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WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

太平洋工會秘書廳

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A Plan of Great Work and Socialist Advance

(*Five-Year Plan of Economic Development of Soviet Russia*)

By Z. LEDER

THE title of the present article is the name given by all the leading economic organs of the Soviet Union and the U.S.S.R. Communist (Bolshevik) Party to the *Five-Year Plan of Economic Development of Soviet Russia*, endorsed by the Party, the Soviet Government and subsequently by the Fifth All-U.S.S.R. Congress of the Soviets, the highest body in the Soviet Union. Under this name it will go down in the history not only of the Soviet Union and its Party, but of the whole revolutionary working class movement throughout the world and of its two militant general staffs—the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions.

I.—THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN: ITS HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

“The internal consolidation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the U.S.S.R., the success of Socialist Construction and the growth of the influence and the prestige of the U.S.S.R. among the workers abroad and among the oppressed peoples in the colonies signify the continuation, strengthening and development of the *International Socialist Revolution*.”

This statement has been taken from the Programme of the Communist International adopted in September, 1928. The Five-Year Plan of Economic Development was adopted by all the workers throughout Soviet Russia with rare unanimity and enthusiasm. We are now in the second year of the Five-Year Plan, and the work carried out to date has already exceeded all the estimates. This Plan of great work and Socialist advance speaks of the great success of Socialist construction in this first land of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, it speaks of the firm consolidation

of the Proletarian Dictatorship inside the country. It is beyond question that the successes in Socialist construction and the internal consolidation of the Proletarian Dictatorship will extend the influence and prestige of Soviet Russia, the Communist Party and the Soviet Unions among the working masses in every part of the world and among the oppressed peoples in the colonies.

Thus we see that the world revolutionary movement has been substantially strengthened on two sections of the revolutionary front, namely, inside the country which is building up Socialism, Soviet Russia, and in the capitalist countries, where the workers are still groaning under the iron heel of capitalism which recovered its balance since the last crisis. But the workers are increasing their onslaught against their mortal enemy, the capitalist class, are undermining the capitalist dictatorship. Clearly, the revolutionary movement is gaining ground in the capitalist world too. For it is only obvious that the proletarian masses (ground down by capitalist rationalization), and the oppressed peoples in the colonies (exploited by all the big powers), should now look to Soviet Russia, building up Socialism, and ask themselves: “Why don't we do likewise?”

II.—SUCCESSSES OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION ON THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

As distinguished from capitalist society with the anarchy observed in its industrial and social relations, the new Socialist Order is being built up *on plan and system*. Even in the present transitional period we see that the introduction of plan and system in the economic life of the country is giving man greater control over the productive forces. The New Socialist Construction undertaken in Soviet Russia has been based on a definite

plan. In 1920, when submitting the Plan of Electrification to the All-U.S.S.R. Congress of the Soviets, Lenin said: "The program of our Party . . . must become the program of our economic construction . . . it must be supplemented by a second program, a plan of rehabilitating the whole economic life of the country on the most modern lines." Referring to this Second Programme of the Party, he declared: "We need it as the first rough outline which will *become a great economic plan for the whole of Russia for at least ten years hence and which will outline how Russia can be placed on the economic basis necessary for the upbuilding of Communism.*"

Little by little, the Soviet Union has now commenced to realize Lenin's idea. At first (in 1925) "Control Figures of the National Economy" were drawn up which served as guiding lines for the development of industry and agriculture for the immediate year. By this time the Supreme Economic Council had begun to draft an approximate Five-Year Plan of Industrial Development," which was based on the so-called "falling curve," i.e., the increase in the yield of the State Industry was to be gradually reduced. This idea was criticized from two quarters. First, by those who supported a policy of "super industrialization" (even if this meant taxing agriculture to promote industry), and secondly, by those elements who wanted to see agriculture developed, industry to be promoted only with a view to catering for the needs of the agricultural trades. Both these points of view were repudiated by the Party at the Fourteenth Congress and the Fifteenth Conference and the present general line of *industrializing the country* was adopted, the intention being to catch up and outstrip the foremost capitalist countries, technically and economically. It was at the Fifteenth Congress (held December, 1927), that a decision was passed to draw up a *Five-Year Plan of Economic Development*. No longer was it to be merely a guide, but a means of building up the economic life of the Soviet Union, and to guarantee its fulfilment, the Party once again turned to what Lenin had said in 1920, that the programme of economic con-

struction adopted by the Party "would be improved, developed, perfected and changed with each passing day in every shop and in every rural district." Even before this time, in 1918, Lenin had said that "our task today, now that a Socialist Government is at the helm, is to organize a Competition." Accordingly, the Sixteenth Party Conference (April, 1929) in its decisions on the Five-Year Plan stated that its realization was possible "only on the basis of the broad activity and organization of all the toilers, the workers especially, on the basis of drawing all the millions of workers into the Socialist Construction and the guidance of our economic life, on the basis of taking all steps to develop the Socialist Competition and to encourage criticism among the masses of all bureaucratic deviations in our State apparatus."

What, concretely, have been the successes of our Socialist Construction in accordance with the Five-Year Plan?

First and foremost, *the productive forces of the country, the basis of any policy of industrialization, have been developed to a maximum.*

During the Five-Year Period, 3.1 Billion Rubles will be invested in various electrification measures (without which all attempts at industrialization must inevitably break down). This means that in comparison with the five year period, 1923-28, investments in electrification will be increased by almost 400 per cent, whereas capital investments during the present five year period will be 240 per cent higher than during the previous five years. As a result it is expected that the electric supply will be increased from five billion kilowatt-hours in 1927-28 to 22 billion in 1932-33.

As regards industrial development, 78% of the capital investments will be used to promote the production of the means of production (engineering, etc.) the balance of 22% to be invested in the means of consumption (utility services). It is therefore expected that the gross output of the former will be increased by 333%, the second only by 240%. Special plans have been drawn up for the development of the fuel, black metal,

engineering and chemical industries on broad lines.

Another sign of the success of our Socialist Construction can be seen in the *definite consolidation that has taken place in the Socialist sector in town and village at the expense of the capitalist elements and the fact that millions upon millions of the peasantry have been drawn into the present Socialist Construction on the basis of cooperation.*

Thus, during the Five-Year Period the gross output of the Socialist Sector in industry will increase from 80% to 92%; in agriculture from 2% to 15%; in the retail trade, from 75% to 91%. As regards basic capital, the Socialist Sector, i.e., the State and cooperative enterprises, will show an increase of from 53% to 69%, private sector showing a decrease of from 47% to 31%.

Broad measures have been drawn up to introduce large scale farming in the villages, which will increase the unit weight of the collective farms and the Soviet State Farms in the agricultural trades. According to the Five-Year Plan, the Collective Farms and the Soviet State Farms should have between them in 1933 no less than 27 million hectares of arable land in contrast to the 2.3 million hectares in 1928, supplying 43% of all the marketable grain as against 7% for 1928, the increase in each case being respectively 1,200% and 600%! It is estimated that about 20 millions of the peasant population, or approximately 6 million peasant homesteads (out of a total of 27 millions) will be drawn into the collective movement.

Millions of peasants and handicraftsmen are to be drawn into the present Socialist Construction through the industrial and consumers cooperatives. The cooperative sector of the small industry will be increased from 10% to 54%. The number of homesteads to be drawn into the industrial cooperative movement in the villages will be increased from 9.5 millions to 23.6 millions, while the number of member of the Consumers Cooperatives will be increased from 14 to 32 millions.

Should we make a comparison between the extension of industry and the development of the agricultural trades, as contemplated by the Five-Year Plan, we see that

the capital investments to introduce large scale collective farming on the latest lines will exceed by far the investments for industry (in the first case the investments will be 23.2 billion rubles, in the second 10.4 billions). This coincides with the place agriculture occupies in the economy of the Soviet Union and its general backwardness as compared with the progress made in the chief capitalist countries. However, in comparison with the previous five-year period, 1923-28, capital investments in industry will be increased 370 per cent, in agriculture—150 per cent. In comparison with the general capital investments made we observe that during the previous five-year period capital investments comprised 1.5 per cent, while during the present five years it will be more than 25 per cent; the investments in agriculture for the previous five-year period being approximately 56 per cent, during the present year only 36 per cent. Thanks to this policy the unit weight of industry in Soviet Economy will be increased towards the end of the Five-Year Plan (as shown by its basic capital) from 13.5 per cent to 44.5%, while for agriculture there will be a decrease from 41.0 per cent to 29.6%. As regards output the unit weight of industry in the general economy of the country will be increased from 31.4 per cent in 1927-28 to 34.2% in 1932-33; the figures increasing for the building industry from 6.4 per cent to 8.5 per cent, transport and communications from 5.1 per cent to 6 per cent, while there will be a reduction for agriculture and the forestry trades from 46.1 per cent to 39.3 per cent. Thus we observe that definite steps are being taken to transform Soviet Russia from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian country. That is to say, steps are being taken to industrialize the country on modern lines. Since these developments will be accompanied by erection of electric stations which will facilitate the industrialization and the mechanization of all the work in the villages, with the introduction of chemical fertilizers, organization of machine-tractor stations which will supply the peasant homesteads with all the latest agricultural machinery and tractors, not to speak of the introduction of the

so-called "contract" system, which gives the peasantry many substantial advantages (thanks to this system the peasantry receive from the Socialist Government expert advice, sorted seeds and machines, etc.)—*which will mean that agriculture in the U.S.S.R. will gradually be placed on the same modern lines as industry itself.* The villages, still sunk in the ignorance and squalor of the middle ages will gradually be brought nearer to town life. At the same time there will be a marked improvement in the supply of village products for the towns.

Another field in which the development of the Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction will make itself felt is the work of promoting culture and education. In the article that he wrote just before his death ("On Cooperation") Lenin said that in order to build up Socialism in Russia "there must be an entire revolution, a whole period of cultural development of the urban population." It is precisely the present Five-Year Plan that will introduce such a period in Soviet Russia which is building up socialism. Suffice it to say that whereas the number of literates was increased from 318 to 462 per thousand of the population during a quarter of a century, between 1897 and 1920, and whereas during the following six years the number of literates increased to 508 per thousand, during the present five-year period there is every reason to believe that the number of literates will be increased to 820. It is estimated that in the R.S.F.S.R. alone the number of primary schools will be increased by 54%, courses and circles to liquidate illiteracy will be increased by 207%; the number of factory elementary schools (seven years course) will be increased by 400%; village libraries by 67% and the peasant courses by 339%, and so on.

According to the Five-Year Plan the control of the productive force of the country by the working masses themselves will rapidly raise the cultural level and thus lead to further progress in this field. It is by means of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat that the working masses will build up Socialism.

III.—INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CONSOLIDATION OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The present Socialist Construction is closely bound up with the work of consolidating the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Soviet Russia. The economic as well as the political positions of the working class are being continually strengthened and reinforced. This has been the direct result of the successes of our Socialist Construction registered so far, which we took up in some detail in the foregoing.

Although extensive rationalization measures were introduced and will be continued throughout the coming five years, there will be no drop in the numbers of workers employed in the large scale industry, as has taken place of late in the U. S. A. On the contrary, there will be a steady increase in the number of industrial workers. It is estimated that there will be an annual increase of approximately six per cent, which means that at the end of the five-year period the number of industrial workers will have increased by one million. However, the number of wage earners in the country will be increased from 9.7 millions, for the previous five-year period (1923-28), to 13.8 millions for the coming five-year period. In other words, there will be an increase of 38%. Further, whereas in 1927-28 there were 20.4% of the total number of wage earners employed in the private shops, by 1932-33 this number will be decreased to 16.1%. The number of unemployed who comprise more than 1,100,000 at the present time, will be decreased to 500,000.

But the position of the proletariat will not only be strengthened generally by the increase in the number of wage earners, but—and this is the most important fact from the point of view of the interests of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—there will be a marked increase in the number of workers employed in the State Socialist industry. Further, the position of all the wage earners and especially the industrial workers will be improved steadily with the development of the Five-Year Plan both as regards living conditions

and working conditions, special efforts will be made to promote the cultural, social and political development of the working masses.

Astonishing progress has been made as regards the reduction of working hours. In Czarist Russia in 1913, the average working day was nine hours forty-two minutes; in 1917 it was eight hours forty-five minutes. As is well-known, the Manifesto issued by the Soviet Government on the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution provides for the introduction of a seven-hour-day for all workers employed in industry and transport. At the present time there are already 450 thousand workers employed on the seven-hour-day. In accordance with the Five-Year Plan, all the workers in large scale industry and the transport trades will be working on a seven-hour-day basis before the end of 1932-33. Thus, the working week towards the end of the Five-Year Period will be reduced from 44.6 to 40.2 hours.* The fine progress already made on the Five-Year Plan gives us every reason to believe that the question of introducing a six-hour-day will be raised at the conclusion of the Five-Year Period.

Whereas in all the "foremost" and, undoubtedly, rich capitalist countries like the U. S. A., the living standards of the workers are steadily coming down, in the Soviet Union, as estimated by the Five-Year Plan, the increase in the productivity of labor of 110% will be accompanied by an increase of wages of 45%. Should we remember that the Five-Year Plan provides for considerable reductions in production costs (by 35% for industrial goods), real wages will be increased by 71%. Thanks to the wage increases and the general growth of the working class as a whole, its income during the Five-Year Period will be increased from 32.1% to 37%.

The Five-Year Plan also provides for the improvement of the housing conditions of the workers, the development and improvement of social-hygienic education, while

* The changes in working hours with the introduction of the "continuous working week" will be dealt with in a later chapter.

many new social-cultural institutions will be erected. For example: The assignments for social-education will be increased by 135%, for vocational training —224%, for political educational activities —140%. These developments coupled with the steady reduction of the unit weight of the small and medium property holders in Soviet Economy will lead to a definite consolidation of the economic and political positions of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

We should note especially the consolidation of the leading role of the working class as the alliance with the basic masses of the peasantry is cemented with the new forms of economic activity.

We spoke earlier about the measures contemplated by the Five-Year Plan to raise agriculture on a higher technical level and to reconstruct rural life on Socialist lines, which will be realized by supplying the villages with the latest machinery and by introducing modern methods of cultivation. Needless to say, the introduction of thousands upon thousands of tractors and complicated agricultural machines with electric power, chemical fertilizers, sorted seeds, thorough-bred cattle, domestic fowls, fur animals, and various other measures to improve agriculture will be the best means of convincing the peasantry as nothing else could that the workers are really *their best friends and their leaders*. The influence of the proletariat will be extended among the basic sections of the peasantry as industry develops and as our social, cultural and educational work gains ground in the villages.

In contrast to the previous five-year period, the current Five-Year Plan outlines definite measures to raise the economic and cultural life of the National Republics, the backward regions and districts. As was laid down at the Fifteenth Party Congress this Plan provides for the gradual modernizing of these areas. First of all, it provides for an increase of the basic capital in the industry of Turkmanistan by 350%; Kuzbakistan and Crimea, 400%; White Russia, 440%; Kazakhstan, 550%; the Great Northern Region, 650%, and Siberia, 720%; the average in-



These workers, shot by Kolchak, tool of imperialist intervention in the Soviet Union in 1919, illustrate the price paid by the Russian workers for the gains of the Soviet Power. The proletariat of the Pacific area must defend the Soviet proletariat from imperialist attack. Fight imperialist war by waging the class war against capitalism!

crease of basic capital throughout the Soviet Union will be no less than 290%. Approximately the same ratio of capital investments will be observed in the agricultural trades. A similar policy will be pursued with regard to the promotion of new cultural and educational undertakings. To cite one example, the printing of national literature will be increased in Turkmanistan from 0.02% to 0.42%; in White Russia from 0.81 to 1.81%; Kuzbekistan from 0.9 to 2.17%; Transcaucasia from 2.66 to 2.89%; Ukrainia from 12.2% to 17.3%.

