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The Pan-Pacific Monthly

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**Official Organ
of the
Pan-Pacific Trade Union
Secretariat**



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Pan-Pacific Labor Directory

(Including European organizations affiliated to the
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AUSTRALIA

Australian Council of Trade Union; C. Crofts, Secretary.
Trades Hall, Melbourne, Victoria.

CHINA

All-China Labor Federation; Hong Yin, Chairman.

ENGLAND

National Minority Movement; Tom Mann, President.
Harry Pollitt, Secretary; 38 Gt. Ormond Street, London,
W. C. I.

FRANCE

Confederacion Generale du Travail Unitaire; G. Mon-
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France.

INDIA

Girni Kamgar Union, Bombay, India.

INDONESIA

Indonesian Labor Federation, Batavia, Java.

JAPAN

Nippon Rodokuimai Zenkoku Kyogikai; Shima-ku Mita,
Shikokumachi 2-5, Tokyo.

KOREA

Korean Labor Federation; Seoul, Korea.

MALAYA

Nanyang Federation of Labor, Singapore, Straits Settle-
ments. (Federation covering Sumatra, Borneo, New Gui-
nea, Java, Celebes, Malay Peninsula, Burma, Siam, and
Indo-China).

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (Proletariat); Manila, P.I.
Philippine Confederation of Peasants; J. G. Manahan,
President; Emilio Amago, Acting Secretary, 700 Avenue
Rizal, or P. O. Box 849, Manila, P. I.

UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS (USSR)

All-Russian Council of Trade Unions; Dvoretz Truda,
Solyanka 12, Moscow.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Trade Union Unity League; Wm. Z. Foster, Secretary;
2 West 15th Street, New York City.

全世界工人團結起來!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

太平洋工會秘書廳

The Pan-Pacific Monthly

Official Organ of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat

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EARL BROWDER, *Editor*

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CONTENTS:

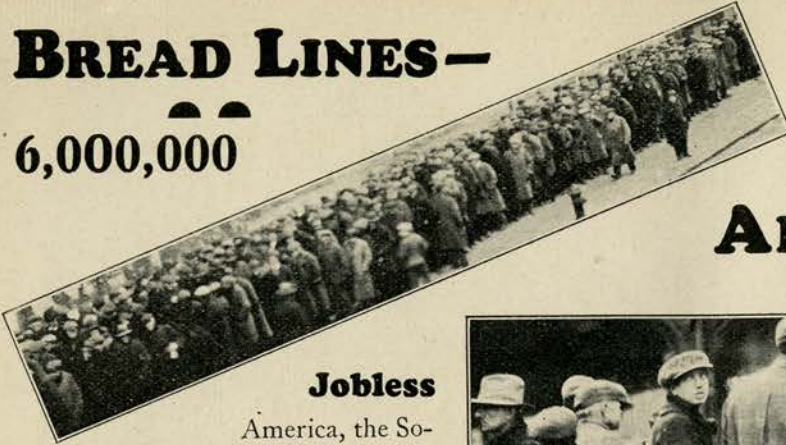
STAY THE HAND OF THE JAPANESE EXECUTIONERS! by S. Kamura	3
NATIONAL CONGRESS OF ALL CHINA FEDERATION OF LABOR	5
THE KUOMINTANG AND THE REACTIONARY TRADE UNION ACT, by Ting Yu-Lin	8
LETTER TO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF ALL-INDIA TUC FROM THE PPTUS	12
LETTER SENT E. C. OF AITUC AFTER OBTAINING A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE NAGPUR PROCEEDINGS	15
THE LEFT WING VICTORY: REFORMISTS SPLIT INDIAN T. U. MOVEMENT, by L. Burns	18
THE STRUGGLE IN AUSTRALIA, by Harrison George	23
JAPAN: A COUNTRY OF ECONOMIC UNREST AND WHITE TERROR, by S. Sakurai	26
SOME NOTES ON THE LABOR-FARMER PARTY, by S. Sakurai	29
THE RED SPECTRE IN THE BLACK CONTINENT	31
THE TERROR IN INDGCHINA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, by A. N.	34
DUTCH CIVILIZATION IN INDONESIA, by Gerard Vanter	35
MEXICAN TRADE UNIONS ADHERE TO PPTUS, by Harrison George	37
THE LESSONS AND PROSPECTS OF THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE, by A. Losovsky	41

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IN

AMERICA



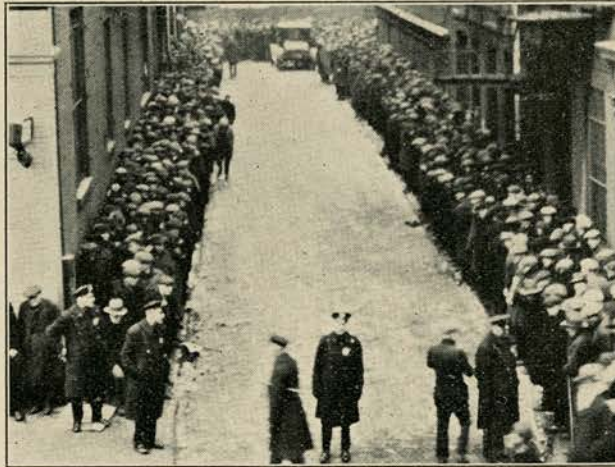
Jobless

America, the So-called Paradise of Capitalism, Is Hell for the Army of the Unemployed, Over 6,000,000 And Still Growing as the Speed-up Makes Millions 'Unnecessary' to Capitalist Industry. Against this Hell These Millions will

DE MONSTRATE Feb. 26



Learning in the Struggle That the Only Hope of Life, of Bread and Freedom, Is to Overthrow Capitalism. Learning in Battles on the Streets the Mighty Power of the MASSES!



Above: At Night Homeless Seek Warmth at Fire in Street.

In Center: Part of 8,000 Waiting in Line for Bowl of Free Soup; For Hours They Wait Shivering in the Winter Wind. A Living Denial of the Lie That U. S. Imperialism Is "Young and Red Cheeked."



FACES

Black and White

But workers one and all

They Are "Moving On" Toward Revolution!

"MOVE ON!"

**SAY THE POLICE
BUT WHERE?**



Stay the Hand of the Japanese Executioners!

By S. KAMURA

THE suppression of all independent workers' movements by the ruling class is a well-known fact. There is scarcely another country in the whole world where the working class is faced with so skillful, cold-blooded and well-organized an enemy as the young proletarian movement in Japan. A gloomy light is cast on the activities and methods of the Japanese rulers by a recent official memorandum of the Japanese government dealing with the arrests of alleged members of the Japanese Communist Party during the last eighteen months, including many of Japan's best trade union leaders.

The facts in this memorandum are as follows: In March, 1928, the Japanese government, frightened by the success the Communist Party and the militant trade unions had made in the elections to the Diet and the trade union movement, effected, after long preparations, the arrest of over four hundred militant workers. The headquarters of the Hyogikai (Japanese Federation of Trade Unions) and Communist Party were raided and suppressed together with all working class publications. Notwithstanding such wholesale arrests of members of the militant trade union and working class organizations, the proletarian vanguard (which not long before had succeeded, after a long inner fight against sectarianism to reorganize its ranks and put its activities on a broad mass basis), the rank and file members who had evaded arrest, continued the struggle and met with a large response from among the workers and poor peasants.

The obvious increase in working class militancy among still broader masses gave no little uneasiness to the Japanese Government. The memorandum confirms that "the restoration of the Communist Party was speedily going on from February this year." The

Hogykai was also re-established. Japanese spies and secret agents developed feverish activities everywhere.

Professor Sano, alleged to be one of the leaders of the Communist Party, was arrested at Shanghai on June 16th by Japanese detectives sent there especially for this purpose. From Kobe "he was taken to Tokyo by the evening express, five second-class carriages being hired by the police." An excellent example of the "courage" of the Japanese police!

Until now altogether 825 persons have been arrested. The trial against them will be heard at the beginning of next year. Meanwhile the arrest of working class fighters and the torture of those now in the examination courts, is continued.

The hypocritical Japanese Ministers drop crocodile tears because among the arrested there are many students, and they try to find the reason for this in the defects of the present system of education. But they hide very cleverly the fact that the present economic and social conditions in Japan as well as in every other capitalist country, produce the militant proletarian movement which will grow and expand notwithstanding all suppression and terror. What are the present-day conditions in Japan?

Excluding the international contradictions between Japan and other imperialist powers which make it necessary for the Japanese capitalists to exercise increasing pressure on the working class, there is cause enough in its inner contradictions, the breaking up of which can only be temporarily suppressed by the force of arms. The rapid development of Japanese capitalism has produced an industrial proletariat of many millions whose living conditions, despite the praise of Albert Thomas and other lackeys of imperialism,

can be compared with the worst exploitation in colonies and semi-colonies.

The large and increasing unemployment, strike movements of workers, the continually renewed riots of poor peasants and fishermen clearly show the discontent of the toiling masses. The enormous capitalist progress in Japan has left almost untouched the feudal relations in the countryside which make the menace of the agrarian revolution, together with the increasing militancy of the proletarian movement, the daily scare of the Japanese ruling class.

In addition to this the corrupt social conditions (in the bourgeois sense of the word also), are without comparison. The legalized selling of girls to factories and brothels; the corruption among all stratum of Japanese officials, etc., are outstanding features of the home situation in Japan (e.g., the same Minister of Education, a certain Kobashi, who most of all deplored the participation of students in the revolutionary movement and with the utmost care studied the matter in order to bring about "improvement" in this respect, had to resign his position, after being blamed in connection with an enormous swindle against the State).

The Communist scare is used as a means of suppressing all independent working class movements; all militant trade unions have been banned and their officials arrested. The whole country is groaning under the reaction which even some Japanese bourgeois papers declare is greater today than ever before.

It is beyond all doubt that the young Japanese working class movement, notwithstanding all betrayals by reformist leaders like Bunji Suzuki, will shortly force its way to a victorious fight and show the interna-

tional proletariat yet greater miracles than the Japanese bourgeoisie has shown to the capitalist world. But at this moment it is the foremost duty of all workers' organizations, especially those in countries bordering the Pacific, to come to the aid of our courageous Japanese workers, now languishing in the jails of the Japanese imperialists. This is necessary not only from the point of view of our general solidarity with our fellow workers, but also from the point of view of the defense of the Soviet Union.

The fight of Japanese reaction against the workers is closely connected with preparations for an attack by Japanese imperialism against the Soviet Union. In the above mentioned memorandum of the Japanese government, as also in many speeches of several Japanese Ministers, a "certain country" and its pretended connections with the Japanese militant movement has been mentioned.

Moreover, the Japanese Government has indicated the possibility of breaking off diplomatic connections with the Soviet Government. The meaning of such indications is clear—under the pretext of preventing Communist propaganda the Japanese Government prepares to make an attack similar to that made by the English "diehard" Government on "Arcos," or the recent attacks of Chinese reactionaries on the Soviet Consulate at Harbin and on the C.E.R. The international proletariat has more than one reason to be upon its guard.

It is the first duty of all workers' organization in and around the Pacific to take steps to strike back at the plans of Japanese imperialism: for liberation of those courageous Japanese working class fighters arrested, and to expose the attacks being planned against the Soviet Union.



National Congress of All-China Federation of Labor

Clarity and Progressive Policy in New Decisions

THE Fifth National Congress of the All-China Federation of Labor opened on November 7th and successfully concluded after five days hard work.

Resolutions were adopted upon the following questions: anti-yellow-unionism, organization of militant class unions, organization of youth, women and children, factory committees, alliance of workers' and peasants' organizations, propaganda and education, workers' defense (pickets, workers' army, etc.), defense of the U. S. S. R. (C. E. R. attack), organization of a workers' delegation to the Soviet Union, support for the workers' aid society and telegrams of greetings sent out to the P. P. T. U. S. and all brother trade unions in the Pacific countries, the affiliated organizations of the R. I. L. U., and to the workers and peasants of the U. S. S. R.

The latter revealed a feeling of the deep friendship existing between the trade unionists of China and the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia, while the one to the R. I. L. U., to which the A. C. F. of L. is also affiliated, condemned the League of Nations as

“the common tool of imperialists, turning its attention to China, and cooperating with the Kuomintang Government (through the I. L. O.) in setting up bureaucratic yellow unions in China with the avowed purpose of checking the development of the real trade unions. Those international traitors and renegades, with Ramsay MacDonald as their representative, are betraying the working class of Europe, assisting the reactionary Kuomintang in attempts to split the P. P. T. U. movement, and are suppressing

the revolutionary movement of the Chinese working class.”

Altogether the resolutions make an irresistible policy for the A. C. F. of L. The revised policy is based upon the fact that the Kuomintang “unions” are more fascist than reformist. The “membership” is enrolled by the aid of the employers and maintained by force. The officials are appointed by the local and district Kuomintang. There are no democratic elections and scarcely any meetings for they are afraid of the masses and the militant leaders.

Therefore, the new policy will be chiefly enunciated in the factories, mines, railways, etc. This does not exclude attendance at all meetings called by the Kuomintang traitors. Left wing groups are to be formed to do specific work in these so-called unions, notwithstanding arrests and violence to those attempting this work. The slogan of the Congress was:

“Wherever there are workers we must also be,” no matter what circumstances force the workers to attend.

Factory committees are to be extended to every factory where a militant union exists. Factory workers' conferences attended by delegates elected from the workers of each factory will be held. These conferences, in turn, will elect delegates to factory workers' Councils which will supervise the work of extending factory committees in every concern, which are to be the basis of organizing new militant unions.

This new offensive against the Kuomintang is aimed at supplanting yellow union control by bureaucratic and forcible means, with democratically controlled industrial unions of the workers' own choice. To those

who fear greater suppression, which is bound to come, the answer is found in the words of more than one delegate: "The suppression of the militant workers is a defeat for the masses and every defeat of the masses imposed by the fascist Kuomintang bureaucrats is a victory for the fighting trade unions."

Special auxiliary organizations are to be formed for work among youth, women and children, who constitute such a large number of strikers in all industrial centers. There will be elementary educational classes, sport clubs, trade union classes, etc., organized to develop and strengthen the trade union movement as well as to eliminate illiteracy and develop sporting facilities, etc.

In China the workers are so subject to physical violence committed by both the imperialist agents and their Kuomintang lackeys, that it is not extraordinary that they speak of creating a workers' army, which means organizing pickets as distinct from giving support to the armies occupying what is regarded as Soviet districts in Fukien, Kwangsi and Hunan. The Chinese Workers' Aid Society is to be organizationally assisted which has given considerable aid to those whose dependents have been executed or tortured to death. The delegates condemned the violent seizure of the C. E. R. and demanded a return to the status quo ante.

It was pointed out by a delegate from Manchuria that all reforms, instituted only by pressure from the Soviet side of the management, had been taken away. They had lost the eight-hour day, wages were reduced, free medical aid abolished. Two thousand had been dismissed and are destitute; and every form of violence committed under military law was inflicted upon those who were retained.

It was decided the time had arrived to send a Chinese workers' delegation to the U. S. S. R. to investigate conditions for themselves. This decision was wholeheartedly supported by every delegate who seemed determined to overcome every existing obstacle, and there are many. The new Executive Committee will create a commission to develop this project financially and otherwise.

Great regard was shown for the P. P.

T. U. S. and the Red International of Labor Unions, both being represented. After a review of the activities of the respective organizations, the delegates showed their regard by raising their fists as the Chairman announced "Down with the Amsterdam International," "Down with the Second International," "Long Live the R. I. L. U.," "Long Live the P. P. T. U. S.," etc.

Delegates came from all important centers and provinces. They were mostly elected by workers' conferences, only three being officials of their respective organizations. There is a great change in the composition of the new E. C., a majority are employed workers while the balance are trade union officials with much experience, but who were originally students. The majority of the last E. C. are reported to have lost their lives in the course of carrying out their work.

*Telegram Addressed to P. P. T. U. S. by
Fifth Congress of All-China Federation
of Labor*

"Dear Comrades: It is at the present critical juncture which the imperialists the world over are utilizing the Kuomintang in China to launch a most provocative violent attack upon the U. S. S. R. in order to precipitate the outbreak of the imminent world war (especially affecting the Pacific) when the conflicting military groups of the Kuomintang are acting under the instructions of their respective imperialist paymasters, and are engaged in severe dog fights and suppression of the revolutionary movement of the working class in China by ruthless and savage persecution of white terror, that the Fifth National Labor Congress of China officially opened.

"All the delegates assembled at the Conference unanimously adopted a resolution that a telegram be addressed to the P. P. T. U. S. and all our brother trade unions of the countries bordering upon the Pacific. The Conference accepted with the most sincere thanks the valuable assistance and instructions given us by the P. P. T. U. S. for the past two years. The campaign for the

defense of the U. S. S. R., against imperialist attacks and against the reformist traitors of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, so clearly pointed out by the recent Pan-Pacific T. U. Conference, is a central task of our Conference.

