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ENGLAND

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太平洋工會秘書廳

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Call for Pan-Pacific T. U. Congress

In conformity with the decisions adopted by the Conference at Hankow, China, in May, 1927, and by the Secretariat Meeting in Shanghai during February 1928, which have been endorsed by the affiliated organizations of ten countries, the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat hereby calls upon the trade unions of all Pacific countries to send delegates to the

PAN-PACIFIC TRADE UNION CONGRESS

to be convened in the city of Vladivostock, U.S.S.R., on August 1, 1929.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat presents the following AGENDA for the Congress, subject to amendment and modification by the Congress itself:

- 1.—Report of the Secretariat.
- 2.—The War Danger and Struggle Against Imperialism.
- 3.—The Colonial Independence Movement and the Role of the Trade Unions and Peasant Organizations.
- 4.—International Trade Union Unity.
- 5.—Immigration and Emigration in the Pacific.
- 6.—Program of Action: (Seven-hour day, minimum wage, women and child labor, unemployment, social legislation, and immediate tasks in China, Japan, the Philippines, India, Indonesia, Korea, etc.)
- 7.—Organizational Questions.
- 8.—Election of Secretariat.

Each organization sending delegates to the Congress is invited to formulate its proposals for the Agenda, and its opinions on all questions outlined above, at the earliest possible moment in order that they may be communicated to all affiliated organizations.

In spite of all difficulties, each country must send its delegates to Vladivostock in time for opening the Congress on August 1, 1929. From each country should come a delegation with at least as many as the number indicated in the following list:

China 12; U.S.S.R. 15; Australia 6; Indonesia 3; New Zealand 2; Formosa 1; U. S. A. 2; England 1; Japan 10; India 8; Philippines 5; Korea 2; Canada 2; French Indo-China 1; France 1; Hawaii 1; Latin American countries 1 each.

PAN-PACIFIC TRADE UNION SECRETARIAT.

(NOTE:—All communications concerning the coming Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress may be addressed to the Pan-Pacific Monthly, P. O. Box 535, San Francisco, California, U. S. A.)

Brief Notes on Current Events

UNQUESTIONABLY, behind the stifling wall of British censorship, all India is afire with revolt against imperialist oppression, a revolt which in its present stage may be roughly compared to the rising of the Chinese masses just following the Shanghai shootings of May 30, 1925. But there are essential differences, the one of profoundest importance being that the Indian workers, learning not only from their own great struggles of past years, but from the rich and enlightening experiences of China, are fighting firmly and successfully to lead the anti-imperialist revolution in alliance with the peasantry as a basic policy.

The Indian capitalists, who have long been chattering words about national independence, after surrendering to imperialism and renouncing independence, abjectly rubber-stamp the terrorism of the British rulers against the masses, the native employers' organizations openly demanding the destruction of the labor movement.

The reformist trade union leaders, who try to carry water for the Indian bourgeoisie while occupying positions in the labor movement, are to be judged by what they do and not by what they say, and what they do in holding back the masses from struggle actually aids the government.

It must be said, of course, that the Indian reformists have illustrious precedent. The MacDonald "labor" government of Britain tightened, instead of loosening, the throttling hand of imperialism on the throat of India, the Labor Party sent its members on the dastardly Simon Commission and the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, in line with the attempt by Amsterdam to deceive and betray the colonial proletariat, sent Purcell with his left phrases to wheedle the Indian workers into support of the allies of their enemies—the imperialists of Great Britain.

With the British imperialists shooting Indian strikers and jailing trade union leaders wholesale, the General Council of the T.U.C., according to reports of the Associated Press of April 25, found it possible to meet in a love-feast with the National Confederation of Employers' Organizations and the Federation

of British Industries and agree upon a joint commission to bring about "cooperation". These dispatches state that A. J. Cook was present and "assented to the main resolution". Naturally no distressing question was raised about the imperialist terror against the 300,000,000 colonial slaves in India though the British workers should by now be aware of the truth spoken by Marx that "no nation can be free which itself oppresses other nations".

Just as the Indian trade unionists have decisively rejected the tutelage of the British reformists in the T.U.C., so should the British workers renounce and oust these bureaucrats who betray the interests of the British proletariat while serving as valet to the hangmen of the Indian working class. The toiling masses of the Pacific area and of the whole world must rush every assistance to the rising masses of India, whose triumph will shatter the whole system of colonial oppression.