There is no doubt at all that the proletarian policy of the U.S.S.R. will quicken the interest of all the peoples oppressed in the colonies by the imperialist powers.

Since Soviet policy differs completely from the policy pursued by the imperialists, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples in the

East, will surely realize from which quarter their emancipation will come. Needless to say, this signifies a consolidation of the position of the proletariat outside the Soviet Union as well.

Of course, despite the remarkable pace set in developing several branches of the economic life of Soviet Russia, this will not bring Soviet Russia in line with the developments observed in the capitalist countries. But, although industrial developments in the Soviet Union are progressing at a rate never witnessed before in any part of the world, several industries in the Soviet Union will still be behind the capitalist, even at the end of the Five-Year Period. But beyond question the industrial development of the Soviet Union at the conclusion of the Five-Year Period, will be a stupendous stride forward. For example, Russia, which now occupies the



By revolution with all its sacrifices, the Russian proletariat won power. Here we see them, in a Production Conference of an agricultural machine factory, enthusiastically pushing the Five-Year Plan of industrialization and the construction of socialism. Only by revolution can the workless attain socialism!

sixth place in the world for the production of pig-iron, will at the end of the five years occupy the third place, coming after Germany and the U. S. A., outstripping England (in the production of coal) and France, etc. As regards wages paid, the facts published by the League of Nations, show that in 1928 Moscow had already caught up with Prague, Vienna, Rome, Warsaw, and even with Berlin itself according to the corrections made by the U.S.S.R. People's Commissariat of Labor. By the end of the Five-Year Period we shall have outstripped London too. It is plain therefore that all the gains and successes of the working class in the Soviet Union in the economic, social, cultural and political fields will have such a great influence on the workers in the capitalist countries, that any attempt to get them to support a war against Soviet Russia will involve the risk of an open

rebellion against capitalism. Since capitalism is preparing war on the U.S.S.R., the Soviet Union is compelled to take measures to strengthen its defensive powers. The development of the steel, engineering, chemical, automobile, and aviation industries, which have been given careful attention in the Five-Year Plan, will help to bring this about.

IV.—HOW THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IS BEING REALISED

It may be asked, are not all the facts given here with regard to the Five-Year Plan much of which still has to be completed, nothing but the "idle dreams" of a few Soviet economists? This assertion has been made again and again by the class enemies of the working class, by all the capitalist lackeys, the Social-Democrats and the reformists. Even in the ranks of the Soviet Union, in

Soviet public life, and even in the U.S.S.R. Communist Party itself there were elements (true, very few in number) who doubted the possibility of putting it into effect, who considered the progress made altogether exaggerated, claiming that its realization was fraught with the danger of "over-developing" the industry of the country, etc. Thus, the pressure from without has found its political expression inside the Party and in the Soviet Union in the *Right opportunist tendency*.

Only the hard facts and the will and determination of the millions of workers can dispel all the doubts of our enemies and our friends who have fallen under their influence.

First of all, let us call attention to the work actually carried out during the first year of the Five-Year Plan, let us describe the great work undertaken to carry out and complete the Five-Year Plan.

According to the estimates the growth of the output of the large-scale industry for 1928-29 was 17%. But the control figures show clearly that an increase of 21.4% took place during that year. According to the Five-Year Plan the growth of industrial yield during 1929-30 was estimated at 22.1%, but when the control figures for 1929-30 were drawn up and confirmed last September-October, it was found that in view of the fine progress made during the previous year the growth of the gross output of the large-scale industry could safely be placed at 32%.

As regards productivity of labor in industry, output was increased by 16% instead of 17% as planned, production costs were reduced by 5% instead of 7% as anticipated. The plan was not fulfilled in these respects, but these items lag behind insignificantly. In view of the fact that the plan was not carried out fully as far as productivity of labor and the reduction of production costs was concerned, the Government decided to mobilize all the workers in Soviet Russia to give first attention to the industrial tasks outlined in the Five-Year Plan, a decision being made to increase productivity of labor in industry by 25% for the 1929-30 economic year, to lower production costs by 10% instead of the estimates of 13.5% and 7.5% respectively.

The execution of the plan of capital con-

struction work during the 1929-30 year also shows that our plans can be executed and are not by any means beyond our forces. Indeed, frequently they are even underrated. According to preliminary statistics, the plan of work for the year just ended has been exceeded by 2% (1,689 million rubles as against the estimate of 1,648 millions). During 1929-30 capital investments will be almost doubled as compared with the past year and will comprise 3.3 billion rubles. It is especially important to note that investments during the 1929-30 year will, in accordance with the plan, be made in the most important branches of industry so as to guarantee the development of our industrial construction on a truly American scale.

In accordance with the Plan several remarkable successes have been observed in the development of agriculture. Although some sections of the Plan were not fulfilled 100%, we observe that the arable land of the Collective Farms was increased by more than 207% in 1929 as against the estimate of 94%. The area under crop of the Soviet State Farms was increased by 27%, which also far exceeded the estimates (7%). This too has been seen in the development of the so-called "Contract System",* which is one of the best means of drawing the backward individual homesteads into the great work undertaken by the Socialist State to promote its heavy industry. According to preliminary estimates the whole yield of the socialized and private undertakings in agriculture (despite the drop in the area under crop belonging to the rich peasants and the capitalist elements in the villages) will show an approximate increase of 5%, while the gross output of cereals will also be increased by about 5%. Thus we see that in this extremely important sector of Soviet economy, the plan has not been lived up to the full, for the estimates contemplated an increase of the area under crop by 7% and an increase of the harvest yield by 3%. This development has been due in part to the poor harvests observed in several regions and to the

* Contract System. The peasantry sell their harvest to the Government at fixed prices, receiving on account seeds, stock, implements and domestic wares.

class struggle in the villages. During the past year we have successfully broken down the resistance of the Kulak-capitalist elements in the villages by extending the area under crop belonging to the poor and medium strata of the peasantry and to the Soviet State Farms and the Collective Farms. The experience gained during the 1928-29 Economic Year is being utilized during the current year of 1929-30 to extend all those measures that make for the development of the Socialized Sector of the agricultural trades (which, in the main branches will be increased 200 and even 300% in comparison with the former year) thus drawing the poor and medium strata of the peasantry into the general work undertaken to build up Socialism in this country. During the present year many tractors will be introduced in the rural districts (the equivalent of no less than 410,000 H.P.), agricultural machines to the amount of 370,000,000 rubles and mineral fertilizers for a sum of 44,000,000 rubles.

But there are several other developments which serve as a guarantee to the working class in every part of the world that the Five-Year Plan endorsed by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government will be fulfilled. *The Five-Year Plan was approved by the millions of workers in the USSR, and they have now entered for the Socialist Competition under the guidance and leadership of the Soviet Unions. The slogan has been launched that the Five-Year Plan must be completed to the full, while it is now being urged that "the Plan be completed in four years."* The Socialist Competition was organized only in 1929, but these activities were pressed forward considerably after the appeal issued by the All-USSR Party Conference in April last and the decisions adopted by the Soviet Central Council of Trade Unions last July. During the last few months the Unions have conducted much work to purge their ranks of all those elements who still cling to opportunism and the old style craft trade unionism, since instead of organizing the masses to promote our Socialist Construction they are acting as a drag on the creative energy of the masses. Unquestionably this will have a very favorable effect from the point of view of pro-

moting the Socialist Competition. Special attention should be called to the significance of getting the workers organized in the unions to take a hand in *reconstructing village life on Socialist lines*. The excellent results of the Socialist Competition were already very plain at the conclusion of the 1928-29 Economic Year. The results of the first six months were not as good as anticipated, but, on the whole, the second six months made up for the lost ground, thanks to the inauguration of the Socialist Competition.

Finally, we should like to call attention here to another factor which had been passed over when the Five-Year Plan was being drawn up but which is bound to have a profound effect on the development of our economic life during the coming few years. We refer to the introduction of the continuous working week, which means that the factories, the docks and the plants will be working on a non-stop basis the whole year around. A worker needs rest to restore and recover the energy spent while at work, but the machines must be made to work each day and every day. By employing more workers, industry is gradually being put on a non-stop production basis, and this is seen not only in those industries which usually continued operations without interruption, but everywhere, wherever no special difficulties are experienced, operations are continued on Sundays and holidays, every week and the whole year around. A recent investigation of the situation in the big towns of the USSR has evinced that Sunday as a rest day is gradually being pushed into the background.

In the factories and mines the workers are working on Sunday like any other day. All the stores and the institutions are introducing the continuous working week (the latter without any increase of staffs). On Sundays you will now see the streets just as clangerous with life as on any week day. This has resulted generally in an increase of the output of twenty per cent for those industries which have introduced the non-stop production scheme. But another guarantee of the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan is the *voluntary agreement of the millions of toilers in*

the USSR to live in a new way in order to promote the interests of the common cause.

Despite all the enemies of the working class and all the sceptics, the Five-Year Plan will be carried out. In this fashion by the end of the 1932-33 Economic Year the Soviet Union will have made much progress on the road to the completion of its Socialist Construction. That this will be carried out unswervingly is seen from the fine enthusi-

asm which now animates all the workers in the building up of a new Socialist Order in their country. As Marx said, an idea that has got hold of the masses is an invincible force. The time is not far off when the idea of building up socialism, now being realized in the USSR, in one-sixth of the globe, will be caught up by the workers in every part of the world. The last hour of world capitalism will have arrived.



Crisis and Unemployment in the U. S. A.

By HARRISON GEORGE

THE brass-faced hypocrisy of the Hoover administration on the question of the crisis and mass unemployment, is almost the eighth wonder of the world, or would be did we not know that this is all that is expected of an expert of "organized capitalism" when all his rationalization magic and vaunted "business acumen" are shattered on the rocks of imperialist contradictions.

Forced to say something by the more than a million workers who poured into the streets on March 6 at the call of the Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity League, Hoover could do no better than promise a return of "prosperity" in 60 days and launch a wide press campaign to delude the 7,000,000 unemployed (growing at the rate of around 200,000 per month) that "beyond Jordan" of 60 days more starvation lies the promised land. This was accompanied, of course, with a savage police persecution of the leaders of the unemployed movement, the gas bombs hurled at the jobless workers at the very door of the White House, the thousands brutally clubbed by police on March 6, and 1,188 arrests the country over — a veritable war mobilization against the workers.

Yet the crisis has only fairly begun. The catastrophic decline in wheat and cotton deepening still more the chronic agrarian crisis and re-echoing through industry, is a

prelude to a new Stock Exchange crash that will surely follow the present feverish speculation. "Heaviest Trading Sends Stocks Up; Second 5,000,000 Share Day Sends Stocks to New High," said the New York press on March 28. Only a week earlier, in the N. Y. World of March 22, an editorial entitled "Somebody Spills the Beans," it is noted that the Wall Street crash of last October was preceded by a deliberate policy of the government Federal Reserve of stimulating speculation (to maintain the Hoover business boom, of course) by an "easy money" program.

The "World" sharply criticizes Hoover for this, and seeing the rate for call money down to 1½ per cent, it adds a cautious warning:

"And now Governor Young of the Reserve Board proclaims that the board is again committed to a policy of easy money, and that 'the easing influence of this program will in time trickle into all forms of credit'. The results have already shown themselves in speculative credit. Brokers' loans have increased by half a billion during the last sixty days."

From which one may see that even if the depression be "eased" partially and temporarily, reflecting the disorganization and unevenness of capitalist economy in this period,

it is only the result of artificial stimulation and the main line of capitalist economy is that of decline.

This is, of course, apart from the fact that even when American imperialism was in the heyday of boom, "prosperity" was never for the masses, though the reformists and those covered-reformists then, but no longer, in the Communist movement (Pepper, Lovestone & Co.) always insisted that U. S. imperialism, seemingly out of the goodness of its heart, bribed "great masses" of American workers with its surplus profits.

While some such bribery has existed for the very thin percentage of specially required skilled labor aristocrats in the past, it is an outrageous lie to say that "masses" of American proletarians were so favored *at any time*, an analysis of course used to bolster an opportunist line of refusing to build revolutionary trade unions and playing a role of "loyal opposition" within the American Federation of Labor, which is now developed into a completely fascist organization.

One must, incidentally, be amazed at this same idea being foisted upon the Latin American revolutionary movement by Comrade Luis, speaking at the Buenos Aires Communist Conference last June: "The capitalists of the United States are able to give high wages to great masses of workers of their country, and tie them to imperialist development, thanks to the most intense exploitation of their colonial dominions." This is not only untrue, but the effect of this false view is to make more difficult the necessary alliance of Latin American and North American workers against the imperialism which brutally exploits both.

Today, the fact discernible even to the blind, that 7,000,000 American workers are jobless and starving along with their families, that those employed are being driven to death by the speed-up while wages are being cut everywhere below even the former minimum level of the reproduction of labor power, disproves such "analysis" and opens new perspectives to the revolutionary trade unions of the T.U.U.L.

Today the fight against unemployment must proceed on a different basis than did

previous unemployed movements. The character both of the employed and unemployment itself has changed. The "hard times" of pre-war days gave a traditional form of unemployment movement that has unhappily been carried over by the militant workers into the present period.

In the past, the unemployed army was made up to a marked degree of casual, seasonal and migratory labor, and the perspective was always that of temporary distress. Hence "unemployed councils" came to mean a formless organization of unemployed only, and devoted only to a sort of collective mendicancy to tide "the unfortunate" over till "better times." This role has been changed in the per cent movement for a policy of struggle, but the old form lingers. Now, with unemployment become a chronic and structural phenomenon of capitalist economy, and the unemployed army to a marked degree made up of not only seasonal but "steady" and skilled workers, the traditional form of unemployed organization must change, especially in view of the fact that the ancient policy of seeing trade unionism only in the A. F. of L. has given way to building revolutionary unions.

The opportunity of the T.U.U.L. adherents to organize, on the basis of its demands that include not only unemployment relief and insurance but also demands for the employed, great numbers of the radicalized workers both employed and unemployed, is obvious. With the policy of building revolutionary unions among the unorganized masses, the unemployed should never be organized by themselves into a sort of "unemployed union." As Comrade Losovsky has remarked anent the need for common organization of employed and unemployed: "*Being unemployed is not a trade or occupation.*"

What more natural action to take than to induct each unemployed worker into the appropriate revolutionary trade union of the T.U.U.L. as a member in full standing, the union at the same time taking up, employed members included, the fight for unemployment insurance, for the 7-hour day, against speed-up, etc. The great Unemployment

Conference of the T.U.U.L. at the end of March has the task of initiating a struggle against the tendency of isolating the unemployed in "councils" composed exclusively of jobless workers. Such councils should be united from bodies of the revolutionary unions, minorities, rank and file reformist unions, workers' fraternal societies, cooperatives, and so on.

The tremendous response to the slogans of the T.U.U.L. shows how very ripe is the field of organization, and how comparatively easy it will be for the T.U.U.L. to gain and pass the goal set for 50,000 new members in the recruiting campaign now opening. But to gain members and to hold them, an unrelenting fight is necessary against the strong Right tendencies in the revolutionary unions, tendencies which are insufficiently or never exposed in the T.U.U.L. press, which remains vapid, dull and "official" in a self-complacent sense.

Since the proletariat of colonial and semi-colonial countries dominated by Yankee imperialism look to the revolutionary trade unionists of the United States to strengthen and build the T.U.U.L. into a powerful weapon which must be used in joint struggle against imperialist oppression, exploitation and war, the situation within the United States and the condition of the new revolutionary unions cannot be a matter of indifference to the exploited classes of the whole Pacific area and, indeed, the whole world.

Freed of past basically wrong direction by a cleansing of the revolutionary vanguard from persistent opportunism, the remnants of which or course must be fought against, both the objective situation and the increasingly healthy subjective factor make for an optimistic outlook. One can say that the American proletariat, led by the T.U.U.L., is marching forward.

