States the real reason of their sufferings in the crisis of capitalism, and of diverting the indignation of the masses to the Soviet Union, which we are asked to believe is "the enemy." The "dumping" lie is manufactured for war purposes!

Let us take a look at the facts about the various products that the Soviet Union is supposed to be "dumping" on these innocent shores.

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Lumber

Soviet Russia possesses the largest forest area in the world, containing the most valuable species for industrial purposes. But not much of this lumber has found its way into the United States. Total American imports of lumber in 1929 were valued at \$71,761,000. Of this the imports from the Soviet Union amounted to \$819,000. In other words, Soviet lumber made up only 1.1% of the total American lumber imports in 1929; and it constituted less than one-eighth of 1% of the total lumber used in America. What a tiny "menace"!

Here is what A. H. Oxholm, director of the Lumber Division of the U. S. Department of Commerce has to say on the subject of Soviet lumber, as reported in the Congressional Record of May 3, 1930:

The quality of Soviet lumber itself is excellent. There is not better lumber in Europe than Russian pine or spruce. It has surprised us that this lumber has brought such relatively high prices in this country. In fact, quality for quality, I believe that more money has been paid for Russian lumber than for corresponding species from eastern Canada. I do not believe that this Russian lumber comes into competition with the majority of American wood. We are importing large quantities of spruce from Canada and, from our point of view, we do not see that it makes any difference which country this spruce comes from, so long as it is imported."

Pulpwood

Pulpwood is another product that is taboo if it bears a Soviet label!

The United States produces and consumes over one-half the paper of the world and is therefore one of the greatest consumers of pulpwood, the basic raw material for paper. Of the total amount of pulpwood used in 1929, 44% was of domestic production, 40% came from Canada and 16% from all other countries. Of the total American imports of pulpwood in 1929, valued at \$14,598,949, the imports from the Soviet Union amounted to \$101,243, or only seven-tenths of 1% of the total.

Let us hear what two American capitalists, who cannot be accused of being Communists or even Soviet sympathizers, have to say about this pulpwood. George W. Sisson, Jr., President of the Racquette River Paper Company, states:

"It is well known that manufacturers of paper in the United States are dependent on pulpwood from outside sources, particularly for high grade paper. We have been buying Canada wood.

"We use this Russian pulpwood because it is harder and has a

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closer fibre, and in that respect is much better than pulpwood from the Adirondacks, Northern New England and Eastern Canada, which has been our source of supply up to the present.

"The cost of this pulpwood from Russia is more than we have to pay here for Canadian pulpwood, and we pay a higher price than that which we have been paying for Canadian pulpwood.

"The buying of this pulpwood is not displacing the work of one single American laborer. There is no such pulpwood that could be purchased anywhere in the United States."

And John H. Hinman, Vice President of the International Paper Company has this to say:

"The pulpwood that is being imported from Russia is not displacing American wood. Our mills were transferred to Canada because we cannot import the wood pulp. Ninety percent of the wood in Canada is non-exportable because the land is owned by the government which requires the wood to be manufactured in Canada into paper."

Agricultural Products

Agricultural exports from the Soviet Union for the year ending September 30, 1930, were only 40% of all Soviet exports. Before the war they were 80%. During the five years from 1923 to 1928 they averaged 55% of all exports. Their values in comparison are shown below:

| Soviet Agricultural Exports: | In Roubles: |
|--|---------------|
| Pre-War Yearly average (1909-13) | 1,057,000,000 |
| Year ending Sept. 30, 1929 | 441,015,000 |
| Year ending Sept. 30, 1930 | 393,665,000 |

Under the Czar, Russia exported before the World War as much as 13,000,000 tons of wheat a year. Soviet exports for the year ending Sept. 30, 1930, were only 2,250,000 tons.

With these facts showing the decline of Soviet agricultural exports, both in volume and value and in relation to total exports, the effort to scare the American farmer is revealed in its full absurdity.

Manganese Ore

In 1929 the United States imported 323,415 tons of manganese ore, which was 92% of all the ore used in this country that year. Of the total imports, 169,121 tons, or about half, came from the Soviet Union. The American producers of manganese ore and their political spokesmen have been raising a great to-do about Soviet "dumping" of manganese ore and demanding an embargo. Why is there not an embargo movement against the other half—from Brazil

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mostly? The steel industry, which is practically the sole consumer of this product, used only 8% of American mined manganese ore because it is of low metallic content and, if less than 50% metal, has to be run through expensive processing. Soviet manganese ore from the Chiatury region is imported because it contains about 55% manganese metal. Proof that American steel companies do not use American manganese ores because of their poor quality, even when they cannot get good Soviet ore, is shown by the fact that in 1921 and 1922, when practically no Soviet ore was imported, the American steel industry used only 3 percent American ore and imported the other 97 percent from foreign countries.

The efforts to place an embargo on Soviet manganese ore have thus far met with defeat. Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, in an order issued February 24, 1931, "to all Collectors of Customs and others concerned" stated:

"After an extended investigation and careful consideration of all the evidence presented by and on behalf of the parties in interest, I have reached the conclusion that a finding of dumping with respect to manganese ore imported from the Soviet Republic of Georgia, U.S.S.R., is not justified and must decline to issue such a finding."

It is evident from the fact that an embargo was placed on Soviet lumber and pulpwood and was refused on Soviet manganese ore that embargoes are determined not by law or "ethics," but by the needs and the influence of a particular group of capitalists. The interests that were opposed to the importation of Soviet lumber and pulpwood were strong enough to force the Treasury Department to place the embargo; the interests that are opposed to any ban on Soviet manganese ore, because they need this ore badly, have thus far been strong enough to prevent an embargo.

On High Moral Grounds

In this connection the New York World wrote editorially in its issue of February 12, 1931:

" . . . the House Ways and Means Committee has approved a bill designed ostensibly for the further restriction of goods made by forced labor. This measure advances the date on which the ban on such products becomes effective from Jan. 1, 1932, to April 1, 1931; but it also stipulates that in no case shall provision be applicable to goods, wares, articles or merchandise . . . which are not mined, produced or manufactured in such quantities in the United States as to meet the consumptive demands of the United States.

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"In other words, our abhorrence of these goods is to be strictly limited by our need of them. If domestic producers cannot supply all our needs, we don't care a rap who makes what we import; but if they can do so, we shall take a very high moral ground."

