

No. 36
MAY
1930
Price 25c

001329

The Pan-Pacific Monthly

....

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



FLORIDA ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

SOCIALIST - LABOR
COLLECTION

**American Distributors:
WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
39 East 125th Street, New York City**

**San Francisco, California, U.S.A.
P. O. Box 535**

Cable Address "Panpamon"

Pan-Pacific Labor Directory

(Including European organizations affiliated to the
Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat)

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-
mosseau, Secretary. 33 Rue Grange aux Belles, Paris X,
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

Head Office: Shanghai, China

EARL BROWDER, *Editor*

HARRISON GEORGE, *Managing Editor*

Address: P. O. Box 535, San Francisco, Calif., U.S.A.

Cable Address: "Panpamon"



SUBSCRIPTION RATES:—\$2 per year (Postage Paid)—Single copies, 25c (U.S.)

CONTENTS

THE INSURRECTIONARY MOVEMENT IN INDIA, by V. Chabr	3
DEFEND THE MEERUT PRISONERS, by L. Burns	4
INDIAN LABOR IN MALAYA	6
TO THE WORLD'S WORKERS, PEASANTS, STUDENTS AND POOR PEOPLE	7
MAY FIRST AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, by Ting Yu-Ling	10
PHILIPPINE WORKERS, PEASANTS AND STUDENTS, UNITE AGAINST AMERICAN IMPERIALISM	14
THE PHILIPPINE "INDEPENDENCE CONGRESS"	17
THE FRUIT OF A WEAK-KNEED POLICY, by Harrison George	19
NEW ZEALAND MINERS AFFILIATE WITH THE PPTUS	21
CAPITALIST CRISIS DEEPENS IN AUSTRALIA	22
"COMPLETE THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN FOUR YEARS!"	27
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SECOND INTERNATIONAL UNITE AGAINST USSR	30



AMERICAN INDIANS JOIN MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION

Chief Thundervoice of the Iroquois Tribe, speaking to the workers at Buffalo, New York State, pledging support of the tribe's "Five Nations" to the fight of the Communist Party against U. S. imperialism, telling how capitalism had stolen the country from the Indians, even the little land left them being threatened. To check their radicalization, the government is prohibiting organization among Indians. These aboriginal Americans dispute the ravings of "100 Percenters" such as the A. F. of L. leader Matthew Woll (who was born in Luxemburg) that all "reds" are foreigners who should be deported back "where they came from."

The Insurrectionary Movement in India

By V. CHABR

THE pace of the revolutionary development in India has greatly increased during the last few days. We can almost speak of the beginning of a new turn, of the going over of the masses to insurrectionary action. That which happened in Calcutta was much more than a sharp protest against British imperialism. It was a collision, the first bloody battle between the revolutionary masses and British imperialism. The tenacity, the resoluteness with which the masses, who were repeatedly attacked, again formed their ranks and went over to the counter-attack, is the outstanding characteristic of these street fights in Calcutta. Far from following the slogans of "passive resistance" (or as the newest formulation of Gandhi, issued under the pressure of mass upheaval, is called: "aggressive-passive resistance,") the masses are expressing their indignation at the uninterrupted provocations of the MacDonald government in their own manner.

The struggles are rapidly extending. The whole province of Bengal is actually in revolt. The events in Chittagong (Bengal) where the insurgents inflicted serious losses on the English, and where they also succeeded in spite of all the efforts of the British troops, in holding up all traffic and transport, show the strength of the revolutionaries. The spirit with which the insurgents are inspired is best characterized by the English conservative paper, the "Observer," which compares the present movement with the first wave of revolts and comes to the following conclusion: "There is to be seen a bitter hostility on the part of the crowd towards the English which far exceeds the degree of hatred existing ten years ago."

The extraordinary means to which the British authorities in India are now resorting, the mobilization of troops for the direct fight against the insurgents, show how seriously the situation in India is regarded by the British.

The movement is already spreading to the peasant masses, and this by no means in the passive form of boycott, but in active attacks on British troops, in fact one can even speak of the formation of insurgent peasant detachments.

It is thoroughly characteristic that the fiercest fights are taking place precisely in Calcutta, the big proletarian centre; that the working class is playing its role as the advance-guard of the movement and stands in the front ranks of the fight against the "Labor Government" of British imperialism. All hopes of a peaceful settlement with India, now that blood has flowed in the streets of Calcutta, have vanished, and the efforts of the petty-bourgeois elements of the type of Nehru, Gandhi, and Gupta to hold back the movement will likewise be in vain.

The insurrectionary movement in India—which has been provoked by MacDonald—is now being attacked with the sharpest means by MacDonald's police. A state of emergency has been proclaimed over the whole of Bengal. Hundreds of arrests without warrant are taking place. The troops and the police are firing on insurgent workers and peasants; the careful distinction which is being made by the authorities between the advocates of "passive resistance," who are receiving milder treatment, and the "terrorists," against whom all means are ruthlessly employed, plainly shows the determination of the social imperialists before all to crush the revolutionary movement.

The social imperialist labor leaders, and also the Second International, are applauding MacDonald's policy: Lansbury declares that the two men who cherish the best, most noble and honest feelings towards India are Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Labor Secretary of India, and Lord Irwin—that is to say, the two men who are endeavoring to solve the Indian

question by means of armored cars and bombing planes.

Every day brings fresh news of the development of the revolt in India. In such circumstances it is impossible to overemphasize the importance of active support of the Indian fight for freedom by the European proletariat. Proletarian solidarity in England and in the

other imperialist countries, proletarian mass actions for India are the immediate duty of the workers' organizations, and before all of the Communist Parties. The Indian movement is entering on an acute stage. Here it no longer suffices to give good advice, but it is necessary to prove the unity of the revolutionary fight by deeds.



Defend the Meerut Prisoners!

By L. BURNS

ON March 20, a year ago, the thirty-two Indian proletarian revolutionaries, the leaders of the revolutionary workers movement of India, were arrested and imprisoned in Meerut. They have been charged by the Anglo-Indian authorities with conspiring "to overthrow the sovereignty of His Majesty the King in British India with a view to the establishment of a Socialist State under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the supreme command of the Communist International."

These men are charged with endeavoring to achieve their aims by organizing a Communist Party, Worker-Peasants Parties and Revolutionary Trade Union Organizations in India with a view to embittering relations between labor and capital, by inciting them to strikes and by publishing papers and using every other means of propaganda and agitation.

Although the Meerut Prisoners were arrested a year ago, their case has only recently been submitted to the High Court where it is now being heard without jurors, despite the continued protests of labor organizations in every part of the world. A lot of "cooked up" evidence is being used at this trial, about 400 witnesses, some coming even from Europe, having been called, among whom there are many provocateurs and spies.

It would be hard to overestimate the significance of the Meerut trial. Like a mirror it reflects the whole political situation in India

today; the intensification of the class struggle, the advance of Communist ideas, the progress of the revolutionary workers' movement, the growing role of the working class in the national emancipatory movement, the reactionary policy of MacDonald's imperialist Government, the treachery of the native bourgeoisie, the strengthening united front between the workers of Great Britain and India and many other developments.

The Meerut trial was "framed up" by the British authorities to stem the remarkable development of the labor movement which started in India in 1927.

Ever since that year the whole of India has been swept again and again by mass strikes. During this struggle the Left Revolutionary wing, which had been formed before this time, became crystallized, for the working class trusted it with the leadership of the struggle and it quickly extended its influence among the workers at large. Powerful revolutionary trade unions were beginning to be formed in the country. The working class was beginning to take active part in political life, demanding not only complete independence for India, but the establishment of a Soviet Republic. The revolutionary emancipatory movement, directly it was headed by the workers, began to develop rapidly and become sharper. Brutally exploited by imperialism and the feudal landowners, the Indian peasantry slowly began to raise their heads.

Alarmed at the growing threat of the revolution, the British imperialists mobilized all their forces to fight the revolutionary workers' movement. Their aim was to smash the workers' movement before help could arrive from the great reserves of the Indian peasantry. Their first move was therefore to "round up" the finest leaders of the workers and in this fashion "behead" the movement.

Among the arrested men—who belong for the most part to the Communist Party or the Worker-Peasant Parties—you will find such popular individuals, well-known to all workers, like Dange, one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Union of the Bombay Textile Workers, the leaders of several revolutionary Bombay unions, including the Girni Kamgar Union and the Great India Peninsula Railwaymen's Union; Joglekar, Nimbkar and Miradjar; Muzaffar Ahmed, the Chairman of the Worker-Peasant Party of Bengal; Thengdi, Executive Committee member of the Trade Union Congress and many others.

Besides the Indian comrades charged in Meerut, there are several representatives of the revolutionary wing of the British Trade Union Movement—Bradley, Spratt and Hutchinson—who are also accused of conspiring "to overthrow the sovereignty of the King Emperor in British India." This is a clear example of the growing ties of solidarity springing up between the workers in the imperialist countries and the oppressed colonies who are joining forces today to smash imperialism and capital, their common enemy.

All the men arrested on the Meerut charges were "rounded up" at the same time, with the exception of comrade Hutchinson, who was arrested later. On the night of March 20, when the arrests and searches were made in Bombay, Calcutta and the other towns, troops were moved into the factory districts for the authorities feared possible "disturbances." Searches were made everywhere, the comrades who had to be arrested being hunted down like beasts.

The Meerut trial, which began when Baldwin's Conservative Government was yet in power, is still continuing although you have a Labor Government, with MacDonald

at its head, in office today. So far from any change in the Cabinet improving the situation, we find that two other comrades were arrested in connection with the Meerut Trial. The authorities bluntly refused to have the case tried by jury. The prisoners were put on a far severer regime than previously. While comrade Campbell, the representative of the Communist Party of Great Britain, who intended to be present at the trial as the political adviser of the arrested men, was refused a passport to India.

The Indian nationalist bourgeoisie, who fear the revolutionary working class movement far more than imperialism, completely support all the terrorist measures instituted by the Anglo-Indian Government and welcome the present Meerut trial. As a matter of fact it is the Indian bourgeoisie who are increasingly urging repressions against the working class movement.

Indeed, the responsibility for the Meerut trial must be laid wholly to the door of the reformists in the Labor Movement. Together with the imperialists and Indian bourgeoisie they have been shouting from the house-tops that the danger of Communism was threatening India, that Moscow was getting control of the T. U. movement, that insurgent elements in the country were receiving "Moscow Gold," etc. With their continued lies and misrepresentation the reformists prepared the ground for the terroristic measures instituted by the Government.

Having arrested all the leaders of the new Left wing unions in accordance with a carefully laid plan, the Government had hoped to disrupt the whole movement and leave the masses without a leadership when the struggle was at its height. But all these careful plans fell through, for the working class of India has reached a stage of development today when the arrest of a few individual leaders cannot stay the development of the movement as a whole.

Despite the outrageous attacks of rabid reaction, the masses did not lose their heads. A wave of protest strikes, mass demonstrations and meetings swept the country. This was the workers' reply to the Meerut "frame-up." New leaders, from the rank and file, steeled

in the struggle, were immediately put forward to take the place of the arrested leaders. Under their leadership the working class came out more determinedly and energetically against imperialism and "their own" bourgeoisie, and are continuing the fight at the present time.