"We feel very much gratified that the recent P. P. T. U. Conference has consolidated more closely the solidarity of the Pacific workers. The imperialists are attacking the only proletarian State of the world, the revolutionary movement of the Chinese working class and peasantry, and are making feverish preparations for the impending world war that will be largely a Pacific war, in order to engage the masses of all the countries around the Pacific in slaughter of each other for the interests of imperialism.

"Furthermore, they are directing their running dogs, the traitors of the Amsterdam International and other yellow reformist bureaucrats (Suzuki and his associates) to organize an Asiatic Labor Conference in an attempt to split the militant P. P. T. U. S., to assist the capitalists and the ruling class to intensify their attack upon the working class and to break the resistance and solidarity of the working masses. It is true they have not made much progress because large masses of Asia's toilers already understand these maneuvers; but to underestimate our enemies would be a mistake.

"Therefore, in this condition the task of the working class of all Pacific countries has become heavier and more urgent. Only the consolidation of a closer and stronger united front of the working class in the Pacific area can defeat the international reformists and yellow traitors, resist the most violent attack of the enemy and transform the war upon the U. S. S. R. and imperialist war into anti-imperialist and anti-bourgeois wars and into national revolutionary wars in the colonies.

"The delegates assembled at the Fifth National Labor Conference of China are of the firm and unanimous opinion that in order to attain the object mentioned above and to fulfill the great task of the Pacific working class, all trade union organizations of the Pacific countries must strengthen their ranks and unite and fight shoulder to shoulder under the leadership of the Red International of Labor Unions and the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat against the imperialists and their agents, the Amsterdam International, the proposed Asiatic Labor Conference, and all yellow traitors and renegades.

"With the most sincere and fraternal greetings,

"Presidium of the Fifth National Labor Conference of China."

7:11:29, Shanghai.

The Kuomintang and the Reactionary Trade Union Act

BY TING YU-LIN

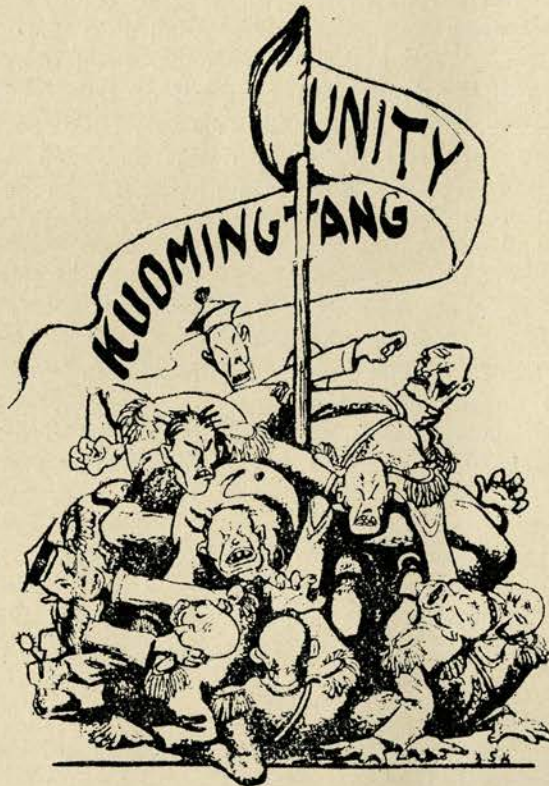
EVER since the Tsinan massacre of May 3rd 1928, the class struggles of the Chinese proletariat having broken through the white terror of the Kuomintang and imperialists, and exposed the cheating policies of the reformists, developed and are developing in very rapid tempo. Especially during the past year, all the economic struggles were very rapidly and invariably developed into political fights. In the political demonstrations of May 30 and the International Red Day of August 1, the Chinese working class showed its heroism and fighting capacities which are so strong that the imperialists and the ruling class shivered before the masses. At the same time, strike waves are sweeping widely on a national scale, and the struggles are more and more carried on around the red banner of the Chinese Communist Party.

At the time when the class struggle of the Chinese proletariat has entered a new stage, the ruling class can not help but feel that its "old" means of suppression and cheat should be modified somehow. As we know, the beast-like Kuomintang after the Shanghai insurrection, attempted to bury the revolutionary struggles

of the working class in bloodshed by direct slaughter with the bands of hired hooligans. Later, in the time of the temporary depression of the great Chinese Revolution, it organized yellow unions. Of course, its white terrorist policy by no means stopped. In those unions foremen were put into of-

fice in order to cheat the revolutionary working masses and to dissociate them from the revolutionary ranks, and these yellow unions were especially active when the economic struggles of the proletariat began to revive, that is, after the May 3rd massacre. But illusions are nothing more than castles in the air and the daily bread serves as a better aim for struggle. The Chinese working class can not cease its class struggle when it is under an intense exploitation of the imperialists as well as the native capitalists. In the course of the sharpening of the strug-

gle the working masses recognize completely the cheating role of the yellow leaders. They themselves get up and fight against the laws of the Kuomintang government such as registration, arbitration. More than that, they also ruthlessly fight against the yellow leadership and conciliation. In



many places the workers beat up the yellow leaders, destroyed the yellow offices and clubs, withdrew from the yellow unions and formed their own red unions. The influence of the yellow unions among the masses is almost completely wiped out by the great revolutionary upheaval.

It is just at this period that the Legislation Assembly of the Kuomintang government decreed its "Trade Union Act." It is in this act that the monstrous, bloodthirsty nature of the Kuomintang is still more apparently expressed. This Trade Union Act is a new program of attack upon the working class in the new stage of the class struggle.

The first peculiarity of this act is that it brazenly and directly states that the working masses have no right to organize. The unions which exist under the Kuomintang regime cannot be fighting organs. For the types of unions that the ruling body wants cannot be otherwise. The essential qualifications of these unions are that the workers must endure any kind of reactionary oppression and should actively participate in the "reconstruction work" of the Kuomintang. The first point of the said law states: "The aim of the trade unions is to promote the knowledge and technical ability and to develop production." This "aim" has long been shared by all the reactionary unions. The yellow unions are, of course, not an exception. But already the experience has taught the Kuomintang that though the reformist leaders employ all the means at their disposal to stop the working class struggle, the proletariat will, however, by no means, bind itself within their limit. On the contrary, they will oftentimes break through all the obstacles set up by the reformists. The Kuomintang knows this. Now let us see what is more in the Act. It states: "This Act is not effective for the employees and clerks of such branches as the national administrative organs, communications, military organs, war industries, state enterprises. Educational and cultural workers and public utilities workers." (Point 3). What are the "communications, military organs, war industries, state enterprises and public utilities"? Besides those controlled by foreign capital, what remains of the basic industry to be considered otherwise than the

"state enterprises"? Can industries, no matter big or small, basic or light, even such tiny ones as tailoring, butchering, medicine shops and vegetable sellers be considered otherwise than public utilities? Can the workers on the railways, steamships, tramways, auto buses, and, even the rickshaw pullers and coolies in general be characterized other than communication workers? According to the said Act these workers are not within the limit of application of the law. Moreover, as the first point states that only those above sixteen, that means, of course, child labor under sixteen is not "protected" by the Kuomintang and only those "industrial workers, one hundred in number—above fifty of the same profession have the right to organize." As to the definitions of and the differences between industrial and professional workers, these are left to the Kuomintang officials in a further decree. In fact, it would be more direct and simple for the Trade Union Act to write only "all Unions are not allowed"!

The second peculiarity of the said act is that it brings all the unions under the control of the government apparatus. Formerly, the controllers of all the yellow unions, "Party organs," "Social Bureaux," etc., were the agents of a certain military clique of the Kuomintang and were the direct lackeys of the government. At that time, they, somehow or other, still pretended to be chaste. Now things are different. "The controlling organs of the unions being the respective governments of province, city and town," (Point 4). Comrades, just see what kind of "control" it is!

1. The membership of the organizations of the unions must be registered in the respective controlling offices and must have the approval of the latter.

2. Having one of the following will result in the dissolution of the unions: a) lack of principal requisites of its existence, b) against the law (!) of a very serious character, c) disturb the public safety and order (!) or injure the public interests (!). In other words, the government has the right to dissolve the union at its will and any of the above can be freely applied at any time.

3. Besides, all the details of the unions are controlled by the government. Such as "Any alteration of the constitution of the union will be effective only after the approval of its controlling offices." (Point 9) "the signing, revision, or cancellation of any collective agreement will be effective only after the approval of the respective controlling offices of the unions." (1, Point 15). "Any change of the constitution, the personal of the commissions or any other officers should be reported to the respective controlling organs, and the latter will publish it within a fortnight. Before its publication, the changed point should not be utilized as a pretext to fight against any third party." (Point 14). "Any violation of the decree or constitution, in the election or resolution of the union will give the power to the controlling offices to declare it ineffective." (Point 28). "In case the constitution of the Union is contradictory to the law, the controlling offices have the power to cause a change." (Point 29). These are but a few, yet they are characteristic enough! Under such regulations, under the Kuomintang rule, there is no doubt that no union is free, not, of course, mentioning the revolutionary! What is more interesting is that after the point 28 and 29 quoted above there follows point 30 which says: "In case of any discontent in reference to the previous two points, the union may appeal to court." I don't know where to appeal to except those "controlling offices" which are empowered to execute one and all the decisions. Is "the blessed soul of the former Tsung-li" the place to appeal?

Why doesn't the Kuomintang openly and directly copy the methods of Fascism? Recently, the Kuomintang, in order to suppress strikes, to strengthen the "rear" so that it can carry on a favorable militarist war, time and again has arrested the leaders of the working class, dissolved the unions, even those comparatively active yellow unions. All these facts prove not only that the Kuomintang does not want any union of the workers, but that it is tired of all high formalities of the yellow unions. What the Kuomintang really wants is the spies and police among the workers. The unions as depicted in the Trade

Union Act are nothing more or less than the "workers' police bureau" under the Kuomintang government.

The Act has not only formulated how to organize the "Workers' Police Bureau" but also put down the "Workers' Police Law."

The essentials concerning the tasks of the unions in the said Act can be summarized as "the regulation of the conflicts between Labor and Capital." (Point 15). But how to regulate these conflicts? The golden rule is, of course, the outlaw of strikes. Point 23 states: "Strikes can be declared only after the conflicts have gone through the regulation process and the declaration passed by a two-third vote by secret ballot; during the strikes, the unions shouldn't disturb the public safety and order, or to endanger the life and property of the employers or of any other person. The unions should not demand an increase of wages over the standard wages or thereafter declare strikes. The unions of the workers in the branches enumerated in Point 3 can not declare strikes." Gentlemen of the Kuomintang! Why use so many words and phrases to make us dizzy and drowsy. Why not directly say and state in a clean-cut fashion that "All strikes are outlawed!" We, the working masses, don't care at all whether "enumerated in Point 3" or not, nor do we care for the "limits and bounds" set up by you; we have the right to strike anyhow! We don't know what is the "Standard Wages," since they are not "decreed," but we do know that we are hungry, while the price of the rice is high, we must go on strike, to demand a rise of our wages and have our stomachs satisfied. That's all! We cannot wait a minute, nay, a second longer, for your gentlemanly "regulation conciliatory process." Our stomachs know no time! We don't want such glorious 'membership meetings' guarded by the police armed to their teeth. And, what more, the meeting in which the professional sluggers and hooligans dominate. Gentlemen of the Kuomintang! Please don't humble yourselves to trap us any longer! We have long been acquainted with you, from head to toe!

What the Kuomintang is afraid of the most is to "disturb the public safety and or-

der." Point 27 states that the members or officers of the union should not commit any of the following (1) lock the shop or the factory, (2) take at free will or destroy the products or furniture of the shops or factories. Point 47 states: In case the members or officers of the union commits any of the points in P-27 he is fined not more than 200 dollars. But if such an act concerns the violation of the law, he is punished according to law. As to who should be held responsible for the disturbance of the public safety and order, it is clearly put down in the Act, that no matter how the incident happens, there is no doubt that the workers should be responsible. And they "should be fined not more than 200 dollars," "and punished according to law"! Executed, shot!

Who is charged with the task of prohibiting strikes and "to maintain the public order"?

The Kuomintang hold the trade unions responsible for all these.

Article 37 states: "Committing any of the following, the unions should be dissolved by the controlling offices. (1) . . . (2) Violation of the laws and of a serious character (3) Disturbance of the public order and any damage to the common interests. How the trade unions are responsible to the government is as much as the police office!

In order to build up a highly organized police system, the Kuomintang has to utilize a group of blacklegs and labor traitors. They are not neglected by the "Trade Union Act." Article 11 states: "Every trade union must have a commissioner when necessary, if it is approved by the controlling offices, non-union members may be elected." In regard to those workers who are not blacklegs or labor traitors the Kuomintang has also made special rules, *i.e.*, the names and addresses of the trade union members, and officers must be "registered in the administration" (Article 25 and 26), so that they may be surely arrested in case they "commit unlawful actions."

The Kuomintang "Trade Union Act" is nothing less than a preparation for a more cruel regime of white terror! Fundamentally it does not want any workers' organizations and it prohibits the workers to strike, and to

"disturb order," and hurt the feelings of the capitalists. In the period when the struggle of the workers develops rapidly, it stretches out its bloody hands to massacre all the workers mercilessly in order to maintain its power. The slaughter policy of the Kuomintang is not a new thing. Since 1927 the blue and white banner of the Kuomintang has become stained with the blood of numberless members of the vanguard of the working class. But, at that time it still pretended to promote the interests of the workers, and there was no such thing as the present Trade Union Act. Now the Kuomintang attempts to legalize its action of white terror by their damned act. We can easily understand that under this Act, the white terrorist policy of the Kuomintang will be carried to an unheard of extent.

The problems confronting the workers are very clear. At the time when the exploitation of the imperialists, the onslaught of the capitalists, and the baneful effects of the militarist war worsen the conditions of the workers, the workers must fight for their own basic interests. In the course of their struggle, they come into direct collision with the Kuomintang government, the very government which is preparing for a more cruel policy of white terror to oppress the workers by laws! The Trade Union Act fully expresses the injustice of the exploiting class. Workers of China! Prepare for a new "Canton Uprising!"

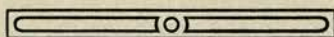
When the Kuomintang is showing its white sharp teeth, the yellow trade unions are also exposing themselves. The yellow trade unions gladly undertake their mission of preparing for the white terror, as entrusted to them. In Shanghai more than 200 trade unions send a petition undersigned, of course, by the leaders of the yellow trade unions, to ask for a revisal on principle of the Trade Union Act. But it said, when the Legislative Assembly (Yuan) published the Trade Union Act—"all our fellow workers are very glad." Yes, the bourgeoisie and their running dogs, the yellow unions, are all "glad"! But how about our workers? We must be prepared for the armed struggles, in order to break through the iron wall of the Triple Alliance

of the Nanking government, the capitalists and the yellow trade unions. Only then, we can secure our victory. We must resolutely organize our Red trade unions and destroy the yellow trade unions. We must, in the course of daily struggles, capture the broad masses so that they will be under the revolutionary Red banner and prepare for the final battle!

Still one thing that the Kuomintang is afraid of is the international revolutionary unity of the international working class. So article 46 of the Trade Union Act states: "Without the recognition of the government the trade unions can not establish any connection with foreign unions." The Kuomintang only permits the Chinese trade unions to join the reformist international organizations such as the International Labor Office of Mr. Albert Thomas and the Pan-Asiatic Labor Conference of Mr. Suzuki. These two gentlemen have been in banquet with

the prominent officials of the Nanking government. The Kuomintang forbids the Chinese trade unions to join the international revolutionary organizations such as the Red International of Labor Unions and the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. But one of the most glorious pages of the history of the Chinese working class is that they joined the revolutionary labor international at their first inception. The Chinese working class, in solidarity with the international proletariat, will be able to fight against imperialism and its lackeys. Especially at the present moment the imperialist world is provoking the Soviet Union. We should ever-more resolutely defend the Soviet Union—the fatherland of the working class of the world.

The Kuomintang is preparing for a new wave of white terror and the dungeons of a new Bastille. The Chinese proletariat must stand together and fight against all those, and for its freedom and interest!



Letter to Executive Council of All - India TUC from the PPTUS

Shanghai, January 8th 1930.

Dear Comrades:

On behalf of our Secretariat, I am instructed to inform you that they note with regret that the All-India Trade Union Congress convened at Nagpur, again decided to postpone affiliation to the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat until 1930. This decision, together with others declaring for complete independence for India and to boycott the Whitley Commission of Inquiry are highly important decisions for the British imperialists; therefore much space was allotted them in the pages of the imperialist press generally, through which we obtained our information.