But it is clear that such a situation cannot last indefinitely. The interests of the capitalist class as a whole are sharply opposed to the system of socialism that is being built up in the Soviet Union and is acting as a revolutionizing factor on the working class throughout the world. It is only a question of time—and not a long time either—when the unity of the economic interests of the capitalist class will dictate a political and military united front of the leading capitalist countries against the Soviet Union. The "dumping" and "forced labor" agitation throughout the world is only the necessary excuse and prelude to armed intervention.

Anthracite Coal

In 1929 American anthracite mines produced 76,640,000 tons.

In 1929 Soviet anthracite entering the United States amounted to 113,170 tons. Or just a shade over one-tenth of one percent (0.15%).

In 1929 the United States imported a total of 434,000 tons of anthracite of which only 113,170 tons was from the Soviet Union or only 26 percent.

Why don't the enemies of the Soviet Union mention the other 74 percent imports? Why do they try to make a "menace" out of one-tenth of one percent? The answer is: They are trying to prejudice people against the Soviet Union in order eventually to make war against it.

About 19,000,000 long tons, or over 3 percent of the total U. S. production of coal, is exported to foreign countries and 4,000,000 long tons annually are shipped as bunker fuel for foreign ships. Is the United States dumping?

Soviet anthracite coal is of the highest quality and commanded a price by agreement with the Donetz (Soviet) Coal Trust of from \$2.10 to \$2.50 higher than mine price quotations of American anthracite.

Safety Matches

Total U. S. imports in 1929\$3,404,525
Imports from U.S.S.R., 1929 352,754

Soviet matches are safety "strike on the box" matches, the kind not manufactured in the United States, because it has no good aspen wood.

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The United States manufactures non-safety "strike anywhere" matches, and 7/8 (seven-eighths) of all matches used are of this kind.

The total value of all matches imported into the United States from all countries is only 10 percent of the value of U. S. production, and Soviet "strike on the box" matches imported are only one-tenth of the total imports value. Hence Soviet matches imported are in value only one-tenth of 1 percent of all matches used in the U. S. A.

Nearly 90 percent of all matches imported into the U.S.A. are from the world monopoly which produces "strike on the box" matches in many countries, but is controlled by the trust called the Swedish Match Syndicate. Soviet safety "strike on the box" matches are the only competitors in America against the Swedish world monopoly.

Sausage Casings

Total U. S. imports, 1929\$15,400,000
Imports from U.S.S.R., 1929 2,800,000

The steppes of the Soviet Union, especially, the Kazak and the Kirghiz Republics, have long been noted for sheep and cattle raising. Their sausage casings are known to be the best in the world.

Candy

Total U. S. imports, 1929\$1,011,757
Imports from the U.S.S.R., 1929 45,037

Candy dumping? Oh, sugar! Americans eat 1,400,000,000 pounds or \$330,000,000 worth of candy each year. Compare that with the Soviet imports for 1929 of a mere \$45,000! The Soviet imports are a special kind of candy not made here. The United States exports to foreign countries of American-made candy have averaged during the past few years over \$2,700,000 a year.

Furs

Total U. S. imports of undressed furs, 1929.....\$108,048,965
Imports from U.S.S.R. of undressed furs, 1929..... 4,963,265

During the first six months of 1930, the United States imported undressed furs to the total value of \$34,000,000. But only \$1,965,000 or 5.8 percent were from the Soviet Union, the largest fur producing country in the world.

Rags

(Paper Base Stock)

Total U. S. imports, 1929\$9,341,795
Imports from the U.S.S.R., 1929..... 413,495

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Licorice Root

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| Total U. S. imports, 1929 | \$2,259,831 |
| Imports from the U.S.S.R., 1929 | 869,240 |

No Competition in Fish

Imports from the Soviet Union of fish products in 1929 were valued at only \$1,100,000, out of a total of \$39,800,000 imported from all countries. This is 2.8% of all fish imports. This shows that the Soviet, and even the other capitalist countries do not compete with American fish. Indeed no country has yet produced anything like the American Fish, the congressman from Poughkeepsie, New York.

Who's Dumping Now?

Of course, no one mentions the fact that the United States is doing a little lumber dumping of its own and is underselling Russian lumber in foreign markets. That is, no one in the United States mentions it. But Mr. E. Allen, a director of T. W. Allen & Sons, Ltd., of England, has mentioned it. In a letter that appeared in a recent issue of the Hull Daily Mail, he writes:

"Concerning the so-called 'dumping-timber', the United States beats Russia hollow. They are selling building timber in the United Kingdom at 20 to 25% less than the Russian prices c.i.f. sea-freight from Russia, they are only getting about half the price for timber that the Russians are getting.

"I have not noticed any politicians complaining about U. S. A. 'dumping timber,' and especially manufactured doors, which they really should stop or tax."

What do you say to that, Mr. Secretary Mellon, Mr. Hamilton Fish and the rest of the "dumping" crusaders?

* * *

PARIS, Feb. 27.—A feeling closely akin to consternation developed in the second European grain conference late this afternoon when it learned that the United States Farm Board had decided to sell 35,000,000 bushels of wheat in Continental markets at a **price considerably below that maintained at home**. When the heads of the various delegations had partly recovered from their astonishment, keen interest was the reaction to the move characterized as "American dumping" on a scale comparable with that of Russia.

The above dispatch by Carlisle MacDonald appeared in the New York Times of February 28, 1931. It speaks for itself.

Was the Czar Dumping?

In a speech made on November 12, 1930, Peter Bogdanov, chairman of the board of directors of the Amtorg Trading Corporation,

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the official Soviet commercial agency in this country, pointed out that "the share of the Soviet Union in the foreign trade of the world is now less than 2 percent; it is considerably less than the share of pre-war Russia, which was about 4 percent of the world trade of that time."

And here are the exact figures, as given in Volume II of the Commerce Year book for 1930:

Russian Percentage of Total World Trade
(Percent of total—102 countries)

| | 1911-13 | 1927 | 1928 | 1929 |
|---------------|---------|------|------|------|
| Exports | 4.1 | 1.3 | 1.2 | 1.4 |
| Imports | 3.1 | 1.1 | 1.4 | 1.2 |

It is fairly certain that the 1.4 percent of total world exports in 1929 that were contributed by the Soviet Union would have no real effect on the structure of world prices even if they were given away.