MILITARIST WARS and REVOLUTION IN CHINA

By R. Doonping

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What EARL BROWDER, author of "Civil War in Nationalist China," has to say about this pamphlet in the introduction to same:

For all who have an interest in the tremendous events now shaking China directly involving one-fourth of the entire human race, this booklet is an indispensable source of information and understanding. The Chinese Revolution, which shook the entire world of imperialism in 1925-27, is gathering its forces for a new upward swing which will have deeper and more lasting effects both upon the life of the Chinese masses and upon the rest of the world. In this booklet will be found the key to an understanding of the current events, and the forces behind them, in China, which are a prelude to a new period of revolutionary development.

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How the Trade Unions Must Fight Suppression

By M. WOJTKIEWICZ

The following article by the same author that contributed a valuable article to the June 1929 (No. 27) issue of the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY on "Industrial Democracy," was written for the Red International of Labor Unions. But the obvious value it has for the persecuted trade unions of the Pacific persuades us to bring it before all sections of the P.P.T. U.S. as a most important guide to them in their fight against suppression.—Editor.

ONE of the most urgent problems facing the world revolutionary trade union movement today is that of the illegal trade union movement and the elaboration of concrete forms of organization for the illegal trade unions. This problem can be regarded as forced upon our notice by the political situation in many capitalist countries.

THE ILLEGAL TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

In certain countries the Labor movement has been driven underground for some years back. This is the position in Italy, China, and Indonesia, where there can be no thought at present of any legal form of existence for the trade unions. The inevitability of illegal existence, not only for the Party, but also for the trade union organizations in these countries, has been recognized by the congresses and findings of both the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. The number of countries in which the revolutionary wing of the trade union movement will be compelled to go underground (whence they will have to direct the mass struggle of the proletariat) is bound to increase in the immediate future. For in this the third period of post-war capitalism—a period that witnesses the extension of bitter class battles, the rocking of the very pillars of the capitalist order, and the radicalization of the broad working masses—the bourgeois governments, with the very vital support of the Social-Fascists, in their struggle against the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat are going to apply their policy of White terrorism with greater insistence and on a

wider scale and so drive these organizations underground.

This means that, with the wider application of Fascist methods of rule, the problem of the underground existence of the working class organizations becomes one of growing urgency. Already the supporters of the R.I.L.U. face the job of building up, if not illegal, at any rate semi-legal, trade union organizations, and this, too, not only in China, Italy, Indonesia, and Chile, but also in Yugoslavia, Roumania, Hungary, Spain, and the Baltic States, as well as in certain Latin-American countries. Even in countries still in thrall to the ideas of "classic parliamentarianism" and "broad measures" of democracy the revolutionary trade union movement has frequently to recourse to semi-legal forms for its activities. In France the arrest of the C. G. T. U. leaders in connection with the First of August demonstrations shows how close the revolutionary trade union movement is to the prospect of underground existence.

But can the trade unions exist illegally? It seems to many that the trade unions are not adapted to illegal existence. The view is fundamentally wrong. It is an expression of the other side of the "liquidationist" stand that would surrender in face of the difficulties that undoubtedly do form part of the illegal existence of the trade unions. But are we going to retreat upon the appearance of difficulties in our work if that work is essential? Before the revolutionary labor movement there stands a series of questions that can only be solved by the joint efforts

of the Party and the trade union organizations. Preparations for, and the launching of, economic movements, the struggle for the every-day demands of the workers in production, no matter how trifling their nature at first glance, the need for roping in those groups of the workers still outside the Communist ranks but prepared to fight exploitation, etc., is all extremely important work that can only be carried out by trade union organizations whose existence therefore becomes an imperative necessity under any and all conditions. Where the Labor movement exists above ground, and to a still larger measure where it is illegal, it is essential to have some transmission belt, as it were, between the working class and its spearhead, the Communist Party. And to act as just such a transmission belt is precisely the job of the trade unions.

TRADE UNIONS GO BELOWGROUND ONLY IN EXTREME NEED

But if it is out of the question, nay, most detrimental to the movement, to refuse to build up illegal trade unions under the conditions imposed by the Fascist regime, it is no less detrimental for the unions to go belowground too soon. Yet this happens not infrequently in our case. We find, for instance, that when in Poland our supporters were confronted with the question of building up their own independent trade union organizations and still had the advantage of good legal possibilities, they were in rather too much of a hurry to embody in one resolution at their Trade Union Conference of February, 1928, a statement of policy as to preparations for the creation of a "powerful, mass, illegal trade union organization." Again, when the Roumanian Government dissolved the unitary trade unions, the liquidationists, Muller at their head, were prepared, at the price of the betrayal of their revolutionary principles, to obtain recognition from the Government for the unions. Certain of our Roumanian comrades went to the other extreme, that of deciding voluntarily to go belowground without endeavouring by a real hard fight to work for the re-establishment of the legal Unitary trade union movement.

In view of the many negative features bound up with the illegal existence of trade union organizations, we must go belowground only in cases of extremity. The point here is that illegal trade union organizations cannot cater for the masses to the same extent that legal unions can; they are always menaced by the danger of losing contact with the masses and risk turning into narrow sectarian groups; and are, further, compelled to adopt special and more difficult methods of leadership for the workers' struggle which demand a greater strain and skilful handling. In brief, in the conditions of our struggle the illegal existence of the unions is only, and can only be, an unavoidable evil and the result of grave necessity. For this reason, whenever forced underground, our comrades must keep on fighting steadily to come to the surface, to smash the chains of their illegal conditions and work for their open existence. No amount of suppression at the hands of any police regime must on any account compel us to repudiate the struggle for the open and legal existence of the trade unions. This struggle logically emanates from our general struggle against the Fascist regime, for the destruction of political oppression and the overthrow of the capitalist order. In this regard the watchword of our daily activities must be — no going underground, but emergence from belowground; no voluntary submission to any state of compulsory illegality, but the forcible smashing of illegal conditions imposed upon us.

WE MUST FIGHT FOR LEGALITY OF TRADE UNIONS

At the present juncture, with its acute and extending class battles, with its mass strikes involving new sections of the workers who used to stand passively by, it is most essential that the struggle for legality must be waged to the utmost of our ability. To take the lead of mass wage movements through the illegal trade union organizations affords splendid opportunities to enable them to take open action and is a means of compelling the Government concerned to recognize them as the spokesmen of the workers. By setting up various kinds of temporary organs—strike committees and committees of action—for

the purpose of directing the struggle, these bodies, acting openly or as much so as possible, and by later developing these temporary organs into permanent bodies and by guiding all their activities and regarding them as our footholds in the movement, the illegal trade unions will be creating the foundations both for establishing close touch with the masses and for ensuring their own open existence. And the resolution on the matter passed by the Tenth E.C.C.I. Plenum is perfectly correct in laying it down that "the fighting committee may prove the best means for smashing the whole system of police-Fascist restrictions and enabling the illegal trade unions to emerge on the arena of open existence," seeing that the "struggle to emerge from belowground, which ought to be the primary consideration of the revolutionary trade unions, can only be successful providing the illegal unions link up this struggle with the struggle of the every-day needs of the workers and combine it with actual direct leadership of their economic movements."

The struggle for open existence must occupy foremost place in the attention of the revolutionary trade unions, but it does not exclude the existence of illegal trade union organizations. Rather the reverse. As a resolution of the Tenth E.C.C.I. Plenum puts it, "War must be declared on all defeatist and liquidationist tendencies calling for the whittling down of the activities of the illegal trade unions on the excuse that it is entirely impossible for illegal trade unions to exist generally." We contend that illegal trade unions exist and always will.

ILLEGAL FORMS OF EXISTENCE AND ACTIVITIES

In Russia, under the conditions imposed by the autocracy, when all working-class organizations and even study circles were banned, when the "chief weapon of the workers' economic struggle, the strike, was, speaking generally, a criminal (and sometimes a political) offense," we find Lenin writing on the eve of the 1905 Revolution (in 1902), when outlining the organizational landmarks for the Bolshevik Party:—

"The organization of the Revolutionary

Social-Democratic Party is bound to be of a different nature from the organization of the workers for such struggle (referring to the economic struggle. M.W.) The organization of the workers must, in the first place, be trade union organization; in the second, it must be as thoroughly representative as possible; and, the third, it must have as few conservative features about it as possible. . . ." (his pamphlet, "What is to be Done?" in *Collected Works*, vol. v, p. 210, Russian edition).

Setting forth his views in greater detail as to the forms to be taken by "secret trade union organizations," Lenin wrote:

"The organizations of the workers for economic struggle must be trade union organizations. . . . but it is by no means in our interest to demand that only Social-Democrats be members of the 'craft' unions. . . . The aim itself of the craft unions would be unattainable. . . . if these craft unions were not very broad organizations. And the broader these organizations are the more extensive will be our influence upon them. . . . But if your organizations have a broad membership it is impossible to maintain strict secrecy (which demands considerably more preparation than is necessary for participation in economic struggle). . . . What are we to do to get the craft organizations to be as little as possible of a secret nature? There can only be two alternatives in this regard: either you legalize your craft unions. . . . or maintain your organizations as secret bodies, but of so 'free' a nature that for the mass of the members the secrecy of the organization is reduced practically to nil." (*Ibid.*, page 211).

And replying to the latter question he himself raises, Lenin wrote: "We see, then, that we cannot settle the question of the creation of as little conspiratorial and as broad a trade union organization as possible through the instrumentality of legalization. There remains the alternative of secret trade union organizations, and we must extend every support to the workers who are already taking this road." (*Ibid.*, page 213).

The line laid down by Lenin for Czarist conditions in regard to the creation of illegal trade union organizations is not only apply-

cable under present-day conditions in many countries with Fascist regimes, but constitutes a splendid program of organization for the illegal trade union movement today.

THE ILLEGAL TRADE UNION AND THE PARTY

What do we see, then? That in the first place we must take care not to duplicate the Party with any illegal trade unions. These trade unions must be broader. They must include not only Communists, but non-Party workers as well, and even workers who are hesitant as to the soundness of the Communist idea. As Losovsky points out, "We need no duplicate of the Party." Losovsky is perfectly right again in contending that "the preservation of the illegal trade unions has very much to be said for it, and there is certainly some sense in doing so if these small illegal trade unions (speaking generally, there can be no big mass organizations in illegal conditions*) include at least a small number of workers who are not members of the Communist Party." (See his "Economic Movements and Tasks of the C. P.," p. 49).

Our supporters in those countries with an illegal or semi-legal trade union movement are not sufficiently discriminating in regard to this principle, and are not doing enough to carry it into effect. Our Italian Confederation of Labor, which inherited hundreds of thousands of non-Party workers from its legal forerunner, is steadily dropping membership, and is approaching the state of a body organizing Communists alone. We see the same thing in China, where the legal trade union movement embraced several million members, whereas the present illegal trade unions are only small organizations for Communists and workers in sympathy with Communist aims. They have lost large numbers of non-Party Italian or Chinese comrades, who are displaying the greatest self-sacrifice under appalling conditions of terrorism, but the facts have to be recognized and every effort made to get rid of these facts in order to break down those restrictions against organization imposed by the different capitalist Governments.

* It seems to us that this last statement is too sweeping and exaggerated.

But the question here lies not only in the defects of our activities in Italy or in China, but in the fact that certain of our comrades do not realize the vital difference, both as regards membership and structure, between the Red revolutionary organizations and purely Communist bodies. In practically all countries we find the Red and Communist fractions of the trade unions being mixed. In many countries where you have an illegal Communist Party there exist legal revolutionary working class organizations and very often the latter are regarded as bodies constituting a legal substitute, the legal representative, of the illegal party. To put up the trade union thus in place of the Party is likely to have an adverse effect on our day-to-day activities, and will handicap our efforts to bring as large a number of workers as possible into the revolutionary trade unions.

And in yet another respect must the illegal trade unions not be a duplicate of the Party. I mean as regards organizational structure. "Any organization of revolutionaries should include primarily and mainly persons whose profession consists in revolutionary activities. . . . This organization must not be very broad, and should be as conspiratorial as possible." (Lenin). The organizational structure of the illegal parties must be strictly "illegal," strictly conspiratorial, and generally be such, that it is impossible for the police to lay hands upon it or for the non-Party workers either. As for the structure of the illegal trade unions, it ought to be freer, or looser, as our German friends would say. In the Party there is a hard and fast line between members and non-members; this borderline cannot exist in the trade unions. More, in the illegal trade union, where there is no opportunity for arranging for the regular collection of dues, which constitutes the mark of trade union membership in the case of the legal trade union organization, the difference between the member carrying out definite functions in the organization, paying his dues, etc., and the non-member who only abides by the decisions and responds to the appeals of the organization is flattened out to a certain extent. In the illegal trade union the distinction between the "organized"

and the "unorganized" worker is less noticeable than anywhere else. And if in the legal trade union movement we stigmatize the neglect of the unorganized and the granting of voting powers in trade union affairs only to members in good standing as bare opportunism, any such policy in the illegal trade union movement is a direct crime. In the case of the illegal trade union movement it is not so much the size of the membership or their solidity of organization that matters so much as the influence wielded over the masses and the ability to direct their struggle. Which means that while your leadership, the main directing nucleus, must be on a secret footing, it is advisable to apply the broadest, freest, most diverse and least secret methods of maintaining contact and rallying the masses around the revolutionary principles of the trade union movement.

THE ILLEGAL TRADE UNION AND THE MASSES

And here we come to the question of the relations of the illegal unions to the masses. Can illegal trade union organizations be bodies really catering for the masses? Regarded strictly from the viewpoint of organization, they can, of course, not be mass organizations. But if we do not want to become fetish-worshippers of organization, if we are going to look upon the illegal trade union, not as a sectarian group but as the freest organization possible under the conditions, then it can become a mass organization as well.

How is that to be achieved?

The new revolutionary period of the labor movement, with its induction of fresh hundreds of thousands of workers into the class struggle, is creating new rank-and-file bodies for welding the workers together to carry on the fight; strike committees, committees of action, factory committees, factory delegations, and revolutionary shop stewards. All these bodies must be a component part of the illegal trade unions, must be their foundation, their feelers reaching into the masses, roping them in, guiding them, and leading them into battle. If the R. I. L. U. supporters working in countries with an illegal trade union movement are able to build up a net-

work of rank-and-file organizations to carry on systematic activities day after day and provide support for our followers, then they will be able to build up a mass illegal trade union movement, and it will no longer be important whether all the participants in that movement feel themselves members of the trade union or not. The prime object is that the movement should really be of a mass nature.

Concurrently with the creation of a network of rank-and-file organizations, a necessary condition for the successful development of the activities of the illegal trade unions is that all legal opportunities should be utilized to the full and various legal organizations of the most innocent nature created as screens and auxiliary bodies, such as various friendly societies, cultural-educational, sports, co-operative societies and the like. Providing they have skillful leadership, they can be made excellent use of as organs for roping in the masses and bringing them together for the struggle against the common enemy and inducting them into a single channel to advance the aims of the revolutionary trade union movement. This important and most necessary work is not being carried out yet. By no means. And here the R. I. L. U. supporters face an important problem, that of combining illegal with legal forms of organization. And in this field, as is the case, by the way, in many other fields, we have the rich and untouched experience of the Russian revolutionary movement to draw upon. This problem is of particular importance wherever the labor movement has not yet been driven underground entirely and where alongside the illegal party and the revolutionary trade unions you have various kinds of "unseen" legal organizations.

After the 1905 Revolution and when certain "legal possibilities" had already been created, the Bolsheviks simply instructed their nuclei that it was "necessary for the illegal party organizations to participate most actively in the leadership of economic struggles (strikes, strike committees, etc.), and to establish collaboration in this field between the illegal party nuclei and the trade unions, especially with the Social Democratic nuclei in the trade unions, as well as with indi-

viduals prominent in the trade union movement. What is needed is as much initiative as possible in the matter of arranging Social-Democratic activities in the legal associations—unions, libraries, various recreation societies, to extend the field of endeavor of the trade union bodies and breathe the spirit of Marxism into the trade union press, making use of speeches by Social-Democratic members of the Duma, training legal lecturers from among the workers, setting up workers' and other elected committees for town wards, even single streets, etc., and carrying on Social-Democratic agitation in connection with the elections to the different organs of the municipalities, etc." (From Decisions of the Prague Conference of the Revolutionary Social-Democratic and Labor Party held January, 1912. See Lenin's Collected Works, vol. xii, page 21.)