However, notwithstanding that our Secretariat has not yet learned what Congress did regarding other international relations, we congratulate the AITUC upon its decisiveness in the aforementioned last two decisions. But our Secretariat cannot quite fully understand why Congress should again postpone affiliation when the spirit of these last mentioned decisions are in absolute harmony with the decisions of the first and last Conferences of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement bearing upon these fundamental questions.

Dealing with international relations, our Secretariat has noted some outstanding inconsistencies in decisions of former Con-

gress of the AITUC. We have pointed them out to our affiliated organizations in our official bulletins which are broadly circulated to the workers' press. It is the elementary duty of an international body to collate all accumulated experience, draw conclusions, and give them to its membership for their guidance in making decisions aimed to strengthen the trade union movement. We also hope, by this method to assist our Indian fellow trade unionists to eliminate all weaknesses as well as aiding them to fight against all tendencies that are inconsistent with national and international trade union unity.

Our Secretariat especially desires to mention the decisions of the Jharia Congress to endorse the calling of an Asiatic Labor Conference, the indecisiveness of the AITUC towards the International Federation of Trade Unions, and finally the decisions to take a seat at the ILO Conference. It does seem that these decisions are contrary to the spirit which resulted in decisions to boycott British Royal Commissions and that favor complete independence for India; the latter rejecting a status within the British Empire upon the base of a Dominion Constitution. Therefore, while we are doubtful because of your hesitancy to take your logical place within the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement, we do hope that the Nagpur Congress will have ended these anomalous facts.

The Pan-Pacific TUS pledges its whole-hearted support to the struggle for complete independence for India. But we are not reluctant to warn the AITUC of the dangers involved in the policy of international reformism. No one now seriously believes the proposed Asiatic Labor Conference can obtain a mass following: (1) because throughout Asia, with the exception of Japan, the economic situation produces a wide reformist movement and (2) because imperialist nations, in order to arrest the general decline of capitalism and to obtain individually a favorable position in the world's limited market, more and more endeavour to deepen exploitation in colonial and semi-colonial countries which simultaneously intensify the class struggle. There-

fore it is only by mobilizing the masses in the trade unions around the political as well as economic demands, preparing them for a strenuous struggle with imperialism on all fronts, that the trade unions of Asia can advance the interests of the masses.

The imperialists planned the Asiatic Labor Conference, (1) in an attempt to destroy the growing influence of unity of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement, and (2) to develop an Asiatic chauvinism which objectively not only destroys the international unity of labor but assists the imperialists to keep their strong strangle-hold upon colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Japan is especially interested in this development as the only Asiatic imperialist power. Japan hopes to utilize such a conference: (1) to create a labor movement in Asia they can control, (2) to spread and deepen its ideology in all Asiatic countries, and (3) to assist them in competing with other imperialist powers.

In short: Japanese imperialists hope to get, under control of Suzuki and Co., an organized trade union bureaucracy parallel to that of the European bureaucracy at whose head stands the social fascists of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and whose ideology is that of the imperialist ILO. On the other hand the European imperialists are also attempting to arrest, by obtaining control through their Asiatic agents, the developing labor movement in colonial and semi-colonial countries. They know the trade unions cannot remain reformist within these countries, therefore their aim is to isolate the Asiatic labor movement from the militant Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement. Thus we see that while the motives are different because of the different interests of the various imperialist powers, nevertheless they all have one common aim, and that is to control the Asiatic labor movement, stifle its development and destroy the national and international trade union unity.

Our Secretariat is convinced that many Indian trade union leaders can see this treacherous perspective of the different imperialists who have their agents in the labor movement everywhere in Asia. But those who do not, run the risk of falling into this

imperialist trap deliberately set for them. This can make for much confusion but while it can not stop the development of the militant labor movement, it may temporarily effect the development of the respective trade union movements whose leaders fall into this trap, and to some extent, generally delay the coming of the day when the oppressed peoples shall obtain their national independence. Our Secretariat hopes the Nagpur Congress therefore took a definite position towards the Asiatic Labor Conference, the IFTU, and the ILO as well as the General Council of the British TU's, all of which are instruments for oppressing the Indian and other colonial peoples.

If Congress was not decisive our Secretariat ventures to suggest to the EC of the AITUC that your affiliated trade unions be notified of the anomalies herein pointed out. It would also be good if they were simultaneously shown that the only logical direction in the international relations of the All-India TUC in view of the many of its own decision, is towards the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement. This, of course, would be a step to bring Indian labor in line with the class struggle and to link it with militant labor affiliated with the PPTUS in China, Japan, Korea, U.S.S.R., Philippines, Java, Sumatra, Malay States, Australia, USA, Canada, England and France. We feel sure if the EC would take this action, the next All-India Trade Union Congress will affiliate to the PPTUS and thus lead the Indian Labor movement in the historic role it is bound to play. We are also glad to inform you we are awaiting decisions of five national trade union bodies situated in Central and South American countries, whose representatives have already in a joint conference, decided to recommend affiliation.

The PPTUS desires me to once more assure the AITUC that our affiliated membership is being kept informed of all eco-

nomie and political struggles and tendencies in the Indian Labor movement, for the purpose of aiding them in their preparations to give every assistance at decisive moments when our struggling Indian fellow workers need help. The great trouble is, however, that a large amount of our membership are also living in oppressed countries and cannot assist financially but this is an added reason why the Indian TUC should be united with them in the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement.

I assure the members of the EC of the AITUC that whatever information you can give as to the reason Congress delays affiliation to the PPTUS will receive every consideration by our Secretariat, which, we hope, will enable us to arrive at an agreement which will eliminate any misunderstanding that may exist, and enable the All-India Trade Union Congress to take its rightful place within the PPTUS.

Regarding the other points of policy not touched upon in this letter, our Secretariat refers you to the resolutions passed by our II Congress last August, copies of which were sent direct to you earlier. Please notify us if you received them, as our post is constantly interfered with by the British authorities in India as at Shanghai.

With fraternal greetings,

(Signed) J. Davies, Asst. Gen. Secretary,
PPTUS.

NOTE: The above letter was drafted and sent to the AITUC purely upon the scanty information given in the capitalist press and before the Secretariat knew the reactionaries had split the Congress and formed a new organization. Subsequent information proved our estimation was correct and our attempts to maintain unity and progress stated in the above letter, only serve to emphasize who are the splitters.

Letter Sent EC of AITUC After Obtaining a Full Account of the Nagpur Proceedings

January 14th 1930.

Dear Comrades:

Further to the letter of the 8th inst. sent you by the PPTUS, I am advised to inform you that our Secretariat has since received further materials dealing with the Nagpur session of the All-India TUC. While the contents of our previous letter are entirely germane and still form an appropriate basis for a correct perspective in the leadership of the Indian trade union movement, the further information before us enforces greater responsibilities and new tasks upon the Pan-Pacific TUS, as well as each and every member of the new Executive Council of the AITUC. Regarding your international relations, I am first instructed to congratulate the AITUC through its E. C., for adopting a correct working class policy. This policy is embodied in rejecting the calling of an Asiatic Labor Conference and thereby refusing to associate the All-India TUC with this disruptive ILO—Amsterdam—imperialist manoeuvre; in the decision not to be associated with the Geneva Conferences of the ILO, which consistently carried out, must mean putting an end to all attempts to tie the AITUC to the imperialist charriot, the International Fed. of T. U. The latter decision is in itself, a repudiation of Chamanlal, Joshi and Co., who have consistently striven to attain this end.

Having this correct attitude towards international reformism, the Congress delegates were bound to follow the lead given to it by the majority of the Executive Council on all domestic questions which are of first-class importance to the struggling working class of India. Therefore our Secretariat again congratulates you upon the decisive stand taken by both the EC and the Nagpur session when deciding to boycott the Whit-

ley Commission of Inquiry and renouncing the Nehru Report. Already your decisions upon these points are sustained among the wide masses of India, and if properly utilized, will have a salutary effect upon the political and economic conditions of the workers and peasants.

Further endorsement of your decisions by wide masses of the proletariat is already assured and evidenced by the enthusiasm with which the masses are demanding complete independence at mass meetings and demonstrations. The actions of the workers in supporting your decisions draws attention and rallies support far beyond the ranks of the organized workers of India; and at the same time they show an unmistakable condemnation of Messrs. Chamanlal, Joshi, Shiva Rao and Co. who, as our Secretariat has previously pointed out, are doing the work of the British imperialists within the ranks of organized Indian labor. By their deliberate acts they have split and attempted to destroy the trade union movement of India rather than submit to the wishes of the majority of the rank and file who desire a working class policy as against the policy of their exploiters.

Our Secretariat notes that notwithstanding your excellent decision upon other international relations and domestic questions the resolution to affiliate the All-India TUC to the PPTUS, passed by a majority at the Executive Council, was withdrawn in open Congress. It is clear from the documents before us that this was made necessary only because of the disruptive tactics of the splitting reactionaries. But it would now be a mistake to think these same people who have for two or three years fought for the policy to strangle and stop the logical development of the Indian trade union movement while holding office within the AITUC, will

now cease or even lessen one iota their attacks upon the organized working class now that they are on the outside; or will be influenced in any way by the postponement of affiliation to the PPTUS for another year. It is obvious to our Secretariat that they carefully prepared the split during the whole of last year, both in words and deeds. They have now done exactly what all repudiated right wing reactionaries have done in all cases where they were defeated—formed an opposition movement. The slogan of all reformists and social fascists is: "Wreck what we cannot control."

Lest anyone may make a mistake, our Secretariat desires to warn the organized Indian working class through you, that in addition to attempting the disruptive tactics by forming their Indian Federation of Labor, these agents of European social fascists of London, Amsterdam and Geneva, will get their instructions to get as many as possible back into the All-India TUC and with the least delay. They will have the financial backing of both imperialist and active exploiters and the reformist bureaucracy in Europe; and access to the press as confirmed by the use they are now making of it, to deepen the split they have commenced. And do we not see in the speech of Diwan Chamanlal before the Executive Council the actions of an agent provocateur inciting the police to arrest those honest working class representatives with whom his class disagrees? Pointing his finger towards militant leaders like Deshpandeu, and others accusing them of being "agents of Moscow and communists" and making reports thereto, places Chamanlal in the same position as his Imperial Majesty's prosecutor at Meerut District Court. In identically the same words he emulates those from whom he takes his politics, orders and dictation. He and others are fulfilling the role of spies within the ranks of organized labor in India. But with an unhesitating and fearless application of the policy laid down at the Nagpur Congress, it is impossible for these reactionaries to do greater damage to the AITUC than they have already done.

Comrades, our Secretariat feels to withhold

from you the benefits of the collective experience of our affiliated membership gained in one or two other cases, embodying similar attacks to those now made against the A.I.T.U.C., we should not be committing a friendly act as well as neglecting our duty to the organized working class around the Pacific Ocean. Therefore, we venture to say that while you are specially favored because social forces are with you and subsequent events will sustain your actions, nevertheless, double and wide responsibilities fall upon your shoulders.

The new Executive Council of the All-India T. U. C. is confronted with a united front composed of the State forces, imperialist and native exploiters, and their agents who now openly form an organized opposition within the labor movement. Under existing conditions the situation was bound to arrive in India as elsewhere. It is the logical development of a sharpening of imperialist contradictions within a declining capitalist system. These contradictions have effected a sharpening of the struggle between the reformist and imperialist agents on the one hand, who seek to use the trade union movement for sustaining capitalist production at the expense of the working class, on the other hand, those representatives of the organized workers who desire to use the power of labor to advance the interests of the working class in a struggle to raise the standard of living. Between these two groups there can be no compromise, and India is no exception. Therefore, in every sphere of trade union life, a decisive struggle must be made with those who have deliberately planned this split in the Indian trade union movement.

Any hesitancy or wavering in the application of the new policy can have nothing but disastrous results for the Indian workers and peasants, and any reverses suffered by Indian labor would find their repercussions immediately upon the struggling workers and peasants of China, Korea, Philippines, Indonesia, etc. This is why our Secretariat is directly concerned and urges an uncompromising struggle with the reactionary right wingers and warns all centrists against building a bridge by which the enemies of organized la-

bor may cross once more into the central apparatus of the A.I.T.U.S. The unity of the Indian trade union movement will now come from below and can be attained with greater rapidity than by entering into any compromise made at the expense of the decisions of principle of the Nagpur Congress.

The collective experience of the P. P. T. U. S. teaches us that to repair the damage done to organized labor by Chamanlal, Joshi, Shiva Rao and company, and to prevent any evil effects from their further attacks, a careful tactical approach must be made in order to bring unity of India's organized labor. It would be a great mistake to underestimate the splitters and their supporters, but it would be a bigger mistake to underestimate the rank and file of the trade unions under their temporary domination. The latter are not in favor of the former's disruptive policy because the working class everywhere instinctively believe in working class unity. Under existing conditions in India the members of the few unions hitched up temporarily to the capitalist-owned Indian Federation of Labor, formed on the one hand to guarantee trips to Geneva, etc. for the bourgeois advocates of imperialism, and, on the other hand, to make an organized center to further attack the development of the All-India T. U. C. can be brought back to the A.I.T.U.C.. The A.I.T.U.C. has adopted a policy which will strengthen the working class movement while the splitters have no working class policy to offer, but carry out a policy of the native and imperialist exploiters.

The first task is to go into the enemy's most vital positions and explain to the workers in speech, cartoons, leaflets, etc. the exact positions and policies, while at the same time not neglecting to strengthen the A.I.T.U.C. by similarly explaining everything that happened at Nagpur and drawing the natural working class conclusions. This will develop the hesitant or backward masses and bring them up to the intellectual level of those who support the Nagpur decisions. In so doing preparations are being made for calling con-

ferences of delegates from the factories and unions to build a united front from the bottom upwards. This method of approach will expose them and achieve a further scattering of these reactionary agents of the bourgeoisie and imperialists and will relatively strengthen these unions adhering to the A.I.T.U.C. The experience of our affiliated unions of China and the Philippines show the careful application of these tactics will cause the masses to leave the reactionary bourgeois leaders, and in this process the latter will further retreat along the road they have never left, connecting with the camp of the imperialist oppressor of India's masses.

Finally, they will ultimately take their logical place as in China and Indonesia, as the fascist executioners of the militant workers and peasants of India. This is the logical conclusion our Secretariat draws from the treacherous speech of Chamanlal before the Executive Council at Nagpur.

Dear Comrades: Our Secretariat feels sure you fully appreciate the enormous tasks before you and that you will carry out all these in conformity with the decisions and the spirit animating the delegates who made them: you will strengthen the bonds between the workers and peasants, fight for their immediate demands and properly connect them with political demands, thereby extending and strengthening the Indian working class movement. If this is done it will be in direct contrast to the past experience, as evidenced in the actions and decisions of the E. C. of the A.I.T.U.C. last year.

Our affiliated membership will be informed of the reasons for postponing affiliation for one more year and I am sure they will look forward confidently that next year will witness the All-India Trade Union Congress taking its logical place within the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement.

With best wishes for your success and fraternal greetings.

(Signed.) TinYu Ling, Chairman.

(Signed.) J. Davies, Assistant General Secretary for the P. P. T. U. S.

The Left Wing Victory: Reformists Split Indian T. U. Movement

By L. BURNS

SUMMING up the results of last year's Indian Trade Union Congress held in Jharia, Earnest Kirk, one of the leaders of the Right wing of the Indian T. U. movement wrote the following in the *Statesman* early in 1929:

"The Ninth Session of the Trade Union Congress in Jharia was a considerable triumph for the Reds. They have established themselves so firmly in the most important Indian Trade Union Organization that I see no possibility of further remaining in it for any conscientious constructively-inclined trade unionist. The limits of compromise have been reached, if not overstepped; and if the supporters of true trade unionism desire to escape final overwhelming by the Communists and their sympathizers, they will either have to rally their forces for an open attack or to withdraw. In my opinion the latter alternative is the most rational. . . ."

As soon as it became obvious that the Left Wing — which had been leading the growing economic and political movement of the working class of India — was gaining influence and prestige, and after the Left Wing had given a fine demonstration of its militancy, organization and determination to defend working class interests at the Jharia Congress, the reformists immediately began to urge a breakaway.

Almost a year has passed since that time. The revolutionary movement has taken on definite form. The issue of *political power* has been pushed to the forefront. The intensification of the struggle has brought about a further differentiation of class forces. Whereas the Indian bourgeoisie have been go-

ing over more and more openly to the camp of counter revolution, having betrayed the national emancipation movement and capitulated to imperialism, it has become increasingly clear that the *working class is destined to shoulder the whole burden of the struggle against British imperialism and the native bourgeoisie.*

That the influence of the Left Wing has grown considerably in the process of the struggle can be seen from the organization of several new Left Wing unions and the capture of several of the existing organizations. Meanwhile, the reformists have been steadily losing ground among the masses.