This is amply borne out by the big strikes of 1929-30, the political significance of which can not be over-estimated. Indeed, they show that the working class struggle has been raised to a higher plane at the present time (witness the five-months' General Strike of the 100,000 Bombay textile workers in 1929, the General Strike of 240,000 Calcutta jute workers, the General Strike on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and also the recent mass political movements of the working class, the First of May Demonstrations, the Lenin Memorial gatherings and the demonstrations on Independence Day, January 26, last, etc.).

Despite the extremely adverse conditions the working class of India is putting up a heroic fight. It is the obligation, indeed, the duty of the international working class movement to support the workers of India in every way.

Now that twelve months have passed and the Meerut prisoners are still detained, *it is the revolutionary duty of the whole international working-class movement to start up a broad campaign of protest* against the Meerut trial, against the interested parties who are engineering this frame up—British imperialism and in particular the British Labor Party, in office today. This campaign should not be confined as hitherto only to India and Great Britain, or be taken up in fits and starts as the months go by. This campaign must be pushed forward by *all the workers in every part of the world*. It must be continued until the Meerut prisoners are released from the jails of imperialism.



Indian Labor in Malaya

THE terrible conditions of Indian contract labor on the rubber plantations have become most appalling. During the last two years the greedy British plantation owners have gradually introduced new methods of exploitation. They have lowered even the so-called stipulated standard rate of wages, claiming depression of trade necessitates reductions in these already starvation wages.

They are also now forcing these indentured laborers to accept task (piece) work by forcing them to tap a certain amount of rubber trees before they are entitled to their daily wage; nor is there any uniformity, each British agent prescribes tasks according to his own ambitions, thus they vary extensively. Such a system ends up in each agent adding more and still more trees to tap until the tappers are not able to do the work unless they work exhaustively long hours. Every agent gives the same excuse one hears in every in-

dustrial concern, East or West: "We must compete with other plantations owned by Dutch, Chinese, etc."

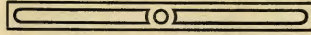
The terrible poverty prevailing is indescribable, and together with bad sanitary conditions, lead to every form of tropical disease. Another feature of exploitation among the indentured labor is the system of slowly poisoning the Indians by selling a cheap intoxicant known as "toddy." This is drunk by the poverty stricken workers who are happy to relieve themselves temporarily from their terrible surroundings.

The PPTU Secretariat is once more drawing the attention of the officials of the Malayan Federation of Labor with headquarters at Singapore to the need for organizing these Indian workers. A recommendation is being made to give the question of Indian Labor a special place on the agenda at

the next Congress which is expected to take place within the next few months.

In accordance, with the decision of the Pan-Pacific Conference held at Shanghai, the Indian trade unions should send special organizers to help organize the Indian labor-

ers and to bring them from their isolated and unorganized position into the Malayan Federation of Labor. This is the only way to present a fighting front to the rubber kings, who have again decided to curtail production in order to force up prices.



To the World's Workers, Peasants, Students and Poor People:

Dear fellow workers:

In China the conditions of the workers and peasants grow constantly worse as the economic and political situation becomes more serious. Militarist wars envelop larger areas which affect the whole of China. Taxes and levies increase both in variety and severity which are imposed by the various ruthless warlords. Many of the few draft animals the peasants have managed to retain are commandeered without payment, rice or food of any kind and many of the few chattels and tools are stolen in order to feed and aid the armies. Extensively large numbers of poor workers and peasants themselves are even dragged from their homes and families and impressed into service by heartless and self seeking militarists, to serve as carrying coolies, etc.

In several cities many large factories have closed down. This applies to almost every important industry, including: cotton, silk, flour milling, match, oil milling, tobacco, etc. Thus large masses of workers are thrown into the already countless numbers of starving unemployed, who are left to die in the alleyways and streets.

Reductions in wages, and hours limited only by endurance are imposed. Contractors (employment agents for foreign as well as Chinese employers) continue taking advantage of the poverty of the countryside. They *actually buy, for a low price, young girls and small children.* These are inducted into what

actually amounts to slavery for a specified time, and are used to replace adult labor in the mills and factories. In some cases these contractors receive whatever wages are paid these unfortunates, and even a percentage of the wages of adult laborers for whom they obtain positions.

In a few cases where factories have reopened, as high as 30 per cent reductions in wages are inflicted. And the relative burdens imposed by these reductions judged in relation to a drop in the value of silver exchange to nearly one-third, resulting in relatively increased prices, makes the suffering become appalling, even for the employed.

The net result of this terrible situation, directly attributable to the exploitation of the native bourgeoisie, landlords, usurers, the imperialists through their compradores and bankers, is the fact that 80% of the Chinese population do not get enough to eat while 30 million are in an actual state of famine. How many millions die from starvation is unknown, but a population reduced in the North-west to cannibalism, which is often authentically reported by missionaries and sometimes reluctantly by foreign traders, can be well imagined.

Comrades and fellow workers of all countries! In this situation the Chinese masses strenuously struggle for an existence. This is a condition objectively developing the mass

movement, but it must be led under most violent and tortuous subjective circumstances.

Nevertheless, our affiliated organization, the *All China Federation of Labor*, is gallantly leading its trade unions in a crusade against poverty, disease and death in all important centers and industries. This rising mass movement is meeting with the united and most brutal opposition of the British, American, Japanese and French imperialists, who utilize every group in the Kuomintang, in addition to their own troops, to suppress the masses.

In Nanking a very large number of workers were dismissed by the International Export Co., a subsidiary packing company of the Vesty interests, the British meat trust, which employs more than 2,000 workers. The workers replied by demanding better conditions as well as the employment of the dismissed workers. But as the Kuomintang yellow union and the Red Trade Union both exist at this factory, and fearing the masses would come under the influence of the Red Trade Union, the Kuomintang Social Affairs Bureau stepped in with their usual treacherous policy: they promised to submit the workers' demand for better conditions, and to "demand" the reinstatement of the dismissed workers, providing, of course, the workers stopped all agitation in the meantime. Their aim was to split the workers and to weaken their solidarity.

But after the workers returned on April 3, with the understanding that all demands were granted, they found that not only had they been cheated out of their demands, but many militant workers were victimized. Later the workers were holding a protest meeting when the Kuomintang police and soldiers appeared and charged them, shooting and killing two and wounding several.

This led to student demonstrations outside the British Consulate and to anti-Japanese propaganda directed against the Japanese naval forces who were ashore from the destroyer flotilla anchored at Nanking. This students' protest was also violently suppressed by the Nanking forces. Then Chiang Kai-shek, desirous of reassuring his imperialist masters, especially the British and Japanese, issued an infamous and desperate statement.

"The Government" he said "*will not hesitate to have a few students shot (to their sorrow the masses know this), and to close some of the universities if the students continue to create disturbances.*"

An observation made in the editorial in the British owned "Shanghai Times" of April 8, when quoting the above, says:

"General Chiang has now intervened in the anti-foreign demonstrations of the Nanking students, and it is clear that the attempt of the youth of Nanking to participate in the affair between the International Export Co. and its employees is regarded by Chiang as having important political significance."

Editorially the leading British paper in Shanghai, the "North China Daily News," referring to increased working class activity and its suppression, says: "We may express a hope the Chinese authorities in this region will give a strong and early lead. . . Assured they will not have to ask twice for collaboration of the Settlement." This collaboration of course, has been continuous.

No other comment of ours could more eloquently and clearly reveal how the Nanking clique is the actual tool and protector of imperialist interests. It also incidently confirms the close cooperation between the Chinese gendarmes and the British and other foreign controlled police authorities, to which the P.P.T.U. Secretariat has referred many times.

Following general Chiang's outburst, the workers and students of Shanghai rose to protest against the murder of the workers at Nanking. They decided to risk an attempt to hold an *open* mass protest meeting. Under the leadership of a special committee including militant trade unionists, members of the Chinese Communist Party and other bodies, the meeting was organized at the Ningpo Guild on Thibet Road. When several hundred workers and students arrived they were met by armed police in charge of Chief Inspector MacIntosh, British police officer, who closed the hall, arrested several and drove away the masses at the point of the pistols, after seizing the literature dealing with the Nanking incident.

The workers afterwards spontaneously decided to hold the meeting at the Peking Theatre, situated a short distance away. Here they were met by three Russian white guards who summoned the police. In the meantime they detained a couple of workers who had entered the theatre by a side entrance. With the arrival of the police a foundry worker appealed "Don't shoot, we are your friends and will help you." But the policeman did not heed the appeal and threatened to shoot.

Thereupon this brave iron worker, a member of the red trade union, tried to seize the revolver when the brutal policeman shot right into his face. Not satisfied with this he afterwards poured two more shots into this gallant and loyal worker as he lay on the ground, one through the back, the only wound reported at the inquest.

This brutality was then outstripped when a person attempted to take a picture of our late comrade who was still lying in the street after the masses were scattered: a bloodthirsty Russian white guard, employed in the Settlement police force, deliberately drew his pistol and shot him dead.

As already reported in the official Bulletin of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, many arrests were made in connection with the agitation following the dismissal of the workers from the Ziang Chong cotton mill in the French Concession at Shanghai, in which Ying Yu-shun, a young mill girl, was shot dead by the police in the middle of March. From absolutely authentic sources the P.P.T.U.S. learns that 21 of those arrested have been held without anything transpiring until 6 p. m. on April 6.

On this day they were taken into a room where the most cruel and fiendish atrocities ever practised were committed in this jail. They were tied and weighted; then wedge-like pieces of wood were placed in the mouths of these innocent mill workers, and driven in by force, thus widely separating the jaws. Afterwards, one of these "guardians of imperialism," taking hold of the lower jaws from the outside of the cheeks, pulled downwards until the joints of the jaws were dislocated. To add to the agony the skin from the back of the hands and fingers was slit,

exposing the small bones in the back of the hands, which were then cruelly disjointed or broken. A third and atrocious item was given after tying these poor victims in a chair connected with an electric current. The "juice" was then switched on and off, administering varying degrees of voltage and torture.

The torture continued from 6 p. m. until 1 a. m. before these insatiable imperialistic fiends were satisfied with inflicting their inquisition upon innocent mill workers. But they "had done their jobs": four of these poor mill workers died as a result, and others are on the verge of death. After the death, one of those brutes who had administered the wounds said "It will be a good job if they all die." These acts are all committed to strike terror into the hearts of the masses and to stop the mass movement.

Comrades and workers everywhere! How long shall we allow such brutalities to be inflicted upon the struggling masses of China? Is it not clear to you that *the enemies of the Chinese masses are not all in China?* Many times we have asked you to protest against the imperialist authorities in Shanghai handing over our Chinese workers to the Chinese gendarmes for execution. Some weeks ago we drew attention to the deliberate murder of a young girl by the Settlement police at the China Edison Electric Co., an American firm. These police are under the control of the British and the same force that shot the foundry worker and the photographer. Thus again we see the deliberate murder, brutal wounding and fiendish torturing of workers and students—all laid at the feet of the leading imperialist powers, aided, of course, by their Kuomintang allies.

How long are the British, French, American and the workers of other imperialist nations going to remain silent? Cannot you see that MacDonal's government pulls the trigger in some of these brutal murders, and the executions that follow the handing over of workers to the Chinese gendarmes?