Kalinin on Soviet "Dumping"

In his closing speech before the third session of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Union Soviets, held in Moscow early in January, M. I. Kalinin, president of the Central Executive Committee, made a few pertinent remarks on the question of Soviet trade and "dumping." He said:

"The foreign press is making a great clamor about 'Soviet dumping' and claims that our goods are produced by forced labor. Our enemies attempt to present as forced labor especially our achievements in the field of planned distribution of labor, although to be frank our achievements in this field are as yet not very great. We are only making the first step in the direction of an effective distribution of our labor power, the full value of which will become apparent in the near future.

"Are not our sales abroad balanced by our purchases? We have not imported a single ounce of gold.

"What are our exports? In the main we sell timber, oil, furs, manganese, ore, and grain, the exports of which are small as against those of pre-war. The kind of labor used to produce these articles is, of course, less skilled than the labor used in the production of the articles we import. What are the products which we import? In the first place, machinery and equipment. These are products which require the maximum use of skilled labor.

"We are being blamed for the present crisis in capitalist countries. But everyone knows, for instance, that we have not exported a single automobile, either of our own make or of those

we imported. On the contrary we bought more automobiles last year than in any previous year. Still the depression abroad is felt most acutely in the automobile industry. We are buying non-ferrous metals, rubber, and similar products which absorb a good deal of labor, we are buying from industries which have suffered most in the present crisis."

One of the Effects of Soviet "Dumping"

Shipment of 29,963 American tractors, purchased by the Amtorg Trading Corporation last August for the 1931 spring sowing campaign in the Soviet Union, has just been completed, according to a recent announcement made by Peter A. Bogdanov, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Amtorg Trading Corporation. A total of 31 steamers was required to carry this machinery, constituting probably the largest shipment of such equipment to any country in a similar period of time. These tractors were shipped to the Soviet ports of Odessa, Novorossisk and Batum on the Black Sea, Vladivostok on the Pacific Coast, and Murmansk on the Arctic Ocean. The American Export Lines supplied nearly one-half of the bottoms required.

Shipments of American combined harvesters to the U.S.S.R., to the value of \$6,000,000, have already been started and will be completed by April 15. The total value of tractors, spare parts and combines purchased by the Amtorg Trading Corporation for use in the Soviet Union this year is \$45,000,000.

According to reports of the U. S. Department of Commerce, last year the Soviet Union took more agricultural machinery of American manufacture, largely tractors, than any other foreign country.

II

LABOR IN THE SOVIET UNION

The embargo set by the U. S. Treasury Department on Soviet lumber and pulpwood was based on the supposed existence of forced labor in the Soviet lumber industry. Throughout the world a campaign, led by the most reactionary elements, has been going on trying to create sentiment for the barring not only of Soviet lumber, but of all exports from the U.S.S.R. on the ground that all Soviet labor is "forced". Capitalists, politicians, white guards, priests and other "public servants" have joined hands in this noble campaign which has been based on consistent lying and consistent hiding of the facts about labor conditions in the Soviet Union. What are some of these facts?

The Seven-Hour Day and Five-Day Week

1. No Soviet worker works more than eight hours a day. On the tenth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in November, 1927, the gradual introduction of the seven-hour day was decreed for all industry. On October 1, 1930, 43.5 percent of all workers in large-scale industry were on the seven-hour day. By the end of 1931 this will have been extended to include 91.6 percent of the workers in large scale industry. All railroad workers will be on the seven-hour day basis by the end of 1931. The progress in introducing the seven-hour day is one year ahead of the original provisions of the Five-Year Plan. Workers in dangerous industries such as underground miners, chemical workers, etc., don't have to have the seven-hour day introduced; **they work only six hours a day.** (Compare these conditions with the nine-ten-eleven-hour day and more, often a relentless speedup, in capitalist countries.)

The five-day week is being introduced for all workers in the Soviet Union. This means four days work and the fifth day for rest and recreation. By this measure the number of rest days is being increased, the health of the workers is being greatly improved, the workers are able to make full use of the cultural and educational institutions and there is a more rational utilization of the factories and shops which are kept going every day of the year.

By the end of 1931 all industrial workers will be on the five-day

No Unemployed in the Soviet Union

During the period of re-building the national economy of the Soviet Union, which was destroyed during the World War, the

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Civil War, and imperialist intervention, there existed considerable unemployment. During this time the unemployed received besides an adequate unemployment benefit, special privileges in regard to housing, clothing and food. At the beginning of the Five-Year Plan (October, 1928) there were 1,468,000 unemployed in the Soviet Union. After the completion of the first year of the Five-Year Plan (October, 1929) there were 952,000 unemployed. After the successful carrying out of the second year of the Five-Year Plan (December, 1930) UNEMPLOYMENT WAS COMPLETELY DONE AWAY WITH IN THE SOVIET UNION.

The number of workers employed in industry has increased in three years by 67.5%, as follows:

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1929 | 5,988,000 workers |
| 1930 | 7,442,000 " |
| 1931 estimated | 8,888,000 " |

The total number of workers will increase from 14,000,000 in 1930 to 16,000,000 in 1931.

With the abolition of unemployment the Labor Exchanges in the Soviet Union are converted from institutions, whose task was to find jobs for unemployed workers, into State Agencies for recruiting and training new workers.

Every Soviet citizen who wishes to work can register immediately at the Labor Exchange and has the right to be sent to work at once. The Labor Exchange must find suitable work for the applicants within three days or send them to a TRAINING CENTER AT THE EXPENSE OF THE LABOR EXCHANGE.

In 1931, the factories will intensively train 60,000 adult workers and promote them to highly skilled jobs; 200,000 qualified workers will be promoted to leading positions; 40,000 workers studying in the technical, vocational and training schools will qualify as technicians and engineers; 1,106,000 apprentices will be trained in the factory schools; thousands of foreign expert workers will assist in the work of socialist construction; 1,600,000 women will be recruited into industry.

With over 35,000,000 starving, unemployed workers in the capitalist countries the henchmen of the ruling class tremble at the contrast between the anarchy of capitalist production with its recurring crises and wars and the orderly advance of planned work and production under a socialist economy in the Soviet Union.