Seeing that they were increasingly losing out in the labor movement, that the working class was putting its trust in the Left Wing, that the militants, supported by the masses, were gradually getting control of the movement, the reformists during the past year have been urging the *expulsion of Left Wing elements from the unions* and openly advocating a split, hoping thus to save themselves by isolating certain sections of the workers from the Left Wing and by organizing so-called "independent" Unions which would be purely reformist organizations and which would take care to keep out the militants.

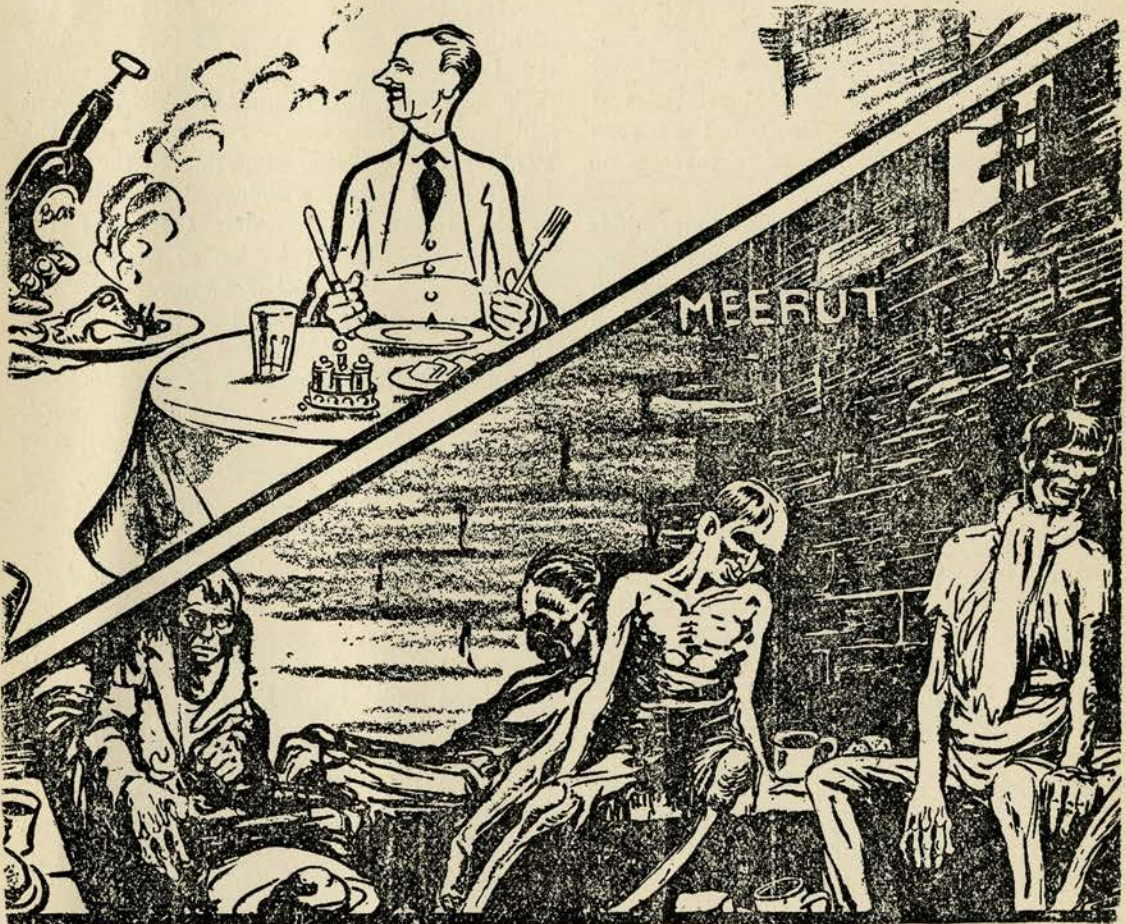
Of course, the Indian bourgeoisie heartily approved the campaign undertaken by the reformists to split the movement and to disorganize the ranks of the working class, for they well realize from the last two Bombay strikes what a formidable factor is the working class when united and organized under a single revolutionary lead. Indeed, several representatives of the employers' associations supported by the bourgeois national press announced that they would have nothing to do with unions which "advocated violence and were out to destroy the capitalist system."

As a matter of fact, the question of engineering a split had been decided in principle long before the *Nagpur Congress*. This was evident from the statements made by many prominent reformist leaders of the Indian T. U. movement. But perhaps Earnest Kirk was franker than the rest when he wrote in the May number of his reactionary journal, *The Indian Labor Review*:

"And the remedy? Complete and entire separation of our movement from the Communists and from even the subsidiary form

ed at the unprecedented activity of the Indian workers who were fighting not only their exploiters, but all the capitalist agents of the Kirk type.

The reformists decided to wait for a suitable chance to put their disruptive plans into effect. And the opportunity to do so soon presented itself at the Tenth Session of the All-Indian Trade Union Congress held in Nagpur for the Agenda raised such questions of principle that a compromise between the reformists and the Left Revolutionary Wing



"The British Empire has been founded on character, not force. Wealth had not made the British Empire materialist, but had come as an opportunity for spiritual development." J. R. McDONALD in Toronto.

of their activity, there is no other way, unless indeed, the Red International is willing to abandon its antediluvian idea of a world revolution by violence."

Now we know the remedy proposed by Earnest Kirk who was obviously much alarm-

was altogether out of the question. (Among these issues were: the question of *boycotting the Whitley Commission* and the convening of a *Pan-Asiatic Conference*.)

Having by this time definitely decided to split the T. U. movement, the reformists got

ready to put up a strong fight at the Nagpur Session.

"*Shall Moscow Call the Tune?*" wrote Shiva Rao in one of his articles on the Tenth Session of the T. U. congress, "The All-India Trade Union Congress will be faced with this question at its next session in Nagpur towards the end of the month and on the answer it furnishes will depend the future of the trade union movement in India—whether it is to profit by the experience and cooperation of the trade unions in other parts of the world or adopt a policy of deliberately fostering class antagonism, and encouraging industrial unrest. Let us be forewarned and forearmed for the test of rival principles at Nagpur and realize in time that between trade unionism and Communism there is no common ground."

It was with these views and their minds thoroughly made up that the reformists arrived in Nagpur to attend the Tenth Session of the Trade Union Congress held between November 28 and December 1, 1929. But they were given a cold welcome when they stepped off the train at Nagpur, for the workers' demonstration was distinctly hostile (many placards carried by the demonstrators and exposing the reformist treachery being much in evidence).

A bitter tussle ensued at the first sitting of the Congress Executive Committee between the reformists and the Left Wing when the resolutions to be endorsed by the Congress came up for discussion. Despite reformist opposition, the Left Wing managed to get several of its resolutions placed (among them being the resolution on *boycotting the Whitley Commission, affiliation to the Anti-Imperialist League and to the Pan-Pacific T. U. Secretariat, on breaking with the International Labor Office, on rejecting the proposal to convene a Pan-Asiatic conference, etc.*). When the resolutions came up for discussion at the Session of the Congress and the debate made clear that they were supported by the majority of the delegates, the Reformist Wing headed by N. M. Joshi and Chamanlal, members of the Commission, demonstratively left the hall announcing that they would have nothing further to do with the

Congress. At a private meeting the *Reformist Group* decided to form an independent organization on a national scale which would be "*free of Moscow influence.*"

Finding themselves in the minority and unable to push through their own opportunist resolutions or to get control of the Congress machinery and to oust the militants, the reformist T. U. bureaucrats were *compelled to secede*. However, they did not get much support. The bulk of the unions resolved to remain inside the Trade Union Congress.

After the secession of the reformists, the Tenth Session of the Congress (composed of the Left Wing, the Left nationalists and their supporters) continued its deliberations and several resolutions — re-boycotting the Whitley Commission, affiliation to the Anti-Imperialist League, withdrawal of affiliation to the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, rejection of the proposal to call Pan-Asiatic Labor Congress, the demand for complete national independence for India and the establishment of a Workers' Republic—all recommended by the Congress Executive Committee, were duly endorsed. Another resolution was adopted at this Session *censuring the recent declaration of the viceroy and Nehru's draft constitution* (outlining Dominion Status for India).

There was a sharp swing over to the Left at the Nagpur Session of the Trade Union Congress, which, being the only national federation of the trade unions of India had always been under the control of the reactionary T. U. bureaucrats (Joshi, Bakhale, Shiva Rao, etc.). With its resolution to boycott the Whitley Commission this Congress not only voiced its protest against British imperialism and the imperialist "Labor" Government headed by MacDonald, but it placed on record its distrust of the reformist leaders of the Indian T. U. movement who were supporting and participating in the work of the Commission (Joshi, Chamanlal).

By turning down the proposal to affiliate to the Amsterdam International or to take part in a Pan-Asiatic Labor Conference (proposed by Suzuki, a Japanese social imperialist), and by resolving to break with the Geneva Labor Office of the League of Nations, the

All-India Trade Union Congress dealt a smashing blow at international reformism which for long past has been trying to get control of the Indian trade union movement and to hamstring the struggle of the workers against the foreign and native exploiters. Now that the Trade Union Congress has formally affiliated to the Anti-Imperialist League and has in this way set up contact with other sections of the international revolutionary proletariat and the oppressed peoples in the colonies, this will reinforce the fight of the Indian workers against British and world imperialism.

And lastly, by condemning *Nehru's draft constitution* and adopting a resolution calling for *complete national independence* and the establishment of a *Workers' Republic in India*, this Session came out definitely against all those bourgeois nationalist groups who had capitulated to imperialism, who had foully betrayed the national-emancipation movement, agreeing to Dominion Status for India.

Needless to say, all the foregoing resolutions adopted by the Tenth Session of the Trade Union Congress at Nagpur will have a great bearing on the development of the labor movement of India. Their adoption marks a great victory for the Left Wing in the Indian T. U. movement and bears witness to its growing influence among the workers at large.

But the Left Wing did not gain a complete victory at the Tenth Session. Under the pressure of the Left Nationalists (who had not seceded) this Session, *despite the decision of the Executive Committee, resolved to postpone consideration of affiliation to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat until the next annual Congress.*

Subha Chandra Bose, the prominent Left Nationalist, was elected Chairman of the Congress at this Session for the coming year. Now that the position of the Left Nationalists has been considerably reinforced in the Trade Union Congress, the Revolutionary Wing will have to be very vigilant indeed. The fact that the Left Nationalists should have supported some of the resolutions submitted by the Left Wing, should mislead no one. Adapting themselves to the revolution-

ary mood of the masses and doing their best to penetrate the labor movement with the view of hampering the working class struggle from within, the Left Nationalists do not hesitate to use revolutionary phraseology whenever it suits them, especially when it is a question of fighting imperialism. They even support strikes called at enterprises owned by foreign capitalists whenever this is in the interest of the native bourgeoisie. But they come out against all strikes and against the workers when the interests of national capital are at stake. Subha Chandra Bose, the new Chairman of the Trade Union Congress, once declared at a workers' meeting:

"To introduce a fresh cleavage into our ranks by talking openly of class war and working for it seems to me at the present moment to be a crime against Nationalism. It would be disastrous in the highest degree if we were to launch on class war while we are all bed-fellows in slavery." (Forward, July 14, 1929.)

Since the Left Nationalists are hampering the development of the revolutionary labor movement in various ways and with their demagogic phrases may yet deceive certain sections of the working class, they are extremely dangerous enemies. To struggle against them with every means in our power is especially important at the present time.

An excellent example of where the Left Nationalists are heading to is the career of Chamanlal, one of the leaders of the group that broke away. Only quite recently Chamanlal was a champion of Socialism. He made long speeches against imperialism and the Labor Party. In 1928 he even demonstratively left the Empire Labor Conference as a protest against the imperialist policy of the Labor Party, and declared that the "British Labor Party had betrayed India and Socialism and that its Socialist slogans were merely a blind for its imperialist tendencies." But this belongs to the past. Chamanlal is now zealously co-operating with imperialism. He is a member of the Whitley Commission which has been condemned by all class-conscious sections of the working class of India. His treachery has now culminated in the splitting of the T. U. move-

ment, for Chamanlal was among the leading spirits who engineered the present piece of disruption. Chamanlal's career should serve as a constant warning to the workers of India and to the Left Revolutionary Wing in particular. All our Left comrades should carefully follow up the actions of the Left Nationalists and make use of every occasion to expose them as the agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class movement.

The Left Wing will have to clear away many serious obstacles. Alarmed at the intensification of the class struggle in the country, the employers and the Government are now all out to crush the revolutionary movement and are going to use force to do it. The employers have so far completely ignored the Left Wing unions. They refused to negotiate with them (for example, when they withdrew their recognition of the Girni Kamgar Union) and are demanding that official steps be taken to put a stop to their activities. The question has now been taken up with the authorities of prohibiting Communists to be elected to any of the leading organs in the T. U. movement. Left Wing T. U. leaders

are continually being arrested, and there is no doubt that the split in the Indian trade union movement, engineered by the reformists — which has been accompanied by increased persecution of all militants — will lead another wave of repressions against the Left Wing.

The revolutionary wing of the Indian T. U. movement is still confronted with many big battles. It will, therefore, have to be very vigilant and keep to a clear-cut class policy. The Left Wing should now make every effort to develop as extensively as possible its activities *at the enterprises*, in the shops and factories and take over the leadership of all the economic and political struggles of the working class, rejecting the line of the reformists and the Left Nationalists. The mistakes committed during the last big strikes must be outlived. A correct lead in the working class struggle and a stubborn fight against the reformists and the Left Nationalists will help to extend the influence of the Left Wing, and with the support of the broad working masses will be a means of surmounting all the difficulties and obstacles that must inevitably arise.



The Struggle in Australia

By HARRISON GEORGE

With a Few Words About the Aussie Militants

WHILE the details of the struggle in Australia have not come to hand since the violent collisions in New South Wales, sufficient material is at hand to give an approximate picture of what is going on upon the island continent.

The coal miners of the Northern New South Wales fields have been sold out by their leaders. These miners were locked out on March 1st, 1929, because they would not accept a wage cut of twelve and one-half per cent. On November 29th their leaders, the officials of the union, agreed upon the following terms:

1. Resumption of work on December 9th.
2. The wages of all contract workers shall be reduced twelve and one-half per cent, and the wages of all day workers shall be reduced by six-pence per day.
3. Prior to December 9th, the owners will submit figures to the committee of employees to show that the reductions mentioned in Clause Two represent nine-pence per ton on the average.
4. The legal right of the colliery managers to dismiss workers shall not be questioned.
5. In the event of any employee feeling that he has been unfairly dealt with, a committee shall be appointed consisting of two proprietors and two representatives of the union, for the purpose of considering the case of any man dismissed. It is understood and agreed that in no circumstances shall a stoppage take place while the matter is under consideration.
6. The employees undertake not to place any restrictions on output.
7. The Miners Federation and the other unions agree to take all steps possible to avoid petty stoppages.

That the miners understood this agreement as a sell-out is clear from the battles that

have since ensued. But the miners should have been more awake to the betrayal, as the previous actions of their officials had given them every reason to be vigilant and to organize to prevent the very thing that occurred. In the August number of the *Pan-Pacific Monthly*, the article entitled "Australian Letter" gave sufficient facts to alarm the rank and file of any union as to the conduct of a struggle with the bosses.

It must be marked as a weakness of the militants in the Australian Trade Union Movement that they could make no sharper criticism of the course the struggle was taking at the time the above mentioned article was written. Looking back we see, for example, the following: "Not much has been accomplished by the miner's leaders during the month. It is true that the combined mining unions' council reaffirmed its decision not to withdraw the safety men, but that could hardly be regarded as a particularly commendable decision."

MARVELOUS RESTRAINT—BUT NO VIRTUE

It should have been clear to the revolutionary elements in the New South Wales unions at the time when the above quotation was written that not only were the miners' leaders "not accomplishing much," but that they were accomplishing one thing — preparing for an eventual surrender and merely relying upon the same thing the bosses relied upon — wearing out the spirit of struggle. More, the decision not to withdraw the safety men was not only "not commendable," but should have been instantly denounced as an act of treachery to the strike.

The duty of the revolutionary workers in such cases is not to hand out withered bouquets and weak comment, such as "things

might be worse, but then again, things might be better and after all, harsh terms may hurt somebody's feelings."

The fact is, that without the militant workers indulge in plain speaking and decisive organization steps, they themselves are responsible for the confusion among the workers which allows treacherous leaders to carry sell-outs into effect. It should have been obvious that the rank and file were ready for struggle against such eventualities, from the resolution adopted as far back as May 23rd last, by the miners' lodges in the South Maitland fields, which not only protested against the craft disruption of the strike, but actually pleaded for the withdrawal of the safety men.