They will now try to say the Settlement authorities have now relinquished control of the Courts to the Chinese. But nothing has changed; they handed them over before they

relinquished full control. But it is still the British-controlled police who must first make the arrests of workers fighting for their political rights. Don't you now see there is no difference between the actions of the social-fascist members of the British Labor Cabinet, the Washington Administration and the French Government, etc.? Each and every one are parties with the Kuomintang cliques and militarists to slaughter and torture the workers who demand the right to organize.

The blood of the Chinese workers is on their imperialist hands! And now the International Federation of Trade Unions will send their mission to China to help in this suppression.

Fellow workers! On behalf of the Chinese workers and peasants the Secretariat of the P.P.T.U. movement again appeals to you to prepare gigantic protests in every country against these outrageous and fiendish crimes. We cite only these few crimes to draw your attention to similar acts which are committed daily. These are not only committed against the working class and peasantry of China. Such brutal tactics are practised in Japan, in Korea, Indo-China, Indonesia, etc., and are objectively directed against the international labor movement.

This is not an isolated "Chinese struggle," although temporarily the Chinese are in the front line: it is a fight which politically and

economically involves the workers of every country, especially the British, French, American, as well as the workers of other imperialist countries.

Do not hesitate! Act immediately! Strengthen your fight for the colonial workers and peasants! Demand for them the right to free speech, press, assembly and organization, for which the Chinese are giving their lives. Stop these imperialist tortures!

Call mass meetings! Tell of these fiendish acts and brutal cold-blooded murders in every factory, mine, mill, etc. Print special articles in the workers' press. Prepare one gigantic international protest that will constitute an ultimatum to the imperialists and their social-fascist friends.

Remember that the only resolutions these imperialist murderers heed are those backed by powerful action. *Prepare for political mass strikes* that will inflict heavy losses upon these most cruel enemies. Revenge these atrocious crimes without delay! Act at once! Long live the struggling Chinese workers and peasants! Long live the International Trade Union Unity!

Yours fraternally,

J. DAVIES,

Assistant General Secretary.

*Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.
Shanghai, April 11, 1930.*



May First and the Chinese Revolution

By TING YU-LING

AFTER the last great defeat the Chinese workers and peasants have not ceased for a single moment to carry on their economic and political struggles amidst wholesale slaughtering and the most cruel suppression by the reactionary regime. In Shanghai, for instance, in the single year of 1928, there was a continuous wave of strikes, which, in

point of frequency and the number of workers involved, even exceeded that of 1927, when the revolutionary tide had reached its crest. The counter-revolutionary regime in China could not, by its very nature, stabilize itself; the crisis of the Chinese economy is deepening everyday. These objective conditions bid fair that the Chinese working class

will shatter the last remnants of inactivity and enter upon the revolutionary road, fresh for new struggles.

The year 1929 really marked a great turning point in the history of Chinese working class movement. The May Day of 1929 heralded the beginning of revival. On May 30, 1929, the day to commemorate the Shanghai massacre of 1925, workers from different parts of the country assembled to demonstrate in the open streets of Shanghai, shouting slogans, "Down with the Kuomintang," "Down with imperialism." The months of July and August of the same year did not pass away without everyday witnessing an average number of 20,000 workers on strike. In these struggles the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Trade Unions became strengthened daily.

When the imperialist exploiters and the Chinese White generals started their joint campaign to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway, the entire country was confronted with mass parades and demonstrations pledging armed defense of the Soviet Union and voicing the workers' determination and readiness to overthrow world imperialism. In the movement of August 1, 1929, there was mass assemblage and big demonstrations wherever there was the Communist organ or the Red Trade Union branch, or wherever there was found Communist influence.

In Shanghai over 10,000 workers defied the police, the detectives, the armored cars, and staged a four-hour demonstration in the center of that metropolis, on the streets of Nanking Road and Fuchow Road. On September 1, 1929, the International Youth Day, Shanghai was astonished to find the appearance of red flags. In October, the same year, there were big mass demonstrations in Shanghai, Canton, Wuhan, Peking, Manchuria, etc., to celebrate the Canton Uprising and the October Revolution. There occurred in the same month the uprising of Peking rickshaw coolies and the clash between police and workers in Tsingtao. These events clearly show the increasing intensification of workers' struggles.

In these working class struggles the thing that deserves most attention is the fact that,

during this period, the revolutionary Red Trade Unions grew tremendously. The Shanghai Trade Union Association, the Hongkong Workers Association, and the Miners' Association at Kailung, Tangshang, are all now revolutionary organizations and constitute the pillars of Chinese Red Trade Union movement. Their organizations and influence are growing and spreading everyday. The military organization of Shanghai workers is being established. The workers in Wuhan have succeeded to break up the regime of white terror and being their series of strikes (for instance, they struck in the Yuyuan Textile factory) against their bosses, which have brought them victory and successful establishment of Red Trade Unions.

On the other hand, if we take a glance at those yellow Kuomintang trade unions, we see their influence is being reduced rapidly. The workers on the Peking-Mukden Railway, in the textile factories at Tsingtao, in the mines of Kailung, and in the textile factories at Wuhan, to cite but a few, all adopt direct action. They expelled and removed their yellow leaders through mass meeting and establish their own Red Trade Unions. If the yellow leaders dared to offer resistance they were put down by sheer mass action. These reactionary leaders, as a rule, were beaten up, expelled, made prisoners, and, in some cases, even beaten to death. The one time method of legal and peaceful petition, the erstwhile illusions towards the yellow Kuomintang leadership are daily losing their ground. The logical alternative is direct revolutionary struggle—strike and demonstration.

The general crisis of capitalist world economy has not failed to have its repercussions in China. The continuous fall of Chinese silver and the ever rising prices have so ruined many Chinese capitalists that they are compelled to close their factories. Already, in Shanghai, the Nanyang Tobacco Co., 104 textile factories, and all the cotton factories have become bankrupted. The army of unemployed has reached an approximate total of several hundred thousand. On the international unemployment day of March 6, the Shanghai unemployed workers, when they

staged a huge demonstration, clashed with the police who immediately opened fire and killed one unemployed worker, wounding many. This indicates the struggles of the unemployed workers in China. The workers in Shanghai cotton factories have organized anti-closing factory committees. Likewise, workers in the Nanyang textile factory and elsewhere, have organized unemployment councils and are still carrying on their struggles against the capitalists.

The soaring commodity prices have intensified the sufferings of those now employed. As a result, a rapid succession of strikes took place. There were more than one thousand workers in the Edison Lamp Co. who struck for rice subsidy and better treatment. When the Kuomintang heard of these news, they immediately sent delegates to negotiate with the strikers on behalf of the bosses, that the former should go back to their work first and then talk about terms. The workers did not pay any attention to this offer at all. Whereupon police force was called to coerce the workers to go back to work. When the police arrived they found the workers were holding a mass meeting and were determined to resist coercion. The police opened fire killing one worker, several were seriously wounded and more than ten slightly wounded. But the workers stood the ground, fought with the police, had the police chief badly beaten, and continued the strike.

Following upon the heels of the Edison Lamp Co. strike, 10,000 workers struck in the Shih-ho textile factory, more than two thousand workers struck in Tung-hsien textile factory, 800 workers struck in the street car company and the iron factory, both situated in the French Settlement. Then there were strikes in the match company and in the Wood Sowing Company. On the piers the small truck men also struck. But the most important strike of all was the one that occurred in both the old and the new Municipal Electric Companies in Shanghai, which involved more than 4,000 workers and shook the entire city. All these strikes were led by the Red Trade Unions, and most of them won their demands. Still in the fomenting stage are the coolie strike in Yang-shou-pu, the strike in

T'sung-hsien textile factory, in the Foo-fong and two other flour factories, in the Eastern Asiatic Hemp Manufacturing factory, etc. The object of all these past and coming strikes is to oppose dismissal of workers and reduction of wages, to demand for the increase of rice subsidy, and to oppose the yellow leadership and the reactionary Kuomintang. From the above facts it is evident that every economic struggle is closely linked with the political struggle.

Preparations for May 1st are being made by the Shanghai Trade Union Association, and many organizations will participate in this May Day demonstration. A preparation committee has been organized by the joint effort of the Shanghai Anti-Imperialist League, the Free League, the Shanghai Students' Associations, all the Shanghai Red Trade Unions (such as Telephone and Telegraph Union, Street Car Union, Post Union, Railway Union, Arsenal Union, Textile Union, Rickshaw, etc.), the unemployed organizations, and the soldiers' committees. It has been decided that all workers, students and soldiers declare a general strike on May 1, and stage a monster demonstration. At first the preparation committee was not able to get a meeting place under the most horrible regime of white terror. But they finally succeeded to hold a meeting by forcibly occupying a rich man's house for that purpose. The master of the house, the door keeper and one policeman stationed in front of the door were locked up in a small room, the telephone in the house was guarded, and all around the house there were placed workers' detectives. The master, the door keeper and the policeman were set free after the preparation meeting was over.

Let us then turn to the conditions of the Chinese peasants. The incessant militarist civil war, the Kuomintang oppression, the exploitation of the landlords, and the devastation wrought by war, flood and drought, have reduced the Chinese peasants to extreme poverty and misery. There is no way out of this situation except by a thorough agrarian revolution, by forcibly overthrowing the Kuomintang, together with militarist domination. The recent victories of the Red guerrilla

troops and the rapid extension of Sovietism are directly traceable to these objective worsening conditions. Up to date the Red guerrilla troops have occupied these following places:

In Kiangsi they have occupied the Eastern, Western and Southern parts of the province, with Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi, being besieged. There are 81 Hsiens (or counties) in the entire province. The reactionary Nanking government has appointed one official to govern each of these 81 Hsiens; but only ten of them had enough nerve and managed to take up the post. In the Western, Eastern, Northern and Southern parts of Hupeh province, many towns and cities are brought under the Red troops' control. Places occupied by these Red guerrilla troops, and where the workers', peasants' and soldiers' soviets has been established, include 24 Hsiens in western Hunan, more than twenty Hsiens in Fukien, 16 Hsiens along the East River of Canton province, more than 20 Hsiens in Kiangsi, 15 Hsiens in Szechuan, 4 Hsiens in Honan, and 3 Hsiens in Anhwei. This entire extensive territory covers an area in which live more than 60,000,000 people.

In the past, it had been the White cities and towns blockading the Red cities and towns; now, it is just the other way round. Not even the big city of Wuhan, which occupies a central strategic position of China, could escape being bottled up. Taking the Chinese peasant struggle as a whole, one can easily see the fact that in the White territories as well as in Red territories, violent uprisings have never stopped for a single moment. There is now the possibility of establishing Soviet power in one or several provinces. On May Day, this year, all Soviet districts will call a congress, to which will be sent delegates not only from places where Soviets have been established, but also from various big cities such as Shanghai, Wuhan, Peking, and those in Manchuria, all of whom represent workers, peasants and soldiers of their respective localities. In this congress we will declare our political platform and make it publicly known to the suffering toilers of China, in order that we may further

extend our future struggle and clothe these struggles with definite meaning and significance.

We will now turn to the soldiers' movement in China. The Chinese soldiers have been serving as cannon fodder in the ceaseless militarist civil wars. The generals, on the other hand, become rich and fat if victorious, and, if defeated, they carry away with them money and wealth extorted from the people and retire into that happy haven of foreign concessions to become rich lords. In battles, whether victorious or lost, invariably soldiers die by thousands and hundreds of thousands. The crippled, who survive the wars, are deserted by all and receive no care; those now in service have not the least assurance of being paid.