Everything Lenin at that time called on the Bolshevik Party to carry out under the conditions imposed by the Czarist regime is perfectly applicable in these days, as far as the illegal trade unions are concerned, to their activities in different kinds of legal organizations. And here we must bear in mind still one other lesson that we can draw

from the experience of the old Bolshevik Party. "It is imperatively necessary in illegal structures to adapt international forms to local conditions. Diversity of forms to cover up the illegal nuclei, the greatest possible elasticity in adapting working forms to local conditions and customs is the surety of the vitality of illegal organization." (Ibid., page 330.)

The illegal trade union movement confronts the R. I. L. U. and its Fifth Congress as one of their most important problems. The experience gained during the last few years' existence of the illegal unions in many countries, and the many years' experience accumulated by the illegal labor movement in Russia, will furnish us with sufficient material to study and hammer out the tactics and organizational structure of the illegal trade union movement. The epoch we are living in today sees the revolutionary movement marching forward throughout the world, and, carefully studied and skilfully utilized, this experience will serve as a powerful factor to further the victorious struggle of the workers against capitalism and help usher in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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The Fight for Class Clarity in the Indian Unions

By L. BURNS

IN view of the developing class struggle in India, the incredible growth of the activity of the Indian proletariat, and the decisive and leading role it is playing today in all the economic and political struggles against British imperialism and the native bourgeoisie, the revolutionary wing in the Indian labor movement is faced with many serious and difficult problems. The striking turn of events of the Tenth Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress when a group of Right-Wing T. U. bureaucrats headed by Joshi and Chamanlal seceded from the Congress reveals glaringly the rapid progress of events in the Indian labor movement and our weak as well as strong points.

All the forces of reaction have been mobilized in India to smash the revolutionary wing. Alarmed at the growing activity of the working class, MacDonald's "Labor" Government and the Anglo-Indian bourgeoisie are now using white terror and persecution on a scale never witnessed before to crush the revolutionary movement among the workers.

Despite the energetic protests of the workers of India and of the whole international labor movement, the Meerut prisoners—the leaders of the revolutionary labor movement of India—have been imprisoned for almost a year now. The left wing leaders who were not caught when the first arrests were made, were subsequently "rounded up" and imprisoned.

The revolutionary unions are constantly being raided. The revolutionary press is continually being harassed by new restrictions and prohibitions. The strike movement led mostly by the Left Wing Revolutionary elements, are suppressed by armed force. Strikers are shot down. A ban has been decreed on all picketing. Strikers' meetings and demonstrations are disallowed and are always dis-

persed by the police and the troops. India is now being swept by a wave of white terror and reaction. The British Labor Party and MacDonald's "Labor" Government are proving to the whole world that they are well able to look after the interests of their imperialist masters.

All the measures taken by the imperialist government to strangle the revolutionary labor movement meets with the wholehearted support of the Indian bourgeoisie who, seeing the menace that the development of the labor movement holds out for them, have completely capitulated to British imperialism and are now openly betraying the national liberation movement.

The reformist leaders are giving every support to the Anglo-Indian Government and the employers to smash the revolutionary labor movement. The reformists are on the side of the enemies of the working class. Not only have they silently approved the terrorist measures of the Government. But they are rendering invaluable service to the imperialist Government and the Indian bourgeoisie by egging on the Government to smash the revolutionary labor movement and its leaders with their continual cries of "Communist Danger," "Moscow is controlling the Indian Labor Movement," etc. The imperialist government, the Indian bourgeoisie and the reformists are sparing no efforts to make it impossible for the Left Wing to continue its work.

Despite all the obstacles, despite the serious drawback it suffered when some of its best leaders were arrested in connection with the Meerut affair, and the fact that arrests have been continuing ever since (Renadiv and others), the Left Wing has made considerable headway of late.

The Left Wing gained a remarkable vic-

tory at the last Session of the All-Indian Trade Union Congress in Nagpur—a direct expression of the growing revolutionary movement among the workers of India. Thanks to the active lead it gave during the economic struggles and the fine organizational work carried out, the Left Wing successfully extended its influence over the labor movement of India and substantially strengthened its position. This was made very clear at the Nagpur Session when a group of reformist T. U. bureaucrats headed by Joshi and Chamanlal seceded from the Congress.

For 12 months past the reformists had been preparing the ground to “oust” the revolutionary T. U. representatives from the Congress, but they were themselves compelled to leave, having been utterly defeated on all the fundamental questions discussed at the Tenth Session. The All-India Congress has thus been purged of all those elements who made no secret of their support of imperialism and who have always betrayed working-class interests.

On several burning political issues at the Tenth Session in Nagpur, the Left Wing rallied to its support the majority of the Congress delegates and carried several resolutions and decisions which will have a great bearing on the future development of the Indian Labor movement.

First of all, the Left Wing got a resolution carried on boycotting the Whitely Commission (an imperialist agency), thus strengthening the anti-imperialist struggle of the Indian workers and discrediting and exposing before the working masses the reformist leaders like Joshi and Chamanlal who had been cooperating with the Commission.

Further, by criticising the Amsterdam International (another imperialist outfit) and the British Labor Party, and getting a resolution carried for breaking with the League of Nations International Labor Office, the Left Wing dealt a severe blow at international social imperialism which for many years has been endeavoring to get control of the Indian labor movement and to dam back the growing working-class struggle against foreign and native exploitation.

The political resolution adopted at the Con-

gress does not only condemn Nehru's Draft Constitution and demand complete national independence for India, but puts forward the slogan of a *Workers' Republic for India*. This is a class demand directed not only against imperialism but against the capitalist system as a whole.

The Congress' affiliation to the Anti-Imperialist League and the contact thus set up with the oppressed peoples in all parts of the world, will strengthen the position of the Indian workers in their fight against imperialism, will raise their prestige in the eyes of all the foremost workers throughout the world, and will go a long way towards transforming Congress into a militant organ of working-class struggle against foreign and native exploitation.

Another important development is that contact has again been established with the Indian Welfare League.

At the Tenth Session, the Left Wing took up very timely, although not altogether clearly, the question of using the weapon of a general strike to fight imperialism and capitalism. The conditions are now ripe in India for the calling of a general strike. It is the most important task we are faced with at the present time. We should remember that it was under Left Wing pressure that the last Session (held in December 1928) adopted a decision to call a general strike should strikers continue to be shot down and should the *Trades Disputes Bill* be endorsed.

Although strikers have been shot down ever since and the Industrial Disputes Regulation Act has become law, the T. U. bureaucrats who headed the Trade Union Congress (Joshi, Bakhale, etc.) deliberately sabotaged the General Strike decision of the Ninth Session. Jawaharlal Nehru, the “Left” Nationalist and the Chairman of the Trade Union Congress in 1929 joined Joshi in sabotaging the General Strike Resolution. By raising the question of the general strike at the Nagpur Session of the Congress through its representative comrade Ruikar, the Left Wing acted in correct and timely fashion.

As we see from the circular letter issued by Deshpande, the new General-Secretary of the Congress, the Left Wing is at last be-

ginning to give proper attention to the problem of training good militant leaders from the ranks of the workers themselves. Thanks to Left Wing influence the New Congress Executive Committee has already launched a slogan urging the putting forward of leaders from the rank and file.

The victory of the Left Wing is not disputed anywhere. The Tenth Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress proved a milestone in the history of the revolutionary labor movement of India.

The splendid victory of the Left Wing and the part it is playing in the trade union movement raises a series of new difficulties, and incidentally, several new tasks. To overcome these difficulties and to carry out its work effectively, the Left Wing must get its bearings in the present situation and carefully note the experience and the mistakes of the past.

The chief menace for the Indian Trade Union movement at the present time is National Reformism. Objectively, the National reformists or the Left Nationalists (Jawaharlal Nehru, Subba Chandra Bose, etc.) who formed the majority with the Left Wing in the Congress after the secession of the reformists, are the agents of the national bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working-class movement. They are retarding the development of the revolutionary labor movement far more cunningly and skillfully than the social reformists (after the style of Joshi) had ever been able to do.

They do not hesitate to use left catchwords about struggling against imperialism. But this is merely to throw dust into the eyes of the workers. Wherever it is in the interest of the native bourgeoisie they even support strikes at *foreign* enterprises (as was seen in *Golmuri*), but they condemn any struggle and any movement among the workers if the interests of "national" capital are affected (witness the Jamshedpur Metal Workers' Strike in 1928).

That the national reformists should have supported some of the resolutions submitted by the Left Wing and have remained in the Congress after the secession of the reformists, should mislead no one and should not halt

the campaign to expose them and to oust them from the leadership of the labor movement.

By adapting themselves to the present radicalization of the masses, and taking all measures to penetrate the labor movement with a view to weakening the working class struggle from within and to subordinate it to the political leadership of the National Congress — which, we might add has now realized the power and the significance of the working class—in order to use it in striking a bargain with imperialism, the national reformists will, of course, not hesitate to make left gestures and use revolutionary phrases.

What the national reformists are really up to is divulged by the words and action of their leaders.

Speaking on several occasions, Subha Chandra Bose, the newly elected Chairman of the Trade Union Congress, bitterly protested against "the pernicious attempts to get the labor movement to support the slogans of international communism." He was definitely opposed to all talk of a class war.

Jawaharlal Nehru, the present chairman of the National Congress and the former chairman of the All-India Trade Union Congress, never loses an opportunity to proclaim his loyalty to socialism, he urges everybody to struggle against imperialism and capitalism, points to the treachery of the Labor Party, but actually he is compromising with imperialism all along the line (having signed together with the Right bourgeois nationalist leaders the Opportunist Manifesto in Delhi in reply to the Viceroy's declaration) and supporting the half-baked resolutions and the compromises adopted at the last Session of the National Congress in Lahore.

Very instructive in this connection is the career of Chamanlal, a former national reformist who played a prominent part in initiating the recent split in the Trade Union Congress. It was not so long ago that Chamanlal was championing Socialism. Like Nehru he spoke loudly against imperialism and the British Labor Party. Today Chamanlal has openly gone over to imperialism. He did not hesitate to take part in the work of the Whitley Commission and betray the interests of the working class of India. The

example of Chamanlal should serve as a warning to all the Indian workers and especially to the revolutionary wing.

These facts make clear the true character of the national reformists. During the Tenth Session of the Trade Union Congress, however, the Lefts did not steer altogether clear, ideologically, of the national-reformists. Nor did they unmask them before the working masses. The impression may well have gained ground therefore among the workers that no differences exist in principle between the Left Revolutionary Wing and the National Reformists.

Two of our Left Wing leaders, Kuikar and Qulkarni, published a statement in the press expressing even the conviction that "under the leadership of Subha Chandra Bose, the Congress will prove strong enough to withstand all the onslaughts levelled against it by the moderates." Such tactics only tend to strengthen the position of the national reformists in the labor movement, and this can only retard the working class struggle.

In the present day situation in India the national reformists are the biggest menace in the labor movement, for with the lack of real revolutionary leaders, the benevolent attitude of the Government and their juggling of left phrases, they are in a position to dupe certain sections of the working class and to consolidate their positions in the labor organizations. The national-reformists are extremely dangerous "allies," and an ideological struggle, and later, an organizational struggle, is inevitable. One of the most important tasks confronting the Left Wing today is to expose the true character of the national reformists before the working masses.

The Left Wing will have to be exceedingly careful and adopt a correct class line in tackling the problem of the united front and the questions that have arisen in connection with the recent split. As a matter of fact, these questions are being now pushed to the fore.

The national reformists, who out of political reasons were unable to join the reformists in leaving the Congress over the issue of the Whitley Commission, for in this way they would have demonstrated their alliance

with imperialism, although as regards the class struggle they support the reformist position far more than they do the Left Revolutionary Wing, are now eager to see the "united front" restored and have the reformists return to the Congress. To be sure, Subha Chandra Bose, a national reformist, and the present chairman of the trade union Congress, contemplates calling a conference in the very near future to "smooth the differences and prepare for joint action."

The reformists deliberately engineering the present split hoping in this way to preserve their influence over certain sections of the workers and thus weaken the revolutionary struggle of the Indian proletariat. They came out very clearly at the recent Trade Union Congress on the question of their mutual relations with the Left Wing. In his statement to the press, N. M. Joshi, the leader of the reformist bureaucrats who seceded, declared quite definitely that a conference to restore unity should not be convened "until steps are taken to conceal the Resolutions passed at Nagpur by the Trade Union Congress."

In other words, the reformists agree to set up the united front only if the Left Wing gives up its positions, withdraws the resolutions carried at the Nagpur Session and capitulates completely to a small clique of reformist leaders who have lost touch with the masses. But the position of the Left Wing should be just as clear and definite on the question of the united front with the reformist T. U. bureaucrats. All vacillation on this question will only play into the hands of the reformists.

First of all, it should not be forgotten that, as Comrade Deshpande, the present General-Secretary of the Trade Union Congress correctly pointed out, there is no split in the Congress as yet, since only a few T. U. bureaucrats seceded without having received any mandate to do so from the rank and file. We must steer clear of any attempts to set up the "United Front" with the reformist leaders if this means forsaking our principles, giving up our militant class policy and concealing the treacherous character of reformism.

The essence of our revolutionary united

front tactics is not to make combinations with the reformist bureaucrats, but to establish the united front from the bottom up, steadily winning over the masses to our side. The Left Wing must therefore carry out a vigorous campaign, systematically and ruthlessly exposing the treacherous character of social reformism, using concrete facts taken from every-day life and concentrate its activities in future on organizing the unorganized workers, winning over the rank and file in the reformist unions, drawing them into existing revolutionary organizations or organize new unions wherever necessary.

The campaign to expose the reformists and to win over the rank and file in the reformist organizations should be pushed forward especially at the present time since the reformists are now thinking of opening the Inaugural Congress of the new organization, the All-India Trade Union Federation. These activities are all the more important since the Left Wing did not make sufficient use of the Congress to show up the treacherous role of the reformists.

It is true that the Left Wing attacked the reformists when the question of boycotting the Whitley Commission was discussed and also on the contemplated organization of a reformist Pan-Asiatic Congress, and on the question of affiliation to the Pan-Pacific TU Congress. The Left Wing put in some very good work here, but it was not enough. To expose the reformists only on these questions is to leave the work half done. Their true role and treachery should have been exposed with facts and figures that could have been understood by all sections of the working class, facts taken from the everyday struggle of the workers and the recent strikes. They should have been used to show the masses whose interests the reformists are really defending. This mistake was rectified later to a certain extent. The two circular letters issued by Deshpande, the Congress Secretary, which give a correct appreciation of the recent events, reveal clearly enough how the reformists sold the recent strikes and how they ignored working-class interests.

As regards the united front with the re-

formists, several of the Left Wingers were not sure of their ground at the Tenth Session. This is clear, to take one example alone, from the statement published in the press by two prominent Left Wing leaders, Ruikar, the Chairman of the Left Great Indian Peninsular Railwaymen's Union and Kulkarni, the Vice-Chairman of the Trade Union Congress. They appealed to all trade union leaders of India to forget their differences and support the Congress. "We hope," write Ruikar and Kulkarni, "that Joshi will persuade his moderate colleagues to present a united front to our common enemy—capitalism and imperialism."

Past experience should have convinced everyone that Joshi and Co., have now set up such close contact with imperialism and capitalism that it would be hopeless to ever expect them to do anything else but betray the workers. Still, there are some Left Wing comrades who still overrate the role and influence of the reformists in the Indian labor movement and, following a mistaken united front policy, frequently withhold criticism and occasionally even try to come to terms with the reformist leaders, which always means a retreat from our class position.