ARBITRATION "PROTECTION"—AN EXPLODED FANCY

Later events in their broad outlines are known. The dependence upon the "Labor" Party winning the federal elections, and the sudden reversal from attacking the arbitration courts system to supporting it (the two mistakes went hand in hand) should by now have been shown for the illusions they were. The "Labor" government has been shown to be a twin brother to the "labor" imperialist government in Britain. The very conference at which the terms of the sell-out were arranged, was called by the "Labor" Prime Minister. And this gentleman has done nothing to enforce the decision of the Federal Arbitration Court, as unsatisfactory and ambiguous as that was, regarding the opening of the struck mines in N. S. W. on pre-dispute rates. Not any court, but the organized militancy of the workers, is proven to be the only safeguard of proletarian interests.

The fairy tale that the Arbitration Court constituted an "obstacle for the employers" has been proven a mere delusion, and in being a delusion, it constituted a very decided obstacle to the struggle of the workers.

From press dispatches we gather that there has been a wide revolt of the miners against the betrayal, and what the militants have done to make up for their previous half-hearted "opposition" seems to appear in the course of events as the dispatches tell. The militant

march of the miners on the Rothbury colliery, the clash with the police and the sound of battle reaching across the Pacific, are signs that the workers of Australia will not tamely submit to the attack of the employers and their betrayal by fossilized bureaucrats who have no place in union office.

Shattering all ancient illusions of an Australian-patented scheme to attain socialism without struggle, the shots of police rifles, the clubs falling on the heads of 30,000 worker demonstrators in Sydney, have ended the dream that "Australia is different."

There is only one thing which will prevent the employers from making Australian workers into half-starved colonial slaves no better off than the workers of India: that is—their will to struggle and the joining of their struggle with the other workers of the Pacific; yes, most particularly with the Indian workers.

The situation in Australia requires a straight-out fight, and leaders who do not equivocate. If the present leaders are incapable of meeting the test, the rank and file will and must throw them out and raise up new leaders from the ranks. And the struggle for correct and audacious leadership, revolutionary leadership, *is an essential part* of the struggle against the employing class. That is basic.

"LABOR" DOES WORK OF NATIONALISTS

From material at hand, it seems, however, that reformists in the A. C. T. U. (Australasian Council of Trade Unions) are in a conspiracy with the new Federal "Labor" government to revive the Mondist "industrial peace" policy which was discredited in the Timber and Waterside strikes under the conservative "Nationalist" government. Thus we see the Scullin "labor" regime trying to put over an attack upon the workers which the conservative government could not—and "labor leaders" actively supporting this capitalist scheme for hamstringing the unions.

It must be remarked as especially "brilliant" on the part of the A. C. T. U. reformists, that while they can allow one section after another of Australian labor to be beaten in strike struggles with never a thought of

bringing the whole movement into strike action to support the section under attack, they have suddenly discovered "discipline" to use in forcing the major state labor councils into line in behalf of reviving, for the benefit of the employers, the "industrial peace" conference.

On this matter as well, the militants failed to take up a stout enough opposition, from the positive angle of bringing support, strike solidarity support, not mere money, to the aid of the Timber Workers, whose really good spirit and fight was allowed to die of inanition in mid-October. Now, while defeat is at times unavoidable, there are all kinds of defeats, and in any case the revolutionary core of a strike movement must show growth and consolidation of itself. We say "must" because, if we do not consider the class struggle ended and the working class hopelessly subjected, the end of a conflict, even though a defeat, must leave a residue of workers newly conscious of their class, its mission and the lessons of the struggle, to constitute the revolutionary vanguard of further struggles.

DESERTION OF CLASS INTERESTS IS OPPORTUNISM

In this, as in other matters, the really revolutionary workers of Australia have so far failed to extend and consolidate their influence sufficiently. And if we look for the reason, we must say that the basic fault is a lack of incisive attitude toward reformism and reformists. Where can they find a justification for remarking that "until this year the Queensland trade union congress has been of militant character," but that (this year) "on this occasion the reactionaries organized effectively and dominated the congress"—without a word as to what the militants were doing, if anything, to organize also. If the militants are to sleep soundly while the reactionaries are organizing, the result is not the fault of the reactionaries, but of the "militants."

In the case of Queensland, in fact, of all Australia, where the social fascist nature of reformism is becoming pronounced and — with the strength of capitalism behind it —

more aggressive, the revolutionary elements can take no pride in being caught out in the storm. We see, for example, that the Queensland congress rejected a resolution condemning the principle of expelling Communists from trade unions; yet concerning this we learn in a letter that the revolutionary workers are meditating doing something about this "if the policy of expelling Communists from trade unions is really adopted," which, in the face of the resolution passed, is tried to be explained by the phrase in parenthesis "(which is not the case yet)."

WHY THE "IF"?

This is plainly a failure to recognize facts and a concurrent dependence upon trade union legalism with a surrender to reformism which is showing fascist tendencies, a failure to recognize the whole character of class relations in this period and a self-complacent blinking at one's own mistakes. In a period when the fight against reformism, and "left" reformism especially, is the foremost task of revolutionary workers, it is *not* "anachronistic" that "there has been no clash" on a large scale with reformism; but it is illustrative of the fact that, with reformism on the offensive, the revolutionary workers yield to it here and yield to it there, and make no consistent fight against it—hence there is "no clash," and the "militants" comfort themselves with the assurance that, so far, they have not been hung, drawn and quartered and exposed in the market place.

The world wide tide of great mass struggles has touched Australia, and the Australian proletariat has shown itself fully as ready for militant leadership as in any country. It is up to the revolutionary workers to furnish that sort of leadership and cease making mere pretensions of doing so, lest not only they be found bringing up the rear and making post-mortem analyses of lost battles, but sharing the responsibility for loss of working class conditions, instead of playing the role of a *decisive factor* in changing the course of struggle to the benefit of the interests of the proletariat.

Japan: A Country of Economic Unrest and White Terror

By S. SAKURAI

RECENTLY the *Japan Chronicle*, a British owned bourgeois press in Kobe, editorially complained and said: "Never, even in war time, has there been such an orgy of news suppression as there has been under the present Minseito government."

This explains why outside Japan you hear so little news from Japan. In this connection the irony is that renegade Oyama, when he proposed the formation of a new Labor-Farmer party on legal basis predicted in a way a change of governmental policy toward labor for the better under new Minseito cabinet. His contention was that the Hamaguchi government would be more liberal and therefore more reasonable than the reactionary general Tanaka's government.

On November 6, 1929, big newspapers of New York carried articles on the Communists arrests in Japan. The *New York Times*, for example, in a signed article by Hugh Byas, its Tokyo correspondent, reported that a raid was conducted recently and that the total number of arrests amounted to 825. However, this was incorrect in one respect. For what the Japanese government permitted them to cable was not any new arrest but old, year-old arrests. In fact the raids were conducted March 15, 1928, and April 16, 1929, respectively, arresting more than 2,000, of which 825 were retained in jail until today.

An astounding fact is that even these 825 kept in jail over a year, were not, until recently, definitely told that they were under arrest. Naturally a very strict censorship suppressed the leaking out of the story of these arrests, and the ban thus placed was not lifted until the government's opinion was decided what to tell and how. It was really peculiar to see, on the next morning, the ban was raised, all the newspapers, both liberal and conservative, printing one and the same story in a

little different phraseology how police and gendarmes sacrificed their time and energies and sometimes even their lives in arresting those "dreadful Communist conspirators" for the safety of the "divine fatherland," Japan.

Even now people are inclined to think that "no news is good news." If anybody, because he hears little about labor disputes in Japan, thinks "Emperor on the throne, all is quiet in Japan," he is wrong. We should not forget that, in this highly developed "newspaper age," little news means censorship, and censorship, unrest. To prove this by facts:

On November, 1928, when official coronation of Japan's present Emperor, that direct "descendant of God," was to take place, the Tanaka government forced the Diet to appropriate, without any discussion, ten million dollars, of which 5,000,000 dollars was for special police expenditures. Previous to this, in June, the government brought a bill providing the death penalty for Communists before the Privy Council.

The purpose of their move was, since the same bill had been rejected by the extra session of the Diet as "outrageous," to proclaim it as an Emergency Imperial Ordinance with the consent of the Privy Council. Premier Tanaka, it is said, had to say at the meeting, seeing that there was much objection even among the members of the Council, that "in case the bill is denied, the government will take no responsibility for whatever might happen to the person of the Emperor during the coronation." The bill was passed.

Then, during the summer two special reinforced concrete buildings were built. The purpose of which was to "keep men with dangerous thoughts" during the coronation. Months before the actual departure of the Emperor to Kyoto, wholesale detention of suspected persons began. House to house search

for revolvers and other weapons was made. Tokyo was armed, as the *New York Times* reported at that time, with 30,000 extra police.

Yet as the coronation approached, leaflets began to be circulated in the villages, in the factories and among the unemployed. "Down

through the streets demanding "pay" for this special "no-work days." The clashes resulted in the death of 27 workers and two policemen. The news did not reach this country in any considerable scale. Then, in the middle of December there broke out a mass rebellion of 10,000 citizens in Miyazaki pre-



Greetings From Japan—

The top lines read: "Workers of the World Unite!" The lower line:

"Across the Pacific to the Comrades in the United States!"

with the Mikado!" "Against the coronation!" "Long live the Communist Party of Japan!" On November 11-12, a number of street fights took place in Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto between police and the masses, who marched

through the streets demanding "pay" for this special "no-work days." The clashes resulted in the death of 27 workers and two policemen. The news did not reach this country in any considerable scale. Then, in the middle of December there broke out a mass rebellion of 10,000 citizens in Miyazaki pre-

fecture which had to be suppressed by troops. The year 1929 was marked by a nationwide spread of rebellion. The year was rung in with a spontaneous peasant uprising in Gifu prefecture. Three thousand dissa-

tified peasants of seven villages, who defied the government's plan to change the course of river Sai' thus depriving them of their land, rose up against the governmental authorities and demanded a change in the plan. Having been denied and having been faced with armed forces, first they were alarmed and then were determined. Though isolated, valiantly they fought till three companies of troops were called out and they were subdued.

In the same month, in Yokohama, 1,500 unemployed day laborers stormed the city hall demanding that they be given "bread" or "job." Three persons were arrested in the clash with the police. However, they were immediately wrested back from the hand of the police by mass action. The next month, February, saw a gigantic class battle front developed in Gensan, Korea, where 3,000 oppressed Korean laborers went on general strike against the American-Japanese capitalist bloc. Martial law had to be proclaimed within a few days. Arrests followed arrests. The jail was full. This struggle, which ended in the defeat of the workers, was originally started with the boycott of Korean Coolies against the U. S.-owned Rising Sun Oil Company.

Then, in March, Comrade Yamamoto, the only workers' and peasants' representative in the Imperial Japanese Diet, was assassinated. White terror raged and raged. Yet the mass economic actions by workers as well as by poor peasants and small fishermen, etc., were ever growing throughout the country. To cite some examples. There was the cotton operatives' strike in Tokyo, Osaka and in other towns, which altogether affected 10,000 workers. Then there was the tramwaymen's strike and conflict in Tokyo and Yokohama (March and June in the latter) and also in Kobe. The workers in the biggest electric enterprise "Tokyo-Dento," who number more than 15,000, staged a gigantic struggle.

While all these struggles were taking place in the urban districts, there was also developing day to day in the rural districts, the battle front of the exploited peasants against the landlords. As the harvest season drew near,

the farm disputes began to take serious form. The reasons for all these, of course, are to be sought in the pauperization of the small peasantry who cultivate a handful of land and who, after being deprived of half of their harvest as rent, have barely enough left to keep themselves and their families. No doubt these poor peasants are the most exploited under the semi-feudal economic system which still survives in capitalist Japan. In recent years, struggles of the peasants are assuming the form of regular rebellion.

To list all the labor and farm disputes in Japan will mean an endless telling of stories. We will take up one more recent happening and pass over to another phase of the present situation, white terror in Japan. This last occurred during November 18 and 19 last, in Kochi, Tosa province. More than 5,000 fishermen, angered at the invasion of their fishing zone by steam trawlers of the big capitalists, demanded in mass action of the prefectural authorities, "law enforcement." Of course there was no favorable reply from the official headquarters.

Finally the arrest of an aged fisherman by police led the crowd to sweep past the guards into the assembly hall of the provincial legislature and into the Governor's private quarters, smashing the furniture and breaking windows. Clash followed clash. However, the fishermen refused to vacate the building, and the situation the next day appeared very serious. But with the help of the Ex-servicemen's association, police succeeded in singling out the leaders of the agitation and arrested nearly 500 persons. As the matter stands today, no settlement of the disputed point—that of excluding steam trawlers from the fishing zone in question—has been made.

As to the last point, the white terror in Japan. What has been said already seems to be enough to arouse the imagination of any reader of this article as to the extent of the terrorist regime in present day Japan. Comrade Watanabe, former General Secretary of the Communist Party of Japan, was murdered at Kiirn, Formosa, on October, year before last. Japan's only labor deputy, Comrade Yamamoto, as has been mentioned already, was assassinated by a paid government

agent, March 5, 1929, a day before amendment to that notorious "Peace Preservation Law" was presented before the Diet. Of the 825—there were scores of women among the number—kept in jail, during the course of one year, several dead out of ill treatment and exhaustion.

Procedures for preliminary examinations are unspeakable. A man is called out at midnight to the fencing room. There he will be deprived of all his clothing. His wrists tied, he is ordered to sit on the cold floor. Then with bamboo sticks his back is beaten till it bleeds and he is unconscious. A bucketful of cold water is poured over his body. He comes back to life. Then there follows some more beating. There is another favorite procedure employed by Japanese police. It is the burning of the skin by cigarette light. It was even said some leading comrades were forced to take a little quicksilver with every meal.

One more word about the "Peace Preservation Law." A part of this law, as it stands revised, reads: "Any person or persons organizing an association with the object of altering the form of state, or the officers of the association and those who have personally taken charge of the leadership of such

association, shall be sentenced to capital punishment or to imprisonment for life, or imprisonment with or without hard labor for five years or longer." And another part: "Any person or persons acquainted with the nature of the association, joining it and taking action for the attainment of the aim of the association, shall be imprisoned with or without hard labor for a term of two years or longer."

That the amendment to the original "Peace Preservation Law" was promulgated not through the regular channel of Diet, but through Privy Council as an Urgent Imperial Ordinance, in itself eloquently tells the whole story of white terrorism in Japan. No freedom of speech. No freedom of press. And yet those gentlemen of the government call the present emperor's regime the "Era of Enlightened Peace."

As the next imperialist war nears, with 800,000 unemployed within, and colonial revolt in neighboring countries, the Japanese bourgeoisie keeps shedding blood. Will they long keep peace with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics? No! They are already prepared for the attack on the world's first Workers' and Peasants' Fatherland. We must be awake and vigilant!

Some Notes on the Labor-Farmer Party

By S. SAKURAI

THE new Labor-Farmer Party of Oyama and others was promulgated on November 2, 1929, under police protection. Before and after that date, storms of criticism were thrown upon the leaders of this new party. Oyama and others were openly denounced as renegades, meaning that they deserted their old ally, the Communist Party of Japan.

There is no doubt that they are the rene-

gades. However, we must bear in mind that Oyama, Hososeko and others were never organically connected with the Communist Party of Japan, in spite of all their talk about Marxism-Leninism, emancipation of the oppressed, etc. This is to be proven by the very fact that when the old Ronoto was dissolved in March, 1928 by the order of the Home Department on the charge that it was connected with the Communist Party of

Japan, the heads of the Rono party, Mr. Oyama, and others, were never even placed under suspicion.

A Communist movement at any time has to combine both legal and illegal work. Oyama, Hososeko and others, in fact the whole Rono party, could put up a gallant fight during its short but brilliant existence, only by virtue of their carrying out the legal phases of the activities of the Communist Party of Japan.

Why? Because the Communist Party is the only party of the working class, and the Japanese masses, knowing this, stood firm at the back of it. Oyama, Hososeko, and three or four others at the head of the party, never understood this. Very often they disagreed with the instructions from Communist sources, always wanting to break away from the C. P. leadership. Only they were too weak to do so immediately. They waited for their time to come.

When the C. P. of J. was dealt a terrible blow for the second time within one year, April 16, 1929, and disappeared temporarily from the eyes of the masses, Oyama and others thought their time had come. They came out once again with their proposal to form a new legal Labor-Farmer Party. A similar attempt had failed in the winter of 1928, and it was decided then that no further efforts should be exerted toward that direction. The Japanese proletariat needs only one political party, the Communist Party of Japan. The new proposal for the Labor-Farmer Party had some remarkable departure from the similar plan of the previous year. They were namely:

1. The open rejection of Communist International leadership.

2. Renunciation of the independent class position of the proletariat.

3. The return to Kautskian "Democracy."

That this is the complete renunciation of Marxism is obvious.