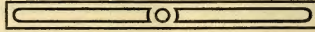
The influence of the Chinese Communist Party is extending daily among these soldiers, with many Party branches already established in the various armies. The soldiers' revolutionary demands are heightening every day. Defection is becoming widespread. It occurred in Cheng-ming-chu's army in Canton; in Wang-chuan's army at Kiukiang, Kiangsi; in the entire army commanded by Wu-hsiang-san, at Chang-huai, Hunan; in the entire New First Division and a part of Kuo-yu-tung's army, at Yi-chang and Sha-shi, in Hupeh; in the entire army commanded by San-chang-chuan, at Changchow, Kiangsu; in the sub-divisions of general Shin-yu-shan's army at Pukow; in a small section of Hsiung-shi-hwei's soldiers at Shanghai; in sections of the soldiers under Yu-ya-lung, Bough-kang and Cheng-kuotsai, at Anching, Wuhu, and Pengpu; in a small section of the army which the Manchurian war lord, Chang-hsueh-liang, despatched to the borders of the Soviet Union; among the various local guards; and finally in Sha-tu-yin's army sent by the Nanking government to suppress the Red guerrilla troops.

Although there are soldiers still following the reactionary leaders, all Chinese soldiers are revolutionary from the objective point of view. Looking at the present situation as a whole, we are warranted to say that the outstanding characteristic of the

workers', peasants' and soldiers' movements in China is toward parallel and equal development. This has tremendous significance in the Chinese revolution.

Basing upon the above situation we are sure that on May Day the workers, peasants and soldiers will take action on a grand, extensive scale. Our chief task will be: 1. Against the imperialist war. 2. Against the militarist civil war. We will turn these wars into a class war, into a war for the defense of the Soviet Union, into a war to overthrow world imperialism. We will carry out a thorough agrarian revolution, overthrow the imperialist domination together with the militarist Kuomintang regime and establish the Chinese workers', peasants' and soldiers'

Soviet. In order to realize all these objects, we must increase and extend our political influence, develop and consolidate our organization, clear our ranks from opportunism, Right tendencies and remnants of Trotskyism develop the economic and political struggles of the workers in cities, establish Red Trade Unions in these struggles, sweep away the yellow leaders and all reformist influences, strengthen the proletarian leadership over peasants and soldiers, and further extend our Soviet districts. On May Day we will close our ranks and review our forces. Under the leadership of the proletariat we will realize the Chinese Revolution and the World Revolution.



Philippine Workers, Peasants and Students Unite Against American Imperialism

THERE has been a leftward drift of the Filipino masses during recent months. This is caused by many factors. During recent years the native politicians have more openly united with U. S. imperialists to deepen the exploitation of the workers and peasants. This is carried out by introducing all the worst features of capitalist rationalization in the primary industries, and by selling the peasants' land to rich landowners, the Monasteries and American Corporations for the development of large-scale capitalist farming.

These lands have been cultivated for generations by their ancestors, but the peasants, given no consideration whatsoever, are being evicted by force and their goods and chattels disposed of where a debt is involved, as is usually the case. Thus large numbers are being thrown into the ranks of the proletariat to compete with wage labor in an already over-supplied labor market, because the modern developments cannot fully absorb them.

Many Filipinos have hitherto emigrated to Hawaii for work in the sugar, pineapple and banana plantations, and being American subjects, in the fullest sense of the term, they have been allowed to emigrate to California to do farm work there. But with the development of more modern methods of production in Hawaii and the constant influx of immigrants, opportunities to find employment hardly exist longer.

In California, where there are large masses of American workers jobless, the narrow-minded have been influenced once more by anti-Asiatic propaganda carried on by self-seeking capitalist politicians, agent provocateurs and reformist labor fakers who seek to aid the imperialists by directing the workers' attention from the fundamental causes of unemployment against a few Asiatic immigrants who have been, in the first place, persuaded by capitalist agents to leave their own homes to work in competition with higher paid workers. This has led to race riots wherein Filipinos have lost their lives.

On the top of these brutal murders committed by agent provocateurs and capitalist bullies in California, Miss Mabel Brummitt an American school teacher at the North High School, Manila, stated publicly that Filipinos were "half-civilized savages, simpering idiots, contemptible cads and not fit for cocheros" (drivers of the small horse drawn two-wheeled Filipino cart).

This has brought forth one of the biggest political protests ever launched in the Islands in recent years, incidentally proving the Filipinos have more political sense and intelligence than this too zealous upstart, who, in a desire to ape her imperialist masters, arouses a whole nation to protest. 3,000 students immediately struck school duties at the North High School where this so-called teacher is employed. In public demonstrations they protested not only against the insulting remarks, but demanded the withdrawal of American teachers from every school in the Islands, abolition of the American curriculum—in short, the Filipinization of the educational system.

This led to the dismissal of four student leaders from the school. Our affiliated organization, the Philippine Congress of Labor, giving its wholehearted and active support to the students, urged them to stand firm; and demand the reinstatement of these four dismissed students as well as the removal of American imperialist agents from all Philippine schools.

This united the students, workers and peasants in a joint fight against U. S. imperialism, and has also led to many other schools joining the strike. More than 10,000 students assembled in Manila and passed resolutions refusing to return until the teacher in question is dismissed and all victimized students reinstated. A parent's organization has been formed who have declared in favor of the students' strike. As usual they are charging the students with violence when they resent the actions of the agents of the native politicians who try to break up student meetings. But this will not deter the student movement.

The Governor-General and Senator Quezon have both appealed to the students to

return, but have been answered in the negative. Incidentally this once more places Quezon and his followers in the camp of imperialists and against Filipino independence. Quezon and his clique are active parties to the evictions of peasants from their land, to the exploitation and murder of Filipino workers.

Their agents in the capitalist C. O. F., Tejada & Co., are equally guilty of aiding in these acts of violence, evictions and terrible exploitation. But the masses are finding the answer under a militant leadership. This activity confirms the same tendencies exist in the Philippines as in all other countries. There is a radicalization taking place among the masses which is rapidly extending and is already forming the only organized challenge in the Philippines to the U. S. imperialists, their native allies and reformist boot-lickers.

But the young trade union movement does not yet receive the assistance it should from the militant trade union movement in U. S.A. This great weakness for the developing movement in the Philippines once more emphasizes the need for close and direct cooperation between the proletariat and students of the two countries.

An Appeal to the Students.

The following appeal was issued by the Filipino Anti-Imperialist League on February 15th, the first day of the students' strike. This gives an idea of the character of the struggle and its objective:

"We, the oppressed people under American imperialism, do not differ from those of India, China, Indonesia, Korea, etc. The education that we are receiving is nothing but a weapon intended to strengthen American capitalist position in their conquered market and financial imperialism in the Far East.

"The real aim of education being given us under the American imperialists' tutelage is not to teach us how to master our own destiny as a free nation, but to educate us to play the role of willing slaves and to become puppets of the master exploiters of the Philippine proletariat, in order to prolong the U. S. dominating power in the Islands.

"When the American imperialists and their lackeys called us names and said that we only 'serve as cocheros,' it means that we are inferior and as such must be dominated by them. But we must remind those lackeys of Wall Street exploiters that 'cochero' is earning his living with the sweat of his labor, while the American capitalists are relying upon exploitation by sucking the blood of the American workers and the suppressed colonial people—in order to maintain their parasitic life.

"Dear fellow students of the North High! We are expressing to you our sympathy upon learning that you called a strike as an expression of protest against the insult inflicted on the Filipino people by the catspaw of American imperialists. It gives, by this event, the practical meaning of American policy in dealing with us. We must let the whole country know the facts about it and ask for their moral support in your heroic fight!

"Your encouraging manifestation of protest against the insult and domination of Americans strengthens once more our belief that 'the youth is the hope of our country.' It is up to you now to unite and organize and endeavor to live up to that expectation of our heroic past.

"You should remember that our struggle for complete emancipation cannot rely entirely upon the present-day quixotic leadership of both Nacionalistas and Democratras. They have sold our freedom under the Biak-

na-Bato Pact! They have endeavored to annex the Philippines to USA; they fought for autonomy rather than absolute independence; they promised cooperation—economic and political—with American imperialism.

"They have exchanged our freedom for free trade and now they are using independence issue—thru the Philippine independence mission, the Philippine Independence League and Independence Congress—as instruments for winning the votes of the masses in the coming 1931 general elections!

"Dear fellow students: our role in the present and future of our country is tremendous. We must organize ourselves and with our fighting spirit, side by side with the broad mass of Filipino workers and peasants, we can not only stop all insults, but we can also effectively fight against imperialism and exploitation and set the Philippines—the land of our great Bonifacio—absolutely free and independent!

"Demand the immediate dismissals of American teachers who believe themselves our superiors and want to enslave us!

"Demand the immediate Filipinization of the Bureau of Education and the Filipinization of our educational system!

"Down with American imperialism and its puppets!

"Long live the Filipino independence!

"Down with the annexationists and autonomists!

"Long live absolute and immediate independence for the Philippines!"

The Philippine "Independence Congress"

OUR affiliated organization, the Proletarian Labor Congress, has given the correct answer to the fake independence Congress held recently in Manila. They have issued a fighting manifesto which is sure to rally the workers and peasants. The PCL exposes fiercely the native lackeys of American imperialists as well as the U. S. plunderers. The manifesto opens:

"After the bourgeois betrayal of our Revolution, for more than three decades we have unceasingly cried for independence through peaceful means. We have been deluded by promises through patriotic utterances of our so-called patriots and national leaders and willingly accepted anew their leadership in our struggles for freedom. But what have we got? What have they accomplished? Nothing!

"Through peaceful means and through academic discussion regarding our independence aspirations they achieved nothing except that they have become active participants in the permanent retention of the Philippines under American imperialists. Through loyal cooperation of the Filipino bourgeoisie with these imperialists, they have paved the way for the stabilization of U. S. rule and the perpetuation of intensive exploitation of Filipino workers and peasants. The bourgeoisie betrayed, through acceptance of political bribery, our struggles for freedom, and under the infamous plank of their Federal Party they have sought the permanent annexation of the Philippines to the United States."

Then after noting that the Filipino bourgeoisie has added insult to injury by hypocritically speaking of independence, the manifesto goes on:

"They openly supported Mr. Stimson's anti-independence policy and that of Mr. Davis' on diversification of agricultural crops. If we understand just why the Americans grabbed these Islands and brutally conquered and suppressed us through force of arms, we easily guage what this "economic develop-

ment" means. It is not intended to develop the Philippines industrially.

"Industrial development of these Islands is a menace to American industries. It is antagonistic to American capitalist interests in the United States as it was revealed in their opposition to Philippine sugar, etc. It may aggravate the problems of America's 8,000,000 jobless workers at present menacing her much boasted "prosperity," and eventually lead her to economic doom.

"The aim of this so-called 'economic development' or that of 'diversification of crops' is but to supply the needs of America's industry for raw material. Through monopoly of Philippine raw materials with absolute control of Philippine market, American capitalists can boast of a successful competition with other capitalist countries especially Great Britain and Japan. Thus this economic policy and mutual cooperation between our nationalist chauvanists and American imperialism will not in any way weaken but accelerate America's political and economic domination all over the world.

"Taking these facts into account, America will never give up the Philippines and will never voluntarily fulfill her promise of independence set forth in the preamble of the Jones Act. After all, it has been shown during the world war that an imperialistic promise is but a scrap of paper."