It is this fear of the proved superiority of socialist economy over the capitalist system and its effect upon the exploited wage-slaves and farmers in the capitalist countries that causes the capitalists and their

governments to raise the smoke-screen of "forced labor" in the Soviet Union. Under this false cry of "forced labor" and "convict labor" the capitalist states aim to exclude Soviet products, as a preliminary step toward intervention and war against the U.S.S.R.

Mr. Arthur C. Dutton, of the A. C. Dutton Lumber Corporation, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. visited Russia in 1927, 1928 and in 1929 and, in a sworn statement, he says:

"... I studied carefully and thoroughly the methods used in the production of lumber. These studies brought me into close contact with the workers, and I at no time found any sign or indication of convict labor being used."

Mr. H. P. Wycoff, General Manager of the A. C. Dutton Lumber Corporation, stated:

"I visited Russia in the Fall of 1929, going to Moscow, Archangel and Leningrad, and I studied the conditions under which lumber is produced. In so doing I came in contact with all sorts of labor, and found no signs or indications of a single instance of convict labor. . . . Furthermore, I believe it would be impossible to keep a guard over them in the mills without my noticing the fact."

(Both above statements quoted from "Soviet Foreign Trade Menace or Promise" by Budish and Shipman).

The following are excerpts from an article published in the Manchester Guardian (England), Feb. 10, 1931, by J. F. STEWART, Consulting Forest Engineer:

"I was recently engaged on behalf of a London trust company in inspecting forests in the North of Russia. I travelled thousands of miles through the forests, and visited, fed in, and lived in the lumber camps wherever I went. I was not on any conducted tour, but went wherever my work called me, without regard to the wishes of the Government, who, I must say, never placed any obstacle in my way.

"The camps themselves are quite good, and mostly a good deal better than I have often built for my men and myself in other countries. I was not impressed with the food given me, black bread and tea, but it seemed all the food the people expected, and I must say they looked well.

"In many cases the loggers do not live in camps, but come from the nearest village.

"The work itself is not unduly trying to a healthy man who is used to it. The felling and trimming of the trees, and even the amount expected, as reported by refugees, would be laughed at by, for example, a Scottish woodsman, who could do the whole day's work in a couple of hours and think nothing of it.

"Driving the logs down river . . . entails being in the ice cold water for days on end . . . so that it is hard going from start to finish, and no rest. That would easily kill an inexperienced man, while the Canadian lumberjack thrives on it.

"I have been in hospitals in the forest villages where they were well equipped, excellently managed by a partly qualified medical woman, kept spotlessly clean, and, in their small way, were the last word in efficiency. A very good mail service is kept up throughout the entire North, as well as an efficient telegraph service."

Labor Conditions in the Lumber Camps of the U.S.S.R.

The true conditions of labor in the Soviet lumber camps as opposed to the scurrilous lies being spread by the bourgeois press of all countries about "forced labor", were set forth by A. P. Smirnov, the chairman of the Board of the Soyuzlesprom (All-Union Lumber Trust).

"Up to the October Revolution the working day at the lumber camps was from 10 to 11 and even 12 hours long. At the present time, working hours in the lumber camps are almost the same as those in all other branches of Soviet industry. (7 or 8 hrs.—Ed. note.)

"Up to the Revolution (according to data of any economic society) a lumber feller earned 67 kop. for a 10-hour working day; a sawer—98 kop.; a teamman—57 kop. At the present time the wages earned during an 8-hour day for corresponding work are: from 1 rub to 1.50 a day (in pre war rubles); from 2.20 to 2.40 and from 1.25 rub. to 2.50 rub. per day respectively. A part of the wages are received in kind. In other words a considerable amount of deficit wares are supplied to the lumber workers, for which purpose the Centrosoyuz has already despatched 20 million rubles worth of such goods for the current year and another 38 million rubles worth will be sent during the first quarter of 1931.

"In addition to this, special clothing has been set aside for the lumber camps including 893,000 prs. of boots; 109,000 prs. of felt boots; 344,000 prs. of shoes; 4,873,000 prs of mittens and 368,000 sheepskin jackets.

"Many millions of rubles have been similarly spent by the lumber trusts to improve the conditions of the workers in the camps.

"A lumber worker, returning from work, has conveniences for

washing, and recreation. In many places baths and laundries have been built in the woods.

"It was only after the October revolution that such facilities as first-aid points, drug-stores and in some places even dental laboratories, began to appear in the forests. It is interesting to note the increase of capital investment in labor protection measures at the lumber camps, viz: in 1927-28 over 200,000 rubles were assigned according to plan, while in the current year as much as 581,000 rubles have been set aside for this purpose. Moreover additional sums are expended by the trusts from their own budgets for labor protection measures."

Does This Sound Like Forced Labor?

Eugene Lyons, United Press Correspondent at Moscow writes in the N. Y. World-Telegram, February 27, 1931:

"The ascendancy of the manual laborer in the new Soviet civilization is not an abstract thing. It is a reality. He receives the largest rations, and when there is not enough of any item to go around, he is first to be provisioned. The same applies to new housing, school and hospital facilities, places in the theatres, clubs and sanatoria.

"The vast official apparatus, except in its topmost reaches, quakes in all its limbs at the approach of a factory 'brigade'. A thousand complaints from other directions may go unheeded, but a single one emanating from a group of miners or mill hands, seals the fate of an offending functionary.

"The grimy faces of Ivanov, factory worker, and Comrade Ivanova, woman worker, decorate the pages of leading magazines just as those of 'society' fill select American magazines.

"If you have written a play, a scenario, a poem, and are politically wise, you will read it before a workers' meeting somewhere. Its resolution of approval, if you are lucky enough to elicit one, is as soon as a command to producers and publishers.

"In the courts of revolutionary justice, the fact that a man is a worker is his best defense."

* * *

Walter Duranty, Moscow correspondent of the N. Y. Times, writes in the issue of Jan. 19, 1931:

"Criminals, in the ordinary sense of the word, are better treated in the Soviet Union than in any other country—with due allowance for the universal shortage of living quarters and commodities. They work, but they get trade union rates for their labor, the produce of which is sold exclusively within the Soviet Union."