Yet, like Lovestone the counter-revolutionary, they misquote Lenin and claim themselves to be the champion advocates of the working class cause. They say they have nothing to do with the Communist Party of Japan organizationally. Nay, more than that.

They are "against the C. I." They hasten to add, however, like Lovestone, being outside the C. I. does not mean being outside the Communist movement. Lenin is the teacher, they claim. And as followers of Lenin, they are, so they say, to lead the Japanese masses toward victory. A convincing argument!

However, now that the new Ronoto was promulgated we are given a chance to see

1. What are their demands.
2. How much support they are getting, and from where.
3. What do they actually do?

To start with the first. The accepted line of work of the new Party, among many others, states that the party is "for having many representatives in the Imperial Diet (Parliament)." Thus we know that the new party will not be a fighting organ of the oppressed, but an electoral body like the old Socialist Party. In this connection it might be well to consider the fact that the announcement for the proposal was made public only a few weeks after the collapse of the reactionary Tanaka Government and there was a prospect of another general election in the near future. It was clear as day-light then that in the approaching session of the Imperial Diet, the Government Party would not be able to master a majority. (As the matter stands today the Government party has only 174 seats out of 466, whereas the opposition, Seiyukai Party, boasts of 240 seats.)

Further we read in the accepted program of the Party:

1. Our party fights for the protection and extension of the daily interests of *all the oppressed people*, i. e., workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, national minorities, etc.

2. Our party considers the strengthening of labor unions and peasant organizations its foremost duty.

3. Our party looks forward to the united front of *all the* oppressed masses.

4. Our party fights for the political freedom of all the oppressed people.

The masses. The oppressed people. Who are they? Then, these reformists themselves breaking away from the Communist Party of Japan, they look forward to the united battle

front of the oppressed masses! And, last of all, they expect to obtain political freedom for oppressed masses without having proletarian revolution!

Their program of action contains some thirty-six points. It is significant that the "Defense of the Soviet Union" is purposely dropped out, although "Against War Danger," "Hands off China," and "For the Emancipation of Colonial People" are included among these thirty-six points. Their demand is not for a seven-hour work day, but for an eight-hour day.

According to what we can so far gather, the new party's main support comes from local peasant organizations. Besides, since Nihon Taishuto and Shakai Minshuto enjoy the support of two of the biggest peasants' unions in Japan, even numerically the support for the new Labor-Farmer Party of Oyama from peasant sources is insignificant. However, for this very reason we may assume that those peasant supporters of the Oyama group are the most desperate and therefore "militant."

Nevertheless, after all is said, it is obvious that the new Party does not enjoy mass support. In this connection it might be of interest to listen to some of the criticisms and comments given out by various leaders in the

political circles at the time of the promulgation of the Ronoto party.

The *Yomiuri News*, a bourgeois paper, of November 3, reports that "the Department of Home Affairs was unable to find any reason to prohibit the promulgation of the party, for no trace of Communist influence was observed among the composition of the new party." The advice of Mr. Tomita, general secretary of the Government Party, is amusing. He advises the Ronoto leaders to "drop out left phrases" so that they might not be "suspected of real revolutionary intentions."

Mr. Isoo Abe of the Social Democratic Party wants that "the new Labor Farmer Party be more friendly" to his party than heretofore. The criticism by Hisashi Aso of the Nihon Taishuto, perhaps comes nearest to the truth. According to him, "the new Party lacks the vitality and color of the old. Because in spite of Mr. Oyama's statement that it is the succeeding body to the old Ronoto, in reality, it is not. The only thing they have in common is the name. The new party with the exclusion of the 'ultra-lefts' (Communists) parted with the revolutionary spirit. When Ronoto again is a fighting body, it is time when those 'ultra-lefts' are back in power."

Let us wait and see.

The Red Spectre in the Black Continent

(Unrest in South Africa)

"THE South African Worker," the organ of the Communist Party of South Africa, began a leader on the present political situation in the country with a paraphrase of the words of the Communist Manifesto, "A spectre is haunting Africa—the spectre of communism." And verily not a day passes without some sort of excitement in that extensive black continent which has for centu-

ries furnished European imperialists with obedient humble slaves, always ready to turn their blood into gold for their enslavers and oppressors.

Not very much of what is going on in the various colonies of South and Central Africa reaches the ears of the outer world. The "democratic" states of Europe, whatever party happens to be at the helm, jealously pre-

serve the secrets of their African rule. The world only found out by chance about the vast native rising in French Equatorial Africa which went on for several months in 1928, and there are merely stifled reports of native risings in Kenya (British South Africa). The imperialists are usually successful in drowning such risings in blood long before the outer world hears of them.

South Africa, or to be precise, the South African Union, a self-governing British Dominion, is no exception in the family of imperialist colonies. The natives exist under extreme oppression and exploitation. The colonizers, driving the native population from their lands, considerably lessening the communal basis of their life, have managed thus to make serfs of them. For the right of using a tiny plot of land, just sufficient to save him from starvation, but incapable of providing him with a decent living, the native is forced to work from 100 to 180 days a year on the land of his master. The farmers treat their serfs even worse than slaves used to be treated.

This is, however, not by any means the whole extent of the exploitation of natives. We live in an epoch of capitalist development when the elaborate industrial machine demands labor by the millions for its service. The native has therefore to be forced to work in factories, mines and docks; he must be made an industrial slave, and the exploiters have found a way to kill two birds with one stone. This way is the screw of taxation.

For the privilege of existing beneath the iron heel of a white master the native must pay a heavy per capita tax and a house tax for every native hut. Since work in his master's fields does not allow him to scrape up the necessary money to pay his taxes the native must leave his family for several months and go to the town to earn the money. There also, however, he is involved in the complex police-capitalist system, which forces him to sell his labor for a song and scrape up the sum required at the cost of extreme privations and labor.

In the first place he must get a special passport from the police. By the end of a certain period — not more than a few weeks

—he must have found work, or be arrested for vagrancy and sentenced to compulsory work which, however, does not free him from the necessity of paying taxes! It is obvious that the native is forced to take work at any price and still more obvious that the employers profit by this to pay him the most wretched wage.

Native workers get on an average not more than 2/4d to 3/ per day, although the cost of living in Africa is even higher than in the United States. Even this is not all that the native has to put up with. Practically all Negro workers, except small categories of personal servants (footmen, cooks, etc.) are forbidden to live in the towns themselves. They are given special locations where, for high rent, they are forced to exist in unhygienic, swarming dens. These "locations," frequently situated at a great distance from their work, are seldom connected by traffic routes with the towns, and twice a day the Negroes have to trudge there and back.

Recruiting Slaves.

Bad, however, as are the conditions and work of these Location dwellers, they are nevertheless well-off in comparison with another category of native workers—those employed in mining, the basic industry of South Africa. Such workers are recruited by the employers through a special Native Recruiting Corporation, getting hold of workers direct from the native settlements through its agents. The illiterate native, ignorant of any foreign language, affixes his finger-marks to a paper which is grandly called a contract and thus falls completely under the power of the mine-owners.

Provided with a sufficient convoy the agent takes his contracted workers to the central distributing station, whence they are sent to the various mines. These workers live in special compounds, under the permanent observation of native police, specially appointed for this purpose and directed by white superior offices.

They have to get a special permit to leave the compound. Workers caught with an expired permit are arrested. To leave work before the expiration of contract is also pun-

ishable by the law. All this, of course, makes it extremely difficult for native workers to organize, and any strike in the compounds is regarded as a riot and forcibly suppressed.

Despite, however, all this legislative protection, the capitalists do not feel quite easy and, in order to avert concerted action by the workers, they put workers from different tribes and races in the same compound, frequently those who have been keeping up mutual hostilities for years, thus causing constant fights between workers, especially after drinking bouts. And beer is part of the diet provided by the mine owners in the compounds. By thus setting the natives against each other the employers hope to keep them in subjection.

Such conditions for native workers give rise to wonder, not that unrest is beginning to show among them, but that so far there has been no wholesale Negro rising against the white oppressors. The lack of any serious movement of revolt must be put down to the lack, up to recently, of organized forces.

The old tribal leaders, as well as having lost all authority, have sold themselves long ago to the British and Boer enslavers and are assisting the latter to squeeze the last drop of blood from their own countrymen. The new national and revolutionary organizations are not yet strong enough to become centers for a general rising.

Although it is, however, too early as yet to speak of a mass national-revolutionary movement, the events of the last few months show that native South Africa is rapidly becoming revolutionary and is on the eve of great events.

It is precisely at such a moment that the so-called Native Bills (Anti-Native Legislation) played a most important part in the creation of unrest in the country. In essence these bills amount to the following:

The Cape is, at present, the only province in which natives with certain property and educational qualifications are entitled to a vote — a passive one it is true. The nationalist party is endeavoring to attack this privilege. Premier Herzog introduced a draft

under which natives in the future will be deprived of the right to elect together with whites. Instead of this, two electing lists—one for whites and the other for natives—are to be introduced. Those natives at present voting together with the whites will remain on general lists, but new native electors will not be entered therein. The natives are demanding not only their old electing rights in the Cape, but the spreading of these rights all over the territory of the South African Union.

TAXES THE CAUSE OF UNREST

The province of Natal, especially in its biggest town, Durban (the former port of Natal) has of late become the center of the greatest unrest, sometimes breaking out in disorders and conflicts with the police. Outwardly this movement has shown itself in "beer" riots. The Natal beer shops are municipalized, and the source of still further exploitation of the natives.

The Durban workers, most of whom are dockers, organized in the Natal Industrial and Commercial Workers Union* demanded the closing of the beer shops. When this was refused they declared the beer shops under boycott and set up pickets. A strike was declared in June last, in which over a thousand workers took part, owing to the sacking of one of the pickets, a docker.

During the strike serious conflicts between native workers and the police (the latter re-

* The Union of Industrial and Commercial Workers was at first a mass organization of Negro workers. Subsequently, however, Kadalie, the leader of the organization, began to sniff around the Amsterdam International and, after getting the Communists excluded from the organization, steered for reformism. Amsterdam was benevolent enough to send the Union a certain Ballinger, a member of the British I. L. P., to educate them in reformist ways. This work was crowned with "success." The Union split into three groups. One, under Ballinger's leadership, retained the old name and Amsterdam recognition; the other, under Kadalie's leadership, is entitled the Independent Union of Industrial and Commercial Workers; the third, under Champion's leadership, is known as the Natal Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers. As far as their leaders go all three groups are reformist, and the more revolutionary among the masses are gradually leaving them. Since last year revolutionary trade unions, combined in the Federation of Native Trade Unions, adhering to the R. I. L. U., have been organized in South Africa.

inforced by white roughs) took place on the 17th and 18th of June, resulting in eight deaths (six Negroes and two whites) and more than a hundred wounded. Despite however, police repression and even the open treachery of the reformist Champion, who appealed to the members of the Union at a meeting held after the rising under police protection, to cease hostilities and submit to police orders, the boycott movement did not come to an end. On the contrary, it spread to other towns in Natal.

Women have begun to play an important part in the movement and in some places, Estcourt, for example, serious conflicts have arisen between women and the police.

But the "beer" disorders are but the outward sign of native discontent, which, as we have pointed out, is based upon more

profound economic and political causes. It is therefore no wonder that in November the Durban unrest acquired a still more general character. The natives are refusing en bloc to pay the per capita tax, thus bringing down upon themselves police repressions, such as raids on the huts of the workers and the use of poison gas.

The British papers, especially the conservative, are again spreading tales about the "hand of the Comintern," although none know better than they that the cause of native unrest is their own oppressive policy towards the natives, which is forcing South Africa along the revolutionary path of the movement for national emancipation, in a united front with the other colonies and the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world.



The Terror in Indo-China and the Development of the Revolutionary Movement

By A. N.

INDOCHINA, a colony of French imperialism in the Far East, is at present undergoing a regime of terror.

In February 1929, mass arrests took place following the execution of Bazin, the director of the office for the recruitment of labor in Tongking for the plantations in Southern Indo-China and in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia.

At the same time a secret organization of the nationalists in Annam was discovered. The matter was brought before the court and 76 revolutionaries from Annam were sentenced to more than 300 years imprisonment. Lo Sap Giat, a former sergeant, who had

been sentenced to capital punishment in his absence, and who has been the leader of the revolutionary movement of Binh Lieu, was arrested on the Chinese frontier; the court commission which was hurriedly called together, confirmed the death sentence.

These monstrous reprisals, which first began in Tongking, were also later carried out in Annam and the other parts of Indochina.

The organization of the revolutionary youth of Annam was discovered in the carrying out of a widespread distribution of leaflets against the Chinese hangmen who had arrested the Annamite revolutionaries who had fled to China; hundreds of these young

revolutionaries were thrown into prison. Two members of this organization were sentenced to death without any evidence being produced against them, and several others were sentenced to hard labor for life.

In Cochinchina, hundreds of Annamite Communists are awaiting trial in prison on the charge of having conspired against the security of the state.

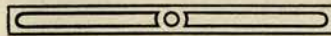
The mass arrests and house searches which are carried out quite arbitrarily, are continuing. Whilst hundreds of revolutionaries are thrown into prison without any evidence of their guilt, others are horribly tortured to death in the offices of the police. Nguyen Van Vien of Hanoi, who had been sentenced to ten years imprisonment, Nguyen Van Vien of Bac Ninh, who has been sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, Le Huan, a former political deportee, and others have been murdered in prison.

Nevertheless, these cruel reprisals cannot stop the growing action of the masses. Already, after the execution of Bazin, the Indochinese had proved that they will not allow themselves to be exploited, to be legally murdered, to be dragged about over the whole world in order to be used as slaves by the imperialist sharks, without raising energetic protest. Revolts of the coolies on the

plantations against their inhuman treatment are breaking out again and again. In many districts the workers are on strike against their imperialist and native exploiters.

The Communist Party of Annam and the illegal revolutionary trade unions have been reorganized. On the anniversary of the October Revolution leaflets against French imperialism and for the Soviet Union were distributed in the whole of Indochina. In Hue, the capital of Annam, a big red flag with the sickle and hammer and fighting slogans, was hoisted on the seventh of November. On the same day, two red streamers with inscriptions referring to the anniversary of the October Revolution, were displayed in the chief streets of Camau, in Western Cochinchina. On armistice day leaflets were distributed in Hanoi, Saigon and surroundings, calling upon the toiling population not to participate in the military parades. Numerous placards on the walls stigmatized the terror of French imperialism and called upon the toiling masses to organize for the final struggle.

In spite of the terrorist regime of Pasquier, Governor General of Indochina, the revolutionary movement is extending and will put an end to the cruel rule of French imperialism.



Dutch Civilization in Indonesia

By GERARD VANTER

(Amsterdam)

THE Dutch bourgeois press is regularly publishing the short official reports, that again a new transport of deportees has been conveyed to the concentration camp of Digul in New Guinea. Indonesians who are suspected of Communism are being banished to Digul by the Dutch government. Only once has a bourgeois journalist succeeded in inspecting this camp. He called it a hell, in

which the deportees are perishing of malaria, black fever and mental isolation.

But only those who are suspected of Communism are being tortured to death in this way. Very little has been published by the press regarding the sufferings of these thousands of deportees. Recently the "Nieuwe soerabayasche Courant" published a report concerning the prison in Pamekasan, on the

isle of Madura, where four European warders have been wounded by a prisoner who had become insane. In this prison there are only Communists; the mood of the prisoners, who are being slowly tortured to death is such that the director of the prison gave instructions that the prison doors be opened only in the presence of two guards with drawn swords. There are 610 prisoners in this prison, 405 of whom have been waging a constant fight ever since they were delivered into prison. They refused to do any work and were cruelly mishandled, of which the Dutch press reported only when it considered it necessary.

The rich islands of Indonesia offer hardly any possibility of livelihood for the native population. The news regarding the famine in the islands of Flores and Madura is appalling. Wolff, a catholic missionary, reports on conditions in Flores. He describes how the population is leaving the villages and going into the jungle in quest of food. But the jungles offer only insufficient food, and, as the population finds only impure water, numerous cases of dysentery are to be observed.

The missionary reports appalling details of the deaths of women and children; he complains that he had not sufficient time to baptize all the dying children. Of the five hundred children whom he baptized, fifty have died already. The official government reports laconically state that in these famine districts "there can be seen everywhere horrifying figures of starving, exhausted and emaciated people," who died in dozens in the months of September and October.

But the government of the pious Dutch exploiters had not granted a pennyworth of aid. Already in May the facts of the famine were known, but it is only now that rice for seed purposes has been sent into the districts most seriously affected.

At the same time, the Indonesian government granted an additional credit of 350,000 florins for the extension of the police force on the western coast of Sumatra, i. e., for the protection of the Dutch planters living there.