The manifesto then quotes a British Tory Minister as the typical attitude of U.S.A., who says, "We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we shall hold it;" and then shows how U. S. imperialists are assisted to hold the Islands by giving a selected group special privileges:

"But in this economic exploitation it is not wise for the exploiters to involve in a ruthless manner all the bourgeois class. That is why they are seeking for the cooperation of a selected few, permitting them to gradually participate in the wholesale exploitation of the toiling masses. They are using these

puppets to enhance the grandeur and magnanimity of American imperialism, its humanitarian and altruistic motives in grabbing the Philippines, and every once in a while they review our progress achieved since the advent of American imperialism in the Islands.

"Yes, it has achieved progress so far, but it was not for the workers and peasants, the overwhelming majority of this country, but for the American imperialists and puppets! The undeniable fact stands unchallenged: the broad masses of Filipino people remain in their miserable living conditions as of 35 years ago. The only participation, therefore, these broad masses have had, is in the reverse side of this capitalistic progress, i. e., acute unemployment, starvation and slavery!"

The PCL then condemns sending missions to U. S. A., designates the Philippine Legislative Assembly a fake parliament and points out the "Independence Congress" is for smoke-screening their treachery and to influence the electorate in 1931. Then it is said:

"In the face of these treacheries and betrayals, the Proletarian Labor Congress (Kapitunan ng mga Anak-Pawis) of the Philippines earnestly wishes to see the immediate creation of a national organ genuinely representing the struggles and aspirations for independence of the Filipino people. An organ that will lead the masses of the Philippines in the fight for the complete emancipation. To crystallize this proposal into an effective mass action and to convert this fake Independence Congress into a national fighting organ, the Proletarian Labor Congress of the Philippines, on behalf of the Filipino revolutionary workers and peasants demands action on the following tasks:

"Classification of membership of the Independence Congress, limited to those who

are duly elected through popular mass meeting in cities, districts, towns, and barrios, and genuinely represent the broad mass of the Philippine people."

Then the manifesto calls for the exclusion from any independence congress all those who participated in the bribery of the Biakna-Bato Pact, exchanging complete freedom of the Philippines for political amnesty and nominal participation in a colonial government. In short all who have aided in any way to fasten U. S. rule on the Filipino people, all prominent officials of the Nationalista or Democrata Parties, and those whose interests directly or indirectly are associated with those of U. S. imperialists.

It proposes that a reconstructed independence congress should advocate: an open fight against all who advocate retention of U. S. imperialism in the Philippines, complete severance of social, economic, religious and political relations, the inauguration of a mass boycott and strike action against all enemies of independence.

As a means for carrying out the tasks it calls for "mass meetings in cities, districts, municipalities and barrios throughout the Islands and from these meetings elect delegates and popular committees who are to be held directly responsible for the application of systematic or centralized agitation and propaganda tending to arouse mass or popular consciousness in our struggle for independence."

"Nothing short of complete and absolute independence!

"Fight and Boycott all the Enemies of Philippine Freedom!

"Down with Imperialism and Capitalist Exploitation!

"Long live the Emancipation of the Filipino People!"

The Fruit of a Weak-Kneed Policy

By HARRISON GEORGE

THE All-Australian Trade Union Congress held at Melbourne in latter February, decided, by a vote of 80 to 75, to break off affiliation with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. We are informed by J. S. Garden, secretary of the New South Wales Trades Council, that the latter body by unanimous vote, endorsed the resolutions and decisions of the Vladivostock Congress of the PPTUS as favorably reported by its delegates, Roels and Hannett, and thus this important body of some 150,000 workers, which has in general always led the Australian movement, remains affiliated to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

If we recall that through the action of the New South Wales workers, it was precisely the All-Australian Trade Union Congress which first proposed the formation of such an organization as the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, we gather an idea of the change, or rather, the differentiation, that has taken place in the Australian labor movement since 1925.

From an editorial of the *Barrier Daily Truth* of Australia, an editorial we welcome as a friendly though somewhat dolorous support of the PPTUS, the apt expression of the reason for this differentiation is given:

"As the class conflicts of the system become intensified on all fronts, the line of demarcation between the revolutionary section of the working class and the reformist sections becomes more clearly marked. Since its outlook is permeated with a desire to do something towards the ending of a rotten economic system by working class agitation and organization, the revolutionary section tends to become more actively militant when the class struggle is intensified and extended. On the other hand, the reaction of the reformist section, which

seeks to stave off revolution and to make capitalism work by superficial adjustments, to such an intensification, is to swing further in harmony with the militant elements in the ruling class."

This comment of our Australian supporter is quite true, but still it leaves something more to be said which was not said in the other part of the editorial; i. e., that although "the revolutionary section tends to become more actively militant when the class struggle is intensified," out of a desire "to do something" to end a rotten system by class "agitation and organization" — the successful raid upon the All-Australian Trade Union Congress by the "reformists" which resulted in breaking with the PPTUS, is due exactly because this "tendency" of the revolutionary section was not fully carried out.

That the vote of the Congress does not represent the spirit of the rank and file of the Australian proletariat is shown by the many recent fierce battles waged by the rank and file workers, much to the dismay of their leaders. Hence it is obvious that the ranks of the ACTU by no means are imbued with the social-fascist provincialism and reaction expressed by the Congress. And hence, it is obvious also that the reason the reactionary leaders of the ACTU succeeded in gaining the majority — even though a slim one of five votes in an assembly of 155 — is that the "revolutionary section" was not revolutionary enough; that in its work of "agitation and organization" it stressed agitation *to the neglect of organization*; that it did not act upon — if it knew — the fact that the "reformist section" is not only changed in position "to swing further in harmony" with the ruling class, but is gone over to the side of the ruling class and acts as agents of fascism with a social base in the working class, has become social-fascists.

The "reformist section" has been regarded as well-meaning but grievously "mistaken" comrades, "good fellows gone wrong," whom to put aright we must carry on a labor of amicable and always decorous discussion, in the meantime by no means "provoking trouble" by organizing the rank and file to over-ride the authority of these "misguided colleagues" — in short, a policy of weak knees and "friendly opposition" amounting to complicity in robbing the workers' organs of struggle, the trade unions, of the power to struggle.

The social-fascist leaders made their fight count organizationally far beyond the hold that their policies have among the membership. Their demagoguery about "White Australia" has undoubtedly been broken more than many of our own adherents seem to think. We have a high enough regard for the Australian working class to believe that the *Barrier Daily Truth* fully expresses the ideas of the big majority when it says, concerning this bugaboo raised by the social-fascists as an excuse to break from the P. P. T. U. S., the following crystal-clear explanation:

"Supporters of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat recognize that the Chinese, Japanese, Indian, and the other workers of the East are certainly a menace to the workers of Australia; but they are a menace not because of their particular color or the way they do their hair, but because of their low standard of living. Further, any student of working class economics recognizes that no worker of a low standard country needs to leave that country to become a menace. The menace consists in his cheaply produced commodity which, in competition with the commodities produced under better conditions, such as those in Australia, gains favor on the markets of the world. Indeed, it could be logically argued that were they in Australia, the low wage workers would be less of a menace. The "White Australia" policy cannot cope with that position. The only possible method is to establish co-operation with

the union organizations of the low standard countries and support them in their efforts to raise their standards of living."

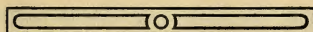
The other chief "argument" of the social-fascist leaders of the ACTU to cover up their support to Australian capitalism and British imperialism, was that the PPTUS is "dominated," as the *Barrier Daily Truth* remarks "from that fearful place, Moscow." This is, of course, the same threadbare and moldy cloak worn by every anti-worker capitalist agent either inside or outside of the working class, and moreover, we would gladly wager that not even five per cent of Australia's wage workers, bludgeoned by police, shot down when they resist wage cuts and longer hours decreed by arbitration courts, robbed and oppressed, not even allowed to read what their bosses think might arm them with knowledge, have any deep tremors of their souls at the thought of "Moscow" — the word that symbolizes the historic fact of *Workers* rule, won — as it only can be won — by revolution. And as for the PPTUS whether or not the social-fascists temporarily, with the aid of the censors and other agents of British imperialism, influence even a majority of workers against "Moscow" — a supposition which we reject — still we would be glad to repeat our faith in the revolutionary government of Workers and Peasants, in the Soviet Union, and are proud to record the fact that the PPTUS has the affiliation and the fraternal support of the 11,000,000 or more workers of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions.

In the September, 1929 and the February, 1930 issues of the *Pan-Pacific Monthly*, the writer called attention to the necessity of the Australian revolutionary workers clarifying their policy and making energetic *organizational* steps to fight the social-fascist reaction. What the *Barrier Daily Truth* calls the "revolutionary section," has the task of sharply demarcating itself *organizationally* from the "reformist section," and in conducting its revolutionary action not only against the obviously visible enemy — the capitalists, but also and with decisive sharpness, against the

insidious enemy within, the "labor leaders" who fire upon the workers from ambush in their own dooryard. And being just a shade less reactionary than the worst is no reason for the workers withholding their fire from those who as "left" reformists, furnish a perfect shelter for the social-fascist leaders of the ACTU and the "Labor" Party.

The first healthy step in this organizational demarcation was the action of the New South Wales Trades Council. This promises much

for the future, but it would be a mistake if the "revolutionary section" were to feel satisfied with this, or become pessimistic about overcoming the reactionaries. They have as wonderful a chance to smoke out the reactionaries as is given any trade union movement, and we are confident that with a clear vision and a real fight the Australian workers will show they are against their misleaders and for the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.



New Zealand Miners Affiliate With The P. P. T. U. S.

THE Secretariat has received an application for affiliation from the United Mine Workers Union of New Zealand. This has been duly accepted with a proposal from the UMWU that the affiliation fee be set at 2d. per member per annum. This is the first New Zealand union to join the PPTU movement and therefore deserves special mention. It is the rule to obtain affiliation from central national organizations wherever possible. However, the PPTUS movement is not formalistic, so whenever the Secretariat is convinced it is in the best interests of the trade union movement and therefore the working class, it departs from this procedure and tries to obtain affiliations from the individual national unions. This is the case in New Zealand where the Alliance of Labor has not yet decided to affiliate.

The international working class has heard little about the class struggle in New Zealand, and still less about the part played in it by the miners. It is hardly an accident that the miners should be the first to affiliate, as for years they have been among the most militant workers. Many of us still remember the Waiki miners' strike where a militant miner, Comrade Evans, was brutally murdered in this determined struggle, and when large numbers of miners were incarcerated for long

terms in New Zealand prisons in order to smash the strike.

This strike was followed by a partial general strike in 1913 in which the New Zealand workers fought a gallant struggle against the organized and combined reactionary forces. The fight centered chiefly around the transport workers, when farmers were mobilized in the important centers, as blacklegs and as mounted armed forces to drive the workers back to work.

But following this period the reactionary trade union bureaucrats gained the upper hand and the spirit of the "Redfed," the New Zealand Federation of Labor, began to wane and in its place, the Alliance of Labor was organized. Bob Semple, the erstwhile revolutionary trade union leader, together with others, became a tool of the bosses, and afterwards a prosperous business man, who still parades as a labor leader. But as in Australia, the post-war period is bringing disillusionment to many a backward worker who thought New Zealand "God's own Country" or a "permanent workers' paradise," as they were wont to believe.