* * *

THE collapse of the "Industrial Peace Conference" between representatives of Australian employers and the Australian trade unions on February 23, after the irrepressible class struggle outside the conference room had invaded the meeting not only in proposals by the labor delegates for a cessation of the capitalist offensive against the unions, but physically by an invasion of the hall by wives of locked-out timber workers, marks a defeat for the employers of the island continent, and a victory for the correct labor policy for Australian trade unionism.

In the next issue the *Pan-Pacific Monthly* will give in detail the story of this attempt to transplant to Australia the class-collaboration scheme of Lord Melchett (Alfred Mond) into which the British T. U. C. General Council has traitorously led the British workers. The confused ideology resulting from decades of steeping in arbitration and other legalist forms, resulted in the Australian trade unions last year stepping into the trap of a "peace conference" craftily put forward by the employers. But the grim realities of the class struggle have shown the Australian workers the futility and danger to their in-

terests concealed in the scheme, and they have at the February conference, which followed a preliminary meeting at Melbourne last December, decisively broken with this dangerous policy.

The first section to withdraw its delegates definitely, was the Victorian Trades Council (Melbourne), and when the New South Wales (Sydney) delegates were withdrawn, the decisive sections of Australian labor had spoken, since these sections bulk large in the leadership of the movement, though most of the other state councils were no less opposed to continuing the farce. Australian labor has demonstrated that it will not surrender its class right and duty to struggle in exchange for empty catch-words of the enemy class.

* * *

IT was to the discordant music of artillery that the agents of American imperialism, in the form of a finance commission, was received by the Nanking "government", whose "unity" had been so much touted in the U. S. A. The orchestra was composed of the Kwangsi Anglo-Japanese generals on one side and the American group around Chiang Kai-shih on the other.

The music, which began on the eve of the Third Congress of the Kuomintang party on March 15, was most distressing to the American bankers. But the finale, if it can be said to have really had a finale, was equally distasteful to the Anglo-Japanese alliance, since its Kwangsi forces were defeated in the battles for Hankow and driven back to their provincial base.

Moreover, the conflict was registered in the Kuomintang congress as a score for Chiang Kai-shih, who kept the congress "united" under his control by surrounding it with troops and holding the delegates practically under arrest, emphasizing that he meant business by executing, during a recess of the congress, so reports go, the British-owned flunkey commander of Canton, Li Chi-sen, who foolishly visited the congress depending for his safety on the "word of honor" of some of his own kind on Chiang's side of the Kuomintang.

The composition of the congress was most interesting. Of the 356 "delegates", about 32 may be said to have been "elected" after a fashion, while the others were appointed by the Central Committee. But of the 356, only 211 actually attended the congress at Nanking. The Hankow and Peking groups,

and those controlled by Feng Yu-hsiang, demonstratively refused to attend, as did the small group of petty-bourgeois, some 12 or so, around Wang Chin-wei, who denounced those attending as hirelings of the militarists, and who was given a left-handed compliment by the congress which re-elected him to the executive but gave him a "note of warning". The Shi San group of feudal and compradore elements, headed by Hu Han Min, directed congress arrangements, though the elections, owing to the "firm" policy of Chiang Kai-shih, did not turn out to their liking.

The policy of mass murder of trade unionists and Communists was, of course, approved. The so-called left oppositionists were ordered to retire from activity, and the congress crowned its efforts by obeying Chiang's order to declare war officially on the Kwangsi generals holding Hankow. The result of that war, indecisive as it is, is mentioned above. The result of the congress was to expose the Kuomintang as really liquidated and having not the shadow of claim to mass support or any control over its generals.

Press reports of latter April indicate that Feng Yu-hsiang, who from Honan (where he had gone under the excuse of "illness") had sent an agent to Nanking to declare his loyalty while at the same time sending another to Hankow to declare his neutrality, is now moving troops to fight Chiang Kai-shih, since he must escape from encirclement and get a seaport, which means munitions and money.

Feng intended quietly to seize Shantung following the Japanese withdrawal agreed upon between Japan and Chiang, but Chiang, becoming alarmed at Feng's movements, asked Japan (which needed no second invitation) to remain. Chiang also is moving troops and hostilities may open at any moment.