That such a policy inevitably weakens the forces of the working class movement and leads to defeat is borne out by many examples, the General Strike of the Bombay Textile Workers in 1928 being a case in point. The ranks of the working class can only be strengthened and the whole movement given a real militant outlook by building up the united front from the bottom up on the basis of a militant class programme. It is therefore plain that one of the basic tasks confronting the Left Wing in the Indian trade union movement today is to struggle implacably against the reformist leaders to win over all the workers in the reformist organizations.

And finally, the Left Wing must give more attention to the strike movement in India and draw the proper lessons. Several large strikes took place in India in 1929 (general strikes of Bombay Textile Workers and Calcutta jute workers, the metal workers' strike in Golmuri, etc.—), whose political

influence could hardly be overestimated. All the strikes in 1929 were notable for the fine militancy shown by the workers, for the way the unorganized workers and women workers were drawn into the fight. Left Wing leadership was strengthened. Rank and file workers took active part in the representative strike committees that led the strikes; and the economic struggles from defensive movements frequently turned into counter-attacks against the whole capitalist system. Political demands were launched and street fighting took place between the strikers and police, etc.

It is a fact, however, that the class struggles did not find due reflection in the work and the decisions of the Tenth Session of the Trade Union Congress. The lessons from these struggles were not noted. The Congress, having ousted the reformists and cleared the decks for action, did not take advantage of the present session to prepare the ground for a proper lead for the impending struggles in India.

The Left Wing must now take serious steps to make careful preparations and to

coordinate the strikes better than in the past, drawing all unorganized workers into the strike movements, and getting the workers themselves to take part in the work of the leading organs. From now on the Left Wing must give an independent lead to the economic struggles of the Indian proletariat.

The remarkable development of the economic struggle in India which is increasingly turning into a political struggle now raises the question of a *General Strike*. At the present time, when all sections of the Indian bourgeoisie have betrayed the national-emanicipation movement, it is only a general strike of the working class that can raise the anti-imperialist struggle on a higher political plane.

Such a strike will deal a smashing blow at the whole capitalist regime in India. The Left Wing must now give serious attention to the question of a general strike. Careful preparations must be made and a suitable moment chosen for its declaration. But we must not permit the reformists or any of the wavering elements to have any hand in its leadership.

The Indian Railway Strike

By CHATTOPADHYAYA

(Workers everywhere, especially those of imperialist countries, are urged to send their messages of solidarity to the Great Indian Peninsular Railwaymen's Union; address, Shetye Building, Poibawdi, Bombay, 13, India.—Editor).

THE general strike that broke out on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway (G.I.P.R.) on February 4, is of more than usual interest because in addition to the various economic demands that have been put forward by the workers, the movement has assumed a definitely political character. The G.I.P.R. workers are among the best organized and most class-conscious in India, and their struggle for better conditions of life during the last few years has been accompanied by a realization of the fact that no

improvement is possible without the overthrow of imperialist exploitation.

Ever since 1927, the G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union (not to be confused with the G.I.P. Staff Union, which is still led by reformists that are trying to force the rank and file to scab.—Editor) had been making attempts to obtain redress of their grievances, but the Agent of the Railways paid no attention whatsoever to the workers' demands. In May, 1928, the leaders of the Union recommended that the weapon of the strike should

be employed. After having received a final definite refusal from the Railway Agent, the Managing Committee of the Union in November, 1928, formed a Committee of Action to organize a 100% membership and to collect a fund sufficient to guarantee the victory of the workers.

The Union was under the leadership of Comrades Thengdi, Bradley, Joglekar, Jhabwala and Kadam, and the enormous enthusiasm that was aroused among the railway workers during the course of their organizational work, led the Government to order the arrest of these five comrades in March, 1929, whereby the workers were deprived of their ablest leaders. These comrades are still undergoing trial along with 26 other revolutionary workers at Meerut, on a charge of attempting to overthrow British imperialist domination and to establish a Workers' Republic, or, in the words of the public prosecutor, "a Coolie Government."

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

It was under their leadership that the G. I. P. Union at its July conference formulated the demands of the strikers today. The most important of these are:

1. A demand for the minimum wage of 30 Rupees (about \$11) per month, whereas the vast majority of workers do not receive more than half this amount.

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

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

4. Regular holiday periods.

5. The abolition of the daily wages system.

6. Free passes for all railway employees and Union officials.

7. Supply of uniforms and waterproofs.

8. Abolition of racial discrimination.

9. Abolition of periodical medical examination (which is often used as a pretext for dismissing large numbers of workers).

10. No victimization of Union workers.

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

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

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

Another important feature of the strike is that it is not confined to the Indian workers

only. All the Chinese workers who are concentrated at Matunga have joined the strike in a body and have declared their determination to stand by their Indian comrades, while on the other hand Anglo-Indians (Eurasians) and Parsis who receive favored treatment at the hands of the imperialist Government have been helping the Government as scabs and blacklegs.

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

Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and the League Against Imperialism.

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

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

Lessons and Prospects of the Economic Struggle

BY A. LOSOVSKY

The following is the concluding part of the speech of A. Losovsky, General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions, delivered at the Sixth Plenary Sessions of the General Council of the R.I.L.U., which reviewed the work of the revolutionary unions since the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress of March 1928, and prepared the base for the Fifth Congress, which is to take place July 15, 1930. Since the speech set forth the problems and tasks of the revolutionary unions in the light of new perspectives furnished by the world economic crisis, it is given as worthy of study and discussion among the ranks of the workers of the Pacific, whose particular problems are likewise dealt with.—Editor.

IN order to be able to pursue a correct policy in the sphere of the leadership of the mass movement of the proletariat, it is necessary to carry on a relentless struggle against reformist and strike-breaking trade union bureaucracy on the one hand, and against the remnants of reformism in our own ranks on the other.

Are there still such remnants to be found among us? I believe that they still exist in every section of the R. I. L. U. (This became especially conspicuous after the Fourth Congress.) They are perhaps small in number, but there certainly are groups opposing their standpoint to that of the R. I. L. U. This became observable as early as the Fourth

Congress, but the tendency did not take a definite form until after this Congress. It formed a special political group in Germany, it possesses an organized group in France, in the United States, in Czechoslovakia.

All these groups have one common base, they all suffer from organization fetishism, or, if you like, from cretinism in their attitude toward the reformist trade unions. They are of the opinion the idea of leading economic struggles without and against the reformist trade unions is in itself heretical. Hence they are ready to subject the movement of the proletariat to historically evolved forms, and are prepared to abandon an independent leadership of the economic struggles on the pretext that these struggles must be led by the historically evolved reformist trade unions.

It must further be remembered that they one and all deny the radicalization of the masses, and disavow the term, possessing a profound political content, which we apply to the social democratic parties and reformist trade union leaders when we call these social fascists. They all form a special judgment on the situation, have their special policy, and their own special tactics.

It is just this which places them beyond the pale of the revolutionary trade union movement. Some of them have already broken organizationally with the Red International of Labor Unions; others, for instance the Rights in France in their own federations, have broken with us ideologically; but that which they all possess in common leads them further and further away from the revolutionary wing of the labor movement.

This must be clearly recognized, and due consideration given to the extent to which these tendencies, these groups, under different titles and under different flags, have deviated from our line, and how greatly they have already become alien and hostile ideologically, some of them organizationally, towards our tactics.

Under these conditions the question arises: What is to be done, what methods are to be employed against these elements? We must differentiate between the leading elements with social-democratic traditions, and the cer-

tain even if small number of workers following these elements. What line is to be adopted towards them?

In the past some of these Rights have shown themselves to be outside of the ranks of the R. I. L. U., as for instance when they rejected our motion with respect to Czechoslovakia, in which we proposed that the internal disagreements should be settled democratically; that is, the majority of the members should decide what leaders they want. But Hais and Sikora hold the standpoint always held by the Amsterdamites, that they are bound to remain the heads of the trade unions till the end of their lives, and, if the majority of the union members do not desire this, then they are going to remain in their positions against the will of the majority.

It is obvious that we could not agree with such a policy, and the consequence was that this group of Czechoslovakian Rights placed itself outside of the ranks of the Red International of Labor Unions. As I have already stated, there is another type of Right, who are still in our ranks.

I may give an example. We appealed for participation in the August 1st demonstrations. We were of the opinion that a demonstration against war must be carried out on an international scale. But several trade union leaders in France spoke openly against these demonstrations, against demonstration strikes, against demonstrative proclamations. And now I say: A violation of discipline by action is no longer a shade of opinion. If we call for a strike or other action, then agitation against this is strike-breaking in our ranks. It brings our revolutionary ranks into confusion, and must be fought against with the utmost decision.

Recently the Polish Social Democrats called upon the miners to make a one day's demonstration strike. We know that they wanted to arrange this one day's strike for the purpose of throttling the struggle. It was not a one day's strike which should have been called, but a strike advancing definite demands; this was what the logic of the struggle required.

And what do our comrades do? They issue an appeal in which it is not said whether

there is to be a strike or not, and if there is to be, what demands are to be advanced. It is simply stated that they are against everybody, against Pilsudski and the social fascists. I do not know what this really is. In any case it is very feeble strategy, and shows that as soon as the problems of the direct guidance of the masses has to be concretely faced, a process of shuffling begins, instead of a definite and correct attitude being adopted.

Or let us take Germany. In a large number of towns there are many comrades—in Central Germany, for instance—who have voted for the resolution of the Fourth Congress of the R. I. L. U., for the independent leadership of economic struggles, for the election of strike committees, for the setting up of their own lists for the works councils elections; but as soon as the elections to the works councils take place, then they forget that all this must be realized, and seek every possible way of avoiding the fulfilment of these elementary tasks. What is this: opportunism in actual practice, or something worse?

I believe that we shall have to devote very serious attention to this misunderstanding, or we shall not emerge from the reformist bog, and the independent leadership of economic struggles will remain empty sound. Our ranks are still strong in legalistic tendencies, in trade union legalism, in worship of the trade union whatever it may be like, be it the most reactionary of all, of the stamp of the trade unions of the American Federation of Labor. In spite of all this, we cling to these trade unions with what may be termed a certain piety.

I believe that this tendency is still present to a high degree in our ranks. The capability of putting up a decisive fight against this legalism, and of doing what is necessary for the working class against and without trade union bureaucracy: this capability we do not yet possess. We have still to attain it, and we have still much to do to free ourselves from these ideological influences, which fetter our activity and initiative.

We are unsound at still another spot. There are comrades who maintain that at the present time, in the third period of post-war capitalism, strikes are inevitably certain of

defeat. Can a partial strike bring any results for us? We have social democracy against us, the trade unions, the State, the police, the courts of law; we have everyone against us. We shall wait for the final decisive struggle, and then we shall show our courage; at present, however, we should lose everything, and should scarcely be able to gain anything.

This sounds extremely radical, but it is Philistine opportunism, for it employs revolutionary phraseology for the purpose of postponing the daily struggles, the struggles during the course of which the consciousness of the masses is developed, the struggles during the course of which we train our army for the more decisive and greater struggles to follow. In my opinion we should combat these phrases determinedly. This is a variety of opportunism, and a very harmful one.

Finally, in our ranks there are still some elements who regard the strike movement as an object in itself. This reminds me of the old anarchist theory that every strike is a good thing. I believe that these ideological remnants, too, will have to be banished from our midst. The anarchist conception of the strike has nothing to do with our revolutionary line. Wherever this false idea of the strike obtains, whether from the economic or the political standpoint, it is a residue of anarcho-syndicalism which must be combated.

I am not in a position to enumerate here all the Right tendencies, theories, etc., observable at the present time in the movement, beginning with Sweden, where our comrades wanted to dissolve the unity committee because the reformists demanded this, and ending with Rumania, where members of revolutionary unions expressed themselves in favor of legalism at any price, under a Fascist government. It is important for us to realize that the Right deviation in our ranks is not accidental, that it is not incorporated in individual persons, to vanish with these persons when they die politically or physically. Unless we realize this we fail to recognize that the increasing acuteness of the struggle will cause even our ranks to waver, will bring deviations even into the Communist ranks.

In Soviet Russia, too, a Right deviation has been observable among the leaders of the

Soviet Union. How has this found expression? In the fact that the increased difficulties were accompanied by a wavering attitude on the part of some leaders. They believed that this wavering would contribute to the removal of the difficulties.

Politically this wavering attitude has been distinguished by opposition to self-criticism, to the rapid tempo of industrialization, to the rapid tempo of the collectivisation of the rural districts, to the new tempo of activity in the trade unions—showing the ideological relationship with the international Right, with the international conciliatory tendency. In this deviation there are expressed outspokenly trade unionistic tendencies and usages, a certain bureaucratic petrification, and some trends directed against the R. I. L. U. All this has indubitably been the result of an influence alien to the working class being exercised in our trade union movement.

The U. S. S. R. is, of course, not Czechoslovakia; here the formation of special unions and the seizure of the trade union buildings is of course impossible, for here the party is very strong, here the working class has passed through a certain school. Here there are no waverings and vacillations, for every one of our workers knows that such vacillations endanger not only the speed of socialist reconstruction, but the existence of the Workers' State itself.

Hence the decision, firmness and promptness with which the trade union movement of the Soviet Union has liquidated these vacillations; the Second Plenum of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, followed by the Third Plenum, drew the political balance, and not only replaced their leaders but spoke openly of the waverings and falterings, of the Right tendencies, of the trade-unionistic survivals, and of all the other glories of reformism.

It can be said that the Second and Third Plenums brought about a revolution in the sphere of the inner policy of the Soviet trade unions, and at the same time in their outer policy, so far as the attitude of the Soviet labor unions toward the R. I. L. U. is concerned. The new leaders of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet

Union pursue the line corresponding to the interests of the Soviet proletariat and of the international proletariat

The importance of all strikes which have already taken place, and of those taking place in the future, goes far beyond the frontiers of any single country. This is the peculiarity of the present moment.

The latest events in India—the textile workers' strike, the formation of the Girni Kamgar Union—exercise an influence extending far beyond the borders of India. The smaller strikes taking place in Czechoslovakia, in France, the Balkans, the United States; the recent strikes in Belgium; the smaller strikes in Germany, etc., have all acquired international importance owing to the peculiarities of the situation, and therefore we, the Red International of Labor Unions and its organizations, are set the extremely important task of internationalizing the leadership, of internationalizing the movements and extending them to many countries, of drawing the worker troops into the struggle and leading them from their various countries to the scene of the struggle, and of solving the problem of the international leadership and the practical internationalization of our tactics.

Why are these struggles becoming more and more international in character? This is the consequence, in the first place, of the growth of the international trusts, and in the second place of the indubitable solidarity of the revolutionary wing of the labor movement in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the different countries. Therefore, there stands on the order of the day the international strike, the organization of, let us say, an international boycott or of some strike, international action on both sides of a frontier, action with relation to great political events on important points of frontiers.

All this now forms part of our agenda, and the practical solution of this question is the most important task, the most important stage of our struggle. We must not postpone these matters; we must not regard these questions merely theoretically. These are problems set us practically by the struggle; and we must learn to go somewhat further than the frontiers of our own country, to remember that

in a struggle involving this or that group of workers, in this or that district, it is not only the workers of the country concerned who must mobilize, but these must at the same time seek contact with the workers of other countries. Therefore it is incumbent on us as the Red International of Labor Unions, as an international class trade union organization, to concentrate the attention of all our sections on this problem.

Let us take for instance the bloc, the pact of solidarity, concluded a few months ago, during the congress of the Unitary Unions of Mexico, between our American comrades and these unions. This pact is, however, only on paper at present. But we are not writers; we are practical men, we must convert such documents into something concrete. I could adduce dozens of instances in which comrades have contented themselves with the sending of resolutions in times of strikes.

The problem of international aid in times of struggle, the question of the organizational form to be taken by this aid, of stimulating the whole of our work internationally, of the organization of joint action, is a practical question which must be solved at any price.