To put it briefly: New Zealand capitalism is in a crisis, large masses are unemployed, the capitalist offensive is as sharp as in every other country, capitalist rationalization goes on with the same intensity and degree, in-

creasing the daily tasks of the workers while reductions in wages are taking place. In fact, comparatively recently, workers are reported to have been found dead for want of food.

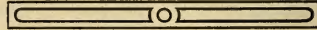
These conditions indicate that relief for New Zealand workers can only be had through direct united working class action. They must act simultaneously with the workers of other countries, especially the workers of Australia and of other countries around the Pacific. The contact between the workers of New Zealand and those of other Pacific countries is now established through the Miners Union, who are entitled to a member on the PPTU Secretariat because they are the only New Zealand organization yet affiliated. The PPTU Secretariat has suggested that the United Mine Workers Union should create a Pan-Pacific Relations Committee which should be responsible for extending the work of the PPTUS in New Zealand.

This Pan-Pacific Relations Committee should be a broad organization composed of representatives drawn from other trade unions as well as the UMWU. It could act as an advisory body to the PPTUS on New

Zealand questions. Its main tasks however, would be to extend the influence of the PPTUS in New Zealand by issuing leaflets and pamphlets dealing with trade union and Pacific labor problems. It would furnish speakers for trade union branches and organize mass meetings directly under its own auspices.

In order to establish a wide organization, the PPRC should establish branches in every city or district. Not one trade union Congress should take place without an appeal for affiliation of the Alliance of Labor, but the greatest possibilities now lie in the individual unions.

If our newly-affiliated unit will carry out these tasks it will not be long before we obtain the Seamens' and Waterside Workers' Unions, as well as other sympathetically inclined trade unions. The Secretariat desires to draw attention of other affiliated organizations to these suggestions *which apply equally to all countries*. It is exactly our constructive international activity which differentiates the PPTU Movement from the reactionary organizations connected with the Amsterdam International.



Capitalist Crisis Deepens in Australia

Arbitration Courts Controlled by "Labor" Government Used to Continue Capitalist Offensive

AUSTRALIA occupies an important position in the imperial affairs of Great Britain. It is a most important source of food supplies as well as of raw materials for British industries, especially the woolen industry. This island continent is strategically situated and will be an important naval and military base for the next world war.

The Australian capitalists take care of an active part of the British fleet which has relatively increased in power and units in the last decade. She is entrusted with a mandate in New Guinea where the Australian administrators exercise imperialist oppression

against the natives as ruthlessly as her neighbor, New Zealand, does in Samoa.

And because the conflict between the imperialist powers centers around the exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples inhabiting countries adjacent to the Pacific, plans are made to enable Australia to play a very active and important role in the next world war.

Prior to 1914 Australian industry was largely limited to agricultural and primary or secondary industry. Therefore, in addition to absorbing general manufactures and forming an outlet for capital exports, it provided

Britain with an excellent market for her heavy industries, absorbed in the development of public utilities essential to expanding capitalism. There was no real reason for extensive political interference for the favorable situation enabled the imperialists to extract surplus values without any great difficulty.

However, we must recognize even prior to the world war, as the struggle for markets intensified, the American imperialists and even the Canadian manufacturers, did begin to challenge Britain's monopoly in this sphere of the Empire. Both countries sent their goods in increasing quantities, while the U. S. imperialists even began to erect plants in the packing and some other industries. This developing situation was further accelerated during the war by a relatively rapid industrial expansion, extending even into basic industries.

Geographically situated far from the relatively over-crowded labor markets of the world, within this period of expanding capitalism, amidst large undeveloped resources, the Australian workers became fairly well organized. This at least enabled the industrial workers to obtain relatively good conditions. The task of the employers was therefore to neutralize and control the fairly well organized trade union movement.

This was done by imposing compulsory arbitration, which was an offensive capitalist attack to retard the development of the labor movement: the Arbitration Court became a means to rob the workers of their just demands by rendering awards far below what could be obtainable by direct action, and to enable the capitalist class to utilize the Arbitration Laws to make a general political offensive against unions which refused to accept defeat and bow to decisions of Arbitration Court Judges, and in this they were fairly successful.

But the situation has changed in the post-war period. Australian capitalism has become directly effected by the crisis in world capitalism. The general decline of capitalism to a large extent, arrests development in Australia just as it has done in other countries. The Federal and State Governments, in some cases, not being able to obtain loan money

in London, have been forced to obtain it in America. This tends toward giving the American imperialists a firmer hold in Australia which increases as the United States successfully penetrates the Australian market.

The general internal situation is economically reflected in the adverse trade balance for 1929, the raising of the bank rate and higher tariffs. The workers are demagogically told that these acts are for their interest, but they will produce their corollary which deepens the general crisis in capitalism, both internally and externally, and inflict even greater burdens on the workers.

Thus we see Australia has been drawn into the international conflict between the imperialist groups and is faced with a general internal crisis which is directly connected with the general international situation that becomes more critical as the months go by. No better illustration could be found than the statement of Sir Robert Gibson, Chairman of the Commonwealth Bank. He says:

"The financial position, so far as meeting overseas obligations, is difficult and indeed serious. . . . It is regrettable but unfortunately inevitable that, in the immediate future, at any rate external trade must suffer."

In an attempt to avert the crisis which began to develop more than three years ago, and to keep a firmer hold on this important part of the Empire, the British imperialists determined upon a more direct participation in Australian affairs. This is made doubly necessary because of the political developments internationally. Not only is Britain faced with her most potent enemy, U. S. A., gaining a bigger economic foothold in Australia, as in other markets hitherto regarded as exclusively British, and with the danger of financial losses incurred by the deepening capitalist crisis, but the strategic position held by the Antipodes generally in the Pacific makes it inevitable that British control shall be tightened.

The first step to secure a greater control and security for British capital investments and to prepare Australia for its place in the next world war, was, as usual, to use every

weapon to smash the trade unions in order to drag the Australian working class' conditions to the European level.

For this purpose the Arbitration Court, *even in the period of capitalist decline*, as in the period of expansion, has proven a most efficient weapon. In one industry after another the Arbitration Court judges issued awards inflicting heavy losses upon the workers: first, the seamen, then the dockers, the timber workers and the miners. The Bruce Government reinforced their offensive by legalizing blacklegging, prohibiting picketing, making it illegal to call a strike, etc. This was done in the Amended Arbitration Act, the Crimes Act, the Transport Act, etc., all blackleg laws.

As in Great Britain, the economic losses sustained in the capitalist offensive are not attributable to the indecisiveness of the rank and file, but the main reason is to be found in the reformist influences of a most reactionary trade union bureaucracy. The masses in most cases have shown themselves prepared to fight and to come to the assistance of those engaged in a struggle with the imperialists. This was made very clear in the timber workers' strike.

But, matured in the atmosphere of the Arbitration Courts, many of the trade union officials have lost all sense of class leadership (if any of them ever had any), and are now definitely counter-revolutionary agents of British imperialism, sniping from their imperialist nests, camouflaged as "labor," at the advance guard connected with the PPTUS and the RILU. Particular reference must be made here to the right wing of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, Duggan and Company, and the leaders of the Australian Workers Union, who are working hand in hand with the British industrial peace advocates, Citrine and Company.

In an attempt to drive a wedge into the ranks of the labor movement, Premier Bruce — taking his dictation from London — attempted to have leaders endorse "industrial peace," with a view to "joint cooperation" between the traitors within the labor movement and the employers, planned along the

British lines. That this did not succeed can be almost entirely attributed to the militancy and opposition of the workers themselves. The best organized expression of the rank and file opposition within the trade union movement came from the New South Wales Trades Council, but even here there was hesitancy and confusion *which only strengthened Duggan and Company*.

It took the Federal Government's decision to abolish the Federal Arbitration Court in favor of using only the State Arbitration Courts to clearly bring out the weaknesses in the Australian trade union movement. It was here that many "lefts" were found to have consciously on the part of some, others unconsciously, hopped completely into the camp of Scullin and Company and it must be stated that the latter included some of the followers of the PPTUS. Instead of giving a fighting lead against arbitration as an offensive weapon of the capitalist class, they took refuge in this form of reasoning.

We are forced to meet an immediate situation in which we have not got powerful industrial unions. We are against arbitration in principle, but to countenance any opposition to the Federal Arbitration Court now, the backward workers will understand it to mean we are in favor of Bruce's policy. Therefore, since Bruce is for abolishing Federal Arbitration we must be against this.

Thus, some of the so-called left leaders (for there was a minority for a fighting policy), abandoned leadership of the masses. Thus the declaration to abolish the Federal Arbitration Court played right into the hands of the Australian Labor Party, who, we see, was not slow to take advantage of it within the trade union movement. This Party, being a Party of the bourgeoisie, pledged to carry out what Bruce's Government had commenced, but without abolishing the Federal Arbitration Court as an offensive weapon, was not returned to power before great damage had been done in the process.

This declaration in favor of retention of the Federal Arbitration Court orientated the policy of the labor movement upon the most backward masses. This not only confused

the militant masses but actually dragged them back to the tail of the Labor Party and constituted a distinctly reactionary step. It also implied that Federal unionism was dependent upon maintenance of the Federal Arbitration Court. They only saw Premier Bruce's policy as one to obtain a free hand to smash national agreements and Federal unionism by removing the Court that rendered awards on a national basis.

Many did not see clearly (at least it was not emphasized) that this maneuver of the employers was not a step against arbitration in principle. It was to be retained as an offensive weapon in the various States and constituted only a tactic in the process of developing the general capitalist offensive. But it was met by abandoning a principle endorsed many times in Australia, to fight against Arbitration Courts.

Our aim is to deepen the differentiation in the Labor Party instead of solidifying it. The capitalist offensive can only be met by militant class unionism on an industrial and Federal basis, with its roots deep in the workshops, fields and mines, so linked up into a fighting centralized National organization. But such a development must be coupled with a strenuous fight to eliminate every industrial peace advocate from the trade unions.

Instead of this, however, many "lefts" became the shield behind which many traitors continued to entrench themselves in the trade union field. This enabled the right wing bureaucrats not only to extend their sniping into a definite battle against the militant section of the trade union leadership, but it also helped to entrench the so-called Labor Party in the trade unions, a party of rationalization and war, pledged to carry on the economic and political offensive started by Bruce, bolstering up capitalism with all its increasing horrors for the working class as the British Labor Party is now doing in Great Britain.

No more is needed to prove our contention than the fact that the Federal Arbitration Court, under the direct control of the Scullin-Theodore Government, continues the unabated capitalist offensive, as it did under the Bruce Administration: Judge Beeby, the

same person who imposed wage cuts in most of the above cases, has under the Federal Labor Government, recently rendered decisions against the metal workers, robbing them of many hard-won trade union conditions, imposing upon them compulsory piece work, which is a direct means to effect a wage cut.

The Federal Arbitration Court has also issued an award cutting the wages of the orchard workers, and the sheep shearers of Queensland have likewise suffered a wage cut imposed through the Queensland Arbitration Court. In addition, the rural awards hitherto granted the Australian Workers Union in New South Wales and Queensland have been wiped out, giving the employers a free hand to take a more open offensive.