Chang Hsueh-liang, ruling Manchuria under the wing of Japan, raised the Nanking flag as a mere matter of convenience some months ago, but now openly refuses to aid Nanking and may, together with Japan's Chinese general in Shantung, Chang Tsung-chang, make a drive south to grab the great prize—Shanghai.

He who can see national unity, let alone national independence, under the Kuomintang and its flock of feudal generals, must indeed be an optimist. The unity and salvation of China can clearly come from no other source than the revolutionary workers and

peasants. The present mess, which stinks to heaven, is the net result of the "nationalism" of the Chinese bourgeoisie. That the workers and peasants understand their task, is certain, and that they are extending their power rapidly is indicated by the regrettably sketchy reports of widespread rebellion in the central area south of the Yangtze.

* * *

REFORMISTS in the Pacific area, as elsewhere, are trying to conceal their assistance to imperialist war plots against the Soviet Union by pacifist denials that any such plots exist and empty assertions that not a soul among the imperialist plunderbund harbors the least hostility toward the First Workers' and Peasants' government.

While there are proofs everywhere in Europe and Asia and in international diplomacy demonstrating the fact of war preparations against the Soviet Union, let us consider what sort of propaganda is being fed to the American public. A popular weekly of 2,000,000 circulation puts great full-page advertisements in every great daily paper in the country, featuring a story beginning on April 6 in that weekly (which sails under the name of "Liberty").

The story is entitled "The Red Napoleon", and is one of the most despicable concoctions of incitations to war against the Workers' and Peasants' government as has seen light in many a long day. The author of this war provocation is a paid liar for the **Chicago Tribune**, the owners of which, the McCormick family, are interested in various publications besides the one they sardonically call "Liberty", but more significantly they are connected with big banking interests and manufacturing.

The story is a diabolical appeal to the basest race prejudice, and depicts a personal dictator, of Mongol blood, whose program of military conquest is alleged to be solely his order to "armies of Asiatics" to "conquer and breed". By this impossible tale the credulous Americans are led to believe that from Moscow there comes, not the liberating inspiration of class struggle which will emancipate the toiling masses from economic and political slavery, but an armed attempt by darker races to "possess" white women. The criminals who set loose this war propaganda against the Soviet Union deliberately try to picture the class conflict between the prole-

tarian Power and the imperialist powers as a race issue.

An editorial in the issue of the weekly wherein the story is begun, sheds added light on its purpose, though the story is not mentioned in the editorial, which dismisses the pacifist idea that war with England is "unthinkable" and flatly states the possibility of war between America and England. "But why have it?" argues the editor

"If we kept our two navies ahead of all others and united in policy, the rising of the darker countries, and of the other white countries for that matter, could be postponed indefinitely."

Thus we see that the purpose behind all this devilish propaganda is not the supremacy of the white race, after all, but the perpetuation of the enslavement of colonial peoples and the exploitation of the proletariat and peasantry of all countries, be they ever so white, by a united front of imperialist robbers.

The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, who have overthrown capitalist rule on one-sixth of the land area of the world and set up their own government, the mere existence of which is a beacon light to the oppressed and exploited of all nations and races, must be defended by every worker and peasant, and such propaganda as that mentioned exposed for what it is.

We may add that the same McCormick who publishes this rot about a "Red Napoleon", when the unemployed were dying of hunger in the streets of Chicago in 1892, and someone suggested they be given bread, wrote in his paper, the **Chicago Tribune**, "Yes, give them bread, but put poison on it."

* * *

THE First of May is international Labor Day, and before these lines are read, the trade unionists of the Pacific countries will have demonstrated that they are one with the revolutionary workers of all the world in following the May Day tradition—which is a tradition of class struggle.

The celebration of May Day by labor arose from the great general strike of 1886 in the United States for the Eight-Hour Day, a movement of bitter class war in which the revolutionary labor leaders of that time (the Chicago martyrs) were murdered on the gallows by the capitalist class of the United States.

To preserve the fighting traditions of the proletariat it is necessary that May Day be not only celebrated, but celebrated in spite of and against the opposition of the employing class, that on May Day the workers desert the shops and mines and mills and unitedly serve warning on the class which exploits them that the days of wage slavery are numbered.

In only one country—the Soviet Union, can the workers celebrate the overthrowal of capitalist rule and the establishment of their own power. In the capitalist countries, the proletariat, inspired by that example, on this May Day, will gather their forces to batter down the gates of power.