The poverty of the native population of Madura is so great that they live exclusively on wild fruits and the leaves of the Nangka tree. The cattle are dying and the natives are compelled to pawn what little property they possess. In addition, there are the appalling sanitary conditions. Epidemic diseases are spreading as a result of the permanent malnutrition of the population and are claiming a tremendously high percentage of victims. The press of the Dutch exploiters is now paying attention to the bubonic plague, because it threatens to affect also the Dutch. The population of Bandung and Semarang showed great indifference towards this pest; they regard death as a happy release.

Meanwhile, the terror against the Communists and Nationalists is being increased. The cynical murder regime in Indonesia is splendidly illustrated by the following quotation from a big Indonesia daily, the "Nieuws van den Dag voor Nederlandsch Indie." On the occasion of mutinies of political prisoners the paper wrote:

"MORE AND BETTER SHOOTINGS"

"The prisoners are striking! They conspire, they make attempts to murder the prison guards! The prisoners put forward their demands. We are having a fine time with these riff-raff who are costing the treasury millions every year! If at the time of the revolt more and better shooting had taken place, then we think, the government would now have less difficulties with these good-for-nothings!"

The economic crisis in Indonesia is becoming more acute. The Chairman of the Union of Importers in Batavia reported on a decline of business in the whole of Indonesia. Exports have greatly declined the last year or so, especially the export of tea.

It is obvious that a new revolutionary situation, like that of the year 1926, is approaching. The terror in Indonesia is not a sign of strength on the part of the bloody Dutch rule. The Indonesian revolutionary movement can only temporarily be dammed back by violent measures. Dutch social democracy,

which furnishes the best hangmen for Indonesia, declares that the Dutch regime in Indonesia has many good sides and the independence and the right of self-determination of Indonesia is an impossibility.

The approaching revolt of the Indonesian masses will prove that Indonesia is not only

ripe to take her fate into her own hands, but is prepared to fight and to win. In the meantime, the Dutch revolutionary workers will do their duty and make it clear to the Dutch workers that the Indonesian revolution will also deal a blow to the rule of the Dutch capitalists over their white slaves in Holland.



Mexican Trade Unions Adhere to P. P. T. U. S.

An Analysis of the Situation in Mexico, and the Tasks of the C. S. U. M.

BY HARRISON GEORGE

THE *Pan-Pacific Monthly* is in receipt of a notification from the revolutionary trade union center of Mexico, the *Confederacion Sindical Unitaria de Mexico*, announcing its adherence to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, thus adding another and a most important link in the all-Pacific chain, uniting in struggle millions of proletarians around the tremendous arch of the continents.

It must be considered as significant, that almost at the same moments, the Mexican bourgeois government, completely a lackey of American imperialism, gave out an announcement, somewhat ambiguous and wholly slanderous it is true, declaring diplomatic relations broken between the Mexican government and the Soviet Government.

These two nearly simultaneously developments, make necessary a new analysis of the situation in Mexico, necessarily related—a fact which our Mexican comrades seem lamentably weak in noticing—to international events, most particularly the developing world crisis of capitalism. (For previous analyses, the reader is referred to the present author's article in the P. P. M. No 25, and that by Earl Browder in No. 27). To clear the ground for a better understanding

of the situation confronting the new adherent body of Mexican unionists (the C. S. U. M.), the writer will deal first of all with the action of the Mexican government in breaking relations with the Soviet Government.

The relations of Mexico with the Soviet Union were established while the Mexican petty bourgeois government was still struggling, weakly and with vacillations, but struggling, against imperialism, both Yankee and British. The present breaking of relations is an obvious result of its surrender to imperialism; more definitely, to the imperialism of Wall Street.

Genaro Estrada, Mexican Foreign Minister, ascribes the rupture of relations to the workers' demonstrations in the United States, Argentina and Brazil, against the Mexican government, which demonstrations Estrada claims, were "ordered by Moscow" following the "deportation of pernicious elements of Russian origin" from Mexico. Let us see how this fits the facts:

There were deported from Mexico the following revolutionary workers: One Argentinian, six Cubans, one Rumanian and some time previously, a Chilean and an Italian—but not a single "Russian"! Some

of these workers incidentally, had come to Mexico following the invitation made in 1925 of the "labor attaches" of Mexican embassies abroad, to workers' organizations, to come and see how wonderful was the Mexican "revolution."

These deported workers, indeed, have had reason to learn. Their hosts have jailed them, tortured them with electrical apparatus, driving insane, thus, the brave Cuban fighter, Alejandro Barreiro, whose whole family was arrested and finally, stealing what money they possessed, (\$275 taken from Jorge Paz, the Argentinian, being the property of the organ of the Latin American Trade Union Confederation, of which Paz was representative).

The Reasons for Demonstrations

But besides these attacks on foreign-born workers, the Mexican government has jailed the whole Central Committee of the Communist Party and Communist Youth Federation, attacking also the C. S. U. M. piecemeal fashion, and throughout Mexico launching a reign of terror with murders, threats and jailings of revolutionary workers and peasants, begun last summer with the suppression of "El Machete," official organ of the Communist Party. A part of these attacks against the workers may be listed as follows:

The murder of Jose Guadalupe Rodriguez, peasant leader in Durango.

The assassination of Hipolito Landeros, militant peasant leader of Vera Cruz. The murder of Jesus Martinez in Coahuila. The murder of Comrade Barradas in Vera Cruz. The slaughter here and there of numerous obscure peasants and the disarming of the peasants, an intensified campaign for which was issued by military orders throughout the nation on the very day relations with the Soviet Union were broken off.

What Release From Opportunism Means.

It was against the whole series of attacks on Mexican workers, and those immigrant workers whom the Mexican workers regard

as part of the working class of Mexico; it was against this terror visited upon *proletarians, regardless of mere nationality*, that the revolutionary workers of the imperialist metropolis itself rose in angry protest. It is worth while to mention here, that the revolutionary movement in the United States came into collision with the police.

The clauses of the Solidarity Pact were carried out, through power in behalf of the Latin American proletariat.

Recently freed from the paralyzing influence of opportunism, which never called upon the masses to demonstrate, but which "fought" imperialism by sending out little groups to be led off to jail and thereby "prove" to masses (who already knew) that "capitalism is wicked;" on these recent occasions the revolutionary workers of Yankee-land itself, calling for masses to support, went into veritable street battles and found, much to their own amazement, that not only do the masses support the revolutionaries *when they really fight*, but they made the remarkable discovery that the capitalist government is endowed with no supernatural power, that it is—so to speak—human and vulnerable. Because the workers in the United States, freed from opportunist leadership and responding to the deep economic crisis with political struggle, have entered a new stage of history, the Mexican and other Latin American workers may hereafter count this fact among their assets.

Moreover there has been a new turn in Mexican affairs, as pointed out in previous articles in the Pan-Pacific Monthly (which unfortunately do not seem ever to have been translated for our Mexican comrades), a new turn the full meaning of which seems scarcely yet dawning upon the revolutionary workers of Mexico. This seems regrettably clear if we take, for example, the resolution of the Communist Party of Mexico written early in January 1930, yet which does not so much as mention the world economic crisis, nor the dramatic onset of crisis in the United States (the chief imperialist oppressor), nor any of the major consequences such as the swift growth of imperialist contradictions heading full speed to war (indeed,

the war danger is barely mentioned, and that obscurely, is a resolution which fairly drips provincialism, and which sees the present historical moment in Mexico as one—*“in which commences the first stage of the consolidation of the semi-colonial capitalist regime.”* The full-blown Right Wing basis of this view cannot be said to be modified by the insertion in parenthesis, after the word “consolidation,” of the phrase “(precarious, unstable, naturally),” and its effects upon the work of the Unitary Trade Union Confederation, are too grave to pass by.

What about the situation in Mexico? Let us see how much it is “consolidated.” Is capitalism in Mexico “consolidated” or stronger for the fact reported by deported workers, that some 700,000 workers are unemployed in a country of 13,000,000 population? Hardly. Nor the fact that a growing deficit exists in the country’s trade balance; that the burden of foreign debt, impossible though it be, is made still more impossible by the interior debt, and the insistence of Wall Street that Mexico pay interest on and acknowledge both.

Is it a sign of capitalist “consolidation” that more and more mines are being shut down, that more factories are closing, that oil wells, already mostly limited to a mere fraction of capacity, still further shut down? Will it help the “consolidation” (“precarious, unstable, naturally,”) to go from its “first stage” to a presumed second stage, possibly not so “precarious, unstable,” that the corn and bean harvest have failed by 40 per cent, that literally thousands of cotton plantation *peons* are wandering, jobless and starving, while there is a wholesale desertion of the lands by small holders? The drop in the price of silver to unheard of depths, not only closes the mines, but is causing howls of rage from the merchant bourgeoisie who must pay Yankee manufacturers in gold and yet sell in depreciated Mexican silver money.

Who can see “consolidation” of capitalism in these and other things? For example, the more frequent collisions of armed peasants with the big landowners and their white guard bands; the rebellions of Indian tribes who are enslaved as *peons*; the growing

armed resistance to authority; the growing strike movement; the fascist transformation of the state apparatus and inclusion in it of the reformist leaders of the CROM (Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana) and a few renegades from Communism and from the Worker and Peasant Block. Even the far-famed fascist “Labor Code,” intended to make strikes illegal and reduce the unions to mere appendages of the government, is no sign of stability in Mexican economy, but of instability, and the government’s (imperialism’s) desperate effort to overcome it.

The Opposite of Consolidation

The “election” by infantry, cavalry and artillery (which so often supplant the “liberty, equality and fraternity” of days that are past) of Ortiz Rubio, with Mr. Morrow supervising from the side lines, Rubio’s visit, also that of Calles, to Hoover, and a whole series of events ending with the demonstrative break of relations with the Soviet Union, shows not only the abyss of servility to Yankee imperialism of the Mexican bourgeois government, but show also signs of anxiety on the part of Mexico’s rulers lest the Mexican masses rise against them. One may incidentally note here how completely at the service of the Yankees is the Calles-Rubio-Gil regime, as shown by the official approval given the strike against the British-owned railway from Mexico City, to Vera Cruz, and the outlawing of a Canadian Life Assurance company with the deportation as an “undesireable” of its manager, whose Yankee citizenship has somewhat complicated the affair.

Every effort of expert demagoguery is being used to convince the starving masses that they are fed and sheltered. “Down with alcohol” is fit alongside “Up with Rubio;” fascist propaganda is put out under the innocent title of “social welfare;” the swarming millions of unemployed, literally dying of starvation, are blessed with posters telling them of the beneficence of the government which will give them Greek dances at popular theatres! But the budget for war, looming tremendously over practically all

civic needs combined, shows the arming (for imperialism at the expense of the Mexican masses) for war abroad and for suppression of revolution within, exhibits at the same time the government's realization of its instability.

In such a situation, what might be the best policy to win the majority of the toiling masses for revolution, to swell and consolidate the ranks of the C. S. U. M., the broadened perspective of which is seen and to be commended in its adhesion to the P. P. T. U. S.?

Naturally, one must say that the rising strike wave must be taken in charge by the revolutionary unions, by the C. S. U. M., that before and above all the C. S. U. M. must come forward as the leader of every struggle. Yet it is precisely on this point, where the party of the proletariat should lead in assistance to the revolutionary unions. That we must note a most perilous effect of the postulate given by the Communist Party in its thesis about "capitalist consolidation" above mentioned.

Firstly, after lengthy instructions on how Communists must work in the yellow and fascist unions, it is said, as if on second thought "*thus, also*" they must organize the unorganized. But in "helping" the revolutionary trade unions of the C. S. U. M., the correct idea that there should be preparation for strike struggles, is used as a basis for proposing that under no circumstances . . . "must any strike be declared by the unions of the C. S. U. M. without preparation and organization," and, passing on from this, the C. S. U. M. is categorically forbidden to enter as the leader, in spontaneous strike movements of apparently, independent union organizations, of which there is an enormous number, but "in exchange" the Communists are to enter strikes of the yellow unions. Work in yellow unions is certainly necessary, but the whole policy is summed up "in general" in the purely *defensive* formula that what is faced is "a fight for existence of the C. S. U. M."

Thus, the correct formula of independent leadership of struggle by the revolutionary unions is sidetracked into "independence"

from struggle, and the C. S. U. M. is put on a shelf to await a period when there is less "capitalist consolidation," while the Communists are busily engaged in supporting strikes of the yellow unions.

One may say that the burning question of organizing the unorganized is, throughout, given but the scantiest attention; put in as an "also," or at most equally balanced with work in the yellow unions. Yet if one remembers that the yellow unions are largely in the lighter trades, while the most significant bulk of the unorganized are the great mass of peons, the sea of Indian peons, largely in agriculture, half-serf, half wage slave; that in such a land as Mexico, this mass of toilers cannot but be the deepest and broadest source of revolutionary energy, one must marvel at the comparative indifference manifested by the Communists of Mexico, toward this most oppressed group, proportionately more important to the revolution in Mexico than are the Negroes in the United States.

One must hope that, after repeated resolutions on organizing the peons, and after repeated disillusionments in basing agrarian work and, in effect the whole movement, on the land holding peasantry, that the revolutionary workers of Mexico soon show results, before "capitalist consolidation," torn to pieces before their eyes, finds them following far in the rear, trying again to fit the pieces together and call it "consolidation."

The C. S. U. M's. Hopeful Future

Everything points to growth in influence of the C. S. U. M., despite the faults mentioned. Firstly, it stands out before the Mexican working class as *the only trade union center upholding class struggle* at a time when all others are becoming social fascist parts of the state apparatus and at a time when struggle is literally forced upon the masses by the ever deepening crisis.

Whether it is allowed a legal existence or not has little to do with the influence it may wield if it pursues correct policies. Its fight against the terror will be more effective if, while giving the terror due attention, it does

not become panic stricken about it, but drives deeper into the masses, rallying them to it on the basis of their needs, the fight against unemployment, the daily demands, the anti-imperialist struggle. It cannot make a "fight for existence" in isolation from the masses. Legal or not, it must raise its name and its program *in every conflict, upon every issue* of burning interest to the masses, who will flock to it if it does just this. Already, indeed, the reports from deported comrades state that the masses are turning toward the C. S. U. M.

The further guarantees that the C. S. U. M. will make progress is its international

affiliations. While it is not yet affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions, it is a part of the Latin-American Trade Union Confederation, which has shown splendid capacity for leadership in Latin America, and which should give more close attention at present to its adherent body in Mexico. Likewise, with the adherence of the C. S. U. M. to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, the P. P. T. U. S. must take up the situation in Mexico as part of its duties, and must devote earnest attention to aiding our Mexican comrades rush forward in growth, stability, influence and revolutionary struggle.



The Lessons and Prospects of the Economic Struggle

Report delivered by Comrade Losovsky at the Plenary Session of the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U.

The trade union movement of the Pacific, in common with the whole movement, is being profoundly affected by the world crisis of capitalism, which is placing new perspectives to the labor movement, new opportunities which are, of course, accompanied with new difficulties, but which open problems of policy in the widest aspect. The following 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. in December last, which reviewed the work of the revolutionary unions since the Fourth R. I. L. U. Congress in March 1928, and prepared the base for the Fifth Congress, which is to take place in July 1930, is worthy of study by all trade unionists of the P. P. T. U. S. precisely because the new perspectives are herein set forth with clarity and vigor.—Editor.

COMRADES. In order to draw the correct balance of the struggles which have taken place of late, and in order to draw up a correct draft of the further perspectives of the revolutionary trade union movement, we must first of all form a clear idea of what stage has now been reached by international capitalism in its retrograde development.

During the period which has elapsed since the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U., events have taken place causing every leader of the labor movement to approach with special circumspection the work of organizing our tasks in accordance with the changed situation. Here a position of unique importance is assumed by the sudden and frightful crisis convulsing the United States, and reaching

far beyond the frontiers of this mightiest of capitalist countries.

The crisis in the United States is no purely American phenomenon. The events which found expression in the American exchanges in October, the stock exchange crash which ruined millions of small investors, were brought about by a stagnation in production, and the further development of this exchange crash reacted again upon production, and thereby accelerated and intensified the economic crisis in the United States.

Of these events, the most important point for us, for the Central Council of the R. I. L. U., is the collapse of the illusions cherished by considerable strata of the working class, and, strangely enough, even by some revolutionary organizations—illusions regarding the stability and consolidization of capitalism in general, and the special stability and the special power of capitalism in the United States in particular.

What is of the utmost importance for us, is the indubitable existence of an economic crisis in the United States, and the beginning of a general economic crisis in the greatest capitalist countries, for the influence exercised by the American Stock Exchange, by American capital, and by the various branches of American industry, upon the international money market and the world's economy, is so great that a collapse in the stock exchanges of the United States cannot but react upon international economy.

We must choose our tactics, and determine the ways and means to be adopted by our organizations, in order to attain the greatest success in the struggle, in accordance with the status of capitalism under the given conditions, and in accordance with the concrete difficulties with which it is faced, and with the extent and nature of these fresh convulsions.