It is thus we see that Arbitration Courts, Federal or State, under the control of a so-called Labor or an out and out undisguised capitalist Government, are all the same: they are absolutely offensive capitalist weapons and therefore embody no values whatever for the working class and must be exposed. Only strong fighting unions led by class conscious workers can effect the economic and political positions and relationships between the master and the wage slaves. Whoever tries to maneuver with the trade unions not subordinated to this fundamental fact, consciously or unconsciously, *plays into the hands of the imperialists* and their bureaucratic agents within the reformist trade union movement.

The Scullin Government has proven itself equally social-fascist as the social democratic regimes in Germany and England. After the miner was shot by the police at Rothbury, NSW, some of the Australian workers appealed for protection from the "Labor Government," demanding that troops be used to defend the workers from the murderous attacks of the NSW police. The reply of Premier Scullin was as follows:

"So long as I am Prime Minister, the military forces will not be employed to take sides in any industrial dispute: in this I am supported by every member of the Cabinet. *We have no intention to break the Constitution or the Law.*"

This is the social democratic demagogy with a typical social-fascist touch to it. We are particularly convinced of this when we remember that Theodore, the finance Minister, in the Labor Government, tried to drive the Queensland Railwaymen back to work with armed forces while he was Premier in that State. But the workers are finding the answer to this social-fascist Government which is determined to uphold the British capitalist constitution and British capitalist law: at a meeting of South Coast miners held at Woonona, NSW, they passed the following resolution:

"That this meeting demands a refund of the 1,000 pounds subscribed to the ALP (Australian Labor Party) election fund and that the Federation disaffiliate from the ALP."

We see that the sharpening of the conflict between the various imperialist States, exposed once more in all its nakedness at the London Naval Conference, has deepened the class conflict in Australia, which proves the fallacy that Australia is in an exceptional position and can escape the vicious effects of the general decline of capitalism. The Australian workers have entered the same terrible phase as the European and American workers have. There are nearly a quarter million unemployed, out of a population of approximately only six million in a country still chiefly engaged in primary production.

Everyone must assist the Australian workers to maintain their conditions obtained by many fierce struggles, but the "White Australia" policy is aimed to develop a chauvinism in order to blindfold the masses as to the real causes of their growing poverty. They speak of protecting industry and limiting immigration for the benefit of the workers, at the same time they carry on the capitalist offensive under the direction of the British imperialists.

The first is a means to divide the masses to secure the dividends for London and New York financiers. It constitutes an attempt to weaken their growing opposition to the increasing war danger in the Pacific area. Therefore, the militant section of Australian

labor must demand their leaders to make a choice between the class struggle and the Scullin-Theodore imperialists. They must prepare to oppose openly and uncompromisingly the industrial peace mongers and actively rally the masses to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement.

In order to do this, much more active work must be done in the factories, the local and district trade union meetings. We cannot rely alone on the upper organs of the trade unions as we have more or less done in the past. The ACTU is infested with British imperialist agents, as well as the upper organs of such unions as the Australian Workers Union.

Nor have the social-democratic officials given up the idea of "industrial peace" as some of our comrades think. They have temporarily abandoned it only because the various central councils, as the NSW Labor Council, who have repudiated it, are backed up by the rank and file.

To render the future industrial peace maneuvers abortive the workers must be organized into factory committees. In every factory a central organ for directing the workers' propaganda, organization, action, etc., must be elected from and by the factory workers. They must prepare to lead strikes *independently and against the Arbitration Court bureaucrats as well as the bosses*. Such Councils as the NSW Trades Council must maintain their militancy by calling mass meetings of workers to prepare the masses for their place in a counter-offensive against the fiercest capitalist offensive in Australian working class history.

The Pan-Pacific Relations Committee must become a real active body, obtaining affiliations to the PPTUS from the individual national trade unions and Trades Councils. We must prepare to remove every opponent of the PPTUS from the ACTU Executive.

These are the essential elementary tasks preparatory to accomplishing the task of strengthening the fighting capacity of the trade unions, rallying the masses in a fight to destroy the capitalist offensive and mobilizing the masses to defend the Soviet Union.

“Complete the Five Year Plan in Four Years!”

How This Slogan Is Being Carried Out In Soviet Russia.

SEVERAL stupendous successes were registered with the conclusion of the first year of the Five Year Plan. The first year's results have shown clear enough that not only is the Five Year Plan a practical proposition, but that the working class has a whole series of unutilized reserves which will enable the Plan to be completed before the estimated Five Years. Already during the first year we observe that the estimates were outstripped. Whereas the Five Year Plan had estimated an increase of 21% for the volume of output of the heavy industries during that year (1928-29), the actual increase was 24%.

This excellent progress has knocked the bottom out of the assertions made by many economists that during the Reconstruction Period the growth of output in the Soviet Economy would be slower than during the Rehabilitation Period. Barely twelve months prior to the confirmation of the Five Year Plan the opinion was current that during the coming Five Years the annual growth in the volume of industrial output would not exceed 12-13%. Indeed, many were of the opinion that even this figure was exaggerated. No capitalist country in the world, not even the U. S. A. during its years of prosperity, can record an annual increase of 12-13% in its industrial output.

The first variations of the Five Year Plan already made very clear that the economic life of the country could be developed far more rapidly. Indeed, as new reserves and resources were brought to light, *opening up wider possibilities of promoting the great work of Socialist Construction in the U.S.S.R.*, a new pace was set, which horrified the sceptics and was ridiculed by our enemies.

After much careful work the State Planning Department (Gosplan) drew up a Five Year Plan of National Development Work,

subsequently endorsed by the Congress of the Soviets, which was based on the calculation that the annual increase in the volume of industrial output would be 20-21%. As the results of the first year of the Five Year Plan have shown, the pace of development envisaged by the Plan was not at all exaggerated. On the contrary, the increase of industrial output by 24% in 1928-29 shows clear enough that the Five Year Plan's rate of development is cautious to say the least.

Furthermore, the Five Year Plan did not and could not take into consideration, when it was being drafted, a whole series of new factors that tend to hasten the tempo of Socialist Construction. The introduction of the *non-stop production scheme*—the continuous working week—has proved one of these factors. Making more efficient use of all available equipment and creating extremely favorable conditions for the growth of the productivity of labor, thanks to the introduction of a five-day week, the new scheme has been instrumental in greatly increasing output, improving simultaneously working conditions.

The idea of introducing a non-stop production scheme arose during the first year of the Five Year Plan. This year, too, gave birth to another powerful factor that has speeded up the work of building up Socialism in this country. The Five Year Plan was enthusiastically met by all sections of the working class. They mobilized all their forces to carry out this great work, and during the process of the struggle, during the process of mobilizing the broad masses, there arose the idea of a *Socialist Competition*.

Socialist Competition has now been caught up by all sections of the working class. It is the beginning of a new Communist form of labor, *a method of drawing all the work-*

ers, all the toilers, into the work of building up Socialism. Socialist Competition aims at carrying out the Five Year Plan by means of strict labor discipline at the factories, getting all the workers to do their bit in improving the quality of the output and running operations on a more efficient basis.

Thanks to Socialist Competition the estimates of the first year of the Five Year Plan were outstripped. It was this remarkable achievement that gave birth to the idea among the masses that the Five Year Plan could possibly be fulfilled in four years. The slogan: "Complete the Five Year Plan in Four Years" spread like wild-fire throughout the Soviet Union and *has already become the most popular watchword among the workers.*

That is why the Communist Party, the Government and the trade unions have set a faster pace of development for the present economic year of 1929-30 than was originally contemplated by the Five Year Plan. The control figures for 1929-30 contemplate an increase of the volume of output of the heavy industry by 32%—output is to be increased during the present year by one-third! But the opportunists and the sceptics claimed that these calculations are absurd! Events will show them.

Statistics are already to hand for the first five months of the present economic year. In comparison with the similar period for the past year, gross output was increased by 29% during this period. The plan has therefore not been lived up to altogether, which did not fail to give our enemies cause to predict the ruin and destruction of the Soviet power.

But this only gave rise to a new wave of enthusiasm among the masses. Socialist Competition was raised to a higher plane, giving birth to a widespread "*Shock Brigade movement*" at the factories. Hundreds of factories, thousands of shops and millions of workers, who have joined the "shock brigade movement" are now fighting enthusiastically on the economic front to fulfill the plan. The fine progress made is already to be seen. All the big steel plants, engineering shops producing agricultural machinery, and the mines, are now keeping pace with the estimates.

Despite the rejoicings of our enemies at

all our setbacks, the plan will be fulfilled. Already now, we have an increase of 29% and although this falls short of the estimated 32%, such an increase could never be dreamed of in any capitalist country, and, as it stands, far exceeds last year's results. But there are still seven months to go. We still have to put into operation new plants that are now being finished. And then, we still have to introduce the non-stop production scheme and the seven-hour day all over the country. The workers of this country, the millions members in the "shock brigades movement" are convinced that the plan will be fulfilled.

The Economic Organs are now beginning to draw up the control figures for next year. The Supreme Economic Council has already a system of so-called controls to gauge industrial development. Starting with the promise that the plan will be fully completed during the present year, the Supreme Economic Council has computed the growth of output during 1930-31 at 49.6% or nearly 50%, the increase of output for the heavy industry being placed at 60%; for the minor manufacturing trades at 39%.

Not without interest is a comparison between the present rate of development and the developments that were contemplated by the Five Year Plan. For example, according to the Five Year Plan the value of the gross industrial output during the third year of the Plan was placed at 19,949 million roubles, the "controls" estimate this figure today at 26,798 million roubles. This last figure is well in the neighborhood of 30,400 million roubles, which was estimated for *the last year* of the Five Year Plan, 1932-33. In other words, the Supreme Economic Council is confident, as these preliminary figures show, that *the Five Year Plan will be completed in three and a half years!*

Of course, all these calculations are still in the rough and serve as a means of orientation. But they truly reflect the scope and scale of the great work of construction undertaken in this country and *are firmly based on actual possibilities.* These calculations show that the slogan of "Complete the Five Year Plan in Four Years!" which arose among

the rank and file, is a living, vital slogan that can certainly be realized.

The brilliant success on the industrial front already predetermined the successful advance of the reorganization of the agricultural trades. Here again many developments show that all the estimates of the Five Year Plan were left far behind. Already today, during the second year of the Five Year Plan we have exceeded the collectivization plan. *Today 57% of the peasant homesteads have been organized into large-scale collective farms.*

The estimates for the construction of Soviet State farms have likewise been outstripped. Thanks to the large numbers of tractors, agricultural machines and fertilizers, etc., sent to the rural districts, the strengthening of the working alliance between the working class and the poor and medium strata of the peasantry (and the consolidation of its leading role in this alliance), the basic masses of the toiling peasantry are now joining the collective farms.

The extension of the socialist sector in agriculture has already enabled us during the present year to solve the problem of our grain supply. During the present year the collective farms and the Soviet State farms will supply 50% of the marketable grain, whereas the kulak homesteads never supplied any more than 20%.

In the very near future Soviet Russia will be able to renew its grain exports.

The problem confronting us now is that of cattle breeding, where we are still behind. By the same methods of encouraging in every way the organization of large Soviet and Collective cattle breeding ranches, we shall

be able to cope effectively with this extremely important problem.

The advance of collectivization in the country has paved the way for the rooting out of the last remnants of capitalism. With the broad movement of the poor and medium strata of the peasantry into the collective farms seen everywhere, the question arose of liquidating the kulak as a class, which provided the only breeding ground for capitalism in Soviet Russia.