Roger N. Baldwin, Director of the Civil Liberties Union, has this to say of prisoners and prisons in the Soviet Union ("Liberty under the Soviets," 1928):

"One of the greatest improvements in Russian prisons is that work is available to almost all prisoners. There is no forced labor.

"In all but two prisons there is plenty of work in the shops making textiles, harness, shoes, furniture, wagons, and in printing. The goods not purchased by Government departments are sold on the market and the profits go to prison maintenance."

". . . All prisoners are free not to work if they choose, but great inducements to work lie in the payment of wages and reduction of one-third time off the sentences of working prisoners."

and Mr. Sherwood Eddy, who has visited the Russian Empire under the Czar and the Soviet Union under the rule of the proletariat, says of the Soviet workers: ("The Challenge of Russia"—1931)

"There is a healthy trade union democracy among the workers. Economically free, independent of any individual employer, apprehensive of no arbitrary discharge or neglected employment, the laboring class at least is encouraged in the freedom of expression and the right of criticism of industry or the government."

How the Soviets Protect Labor

The Congress of the United States (the 71st Congress) has adjourned, after appropriating \$10,000,000,000 (Ten billion dollars) for the army and navy; for war past and present; for every purpose of the capitalist's state and for the protection of private property and property interests as against human needs. The Congress of the richest country on the earth, refused to appropriate one penny for the starving farmers and unemployed workers as a matter of principle. The government of these United States, this rich and powerful state, assumes no responsibility for the ten million unemployed workers and their families nor the victims of the drought. The only method that the U. S. A. has for alleviating mass suffering is—private charity. The answer to the demands of the workers for unemployment insurance is—police brutality, lynching, murder and imprisonment.

Contrast the record of the United States Congress with that of the record of the Congress of the Soviets (Z. I. K.) in relation to its labor program.

We take the following statements from the report made by Zichon, People's Commissariat for Labour, to the conference of the Central Executive Committee on January 8th, 1931.

One of the main tasks of the reconstruction period, and one upon which the increased productivity of labor and the reduction of the costs of production depend, is the establishment of sound working conditions, and in improved measures for the protection of labor. The financial means available for this purpose are to be expended with the utmost adaptation to the end in view. For 1,031,155,000 roubles are allotted to the protection of labor, as compared with 100 millions last year. The sum assigned for the building of workers' dwellings is 1,100 million roubles as compared with 582 million last year. In 1930—196,500,000 roubles were expended on the improvement of the conditions of living (clubs, community kitchens and laundries, etc.); in 1931 this sum will amount to 407.5 millions. The social insurance budget for 1931 amounts to 2,138,000,000 roubles.

In the current year 407 million roubles out of these resources will be spent in improving the general conditions of living of the workers.

Concluding his report, Zichon stated: "The economists and the local organs of the Labor Commissariat must make it their urgent task to ensure that the extraordinary grants made by the governments for this purpose are actually employed for the object for which they are intended. These sums must really be converted into the objects planned: laundries, eating houses, co-operative factory distribution centres, kindergartens, creches, etc. It is only if this is done that fresh reserves of workers (especially among the women) will be opened out and the productivity of labor intensified. The network of health institutions too must be enlarged. For one thing the number of sanatoria in which the workers can recuperate on the fifth day of the working week must be increased."

* * *

Social Insurance in the U.S.S.R.

All workers of the USSR are insured beginning with the first day of their work, and have full right to all the benefits of the insurance in its various forms. The workers pay nothing whatever for the insurance—all expenses for the same are paid by the enterprises.

The various forms of social insurance in the U.S.S.R. make up one unique system of social insurance. The head of the Social Insurance in USSR is the **Central Board of Managers of the Social Insurance**, a department of the Peoples Commissariat of Labor of USSR. The head manager is appointed by the Peoples Commissariat of Labor from the list of candidates presented by the VZSPS—Central Council of Trade Union USSR. In each republic of the Union there is a chief managing office, the manager of which is appointed by the Narkomtrud Peoples Commissariat of Labor for the parti-

cular republic. In the provinces the social insurance is carried out directly through the local insurance office. At the head of each insurance office there is a committee, elected at the Trade Union Congress. The Trade Union Congress also elects Revision Committees (Auditing), who control the work of the committees.

Each insured worker is entitled to receive:

1. **Medical help** for himself, i.e., the insured worker is entitled to get free medicine, doctors' care, dispensary consultations, sanatoria and cure-home visits for himself and family all free of charge, and also getting full salary during his illness and visit at the sanatorium or cure home. The worker has also the right to spend his vacation in a rest home.

2. **Help in time of temporary disability**, for example, sickness, accident, pregnancy, confinement, quarantine, nursing sick members of the family, etc. Help is given to the workers to the amount of 75% of his wages in case the illness lasts only fifteen days or less and the worker has been insured for a period less than three years. In case the sickness lasts more than 15 days, aid is given to the full amount of his wages from the first day of the sickness and up to the day he is able to begin work again.

A pregnant woman is freed from work 8 weeks before and 8 weeks after child birth and receives full wages during this time. Women of office workers and managers receive six weeks before and six weeks after child birth and full wages.

3. **For expenses connected with birth of a child** the worker gets a sum of money, paid all at one time. The amount varies, according to the city or place of residence. After the child is born, an amount is given each month for milk, this amount is paid monthly for nine months, beginning from the date of birth.

4. **Aid for funeral expenses** for the worker, whether for the worker himself, or some member of the family, irrespective of whether he was unemployed or employed, invalid or otherwise.

5. **Help during unemployment.** If the insured is a member of the trade union, he must have been insured for two years, and if not a trade union member he must have been insured three years. Unemployed have also a number of privileges such as almost free rent, aid from the trade union, free training in order to learn a trade, or to become a qualified worker, free meals, etc.

6. **Pensions.** In case of complete disability, caused by an industrial accident, or caused by occupational disease. In paying pension to each worker the length of time the worker was employed is not taken into consideration. In general, pension is given to invalids who

have been working from two to eight years; office workers 12 years, according to their age.

7. **Old age pensions.** This pension is paid to all workers in the mining, metallurgical, chemical, textile, polygraphical, tobacco, porcelain industries and to railroad and transport workers who have reached the age of 60. For women 55. The amount of the pension varies up to 55% of their total earnings.