Should we fail to solve it, should we continue internationally as before, then we shall fall behind the tempo of development of events. Life will stride forward and pass our organizations by, for at the present moment there is a widespread need for the organization of international action, for the co-ordination of undertakings, for joint parallel advance on different sides of the frontier.

I know the immense difficulties encountered by our unions, not only at home but even more outside the borders of their own country, when they wish to lend this real aid. And all these difficulties, beginning with those occasioned by the police, will continue to increase, will grow and intensify with the aggravation of the class struggle.

We must learn how to organize a really international relief action, and to give both moral support and material and organizatory help.

In the democratic republic of France the movement is in reality semi-legal. With the further intensification of the struggle, at-

tempts may be made to dissolve the Unitary Unions. We possess illegal unions in Italy, in China, in Yugoslavia; semi-legal unions in Rumania, in Greece. Everywhere severe pressure is being put on the revolutionary unions by the bourgeois state, and the unions which are still legal today may be faced tomorrow with the necessity of continuing their activities underground. A subterranean hiding-place must be sought as soon as the relations of forces are such that it is no longer possible to maintain the conquered positions.

The question of leading mass struggles from the subterranean hiding place is a very important one. Under illegal conditions an extensive apparatus is not available. Unions existing illegally cannot comprise hundreds of thousands of workers; they comprise only the best of these. Ways and means must be found to establish contact between the unions and the works and factories, to lead mass strikes in spite of illegality, and to emerge from the subterranean concealment at every suitable opportunity.

The experience gained in Italy, in China, in Yugoslavia, in Poland and Rumania—it is a sad truth that the number of countries requiring to use this experience increases steadily—is already wide enough. I must say, however, that with respect to the utilization of this experience, these countries are further away from one another than they are geographically, and I do not know in what manner our Rumanian comrades will utilize the experience gained by the Polish, or in what manner the Jugoslavian comrades will utilize that of the Italian, or the Italian that of the other countries. The Italians should be able to learn much from the Polish comrades, for in Poland there exists a tradition of protracted illegal work, and in Italy matters are not very favorable in this respect.

I have already referred to the fact that the characteristic feature of the labor movement today is its expansion far beyond the frontiers of Europe. Only a short time ago we all knew very little about the labor movement in China or India, for the simple reason that there was no labor movement there. But during the last few years the labor movement in these gigantic countries has begun to

assume a position of paramount importance, and the working class of these lands is taking the lead in the revolutionary struggle, not only against feudalism but against militarism, and against the whole of its own bourgeoisie

The Labor movement, both in the colonies and in the older semi-colonies (for instance in Central Africa, where many interesting facts may be ascertained) develops solely by means of the spontaneous strike. This is the original primitive reply given to the bourgeoisie by the most severely exploited workers, and upon the soil thus provided the political and trade unionist groups begin to spring up. From these again the actual trade union organizations are formed.

These movements differ in extent and importance, but have all one point in common, whether they be primitive movements, or movements of a higher type, such as the strikes in the Congo, in Central Africa, in South Africa, in India, and in China—they are all definitely anti-imperialist in character. This circumstance imparts to the movement in any colonial country, from the very beginning, certain definite and specific features, entirely lacking in the first stages of the movement in the old capitalist countries.

India is on the eve of great revolutionary conflicts. To judge by all signs, a revolutionary wave of enormous power is approaching. And there can be no doubt that in these revolutionary struggles against English imperialism represented by the Labor Party, the Hindu proletariat will play the leading role.

You may see from all this the amount of revolutionary inflammable material which has accumulated in the colonies and semi-colonies, and may judge the powerful part it will play in the struggle against imperialism and against the capitalist system.

In this connection two organizations are of great importance—the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and the Latin American Trade Union Federation. It is the duty of the R. I. L. U. to support these organizations, which hold the class standpoint, to cooperate with them in every way in gathering together the whole of the proletarian forces of the Pacific coast and Latin America, and to form a united front with them.

But the duties incumbent on us are by no means exhausted with this. Whilst discussing what is going on in the colonies, we must not omit to raise the question: What are the adherents of the R. I. L. U. doing in the imperialist countries? What have the English comrades done for the Labor movement in India? Very little! What have the French comrades done for the Labor movement of Indo-China, Syria or Algeria? Damned little! And what do the American comrades know of happenings in Haiti? In this respect we must take an abrupt turn, but not in words alone, in deeds.

We must realize that nothing but the alliance between the workers of the capitalist countries and of the colonies guarantees the victory over imperialism and the national bourgeoisie. If we take no practical steps in this direction, we fail to fulfill our most elementary class duty towards the working class of the colonies and towards the working class of our own countries.

I should like to draw a few conclusions from the tasks thus indicated. The first conclusion is as follows. I do not wish to be so understood that my insistence on the necessity of studying the methods of class warfare, and of carefully investigating the experiences of strikes and the strike movement, is taken to mean that I am of the opinion that we must now sit still and wait till these studies have been concluded.

We gain our knowledge during the struggles. We must realize that here, life, direct work among the masses, immediate leadership of the strike movement is the best teacher. The more we take part in this movement, the better we shall discover laws hitherto unknown to us.

During the last eighteen months we have accomplished much in the study of the positive and negative aspects of our strike tactics. We have drawn the balance of these studies in a large number of resolutions passed by the Executive Bureau; we arranged a special conference for strike tactics at Strassburg. We found, however, that many of our leading comrades not only do not know the decisions passed by the Executive Bureau and the strike conference, but are not even familiar with

the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the R. I. L. U.

The Right maintain that we hasten too much in advance, whilst in reality we frequently lag behind. And this, as you know, is no very brilliant strategy. It is our task, when leading the masses, not to separate ourselves from them. But we often separate from them, and remain a certain distance behind them. And this falling behind the masses is a worse sin than hurrying before them.

At the present moment, when the wave is rising, when titanic struggles and tremendous conflicts between capital and labor are impending, and there opens before us the perspective of the development of economic struggles into political, of political struggles into insurrections, possibly confronting the working class of some countries with the decisive struggles for power before long—at this juncture to remain behind is to commit the greatest crime against the advancing Labor movement.

The difference between us and the reformists lies in their fearing to think of the immediate future, whilst we arm for these future struggles. The bourgeoisie does not venture to glance into the future, for it knows what awaits it there. We, on the contrary, are not afraid to look ahead; we know the line of development of the international class struggle, we perceive its inner antagonisms and their daily intensification; we see the forces assembling on the side of the working class, who observe the regrouping and increasing trend of the masses from Right to Left. The Labor movement is proceeding to the Left, whilst the bourgeoisie with its political

allies, social democracy and reformist trade union bureaucracy, are going to the Right.

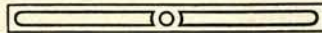
On the other hand, the forces of the revolutionary wing of the Labor movement, too, are growing, and also the forces of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions. Therefore we have no fear of looking into the future, and therefore this future is the object of our desire.

At what speed will the class struggle develop? How soon will the revolutionary struggles break out in this or that country? What will be the extent of the class conflicts, and how long will they last?

No one can foresee this. But that class struggles of stupendous force are approaching, that the present crisis greatly accelerates developments, that the legend of "prosperity" and organized capitalism has suffered shipwreck, that the demoralization of capital is revolutionizing the broadest masses, that this crisis will serve as a point of departure for a thorough regrouping of forces and a far-reaching Left development in the masses, for a great consolidation of the forces of the revolutionary wing of the Labor movement—of this there is not the slightest doubt.

We must now be ready for these struggles. The revolutionary army must lose no time, must not disregard the tempo of our work. And we must, I believe, pay serious attention to the methods and forms of our work. We must adapt our daily work to the vast struggles now pending, and so equip ourselves that they do not take us by surprise.

These, comrades, are the tasks before us. This is what must be accomplished at any price, if we want not only to carry on a struggle, but to carry this struggle through to a victorious end. (Applause.)



Reformist Betrayal in South Africa

By J. REED

ALTHOUGH the South African Trade Union Congress is not affiliated to the Amsterdam International, its reformist and treacherous character certainly makes it eli-

gible for a place in this international scab corporation. Completely ignoring the millions of natives and colored workers, the Trade Union Congress embraces only white

workers. It upholds the privileged position of the white workers, thus helping the capitalist class to divide the ranks of the working class movement, fostering race hatred and white chauvinism. The true nature of South African reformism was seen especially during the strike of the colored mattress workers last November.

The Mattress Workers' Union is a militant organization affiliated to the RILU through the Non-European Trade Union Federation. Like the whole Federation this organization has supported a revolutionary working class platform since it was organized and has pushed forward the tactics of the united front to fight the employing class.

An agreement of friendship and mutual support was soon concluded with the *Furniture Makers' Union*, a reformist organization of white workers. When the white workers came out in Johannesburg last October, the colored mattress workers took part in the white workers' meeting and declared from the platform that they are prepared to call a solidarity strike as soon as necessary. This fine demonstration of class solidarity by the workers of another race had its influence and the strike was won after a short bout.

This victory was instrumental in raising the class consciousness of all the workers, for it was evident at last that the "color bar" which had always divided them, had been broken down. But these hopes proved all too premature.

On November 18th, the colored mattress workers called a strike when the employers refused to pay them the rates fixed by the Wages Board. The employers claimed that these wage-rates applied only to the white workers. All of the strikers were arrested at the first general meeting, for South African law lays down that it is a criminal offense for any native workers to leave his job before the termination of his contract (strikes being brought under this ruling.) One would have expected that the Furniture Makers' Union would have welcomed an opportunity of helping a union which only recently had rendered such invaluable support. As an affiliated body to the Trade

Union Congress it should have raised the question in the TU center of organizing a campaign of protest against the continuance of the present slave laws.

But the reformists had no intention of doing this for they were all too busy scabbing at the factories involved in the dispute. Of course this piece of treachery only embittered the colored workers and unfortunately increased racial antagonism.

We cannot pass over the blunder committed by the "South African Worker," the paper of the C. P., in an article exposing the treachery of the Reformists. The whole article speaks about the white workers and not about the reformists, which simply gives emphasis to racial distinctions, completely ignoring the ideological side of the question. This can only play into the hands of the employers who will continue to keep the white and colored workers at loggerheads simply to be able to exploit both.

It is high time that things were made clear in the ranks of the class conscious workers. We must show that the present treachery of working-class interests has its roots in reformism and not because the workers happen to be white, for we see the reformists betraying their fellowmen in all parts of the world. In Europe, Africa and Asia, wherever there are class conscious and reformist workers belonging to the same race and even to the same nation.

To bring home the true situation to the workers will be all the easier since there are many white workers in South Africa who are struggling jointly with the colored workers. Why, the recent piece of treachery even prompted several officials to leave their jobs in the *Furniture Makers' Union*. The Mattress Workers' Union and, indeed, all the organization affiliated to the Trade Union Federation must now raise the question of organizing *class unions* which would unite all the workers irrespective of color, race or religion.

The Federation as a whole and each one of its affiliated unions should now push forward educational activities to raise the class-consciousness of the members and familiarize them better with the international

labor movement. Our Negro comrades will then realize that no matter where you look the class-conscious workers are struggling against the reformists. Everywhere the reformist leaders are becoming the open agents of the capitalist system; the reformist unions are turning into fascist organizations.

In South Africa the racial problem overshadows the class struggle and it is up to our unions to clear the atmosphere. Every

native workers should realize that the *Cadallies*, the *Andrews* and the *Balinjers*, for example are working against the working class, that they are directly supporting the capitalist class, although they use different methods to do it.

South Africa stands on the eve of a serious wave of class struggles and a correct lead can only be given if we have a clear-cut working class policy.



Nicaraguan Independence Fighter Calls to Latin American Workers

By AUGUSTO CESAR SANDINO

The following appeal to the workers of city and farm of Nicaragua and all Latin America, was made on February 26, from Vera Cruz, Mexico, by A. C. Sandino, leader of the armed independent struggle of the Nicaraguan people against Yankee imperialism. Hitherto, Sandino had relied on military force alone and seemingly was without perspective of the need for organized mass action of the proletariat as a class, as the independent leader of any genuine and effective fight for national liberation. We are therefore glad to publish this call, which is an endorsement of the Latin American Trade Union Confederation, which occupies in Latin America the same role as the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.—EDITOR.

THE working class of all Latin America suffers today under a double exploitation: that of imperialism, chiefly Yankee imperialism, and that of the native bourgeoisie or national capitalist exploiters who, in their wish to obtain favors from the insatiable invaders daily intensify the destruction of the revolutionary movement, the persecution of the workers' leaders, their imprisonment and exile.

In this criminal work, the imperialists count not only with the aid of the Latin American dictators, but with an agent still more opprobrious; the organizations and "leaders," that is to say officials, of trade unions, bought off with crumbs wet with the blood of the colonial peoples, which "leaders" try to seize power in the trade union movement in order to infest it with their class

collaboration, sidetrack it from the road of revolutionary struggle—the only effective means of fighting imperialism and its continental lackeys.

Besides these enemies of the working class, there exist the nationalist "left" charlatans, who with gestures and demagogic phrases retard the crystallization of a real anti-imperialist movement based on the exploited workers and peasants of America.

In Latin America, imperialism easily make use of *Pan-Americanism* to mask its penetration, and it was due to the heroic soldiers who with me defended the sovereignty of Nicaragua to unmask this deadly force represented by the recent congresses of the Pan-American organizations: The Pan-American Federation of Labor and the Pan-American Union.

The first named organization held its Fifth Congress in Washington in July 1927, and during its sessions the most cowardly and criminal massacre of Nicaraguan workers and peasants was carried out, a slaughter by Yankee airplanes. The congress, including the false representatives of the Nicaraguan workers, did not have the courage to call the murderous marines by their right names, accepting the formula of "foreign forces", insisted on by the imperialist Mathew Woll, Vice-President of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and of its mother the American Federation of Labor. The only resolution asking the peremptory withdrawal of the Yankee pirates, the liberation of Porto Rico, of the Philippines and the absolute rejection of other forms of imperialist domination in Latin America, had only the vote of its author, and he received the censure of all the congress, the Nicaraguan delegation solidarizing itself with the "Monroe Doctrine of Labor" ratified by Green.

The second organization, the Pan-American Union, held its congress in Havana in January, 1928. While President Coolidge was issuing phrases of "Union," of "Pan-American fraternity," his soldiers were violating Nicaraguan women, his aeroplanes were setting fire to towns and murdering unarmed men, women and children. In this congress there were present all the dictators, semi-dictators and future dictators of the continent. As in the congress of its trade-union agents to which we have referred above, also in the Pan-American Union congress, there was not passed even a pusillanimous pronouncement against "interventions." The word "Nicaragua" was not even uttered by all these accomplices of the crimes that were being committed against it.

To all these treasons and attacks the reply of the proletariat of Latin America has been: Organization. In the last two years there have been created revolutionary trade-union organizations in Brazil, Uruguay, Mexico, Honduras, Panama and other countries, which held a great congress at which was created the Latin-American Trade Union

Confederation, one of the pillars that must support the anti-imperialist fights of the future.

In the said congress, among the few countries that were not represented were Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Porto Rico, these countries among those most bled by the imperialist invader. This is not an accident. The reason is found in the foregoing, or in other words that in each one of these country the poison of the Pan-American Federation of Labor has penetrated for a period, a period that in the name of the struggling people of Nicaragua, we hope has terminated. Thus was the trade union movement of these countries wrenched away from its fundamental base, which is the irreconcilability of the interests of the exploiters, agents of imperialism, and of the exploited; the only guarantee of the triumph of our cause.

Comrades:

Our leaving of Nicaraguan territory has not been a rest in our fight against our common enemy, Yankee imperialism, but the prolongation of that fight in the sense of the attainment of new contingents to it, as we expect the Latin-American Trade Union Confederation may be.

Always our army has recognized the aid that the sincere revolutionaries have given its hard struggle; but the sharpening of the fight, with the growing pressure on the part of the Yankee bankers, the vacillating and timid elements, by the very character that the struggle is taking, abandon us, because only the workers and peasants will go on until the end, only organized force will gain the victory.