The execution of the slogan "Complete the Five Year Plan in Four Years!" will hasten the tempo of our construction in town and village. This explains why the working class is so active in its struggle for this slogan, for they already see victory near. Developing the economic life of the country at an unheard of rate, and rooting out the last remnants of capitalism, the working class is bringing the day of the realization of Socialism ever nearer.

But our enemies, too, well realize the stupendous progress we have made. The "Religious Crusade" organized by the capitalists and the clergy was started just because of the remarkable developments that have taken place in Soviet Russia. It was started because this "Land of the Soviets is steaming full speed ahead" for Socialism, and there is no power on earth that can stay the movement of the hundreds of millions of toilers to the end they have set themselves.

The Soviet workers, with the support of the International working class movement, have made fitting reply to the "Religious Crusade" with their firm resolve to "Complete the Five Year Plan in Four Years!" *And this slogan will be carried out to the letter.*

Roman Catholic Church and Second International Unite Against USSR

ONE need not be a Communist, a revolutionary, or even sympathize with the Soviet Union to understand that the execution of the Five Year Plan of reconstructing the entire economy of the USSR is not only a grandiose development in itself, but is going to prove a very difficult and strenuous undertaking. The realization of the Five Year Plan will be no easy thing. It is, of course, clear that the workers and the poor and medium strata of the peasantry in the USSR will have to make every effort to carry out the Great Plan of reconstructing the economic life of this vast country on Socialist lines.

This is well realized by the broad masses of the toilers of the USSR. They are leaving no stone unturned to carry out and outstrip the estimates of the plan, to make a success of the tasks raised by the present epoch. Not only the economic life and the material well-being of the people, but their very living conditions, and their ideology, are being reconstructed.

The old traditions, the age-old superstitions and prejudices, the old hard-headed routine and red tape are all being swept aside by the masses themselves, for they realize that the old way of living, with all its misery, exploitation and grime, can have no place in the new life that the workers of the USSR are building up today.

Millions upon millions of workers and peasants are realizing that religion and the church only poisoned their minds and befogged their class consciousness, weakened their will to fight to improve their conditions in this world with promises of a "kingdom of heaven" and that it is now high time that religion was displaced by science and that the church itself be transformed into a cultural-educational institution.

Upon the request of the toilers themselves, the churches, synagogues and mosques are turned into clubs and libraries where the people are learning to understand what is going on around them in this great world, and to build up a nobler and better life for the whole of mankind.

But we should be innocents indeed to believe that the church and its representatives, no matter what they preach or how they propose to "save the souls" of the people, that this stronghold of reaction and capitalism will give up their positions without a fight. Every step that brings the toiling masses of the USSR nearer to economic and ideological emancipation is increasing the class struggle both inside and outside the Soviet Union.

The fine successes achieved during the first eighteen months of the Five Year Plan and the work undertaken to release the masses from the influence of religious dope have aroused and alarmed the reactionaries in the capitalist countries. In all the bourgeois and social-fascist papers, in Parliament and at public meetings, the USSR is being villified and slandered, the claim being made that the Soviet Government has declared war on religion.

Recently this slander was given prominancy by the Pope of The Roman Catholic Church, Pius XI, the leader of the sky pilots. In his letter to Cardinal-Vicar Basilio Pompilii, published in *Osservatore Romano*, he hypocritically announced with a show of sorrow:

"We are profoundly aggrieved at the horrifying and sacriligious abominations against God and the soul that are recurring every day and increasing among the innumerable peoples of Russia whom we hold so dear."

His Holiness is grieved at the successes of atheism in the USSR. This is too bad, to be sure. He has every reason to be grieved for it has seriously cut down the income of

the Catholic Church within the boundaries of the USSR. But what is to be done? Times do change and the "innumerable peoples of Russia" no longer want to be sheep to be shorn by the holy fathers of the Catholic Church. Apparently, Your Holiness will have to cut down the staff of shepherds in the USSR.

The Pope now regrets that the Governments represented at the Geneva conference refused to sign a joint declaration that a preliminary condition for the recognition of the Soviet Government would be a guarantee that there would be freedom of religious opinion and practice and the inviolability of church property in the USSR. This, too, is very sad indeed, but all this belongs to the past and we would respectfully urge the Pope to remember the old proverb that "there is no use crying over spilt milk."

In conclusion the Pope announced that he left the "innumerable peoples of Russia" to the care and guardianship of St. Theresa, while he would, for his part, offer up a mass of expiation in the Cathedral of St. Peter on March 19, on the day of "our" St. Jacob. He has also appealed to all the Catholic bishops throughout the world to offer up prayers on this day in all the churches.

Of course, if the fate of all the peoples of the USSR was left to St. Theresa and all the churches, we could well afford to shrug our shoulders and let St. Theresa go to it if she was very interested. But the fact of the matter is that the Pope is an old hand and knows a thing or two. Besides attending to things not of this world, he is also busy setting things alright here too. Authentic reports say that he has now got in touch with all the accredited representatives of the Vatican in the European countries with a view to creating a united front of "moral" indignation against the USSR.

So this is what he is after! The Pope is now endeavoring to create a united "moral" front against the USSR so as to prepare the ground "ideologically" among the masses to attack the Soviet Union. This is the

true aim and intention of the recent announcement made by the Pope.

His declaration was immediately followed by similar announcements from other representatives of the church. The Archbishop of Canterbury in England, Cardinal Faulhaber in Muenchen, and the Rabbis of America have all raised a howl that religious persecution in the USSR must stop. In England joint prayers are offered up in the churches to release the USSR from "devilish bolshevism," while in Paris the representatives of all the religious sects, Catholic, Protestant and Hebrew, gather together "to find ways and means of bringing pressure to bear on the Government of criminals in Moscow." Hence, all the forces of religion, superstition and ignorance are being enlisted to fight against the country that has undertaken the great work of building up Socialism, against the country that is developing its economic life.

Needless to say, this is but a prelude to a declaration of war on the USSR.

Curiously enough, and indeed, outrageously enough, it is these churchmen and clergymen who are posing as the defenders of men's conscientious beliefs. It is these people who not only persecute atheists and free-thinkers in their own countries, but who are continually trying to cut each other's throats. These are the people who burnt at the stake all the idolaters and heretics, while, when new times set in, and it was no longer possible to burn people alive, they took to burning heretic documents. And it is this same Pope who, coming out as the defender of conscientious beliefs, to this day publishes a "list of prohibited books" (index expurgatorius) where, by the way, Darwin's works stand condemned.

And how touching is the union between the catholic ministers and the Hebrew rabbis today, at a time when in Poland, Rumania and elsewhere, it is the Catholic prelates who are inciting pogroms on the Jews.

But it would be too much to expect the united front of reaction and religion to get along without the "socialists" of the Second International. These gentlemen have become indispensable for the whole movement

of lies and vilification directed against the USSR. They are the exponents of reaction and religious dope in the ranks of the working class. It is they who give the Catholic prayers for the destruction of Bolshevism by hell-fire, a "socialistic" turn. It is they who have placed a red button on the cassock of the catholic priest and the gown of the Hebrew rabbi.

The Pope had hardly finished denouncing the Bolsheviks when the German "socialist" paper, "Vorwaerts," published the "Pope's letter on the principles of humanitarian democracy," announcing that it was "high time that everyone who still held freedom of opinion dear, to come out against Moscow." (See "Vorwaerts," Evening Edition, February 14, 1930).

Emil Vandervelde, the greatest authority of the Second International, published an article against the terror in the USSR where he successfully competes with the Pope in slinging mud at the Soviet Union and comes out in defense of the "clergymen and monks who have been outlawed by the State and are being persecuted by a new inquisition."

The Austro-Marxian "Arbeiter-Zeitung," the organ of the "most left party in the Second International," also makes a lunge at the USSR, and odes it just as well as Vandervelde with the announcement that "an attempt is being made to root out religion within two years and to destroy the church within a few years."

On every hand the cry is going up of a "moral intervention" against the USSR. The crusade started by the Pope has been enthusiastically caught up by the social-fascists. At first, it was merely a "moral" crusade, full of condemnation, rage and indignation, etc. But now behind the smoke-screen of vilification and slander of the Catholics and the social-fascists we discern clearly feverish activities to attack the USSR. From "moral" condemnation, the circles that are organizing the crusade against Soviet Russia are beginning to urge a "moral" intervention so that when the ground has been well-prepared, to attempt to organize a "real" intervention.

That this is the ultimate aim, is made very clear by a leader recently published (Feb. 13) in the Swiss "Neue Zurich Zeitung," a bourgeois liberal paper, under the caption: "Moral Crusade Against Russia." This is how it begins:

"Several weeks ago there was some talk of organizing a moral intervention against Soviet Russia in religious circles in England in view of the growth of religious terror under the dictatorship of Stalin. Two weeks ago Kerensky and Milukov came to Paris upon the invitation of the Radical-Socialist Fraction of the French Chamber to make a report on the position in Russia and while they categorically repudiated any idea of an armed intervention, which would only help the Bolsheviks to get the support of the national feeling of the Russian people, urged that a moral intervention be organized by the civilized world."

Of course, destiny itself has written that Milukov and Kerensky must "appeal to the civilized world" to overthrow the Bolsheviks and set them up to rule Russia in the interests of international capital. But the fact that they should have made their report on the special invitation of the Radical-Socialist Fraction of the French Chamber shows how real is the danger of war against the USSR and what energetic preparations are being made by the bourgeoisie to attack Soviet Russia.

In reading all the appeals and articles full of "moral indignation" against the USSR, the workers in every part of the world should realize that this is another attempt to attack the only country in the world that is building up Socialism, that here again we have a clear division and whoever is not on our side, together with all the toilers and the masses of the USSR, stands on the other side, in the camp of the religious mongers, the social-fascists, the liberals, the radicals and all the other enemies of the Soviet Union and the International working class movement.

The Pan-Pacific Monthly AND

OFFER NUMBER ONE

THE ISKRA PERIOD

THESE volumes contain Lenin's early writings in which he wages a vigorous ideological struggle against pure-and-simple trade unionism and fights for the organization of a centralized party of trained revolutionists. These writings, which deal with the formative period of the Bolshevik Party, include the brochure *What Is To Be Done?* as well as an extended study on *The Agrarian Question and the "Critics of Marx."* Two volumes

	\$6.00
THE PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY FOR ONE YEAR.....	\$2.00

\$8.00

Both for only FIVE DOLLARS

OFFER NUMBER TWO

THE REVOLUTION OF 1917

IN these volumes are collected all Lenin's writings and speeches covering the period from the overthrow of the Tsar in March to the first open conflict with the Provisional Government—the July Days. Two volumes.

	\$6.00
THE PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY FOR ONE YEAR.....	\$2.00

\$8.00

Both for only FIVE DOLLARS

OFFER NUMBER THREE

LABOR & SILK, by GRACE HUTCHINS	\$2.00
LABOR & AUTO, by ROBERT W. DUNN	\$2.00

\$4.00

THE PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY FOR ONE YEAR.....	\$2.00
---	--------

\$6.00

Both for only FOUR DOLLARS

Send All Orders to Our American Distributors:

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

39 East 125th Street

New York, N. Y.

Friends:

Enclosed please find \$..... for which please forward by return mail offer no. and the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY for a period of one year.

Name

Address

City State

OUR PREAMBLE

Extract from the Statutes of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat:

In order:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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