* * *

THE strike wave sweeping over the south of the United States, which has been advertised as the haven of anti-union manufacturers, and held up by opportunists as a colonial reservoir of reaction which would make a left development in trade unionism impossible, has arisen to confound both the capitalists and opportunists.

In the Carolinas and in Tennessee, the mountaineer people, who have been brought into the factories set down among their hills by northern capitalists seeking escape from unionism, are fighting like tigers to protect their union and better their miserable wages. These southern whites from the back-country, who were thought by some to be more backward as to labor unions than any other element, are defying armed violence of the bosses and authorities, their women wrenching guns from troops and wielding them against these strike-breakers.

One could hardly wish for a better illustration of the will to struggle now present in a potential form among the American workers. This must be taken due note of in the Trade Union Unity Convention to be held at Cleveland, Ohio, on June 1. There are other elements, however, which also need attention. The large numbers of Mexican workers in the southwest, and the considerable numbers of Oriental workers along the Pacific Coast, have been wholly neglected by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. Yet they are ready to organize to improve their conditions. The Mexican workers have, indeed, established their own Labor Federation in South-

ern California. This, and other bodies of Oriental workers, must be represented at the Cleveland convention, which is to establish a trade union center in the United States that will fight for the interests of all workers.

* * *

THE strike of more than 1,200 tramway workers employed by the Yokohama Municipal Electric Bureau on March 5, is a symptom of the growing militancy of the whole Japanese labor movement, the reformists of Suzuki and Co., failing to check the rising wave of strikes.

The advices received to date do not say what was the end of the strike, but its beginning was well organized and united. The reinstatement of 15 discharged employees was the leading demand, a demand for 10% wage increase, coupled with a protest against the wage reduction that had been carried out and the proposal to raise the tramway fares, which measures, and the collateral charge of incompetent management added a demand for the resignation of the Bureau Chief, Hyojiro Nagata.

The city authorities at once threw all possible repressive forces against the tram strikers. The spokesman of Mayor Ariyoshi declared that the employees discharged were "lazy and the strikers' demands foolish", meanwhile the reactionary "Young Men's Association" furnished scabs who were so incompetent that the authorities had to admit that fact by putting up posters over the city offering Five Yen a day for more efficient scabs.

While reports state that the Tokyo tramway union refused to strike in sympathy, it is stated that several representatives of Tokyo unions coming to Yokohama were arrested when they arrived at strike headquarters. In addition, the 1,000 workmen at the Yokohama Dockyards threatened to strike with their own demands, while 4,000 Yen to their striking comrades on the Yokohama tramways were sent by the Traffic Workers' Society of Osaka. All of these solidarity actions indicate the growing spirit of labor unity for struggle among Japanese workers, and despite all the oppression (100 more arrests were reported in the middle of April), the proletariat of Japan is advancing steadily.

Death of Sou Chao-Jen

The following statement was issued by the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, at Shanghai, February 26, on the death two days previously, of its Chairman, Sou Chao-jen, heroic and true leader of the Chinese trade union movement. In this statement, and in succeeding issues, the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY will give space to articles on Comrade Sou's life and work by those who were his associates in the great struggles of the Chinese workers. Among these articles will be an intimate biography of Comrade Sou, by another great leader of the All-China Labor Federation, Teng Tsung-hsia.—EDITOR.

IT is with deep sorrow and regret that the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat announces the untimely death of our most sincere comrade and trusted Chairman, Sou Chao-jen. He died from a severe operation for appendicitis on February 24th. All those who know the least thing about the Chinese labor movement realize full well the deep loss to the struggling workers and peasants of China and of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, particularly in the Pacific area.

Comrade Sou, a courageous Cantonese, had risen to the highest positions in the Chinese and international labor movements. At the time of his death he had been for many years the Chairman of the All-China Labor Federation, an Executive member of the Communist Party of China, and represented ACLF on the Executive of the Red International of Labor Unions. Comrade Sou died under circumstances which can justly be termed in the front lines of labor's trenches, for he was forced through illness to abandon a Conference of the ACLF which had just re-elected him as Chairman.