Comrade Nicaraguans! And all those who are yet unorganized and outside the Latin American Trade Union Confederation! In the name of the heroic soldiers of the defending army of national sovereignty of Nicaragua, we cry out; Organize! Your post is in the files of the Latin American Trade Union Confederation, the only trade union organization defending the interest of the working class.

Siam Feels the First Touch of the Workers' Movement

By M. MUSSO

SINCE the close of the war considerable headway has been made by Siam in capitalist development: it has signed 12 treaties of friendship, commerce and navigation with leading capitalist countries.

Agriculture and to a lesser extent fishing is, by far, the most important occupation of the people. As in other countries of Southern Asia, Chinese immigrants have acquired practical control of the retail business, as is also the case in British Malaya and Indonesia. The small Chinese shop is much in evidence and a number of wholesale important export firms are also of Chinese nationality. The Chinese were the first to work the tin mines of Siam and they own and operate many of the rice mills.

In 1928 out of 90,102 foreigners immigrating to Siam 88,045 were Chinese.

Siam also cultivates on a more or less limited scale cotton, Kopak, pepper, tea, cocoanuts, maize and other tropical products. Tin is the second most important item of export and is mined in Lower Siam, which is part of the world's richest tin district. The annual yield of metallic tin is approximately 7,700 tons, and practically the whole of the production is marketed in Singapore in the form of ore.

Rubber tree planting in Siam is expanding and in 1927-1928 exports of rubber reached 12,230,000 lb. Siam is also an exporter of the valuable teakwood.

The world crisis, however, affected the economic position of Siam exceedingly and concerning this general depression the "Bankok Times" of November says the following:

"Since from 1920 Siam had never experienced such a disastrous trade as nowadays. Nearly 60 per cent of the total rice mills could not work this year. Also the navigation was undergoing a

blow. Most of the steamers left Bangkok only with the half cargo or less. Several of them were compelled to wait a couple of weeks for cargo in order to cover the expenses of the voyage."

With regard to revolutionary activities it can be stated that it has found its foothold among a part of the Chinese population. The natives being mostly engaged in agriculture remain still inactive and the communist propaganda is not yet penetrating among them. Regarding Communist activities in Bangkok the Singapore Free Press of December 5, 1929, contains the following reports:

"Happily the police are on the track of the leaders and some ten arrests have been made. It is disappointing to find that the Hailam community is again implicated. An association illegal, of course, and unregistered bearing the title: "Association of Employees of Europeans" has been busily at work. It has included among its members employees of Europeans and boys working at the Rajdhani Hotel and the Sport Clubs."

Further it was reported that several leaders of that organization have been already placed under lock and key. Their deportation to China will be asked for when they come before the Court.

Siam was formerly a country where the Chinese immigrants could enter and leave freely without any hindrances, and the Chinese population was granted full freedom to organize. In 1926 when the Kuomintang was maintaining close connections with the Communists, even in the streets one could see the red flag flying near the Kuomintang one, and portraits of Lenin and Marx were to be seen everywhere. But when the Chinese

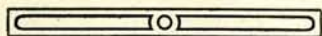
generals had already betrayed the revolutionary movements of the proletariat, also Siam began to take a hostile attitude towards Communism. It was certainly also encouraged in this course by the British imperialism, which practically has the dominant influence over the country.

Moreover, the king of Siam recently visited Indonesia, and during his stay there he also made a special agreement with the Dutch to act together against the "Red Danger." This agreement was made, because the Dutch knew that several persecuted Indonesian Communists had fled to Siam and remain there up to the present.

As a direct result of these counter-revolutionary relations, an Indonesian Communist who managed to escape to Bangkok, was arrested by the Siamese authorities and handed over to the Dutch Government.

It is clear that no country in the Far East is now free from Communist influence. China, the Philippines, Indo-China, Siam, the Straits-Settlements, Indonesia and India, these countries form today one link, where the exploited working and peasant classes, under the leadership of the Communists, are firmly opposing their subjugation by the national bourgeoisie and the imperialists.

It should be noted that the movements of the proletariat in those countries are separated from one another, while the nationalist bourgeoisie and imperialists have already formed a united bloc to fight Communism. Therefore, the most burning task confronting the revolutionary proletariat in the East today is to form a close united front and to maintain regular connections, in order to enhance and to facilitate the combined struggle against imperialism.



The Trade Union Movement in Mongolia

By V. ISHENKO

THE Mongolian People's Republic occupies the territory known as Outer Mongolia, as distinct from Inner Mongolia, which is a Chinese protectorate. Its borders run for over 2,000 kilometers with those of the Soviet Union. Poland, Germany and France can be set down comfortably within its boundaries. This vast land, however, has a population of one million, with a density of 0.6 persons per square kilometer. Of the inhabitants 90% are Nomads ranging the desert and steppe in their occupation of stock-rearing. A small amount of agriculture is also carried on. Only 10% of the people live in towns. Stock-raising is the chief industry of the Republic. There are 130,000 stock breeders possessing 34 million head of cattle. A considerable number of farms are in the hands of the monasteries and feudatory princes who exploit the native farm servants and shepherds. These latter, indeed, form

the real nucleus of the toiling masses of Mongolia.

The Government is elected by the Great Huraldan, or Congress, in which, according to the Constitution, there is wide representation for the poor peasant, shepherds and land-laboring masses of the Mongol population.

The Republic is ruled by the People's Revolutionary Party, which carries on a struggle against the reactionary forces of the country, the feudalists, Lamaism, the rich farmers and the new bourgeoisie. In fighting them, it looks for backing to the revolutionary rural masses, the poor peasants and shepherds of the country.

This struggle between the revolutionary forces and the remnants of the reaction is really a struggle between two tendencies in the development of the country's economic and political life: a struggle between Socialist and Capitalist development.

The capitalist tendency of development finds expression through the representatives of the new Mongolian bourgeoisie and in the feudal-theocratic and clerical elements of the country. In fighting for their very existence, these elements have endeavored to penetrate into the dominant People's Revolutionary Party and have to some extent succeeded in doing so. Up to the Seventh Congress the counter-revolutionary elements in the P.R.P. of Mongolia were the dominant power in the government, trade unions, and in the leading organs of the Party itself.

At the Seventh P.R.P. Congress in 1928 a bitter struggle was fought between the revolutionary elements of the Party and the counter-revolutionary Right Wing. Victory went with the revolutionary elements and a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the Rights.

The First Trade Union Congress of Mongolia affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions. At the Second T.U.C. the Rights, who still held sway in the T. U. movement, were defeated by the revolutionary wing. The reactionaries in Mongolia did their utmost to divide the movement into two hostile national camps—trade unions for the Mongolians and trade unions for the Chinese.

Until quite recently former princes and princesses of Mongolia, representatives of the Clergy (Lamas), Chinese merchants, representatives of Chinese trading firms, and like elements, were to be found comfortably installed in the trade union machinery.

The work of organizing the rural laborers scattered over the vast steppes was completely neglected.

There were no regulations in the Code of Labor Laws which in any way protected the interests of the land-laborers and shepherds. Amendments to the labor code were effected at the discretion of individual Government departments.

All such questions as the concluding of collective agreements, social insurance, mutual benefit funds and protection of labor were alien to the whole mentality of the reactionary and opportunistic leadership of the Mongolian T. U. movement. Drafts of collective agreements received by the T. U. Council from outlying parts of the country

were almost always pigeon-holed and forgotten.

The T. U. organizations were under the thumb of the autocratic government administration of the country. The decisions of the First T. U. C., for instance, came into force only after approval by the Government authorities.

The toiling masses of the country were isolated from all participation in the building up of administrative and economic life. The running of the State machinery and the economic apparatus became the privilege of a choice few counter-revolutionary politicians who had bored their way into the Government machinery and the leading apparatus of the party.

Upon the defeat of the Right-wing leadership, after the Second T. U. C. a radical change took place in the whole life of the Mongolian T. U. movement.

In the first place, the Trade Union Congress laid it down that the trade unions must act as the effective defenders of the toiling masses. It outlined plans for organizing the agricultural workers, stamped out all national restrictions, promoted new contingents of active trade unionists from the rank and file, developed the cultural and educational activities of the trade unions, and provided for the internationalist education of the broad masses of the trade union membership.

Of particular importance was the decision taken by Congress to purge the ranks of the trade unions from all counter-revolutionary and alien elements.

In its resolutions the T. U. C. pointed out that the Unions of Mongolia would have to become the fundamental force in the work of upbuilding socialism in the country.

More than a year has passed since the Second T. U. C. The rate at which its decisions are being carried out can by no means be considered satisfactory. The change of leadership has so far only affected the top. The body of T. U. functionaries has been replaced with fresh blood to the extent of 10% only. To this day there still exist separate Chinese unions and even a Chinese federation with a membership of 3,000. The purging of the trade unions from alien ele-

ments has not yet been carried out. Nor have the unions been reorganized on the industrial principle. Nothing has as yet been done to organize the training of new T. U. functionaries from the rank and file of the agricultural workers.

Actually, the land-laborers and shepherds are poorly represented in the trade unions. Of the 7,324 T. U. members, 1,300 are office workers in State institutions, 1,100 commercial and industrial workers, 710 transport workers, 300 medical workers, 918 garment workers and 3,000 members of the so-called

"Chinese T. U. Federation." There is no union for the agricultural workers.

This shows that obliquity and opportunism are still strong in the Mongolian T. U. movement. Following are the chief tasks now confronting the Mongolian Trade Union movement. More speedily to carry out the instructions of the last congress, to wipe out all trace of opportunism in the movement, to purge the membership of all undesirable elements and to explain to the broad toiling masses the new tasks confronting them as the builders of socialism in their country.



In the Camp of Our Enemy

Who Are Those Who Would Isolate the Asiatic Workers In a Fake Movement?

THE proposed "Asiatic Labor Conference" has received another severe blow in the resolution of the All India Trade Union Congress, elsewhere referred to. This decision is not only one to refrain in any way from assisting in the creation of such a movement, but it constitutes a protest against attempts to split the united Asiatic workers within the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement, it is an unmistakable condemnation of the social fascist activity in the eastern countries.

But simultaneous with the successes at the A.I.T.U.C. Congress there is evidence of renewed efforts to propagandize splitting. The Indian agents of European reformists have not given up the idea of such an Asiatic movement. These bourgeois pretenders keep up a pretense of representing the Indian organized workers. This was one of the main reasons for forming their opposition movement after the trade union delegates rejected their social fascist policy at Nagpur. They apparently intend to go through with their Asiatic Conference, and we can judge the character such a conference will have by this fact.

Neither are the Indian agents of imperialism the only ones practising deception and

masquerading as representatives of labor after they are repudiated. The zealous propagandists of this Asiatic movement, Suzuki Bunji of the Nippon Rodo Sodomei and his clique, are in the same position. Their activity in Japan has resulted in larger number of masses rejecting their reformist policy as exemplified in the withdrawal of several large trade unions from the Osaka Federation of Labor, the expulsion of left elements from some of the unions and from the Shakai Minshuto (Social Democratic Party), resulting in a split in the Shakai Minshuto and the formation of a second social democratic party in the Zenkeku Minshuto (All Japan Democratic Party). Those forming the latter party are said to have disagreed with the "unconstitutional expulsion tactics" of Suzuki & Co.

But this is not all: another local party has been formed at Osaka, the Musan Taishuto (the party of Proletarian Democrats) which reflects more deeply the fact that Suzuki's clique does not represent the Japanese workers, but the Japanese imperialists.

Thus we see how the two leading bourgeois groups, who have fastened themselves on the Asiatic trade unions, are doing the dirty work of the European Social fascists and the imperialist I.L.O. through London,

Amsterdam and Geneva. However, they are now even finding it difficult to maintain for themselves an office in their own countries. But make no mistake, the imperialists will assist them, both with advice and finance, to continue their splitting tactics.

PLANS MADE IN LONDON

Already the Japanese and Indian press gives them columns of publicity. Such barefaced lying demagoguery which is appearing has never been surpassed. They claim they are organizing the Asiatic Labor Conference to "combat imperialism and capitalism" and "to remove exploitation of workers in Asiatic countries under foreign domination." These words are deliberately intended as bait to trap the political backward workers, as we shall see below.

In the first place they admit that their first memorandum was signed, not in any Asiatic country, but in the very metropolis of the greatest exploiter and oppressor of Asiatic peoples, London. This is embodied in a protocol which purports to be a plan for the Asiatic Conference decided between Indian and Japanese representatives at Bombay last September, while the delegates were on their way back from the I.L.O. Conference. As a matter of fact, the full understanding was arrived at in the centre of world imperialist intrigue against the oppressed peoples, Geneva.

There is no question but that these bullets to pierce the hearts of the Asiatic working class are made in Geneva, and the finishing touches are put on at Amsterdam and London. But owing to the fact that Asiatic workers are suspicious of Europe's labor imperialists, they are to be fired by bourgeois natives who infest the Asiatic labor movement and who treacherously betray the Asiatic workers and peasants.

If ever the conference takes place, the first item to receive attention, according to the "Japanese Chronicle," is the question to be discussed at the Geneva I.L.O. Conference. Therefore, those constituting the delegates at any such conference, will naturally be the agents of the various Governments in the Asiatic countries. The leaders of these dele-

gations will be such types as Suzuki, Japan, Joshi, and Chamanlal, India; and Chiang Kai-shek's appointee to the last I.L.O. Conference, Mr. Ma Chiu-chun. The latter being the agent of the chief executioner of tens of thousands of Chinese trade unionists.

LAWYERS AS "LABOR LEADERS"

Suzuki Bunji has played a consistent bourgeois role since he entered the labor movement. Like so many others of his type, a briefless lawyer, a graduate from the Law School of the Tokyo Imperial University, he utilizes the labor movement for personal ends. He did not help to revive the labor unions suppressed earlier by the "Chiang Keisataho" (Public Peace Police Regulations).

Following the Tokyo street car strike in December, 1912, Suzuki stepped in and prevented the formation of a real trade union by organizing the Quaikai, an organization for friendly mutual and social aid, which found its base in the social work of the Unitarian Church. This delayed the revival of real trade unionism as advocated by those revolutionary socialists who were executed only the year previous by the Japanese imperialists. This constitutes Suzuki's real entry into the labor movement, which he was able to extend with the assistance of the Government and employers, and he has played his anti-working class role ever since, faithfully assisted by Matsuoka, Yomakubo and others of this ilk.

The only time Suzuki appeared outwardly to differ from his imperial masters was during the time they selected their I.L.O. delegates outside the social democratic camp. But as soon as the Japanese capitalist class thought it was well to change and let the reformists of Japan occupy and fulfil the same role at the I.L.O. as their social fascist friends do in Europe, even a pretense at opposition faded completely. Thus we have the officials of the Rodo Sodomei acting as the official splitters of the labor movement nationally and internationally.

The difference between Joshi, Chamanlal & Co. and the Japanese splitters is only one of detail. N. M. Joshi, who has helped to form an opposition trade union movement in

India after he was certain of being the position of General Secretary at the last Indian Trade Union Congress, is a brass-faced example of a bourgeois assuming that he is entitled to a place in the labor movement.

Like Suzuki, his earlier days were given to social work. Preferring liberalism rather than a struggle for Indian independence, he became Secretary of the Indian Liberal Association in 1919, after having fulfilled a post on the Government "press service," in Mesopotamia during 1917, a doubtful post given him of compensation as a reward for his loyalty to the British Crown. This was proven when he was afterwards offered the title of a C.I.E. The fact that this imperial decoration was offered leaves no doubt that Joshi continued a faithful servant of British imperialism while among the Arabs in Mesopotamia.

In 1921 Joshi was nominated by the Government to a seat in the Legislative Assembly and was the Government's representative (the representative of the British imperialists) at the Washington Conference in 1920: and subsequently got himself appointed several times since to the Geneva Conference of the I.L.O. But at last large masses of Indian workers have become conscious of traitors in their midst and because of their treacherous actions, Joshi, Chamanlal & Co. have been repudiated.