Medical workers and teachers and others engaged in educational work as well as agricultural workers, receive pension after 25 years of service, to the amount of 50% of the wages, irrespective of their age.

Status of Women in the Soviet Union

The October revolution, and the almost 14 years of struggle against capitalism and for socialist construction, have gained the following achievements for working women in the Soviet Union:

As citizens of the state.

Equal rights for men and women in every respect.

Equal rights to vote.

Equal rights to be elected.

Equal rights for the peasant woman in the rural districts.

Every village Soviet or village committee must include a woman representative, who defends the rights of the women peasants.

Equal attainment of majority of the age of 18.

As wife.

Equal status of state registered marriages and relations bearing all the characteristics of a marriage (living together, mutual supports, children, etc.)

The right of the woman to retain her own name after marriage.

Protection against ill-treatment, or against restrictions of civil or other rights, by the husband.

Non-penalisation of "concubinage".

Non-penalisation of "adultery".

Equal rights of decision with respect to the children.

Equal rights of divorce, without any statement of reasons and without establishment of "guilt".

In divorces, equal rights to the children and equal division of existing property.

As mother.

Legalization of artificial abortion.

Equal status of legitimate and illegitimate children.

Protection against dismissal in consequence of pregnancy and maternity.

Adequate leave of absence for confinement (for women doing physical work 8 weeks before and 8 weeks after confinement, for head workers and peasant women 6 weeks before and 6 weeks after confinement).

A nursing allowance for the period of 9 months (4 to 8 roubles according to local class).

Free layette (16 to 30 roubles per child according to local class).

Paid intervals for nursing during work ($\frac{1}{2}$ hour every 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours).

Organization of creches and nursery schools in the works and factories enabling working mothers to continue working at their professions.

As worker, employee, and peasant.

Eligibility to every kind of scientific work.

Equal wage for equal work.

Equal holidays and equal rights to sojourn in sanatoria and convalescent homes.

Equal support in case of illness.

Equal support in case of incapacity to work.

Prohibition of women's work in professions injurious to her maternal functions (see achievements lister under: Woman as mother).

Release from household work by means of accelerated and comprehensive building of children's homes, creches, community kitchens, community laundries, by means of the introduction of compulsory schooling, the organization of playgrounds with a staff of teachers and nurses, the membership of the organizations "Young Pioneers" and "Octobyates" (an organization for young children) etc.

There are **special** achievements won by the working women of the Soviet Union, achievements which no bourgeois revolution, whatever high sounding phrases it may employ on proclaiming liberty and equality for humanity, has even been either willing or capable of accomplishing. These are the achievements forming the prerequisite for the complete economic and cultural emancipation, and for the further development, of woman and her emancipation from household slavery.

III

FORCED LABOR UNDER CAPITALISM

Space prevents us from giving an adequate account of forced and convict labor existing in the capitalist countries and their colonies. We cite but a few examples to illustrate this hideous system of capitalism based as it is in its entirety upon slavery in its most subtle and cruel forms.

The most ruthless murder, torture and compulsion of colonial peoples is notoriously practiced by the capitalist states in Liberia, the Congo, Indonesia, Haiti, Cuba, Nicaragua, China, Indo-China, Philippines, Brazil and wherever imperialism dominates and exploits these helpless colonial peoples.

The tortures inflicted upon prisoners in the jails of Fascist Italy, Hungary, Poland, Roumania, Jugo Slavia, and other fascist states is too well known to need more than passing mention.

The recent revolts of prisoners in American jails attest the brutal treatment meted out by capitalist justice to workers who are victims of the social system which breeds crime and corruption.

Convict Labor in Venezuela Backed by U. S. A.

One of the worst white terrors in the world today, surpassing in savagery the tortures of the Inquisition, exists in part of the unofficial American Empire, Venezuela. It exists by virtue of the support given by American bankers and oil interests to the infamous Gomez dictatorship. Without this support the Gomez dictatorship could not withstand for a single day the massed fury of the enslaved workers and peasants of Venezuela. In a letter to the New York Nation of March 4, 1931, Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, writes:

"For almost thirty years Juan Vicente Gomez has succeeded in maintaining a brutal dictatorship in Venezuela. He has been materially assisted by Dutch, British, and American warships which patrol the coast of the second largest oil-producing country in the world. All political opponents of the dictatorship have either fled the country, or been exiled, killed off, or sent to prison. It has been estimated that upwards of 5,000 political prisoners crowd the filthy Venezuelan jails today, 100,000 are in exile, and 15,000 have been killed, not for acts of violence but for political activities against the dictatorship.

"Horrible tortures are inflicted on the inmates of the ancient

Venezuelan prisons. The following statement made by four escaped political prisoners appeared in the San Juan, Porto Rico, Times, on August 1, 1930:

"By orders of Juan Vicente Gomez, one, two, three sets of irons . . . weighing from 30 to 100 pounds are riveted on to a human being without so much as a trial or defense. The physical resistance of (many of these) men cannot withstand these for more than a few days . . . gangrene sets in, and suffering indescribable pain and torture, the prisoner passes from jail to the cemetery. . . . Many times there have been riveted into a single set of irons two people; night and day, year after year, they have remained bound together by that infernal chain. Death only will free them from that odious enforced association. . . . The students of the University of Caracas—about five hundred in number—have been condemned by Gomez to hard labor on the highways without clothing, hungry, maltreated by the lash of the hangman, weighed with chains."

Forced Labor in Africa

Millions of Negro toilers work under the most abominable conditions of forced labor in the African colonies of the various imperialist countries. In the February number of the International Negro Workers Review, J. W. Ford cites the following conditions of forced labor in Africa:

"a) The violation of contract 'agreements' is a criminal offense in South and East Africa; natives must carry passes showing that they have done the work 'agreed' upon; without these they are thrown into prisons as criminals and prosecuted accordingly; b) governmental apparatus is used in all parts of Africa to recruit native labor; c) public assembly is prohibited; d) trade union organizations are prohibited for settlers and contracting companies; e) wages do not exist; so-called wages, where they do exist, are fixed arbitrarily by the bosses and the natives have no say-so in the matter; f) in the mine regions of South Africa there has not been an increase in the so-called wages for the past 30 years."