All business circles of the United States were plunged into excitement by the exchange crash. The government of the United States, aided by the leading representative of the American trusts, President Hoover in conjunction with his colleagues, attempted to offer a certain resistance to the

financial earthquake which was causing serious complications in the whole economy of the country. Hoover organized several special conferences of industrialists, railway magnates, representatives of public utility services, and labor representatives. Hoover plans the formation of a National Economic Council, a sort of capitalist State Planning Commission, for the purpose of regulating that which is beyond all regulation.

It is especially interesting for us to note the measures which the leaders of American politics and economics are endeavouring to take in order to stem the growing crisis. The business men of the United States have, however, but little faith in these measures, and however great their esteem for Hoover, they are nevertheless fully aware that neither Hoover nor his colleagues can alter the elementary laws convulsing the finance and economy of the United States at the present time.

The crisis in the United States, and the commencing general economic crisis, involve extremely serious international political consequences. The social consequences, too, will be extremely serious, and will effect a fresh regrouping of forces in the ranks of the working class; they will show how very illusory were the speculations of the Right and conciliatory groups.

International Consequences

Most conspicuous of all are the international consequences, the lessening and restriction of production, already beginning to be felt in the United States, in spite of the existence of enormous reserves, and in spite of the existence of enormous possibilities of production. This restriction is bound to intensify to the highest degree the struggle in the world markets; the after effects of the crisis will bring to the surface the aggressive tendencies of American capitalism, which, goaded by the crisis, will hurl itself upon its competitors with the greater fury and determination in the effort to oust them from their positions.

The crisis will further greatly increase the armaments on land, on the water, and in

the air, because in the first place forces must be created enabling this attack on the markets to be carried out successfully, and because the increase of unemployment will, in many countries, lead to the attempt to relieve unemployment by the building of new warships and the increase of armaments. These two results of the crisis will further strain international relations, increase the number of ways and methods of mutual combat among the states, and lead to sharp collisions between the competitors.

Here, England is one of the main competitors of the United States. The crisis will therefore intensify the struggle between England and the United States. It will further increase the struggle between France and the United States and, since German industry is developing its export to a great extent with the aid of American capital, with the object of being able to pay the contributions imposed upon it first by the Dawes plan and then by the Young plan, the struggle between American and German imperialism for the same markets will be simultaneously increased.

Another factor which I need not dwell upon is that the increased armaments will doubtless render the antagonisms between the United States and Japan, already at an extreme tension, more acute than ever, and may lead to a war for predominance in the Pacific Ocean. Thus the totality of the problems resultant on the crisis begun and spreading in the United States leads to acuter antagonisms among the states, to fresh wars for markets, spheres of influence, and zones of power. There can not be the slightest doubt on this point.

Hoover wants to calculate his own control figures and draw up his own plan. Nothing will come of this, for Hoover builds his plan on drifting sand of capitalist anarchy. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, bases its plan on a firm foundation, for with us capitalist anarchy was abolished at the same time as private ownership of the means of

production and exchange. The outcome of the capitalist plans, is simply the disruption of economy and a further intensification of the struggle. Our plans, on the contrary, lead to the progress of socialist reconstruction, to the inclusion of further branches of industry, to the development of ever new forms and methods of carrying out the plans laid down.

Danger of war against the Soviet Union

If however you will contrast the Five-Year Plan of socialism with the belligerent plans of decaying capitalism, you will see very plainly that the immediate future is inevitably bound to witness an intensified struggle on the part of the capitalist world against that country which stands most firmly against the background of the general crisis of capitalism.

For this reason, the danger of a war against the Soviet Union remains imminent. It is even greater as the crisis spreads. These international effects of the crisis will be accompanied, by extremely important changes within the capitalist states involved in the crisis. Unemployment in particular will spread widely, and is already increasing. Hundreds of thousands of workers have already been thrown out of work in the United States in consequence of the crisis.

The crisis will lead to an even greater pressure being exercised upon the working class, for the purpose of reducing the costs of production and increasing the possibilities of competition on the foreign markets. The crisis will lead to longer working hours, to worsened social conditions, to the robbery of even the few rights still remaining to the workers. In other words, the present crisis will intensify to the utmost the inner contradictions and the class struggle, and will force the working masses to resist the pressure already exerted upon them.

As a result of this crisis, the Fascistization of the state apparatus of state administration will be accomplished at a much greater speed. Signs of this are observable, not only in Europe, but in America. The most characteristic feature of the present period is the fact that in this Fascistization an

especially important role is played by the social-democracy, which, though uttering democratic phrases, in reality carries out the Fascistization of the state apparatus and the state administration.

And this circumstance will intensify the struggle between the upper and lower strata in the social democratic parties and in the reformist trade unions. It will bring about a conflict between the workers and the leaders in the reformist organizations. For as soon as the upper strata of the trade unions and the social democratic parties become the instruments for the execution of Fascist policy, then the objects of this policy, that is the workers, cannot but protest, cannot but rise both against the bourgeois state and the employers, and against their head organizations.

Opportunity of Red Union's Growth

In this manner the revolutionary trade union movement is beginning to become stronger, both where special revolutionary unions already exist, and at the same time in places where they do not yet exist. The struggles will become more acute, and will increase both quantitatively and qualitatively. At the same time the trade union world will experience augmented attempts to split the trade unions, for the reformist trade union bureaucracy will do its best to weaken, by means of schism, splits, and expulsions, those organizations which begin to take a stand against social fascist policy.

What we see at the present time in the different countries, shows that the struggle will assume much acuter forms than before. We may already observe the conversion of the economic struggle into the political. In some regions, in some countries and especially in the colonies, we observe considerably sharper struggles, frequently merging into revolutionary conflicts and even insurrections. It may be said that, in the course of precisely this phase of the economic crisis, the question of the struggle for power may very well arise, and that in various countries not only immense conflicts and mass strikes may break out, but revolutionary risings.

Against this background the complete bankruptcy of the Right and conciliatory groups stand out conspicuously, after proclaiming for one and a half years the firmer establishment and consolidation of capitalism. We have seen such people; we have seen them in America, in Germany. At the last congress of the Unitary Labor Federation of France, one of the spokesmen of the opposition—an extremely confused thinker and windbag in any case—uttered what the others obviously thought. We heard that social peace would still continue for 40 years, and that during this time there would be no revolutionary struggles.

It is quite natural that this collapse, destroying about 60,000 millions of stock exchange values, this crash which has exposed to the light of day the crisis spreading in the United States, and which forms the point of departure for an intensification of the crisis in England, France, and other countries, will awaken numerous agitated voices among professors of the bourgeoisie, among them the ideologists of capitalism, and these will resume the search for a remedy against the disease.

About a month before this exchange crash, but after the crisis had begun to make itself felt, the Congress of the League for Trade Union Unity was held in the United States. This League drew up a lengthy programme, containing among other things one very brief sentence. This sentence is very brief, but non the less it bears witness to the fact that although these comrades were gathered in the centre of United States, and although it was their task to judge the status of American capitalism, they had not yet grasped anything of what was going on beneath their eyes.

In this programme we read as follows: "The capitalism of the United States is a monopoly capitalism." This is correct. We read further: "The era of competition in industry is gone for ever." It is actually written down in so many words that in the United States the era of competition in in-

dustry is past. These comrades are obviously of the opinion that monopolist capitalism completely excludes competition. This was that theory of exclusiveness under which its originators, Lovestone, Pepper and others, themselves had most to suffer, for they were expelled from the Comintern.

How this theory contrived to get into the programme of our League, whether by smuggling or with open visor, Comrade Foster will tell us. All I can say personally is that, whatever the threshold this theory may have crossed, it has nothing in common with our views, as only a very slight reference to what Lenin wrote on monopolist capitalism suffices to show. It is only necessary to glance at the numerous resolutions passed on this subject by the Congress of the Comintern, in order to see how little this theory agrees with reality, and how detrimental it is.

For us it is of great importance to learn the extent and character of the upsurge beginning in the labor movement before this crisis began, and which will now grow and intensify as a result of the crisis. The fresh upsurge which we are experiencing at the present time differs from that which took place immediately after the war in (1919-1920), in the fact that at that time a revolutionary situation existed only in one part of the European countries.

At the present juncture we see something very different. The upsurge extends not only over Europe, but to the extra-European countries, to the colonies, it is spreading to fresh continents, to Latin America, to such vast countries as India, China, Japan, etc. The upsurge is not yet so intense as in 1919-1920. But on the other hand it differs not only in its greater extent, in its comprehension of fresh continents and countries, it possesses at the same time a subjective factor which was lacking immediately after the war.

We possess an organized communist movement, a developed revolutionary trade union movement, Sections of the Communist International and of the Red International of Labor Unions, playing a considerable role in

the development and intensification of the internal crises of every country. Hence the upsurge of the Labor movement, as it stands at present, *reaching far beyond the limits of Europe, and comprising new lands and continents*, raises for us a large number of questions which were purely European at one time, and whose solution was formerly needful only in the old capitalist countries.

Estimation of Upsurge

Is it possible to say at the present moment at what speed the development of the Labor movement will proceed, in what sections the struggles will become acuter, or where the weakest link in the capitalist order, the link most easily broken, is to be found? We can only guess where and at what spot the first revolutionary spark will be struck. But that this swelling upsurge is leading certainly to this, is no guess.

It need not be said that the upsurge does not resemble a rising tide carrying all before it in one homogeneous mass. In some countries relations are already strained to the utmost. In India the economic strikes have become in some places not merely political strikes, but revolutionary struggles. In other countries we see only the first signs of an awakening. In Italy for instance. On some sections of the front we have great centres in the capitalist countries, such as Poland, Yugoslavia, Roumania, and a large number of other countries.

Let us take, for instance, the strikes taking place at the present time in France. These are of different extent and different character; they show that the upsurge is unequal. In order to be able to determine our tactics in the commencing and growing struggles, we must first of all clearly grasp what has taken place. We have just passed through a considerable number of serious conflicts between labor and capital, the Ruhr conflict, the strike in Lodz, in the north of France, in India, in Australia, in the United States, in China, in the Balkans, in Poland, and so forth.

The most important new factor in these struggles is the fact that a turning point has

been passed in the transition from the defensive to the offensive. Secondly, all these strikes, in spite of their economic demands, or formally economic character, are of far-reaching political significance. Thirdly, the unorganized workers, the women workers, and working youth, play a very active part in the struggles. Fourthly, and finally, even the smallest success cannot be gained—experience confirms this—without relentlessly combatting the social Fascist trade union apparatus, the social democratic parties, and the reformist trade union bureaucracy which is inclining more and more to Fascism.

There are Strikes—and Strikes

It may be said that during the last few months no great conflicts have occurred, apart from India. Is this not a sign that those who warn us against over-estimating the development to the Left in the masses are right. The left development of the masses, say the Right, is simply an invention of Moscow. The left development of the masses is an invention, so say the Rights in Germany, in France, and in other countries. When asserting this, they refer expressly to the circumstance that no great strikes are going on at present. The strikes bear a more or less scattered character and from this they draw the conclusion that our prognosis regarding the left development of the masses, and the growing extent and tension of class relations, are purely fruits of the Moscow imagination.

I am of the opinion that here, as in all other questions, the Right are suffering from color blindness. They are unable to estimate the import and character of any action. They judge a strike chiefly by quantity. They do not comprehend that there are strikes which may be small in themselves, but which possess enormous political significance as forerunners of entirely new struggles.

We must devote attention to a number of actual problems set before us by the impending struggles. Experience has shown us, above all, that even when the line taken is correct there is frequently an incongruity between the line and its execution. In many

countries our adherents do not understand how to extend the movement, to draw fresh reserves into the struggle, to bring fresh forces into action. They let a small troop fight against the whole system of the bourgeois state, of the social Fascist trade union apparatus, of police victimization, etc.

It is not to be expected that matters will be made better and easier the louder we shout about the "independent leadership of economic struggles." No comrades, the mere passing of resolutions on this question is not enough. To make an outcry about it at meetings is not enough either. The independent leadership of the economic struggles, means that we really do lead them, and do not come in the rear of events. This specialty of limping in afterwards is becoming too customary among us. It represents a very great danger for our organization.

Being awake—As well as independent

I shall adduce a few examples. Let us take a small strike of the plumbers in Berlin. Where was here the whole trade union opposition of Germany (and it numbers hundreds of thousands)? Where was the revolutionary opposition of other trade unions? What steps did they take? Why were plumbers left in isolation? Let us take other strikes—those in France, in Czechoslovakia—and you will see that even though we may have begun to solve the problem of the independent leadership of strikes, we have not yet begun to solve the question of the correct manner of conducting one single strike. For we have not grasped how to call up reserves, how to extend a strike, how to utilize a favorable situation which has been created and to win over new masses by its aid, and therefore a courageous and heroic struggle often ends in defeat.

I do not judge the leadership of a strike solely from the standpoint of victory or defeat. No! It frequently occurs that even the best tactics and the most efficient leadership may encounter such forces, such resistance on the part of the employers and the bourgeois state, that we suffer defeat. There

are defeats which are tantamount to victory. The problem of the leadership of economic struggles is not to be regarded solely from the viewpoint of the defeat, but from that of the capability of drawing on reserves, of extending the struggle, and of gathering together the separate small conflicts, of converting the small individual struggles into struggles of a general class nature.

The most characteristic feature of the present stage of the struggle is the expressly political character of all economic conflicts. The connection between politics and economics has never before been so self-evident as now. In the programme of the Comintern we find a classic definition of the connection between economics and politics. Here we read: Politics are concentrated economics. At the present time we see how every small conflict leads to a struggle between the working class and the whole system of the state.

What do we mean by raising the strike to a higher level? It means advancing, during the course of the development of the economic strike, those new demands arising in the process of the struggle. In this question we find several extremes represented amongst us. On the one hand we see comrades who say: If we have once commenced a strike and advanced demands, these demands must remain the same until the end. This is obviously the purely trade unionist standpoint, an echo of that English trade unionism which insists, as you will remember, that even the general strike was an economic, not a political strike.

"Ha-Pence and State Power"

We must admit that the strikes of today bear an expressly economic character. This does not however mean that as soon as 1,000 or 2,000 workers go on strike we must at once proclaim: three half-pence wage raise and the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we have the dictatorship of the proletariat, we can manage without the three half-pence.

It is clear that such simplification as this, and such an attitude, would serve no purpose whatever, and has nothing to do with

really revolutionary and well thought out tactics. The politization of the struggles, the extension of the demands, consequent upon the course taken by the struggle itself: these are the tasks of our leadership. We must of course elucidate our demands by propaganda during a strike, but without directly linking up final aims with any small strike. The politization of the struggles is one of the most important factors for every trade unionist, and in this respect there is still much to be done.

In this connection we come to the problem with which we are now faced daily, the question of the political mass strike. I know that there are countries where the slogan of the general strike awakens the idea that it can be carried out when we like, and as often as we like.

In France, indeed in all Latin countries, the traditions of anarcho-syndicalism hold sway. Here every strike is called a general strike, and great confusion is the result. On the other hand, we frequently observe another extreme. In the countries where the trade union movement is German in type, the resistance against the anarcho-syndicalist phrase-mongering leads to a clinging to traditions which are opportunist in the highest degree. Whilst in the Latin countries the political mass strike or general strike can be utilized as mere phraseology, on the other hand, fear of this slogan—and fear of this slogan is a tradition—leads in the German trade union movement to other exaggerations, to phenomena of an entirely opposite nature.

What we need is clear insight into what a political mass strike really means, under what conditions it can break out, how it can be carried through, etc., accompanied by the rejection of anarcho-syndicalist phrase-mongering and social democratic opportunism, if we are to tackle the problem of the political mass strike, and if we are to solve the problem of the conversion of economic struggles into political.

On the question of the political strike, we naturally take our stand at the opposite pole to the social democrats and reformists. They

are opposed to economic strikes, and even more to political ones. They believe that this "expensive" means of struggle can be replaced by others, whilst we, on the contrary, are of the opinion that this means is effectual precisely for the reason that it comes expansive for the capitalist state.

Every strike must be carefully prepared, care must be taken when it begins to go beyond the limits, when it spreads to fresh categories of workers, when a step forward may be made, when fresh reserves are to be brought into the field, when the demands can be extended and a number of political demands added, and when this strike is in a position to pass forward into a political mass

strike raising the whole of the political problem already facing us.

It need not be said that we cannot isolate the political strike from the other methods of fighting. It is true that the fighting methods of the working class, the methods of direct action, can be reduced to their component parts like the links of a chain: the economic strike, the political strike, the armed rebellion, the civil war. But it must not be assumed that any sharp dividing line can be drawn here; there is no Chinese wall between the economic and the political strike, or between the political strike and the insurrection, or between the insurrection and the civil war. Each form of struggle can and must emerge into the next.

(To be continued)

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