LEFT PHRASES MADE TO DECEIVE

Diwan Chamanlal, also like Suzuki, a briefless lawyer, anxious for a political career, fastened himself to the labor movement after a short but "eventful" career running around Europe as lecturer, editor of an art and literary journal in London, and finally an assistant editor of the "Bombay Chronicle," an Indian capitalist paper. He entered the labor movement in 1920 when the All India T.U.C. was founded, and got himself elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1923. He introduced into the movement from the very beginning all the Jesuitical tricks learned during his education at the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Murree, and at the Gordon Mission College at Raṅwalpindi.

These tricks he played at the Jharia Con-

gress of the A.I.T.U.C. in 1928 when he moved to support the calling of the Asiatic Labor Conference. To disarm the suspicious he avowed he had nothing against the P.P. T.U.S., although he said it was a political and not a trade union movement. He attempted to infer his good intentions by speaking of "combatting the offensive against Asiatic and African workers" and the "capitalist dictatorship."

The mask was dropped at Nagpur. He tried no longer to hide his true role in the Indian trade union movement. There he dropped all left phrases and hypocritical pretense. In his final speech at the E. C. meeting of the A.I.T.U.C., he pointed out the Communists to the British authorities, which was an incitement to arrest Mr. Deshpande and other loyal working class leaders, a role which prepares Chamanlal and his splitting gang for the same position as the Chinese traitors and executioners of the working class. They are now open spies of British imperialists and, as in other countries, have culminated their treacherous role in India by splitting the All India T.U.C.

And these are the Asiatic sponsors of the so-called "Asiatic Labor Conference" that is scheduled to take place, which is clearly an attempt to do internationally what this gang of splitters have already done nationally.

Regarding the type of representative who may attend from China, we cannot do better than select the bosom friend of Joshi and Suzuki, who participated in the meetings at Geneva last year, and helped to develop this plan of attack upon the Asiatic workers. Ma Chiu-chun, an agent of Chiang Kai-shek, Commissioner of the Bureau of Public Construction at Canton, was sent to the I.L.O. Conference to "represent labor" last year. But even the semi-fascist unions which had helped to execute thousands of workers protested against Ma's appointment. A correspondent of the "North China Daily News" wrote at that time:

"Their unions (the protesting unions) were suffered to exist while others were dissolved, because they helped the Government in driving out the Reds. But

Mr. Ma Chiu-chun curtailed their power, compelling them to cancell all agreements which they forced employers to sign in the days when labor was supreme in Canton."

Nothing more need be said about this so-called labor representative, a butcher, an assassin of real trade unionists.

ALBERT THOMAS' DICTUM

But these splitters admit the imperialist I.L.O. is the prime mover in this Asiatic manoeuvre as we have constantly pointed out. Therefore we cannot repeat too often Albert Thomas' dictum as to the real purpose of attempting to isolate Asiatic labor from its logical place with other labor unions in the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement.

Reporting to the Governing Body of the I.L.O., to his imperialist masters, regarding his investigations in the East, Thomas even stated the Kuomintang unions were too "left": "The Communist movement inspired them (the organized Chinese workers) with its excessively simple formulæ, which even today (1929) . . . sometimes, though unconsciously, still inspire attitudes and acts. The National Party (Kuomintang) however, realizes the danger . . . and intends, during the period of 'tutelage', to lead the workers itself . . . There are still executions every week in Canton." And we can add: "In Shanghai and elsewhere."

How minutely those who carry through the splitting and disruptive policy of the I.L.O. in Asia, is seen in the parrot-like speech that N. M. Joshi delivered at Geneva last year: In almost identical terms, "he pleaded for greater vigor in the task of making the ideals of the I.L.O. a reality in those (Asiatic) countries" because "*of the danger of Moscow's* ('excessively simple') *promises catching the imagination of the people.*" (A.U.T.U. Bulletin, August, 1929).

Not only are these bourgeois scoundrels traitors to the organized Asiatic workers they profess to serve, and from whom they draw a certain amount of their livelihood, but they, as I.L.O. agents, are sworn enemies of the wider aspirations of the oppressed peoples, the independence movement. We need only know

that those who go to Geneva from Asiatic countries proceed by sanction of the respective Governments, and with their endorsement.

Can anyone imagine the Japanese, British, Dutch or Chinese governments allowing a real workers' representative to leave for Europe? Real workers' representatives only wish it were so. To point to the vigilance exercised with a view to preventing delegates attending the P.P.T.U.S. meetings and conferences is enough to remove any doubt in this respect.

Therefore, these imperialist agents all endorse the actions and ideology of their leader, Albert Thomas, who is appointed by the imperialists to build up a machine around the League of Nations to maintain imperialist domination over the oppressed Asiatic peoples. This instrument is the International Labor Office, to which all these traitors pay yearly visits at its so-called conferences.

Speaking of the offensive against the Pan-Pacific Trade Union movement and struggle for national independence, Albert Thomas said in his report:

PAN-ASIATIC MOVEMENT TO SUPPORT IMPERIALISM

"There is a movement in favor of Pan-Asiatic understanding. Such understandings are not aimed against Europe (imperialism) or against more general understandings, but to some minds they are more attractive, and appear to hold out promise of more tangible and immediate results than the Geneva (and Amsterdam) institutions."

Then he went on to show what results he had in mind. He said: "To the nationalist movements (of the oppressed peoples) . . . Western civilization opposes its organizing capacity, its systematic methods, its technical progress, etc."

Nothing could be more plainly put: comment would be superfluous. Therefore the P.P.T.U.S. once more rests its case against this bunch of disrupters whom we have proven to be bourgeois agents of imperialists, masquerading as labor representatives, bent

upon preventing the real trade unions from developing both nationally and internationally.

The task of all honest trade union leaders is to prevent these traitors doing further damage by rallying the masses for a militant

struggle against extending social fascism as a policy in Asia. In this fight we shall further strengthen the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement, maintain its unity by creating an even closer alliance between the Asiatic and every other trade union in the Pacific area.

Unemployment and the Economic Crisis

THE economic crisis prevailing throughout the East and the Pacific countries generally, is especially heavy in China. The fall of the silver exchange, has sent up the prices of imported raw material and in several industries, factories have closed. Those especially affected by this rise in prices are the tobacco, match, and to some extent, cotton, while the silk industry cannot compete with the developed industry of Japan.

The Chinese native industry is also affected by the numerous taxes and import tariffs, lack of capital carry through the full program of rationalization, and the full weight of highly centralized and trustified imperialist industries such as the British American Tobacco Co., the Swedish Match trust, the Japanese cotton industry, a large part of which is in China, 34,000 workers are laid off in 108 silk filatures, and the Nanyang Tobacco factory has closed rendering 3,500 workers idle. The Tsinan Match Co. at Tsinan, has closed, throwing 6,000 out of work.

These figures give an impression of the seriousness of the crisis, especially when connected with the rapid rise in prices. During 1929 in Shanghai, rice cost on the average \$14.30 Mex per picul, but in January, 1930, it had risen to \$19.00 Mex. The full significance can be seen when we know that rice constitutes almost the only food of the working class.

This indicates the need of our affiliated members, *but not only in China*, taking more seriously the unemployment resolutions passed

by the P.P.T.U.S. Conferences. The unemployed can be organized in colonial countries as well as in the imperialist countries. However, there is evidence that some of our adherents believe, because in China and other Eastern countries it appears "impossible" to pay a monetary sum to the unemployed, it is therefore useless to try to organize them.

This is entirely erroneous. It is not only necessary but imperative that these unemployed workers be organized. The A.C.F.L. is correctly fighting for those workers directly affected by the closing of the silk, tobacco and match factories in China. But it is not enough to merely make demands for grants when factories close.

The national, provincial and local authorities in every country, must be made to understand they have an obligation to the unemployed workers. These authorities are the tools of the native and imperialist exploiters and must be forced to find food for the unemployed. *It is not the business of the unemployed to be concerned as to how they get it*, as long as these imperialist agents do not further rob the employed workers or the poor peasants: the job for the unemployed, supported by the employed, is only to see they get food and get it quickly. Rice allowances at least must be given to all unemployed workers, and the governing authorities, together with the employers must bear the cost.

To relieve unemployment, definite demands must also be made for the employed workers. Every list of demands put forward to employers must include a demand for

shorter hours, with the 7-hour day as the objective; prohibition of child labor under fourteen, abolition of all night work for women, youth and children, abolition of piece work and all forms of payment by results, no overtime to be worked, a one-hour meal time to be given all workers, etc.

These are definite measures to reduce unemployment by forcing employers to take on

more workers and to relieve the terribly heavy burdens of those lucky enough to be employed. In this way the class unity of the workers will be tightened and developed, which will find unemployed workers fighting for the economic as well as the political demands of the masses. As a means of systematically relieving unemployment, social insurance should be demanded.

Lenin and the Colonial Struggle

By L. H.

THE Lenin policy is the program of action for the many millions lined up in the ranks of the revolutionary movement in the colonies. Almost ten years have elapsed since the time when the Second Congress of the Communist International, under the leadership of *Lenin*, established the general line to be adopted for the world revolutionary movement with regard to the colonial question. In his historical speech at the Second C. I. Congress, Lenin brought forth the following basic points:

1. *The Soviets (as a form for struggle and power) are applicable also for the backward countries with pre-capitalist relations.*

2. *With the help of the proletariat of the advanced countries, the backward (colonial) countries will be able to transfer to the Soviet system and, through various stages of development, to communism, skipping the capitalist stage of development.*

3. *The proletariat of the advanced countries can and should help the backward toiling masses of the colonies.*

4. *The development of the colonial countries will move forward at a fast rate when the victorious proletariat of the Soviet republics will stretch out its helping hand to the working masses of the colonies and will be able to give them the necessary support.*

During the past ten years the movement of the oppressed masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries has taken on colossal and unheard-of dimensions, and has become

the most important section on the anti-imperialist front. Particularly the last few years have marked the further extension and sharpening of the struggle. Besides China and India—the two largest countries of the world, inhabited by almost one-half of the human race—also the more backward colonies, scattered over the most distant parts of the globe, are being drawn into the struggle.

Of particular significance is the ever-extending movement of the oppressed African masses. During the past year different revolts have occurred in the French Congo, in Kenya, in the Sudan, Nigeria, on the Island of Madagascar, besides the strike movements in the South African Union, in South Rhodesia, and Gambia.

Also in the countries of Latin America strikes and revolts are continually breaking out. Along with the countries into which imperialism has penetrated long ago, as Mexico, Argentina and Brazil, the uprisings and strike movements are today involving such countries like Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Haiti and others, which have comparatively recently become the object of imperialist exploitation.

The great importance which Lenin attached to the movement of the colonial peoples at a time when it was only in its initial stages, is clear to all today.

Equally clear is the point stressed by Lenin with regard to the role of the Soviet Union. The victorious struggle waged against the im-

perialist interventionists, the whole internal and foreign policy of the U. S. S. R., the method of solving the national problem inside the Soviet Union, the fact alone of the existence of a Workers and Peasants' State and of its continuous economic and political growth, stimulates, intensifies and hastens the tempo of the liberation movement within the colonial and semi colonial countries.

And there, under the leadership of the proletarian vanguard, this movement, just like in China and India, has gone far ahead; and the Soviet system and the Soviets are today that form of government towards which the toiling masses are vigorously driving.

It is sufficient to point out that, in China, despite all the efforts of world imperialism and the Chinese militarists of all shades, there are scores of regions and districts, inhabited by thirty million people, where already during the past two years, with the defense of the armed revolutionary workers and peasants, the Soviets are in existence and the Soviet power of the toiling masses a living fact.

In India, banners bearing the slogans, "Hail the Soviets," "For the Soviet Power," "Long Live the USSR," have all become an inseparable part of all large workers' demonstrations in such centers as Bombay and Calcutta.

Thus, as we see, Lenin's general line was correct; it became the program of action for the many millions of the revolutionary colonial movement.

But the most important of Lenin's teachings, calling upon *the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries to give the necessary help to the rising oppressed masses of the colonies*—has so far not been carried out sufficiently.

Especially at the present time, when the colonial movement is involving more and more new countries and territories, a change of attitude on the part of the revolutionary proletariat of the metropolitan countries, towards active support of the colonial movement, is particularly important and urgent.

The closing up of the ranks between the movements of the oppressed colonial peoples and the international revolutionary labor movement is already under way. However, it must be extended and become more permanent in character. The slogan, "Proletarians and Oppressed Peoples of the World, Unite!" must be transformed into a real program of action, into actual life.

This is one of the principal testaments of Lenin—the chief link in the chain of Lenin's Colonial Program of Action.

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Save the Lives of the Annamite Workers

By A. N.

THE Council for the Defense of the State in Indo-China has rejected the appeal of the thirteen revolutionaries of Yen-Bay, who have been condemned to death by the Criminal Court.

In the night, from the 9th to 10th of February, 200 riflemen of the garrison of Yen-Bay, supported by the peasants of the district, seized possession of the military barracks and hoisted the Red Flag. On the same night, revolutionaries attempted to capture Hung-hoa by storm, but were repulsed, 25 of them being arrested. One of the revolutionaries, Nguyen Khac-Nhu, who has been condemned in his absence to 20 years' hard labor, was killed in this attack, in the town of Hanoi, bombs being thrown in various places in order to support the rising in Yen-Bay.

Disorders broke out also in other provinces of Indo-China. In the night from the 15th to 16th of February, an official from Vinh-Bao in the province of Hai-Duong, who had learned that revolutionaries had met in the village of Co-am, went to the mandarin of Ninh-Giang in order to demand reinforcements. On his return he was killed, but the revolutionaries were driven back. Fourteen of them were arrested. On the same night another group of revolutionaries attacked the village of Phu-Duc in the province of Thai-Binh in order to seize the military post in Ninh-Giang.

The government sent considerable forces to the places where the revolutionaries had

gathered. Aircraft flew over the district at a low altitude and fired upon the villages with the result that a considerable number of peasants were killed.

In the course of one of the attacks of the revolutionaries, the leader of the party of Annamite nationalists, Nguyen-Phai-Hoc, who had been sentenced in June, 1929, in his absence, to life-long hard labor, was mortally wounded, while his brother, Nguyen-van Go, and the revolutionary Nguyen-ninh-Luan, were arrested.

Bloody reprisals have set in. Hundreds and hundreds have been placed under lock and key. After a mock trial, thirteen revolutionaries were condemned to death, one to life-long hard labor and another to twenty years' deportation. This, however, is only the beginning of increased and more extensive reprisals. There is no doubt that these sentences will be followed by numerous others.

The most energetic protest of the international proletariat is necessary to save the heroic champions of the Indo-Chinese revolution.

In spite of the aircraft, the machine guns, the death sentences and the deportations, the millions of starving and tormented workers and peasants will carry on their fight till final victory. With the aid of the world proletariat, particularly the French workers, they will carry through the fight for liberation from French imperialism.

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In order:

1—To carry on a joint struggle against the dangers of war between the Powers of the Pacific.

2—to counteract the imperialist dangers that menace the Chinese Revolution;

3—to help the oppressed people of the Pacific to liberate themselves from the yoke of Imperialism;

4—to fight against and remove all racial and national barriers and prejudices which still divide the exploited classes and oppressed peoples to the advantage of the exploiters and oppressors.

5—to cement and to maintain a real fraternal united front of the exploited classes in the countries of the Pacific;

6—to organize and to carry out joint actions of the exploited and oppressed people against the oppressing Powers;

7—to fight for World Trade Union Unity and for the creation of a single United Trade Union international;

—the representatives of the Trade union movements of Australia, China, the Philippines, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, Japan, Java, Korea, France, England and the United States of America, having gathered at the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference, herewith decide unanimously to create immediately an organ of connections, propaganda and action—this organ to be called: The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.