Ford points out that this inhuman slavery has received the sanction of many socialist and trade union leaders of the oppressing countries. "Belgian socialists," he states, "are stockholders, bankers and even managers of exploiting concerns in the Belgian Congo."

Forced Labor in U. S. Colony, Hawaii

The American colony of Hawaii is largely an agricultural country and exports sugar, pineapples, coffee, rice and tobacco. One of the

chief imports is contract labor which means peonage and slavery for thousands. On the sugar plantations 70 percent of the workers are Filipinos, while there are a large number of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Scandinavian, German, Galician, Portuguese, Porto Rican, Spanish and South Sea Island workers—all of them working under the most inhuman conditions. Forty-three of the forty-five sugar companies have united in the Sugar Planters' Association whose chief duty is to insure cheap contract labor for all the member plantations. Regular salesmen travel from country to country to entice workers to leave their poverty-stricken homeland for work in "the pearl of the Pacific." Workers must pay their own passage to Hawaii, and after they get there, they are told that if they "work for three years on the plantation, they may pay their passage back." They sign a contract with the Sugar Planters' Association in which they agree to work ten hours a day at least twenty days a month for three years, and to turn out for work "whenever called upon."

The wage is generally set at \$1 a day—on paper; actually the piece work system prevails. The contract forbids the worker to leave the plantation to which he has been assigned and go to another plantation "until one year has elapsed."

In reply to questions asked by investigators, an overseer said: "If a contract laborer is idling in the field, we dock him; we give him only one-half or three-fourths of a day, and if he keeps it up, we resort to the law and have him arrested for 'refusing to work.'" Just what constitutes "idling" is of course left to the discretion of the overseers.

The sugar companies, as well as railroads, utilities, navigation and the production of pineapples and oil, are controlled by three chief American concerns: Alexander and Baldwin, American Factors and Brewer and Company. Their profits, squeezed out of the forced labor of thousands of worker-slaves, mount to millions.

No Ban on Rubber Produced by Forced Labor

One of the greatest producers of rubber is Sumatra. The United States Rubber Co. obtained a concession from the Dutch in Sumatra in 1910, and its holdings today total about 134,000 acres. The Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. holds some 50,000 acres in Sumatra. Imported Javanese and Chinese coolies work on these rubber plantations.

John H. Harris in his book, "Slavery or Sacred Trust," says of conditions on these rubber plantations. "The major part of this rubber is produced today by plantations run by contract native labor under white overseers. Large numbers of these plantations are fester-

ing sores, not merely politically, but physically. Disease is rampant. There are no moral standards, whilst corruption, oppression and brutality are indicated by the appalling sickness and death rates."

Workers are supposed to receive from 35 to 40 cents a day in the East Indian rubber plantations. On the highlands they get about 20 cents. Rubber is produced as a result of this cheap labor, at 16 cents a pound.

Sumatra exports for 1929 to the United States were valued at \$80,948,000. The amount of crude rubber sent to the United States was 202,816,000 pounds valued at \$47,500,000. The Rubber plantations in Sumatra are run by contracted labor, and forced labor. The United States imports this forced labor product, knowing full well that it is the product of truly forced labor.

Even Senator Stiever recently admitted during the discussion on the ban of Soviet products that "forced and indentured labor are employed in Sumatra, and various other parts of the world."

Forced Labor in the "Good Old" U. S. A.

The Fish Committee, the U. S. Treasury Department and the professional Red-baiters who have spent so much time and energy inventing "forced labor" in the Soviet Union have not said a word about the actual forced labor right here in the "free and democratic" U. S. A. We do not refer to the thousands of unemployed workers who have been forced to sell themselves for their board and keep (and very often for even less than that) to whatever master will have them. This condition, they tell us, is "abnormal". We speak of a "normal" condition existing even before the present crisis: millions of American workers and poor farmers, Negro and white (but especially Negro) have ever since the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865 been working under conditions of semi-slavery known as peonage.

Tens of thousands of Negro workers in lumber, turpentine, construction and railroad camps throughout the South and Southwest, as well as in other parts of the country (some of the worst conditions prevail in Maine) are little more than serfs, bound to more ruthless masters than the old southern plantation owners. But it is to agriculture that we must look for peonage in its finest flower.

In a speech at Atlanta, Ga., June 2, 1930, Professor S. H. Hobbs, Jr., of the University of North Carolina, declared:

"More than half of all the farms in the South are operated by tenants. Our tenantry system is the lowest type of land tenure existing in the civilized world today. The cropper system is just one step removed from serfdom. These tenants are not always Negroes,

as is so often thought. Nearly two-thirds of all tenants in the South are whites."

The worst conditions prevail under the system of tenantry known as share-cropping, especially on the big cotton plantations of the Delta and Black Belts in the South, where the Negroes form the majority of the population. The poor tenant farmer gives part of his crop to the rich planter who advances the credit and supplies for the crop. The planter keeps the accounts and by charging interest rates as high as 72 percent, as well as by general all-around swindling, keeps the helpless Negro croppers (most of whom are illiterate) perpetually in debt. According to law, the cropper cannot leave his master until he is entirely out of debt. Any cropper who is so deluded as to try to beat this law and gain his freedom at once collides head-on with organized white ruling class terror which does not stop at lynching to teach the slaves "law and order."

The facts about this colossal system of forced labor, involving millions of human beings, are for the most part carefully suppressed. But occasionally some great national catastrophe such as a flood or drouth comes along and casts the light of publicity on some of those cases that are too atrocious to be hidden any longer. This happened in the Mississippi flood of 1927, in the Florida flood of 1928 and in the drouth of 1930-31, which revealed hundreds of thousands of tenant farmers, black and white, living under conditions of peonage. During the Mississippi flood the National Guard herded Negro refugees into pens and forced them to work on levees and private enterprises without pay. After the flood was over, the Red Cross and the National Guard helped the plantation overseers round up their serfs, load them on boats and return them to the plantations.

During the recent drouth it was found that Negro croppers who received the \$1 per person per month dole from the Red Cross were actually better off than under normal conditions!

"Take Your Feet Off the Table"

In view of the conditions of real forced labor that prevail at home, one might think that even the insolence of a Hamilton Fish might have bounds. But the hide of this Fish is evidently thicker than an elephant's; he has proposed that the American government demand the right to investigate Soviet lumber camps. To this insolent proposal Izvestia, official organ of the Soviet government, gave the following reply:

"To oppose recognition of the Soviet Union and simultaneously to demand official investigations of conditions existing in said union—that is literally a skyscraper of impudence. We are learn-

ing to do things on an American scale, but insolence on a scale like this we never expected from people who ought to realize that they represent an important State administration. When Mr. Fish asks the American government to demand the right of investigation of our lumber camps, we can only reply: 'Take your feet off the table, Mr. Representative, you are not in your own home.'

American Technicians in Russia Denounce Lies

But America does have investigators in Soviet Russia. They are unofficial, it is true, and the reports they have made are not at all in accordance with the gospel of Hamilton Fish. There are the hundreds of American technicians who are employed by the Soviet government in various industrial projects and who have had an opportunity to acquaint themselves first-hand with conditions in the Soviet Union. Most of these technicians have been disgusted and angered by the "dumping" and "forced labor" lies. Here is a resolution adopted by a group of them at Stalingrad:

"We, a group of American technicians employed at the Stalingrad Tractor Plant at Stalingrad, U.S.S.R., take exception to the misleading propaganda that is aiming to influence the minds of the peoples of the foreign countries toward the Soviet Union.

"Having been afforded the opportunity of living and working in the U.S.S.R. during this epoch-making period. . . . we have witnessed the initial efforts of the people in their industrial program, which, minus the prevailing enthusiasm of the masses, would be impossible of accomplishment.

"The fantastic reports in foreign publications and periodicals in regard to dumping, forced labor, religious persecution, murders and arrests of high public officials, revolts, etc., must be considered as an insult to the intelligence of the readers.

"Therefore we ask the people of foreign countries to ponder over these ever-increasing rumors and falsehoods propagated to defame the attempt of a nation of workers who choose their own destiny, and in fairness stand for the immediate suppression of any interventionist policy fostered by any nation against the U.S.S.R."

Signed at Stalingrad, U.S.S.R., Jan. 10, 1931, by F. C. Honey, H. M. Halsey, E. Hoffman, A. Sheriff, A. L. Raskin, the committee elected by a meeting of the American colony.

WAR CLOUDS ARE GATHERING!

The chancelleries of the imperialist governments are astir.

They are preparing for another World War. The London "disarmament" treaty is a scrap of paper before the ink has dried upon it.

America goes ahead with its \$1,000,000,000 navy building program. Its Fish Committee and Russian white guard organizations (which flourish with the aid of the "socialist" party and the American Federation of Labor bureaucrats) try to take the leadership in the "moral preparation" of war against the Soviet Union.

France, with her vassal states on the Soviet borders and the counter-revolutionary groups she organizes and finances inside and outside the Soviet Union, is utterly shameless in war plots against the U.S.S.R. Briand tries to build an "All-Europe Federation"—leaving out about half of European territory, which is under Soviet rule. He sends, only when diplomacy compels it, an ambiguous "invitation" to Moscow to attend. Briand calls "agricultural" conferences attended by more generals than agriculturists.

France spends 40 percent of its budget on the army, and French loans, munitions and military advisers flood the border states around the Soviet Union.

One must recall the leading role of France and Great Britain in the first intervention. "A careful study of the latest and most authoritative documents dealing with the allied intervention in Russia in 1917-1920," writes Dr. Leonid Strakhovsky, of the Department of History of Georgetown University, in an article in the March 1931, issue of Current History, "reveals the startling designs of Great Britain and France to bring about the complete dismemberment of the Russian realm for their own political and commercial advantage." Dr. Strakhovsky should know; he fought with the French Foreign Legion against the Bolsheviks in North Russia in 1918-20 and later was with Wrangel in his anti-Bolshevik campaign.

Dr. Strakhovsky cites the text of the agreement for the dismemberment of Southern Russia, made by France and Great Britain December 23, 1917. This text appears in Louis Fischer's "The Soviets in World Affairs" and contains the following points:

"1. The activity directed by France is to be developed north of the Black Sea (against the enemy). The activity directed by England is to be developed southeast of the Black Sea (against the Turks).

"2. Whereas General Alexeev at Novo Cherkack has proposed the execution of a program envisaging the organization of an army intended to operate against the enemy, and whereas France has adopted that program and allocated a credit of \$100,-

SOVIET "DUMPING" AND

000,000 for this purpose and made provision for the organization of interallied control, the execution of the program shall be continued until new arrangements are made in concert with England.

"3. With this reservation, the zones of influence assigned to each government shall be as follows:

"The English zone: the Cossack territories, the territory of the Caucasus, Armenia, Georgia, Kurdistan. The French zone: Bessarabia, the Ukraine, the Crimea.

"4. The expenses shall be pooled and regulated by a centralizing interallied organ."

The first intervention failed. The second intervention stands on the threshold. This is the real significance of the "dumping" and "forced labor" agitation. The facts we have cited in this pamphlet are enough to convince every honest reader that the only dumping the Soviet Union has been guilty of is the dumping shown in the drawing by Gropper reproduced in this pamphlet. It is the dumping of the capitalist system, not of the Soviet wheat or lumber, that the capitalist countries fear. It is the overwhelming success of the Five-Year Plan, the tremendous upbuilding of Socialism over one-sixth of the earth's surface and the example this sets for the working masses of the entire world that the imperialist powers are so worried about. The forms of the agitation against the Soviet Union change according to the needs of the day; last year it was "religious persecution," today it is "forced labor" and "dumping," tomorrow—who knows what it will be? But the aim remains the same—war to halt the victorious socialist construction, war to crush and dismember the workers' republic, war to bring death and misery to millions of toilers and to shackle them with the fetters of capitalist dictatorship.

The "dumping" and "forced labor" campaign, which, following immediately after the exposure of the interventionist plot during the Engineers Trial, must be recognized as the ideological preparation of the working class by the capitalist states for the imperialist intervention and war upon the Soviet Union.

When will the war come? The eight counter-revolutionary engineers who were tried in Moscow confessed that their imperialist masters planned to launch the attack this year! In 1931!

Will they dare? That decision lies with the capitalist rulers. But which way they decide lies with the workers and poor farmers and all true friends of the Soviet Union.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE WORKING CLASS AND ALL FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION TO ACT—BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

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