Comrade Sou, the son of a peasant, was one of the oldest members of the Chinese trade union movement, and became a seaman by profession. He sailed for some years in British and other foreign vessels, plying the Pacific, and felt deeply the oppression and abuses inflicted upon the Chinese seamen by the arrogant and brutal officers, as well as developing a full understanding of all the political implications of imperialist occupation of China. Although a comparatively young man, only 41 years of age, he early conceived the necessity for reorganizing the old Chinese guild movement along modern trade lines. Comrade Sou was sensitive,

warm-hearted and sympathetic which endeared him to the workers and peasants throughout China, and especially to the seamen; these qualities also led him to resent the brutalities of imperialist domination.

The Chinese Seamen's Union was organized and led by Comrade Sou from its beginning. This Union became internationally famous when its members, in 1922, tied up completely by a strike the British port of Hongkong in South China for many weeks. This was the first large-scale example of modern trade union organization and action, which stimulated greatly the organization of trade unions throughout the country, and resulted in improving conditions and wages generally. It was in this demonstration of organizing ability and political strategy which won Comrade Sou wide recognition, and brought him into association with Dr. Sun Yat-sen who at that time was leading the Kuomintang in a struggle for freeing China from the militarists and imperialists. From these days onward he was associated with the Chinese Communist Party, and while the communists were in the Kuomintang (until 1927) Comrade Sou was one of its principal leaders in rallying the support of the workers and peasants.

The great Canton-Hongkong strike of 1925 to 1927, which wrecked the business of the British colony of Hongkong, was under the leadership of Comrade Sou, who was chairman of the strike committee. When the great Northern campaign of the Kuomintang was started from Canton in 1926, it was Comrade Sou who was the principal leader in the campaign of the communist forces, first in pushing the Kuomintang government into the movement and then in mobilizing the great

worker-peasant movements which made it successful. When the Nationalist armies captured the Central China area of the Yangtse valley, and the government was transferred to Wuhan, Comrade Sou became the Minister of Labor in the short-lived Wuhan Government which was wrecked by the successive betrayals of Chiang Kai-shek, Feng Yu-hsiang and Wang Ching-wei, as the representatives of the Chinese bourgeoisie.

Since the betrayal of the Revolution by the Kuomintang, and the ensuing butchery of tens of thousands of workers and peasants by the new militarists, Comrade Sou and his colleagues have been forced to work secretly. Under the conditions of illegality, always with a large price on his head (the Kuomintang militarists published a standing offer of \$50,000 for his capture) Comrade Sou worked night and day with the other loyal leaders of the Chinese revolution, keeping together the organization of the All-China Labor Federation which had been built through so much toil and sacrifice. Thousands of workers suffered the most cruel tortures and final horrible deaths at the hands of the new militarists, but not one ever betrayed Comrade Sou to the enemy while he continued his work right under the noses of the Kuomintang and the foreign imperialists of Shanghai and Hongkong. To him is due in large measure the preservation of the All-China Labor Federation from destruction in the worst period of white terror.

Comrade Sou was one of the earliest advocates of the formation of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. He was the chairman of the arrangements committee established in 1926 by agreement with the Australian trade unions, which organized the Hankow Conference in May, 1927, and since that time he functioned as Chairman of the permanent Secretariat until his death. He was especially interested in the progress and development of the workers' and peasants'

movements in India, and their role in the struggle for independence; and he often warned the Indian workers to learn from Chinese experience the necessity to repulse the British reformist leaders and Amsterdam, and to cleanse their own leadership from self-seeking bourgeois elements. Comrade Sou was an ardent advocate of close relations between the Chinese and Filipino working classes.

As Chairman of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, Comrade Sou's last advice was to warn the workers of Asia against the attempts of Mr. Albert Thomas of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations to undermine the growing influence of the P. P. T. U. S. by promoting the scheme of the Japanese servant of imperialism, Mr. Bunji Suzuki, for an "Asiatic" conference in India, with the collaboration of the reactionary Mr. N. M. Joshi.

The terrible strain of the many-sided work which Comrade Sou imposed upon himself finally proved too strong for his weakened body, which could not survive the shock of an operation. His death leaves a great gap in the Chinese and international labor movements which his comrades must fill by intensifying their collective work. His memory will live as long as the history of the Chinese Revolution and international trade unionism is studied, and will serve as a guide and inspiration in the developing great struggles of the Chinese workers and peasants, and of the entire movement of liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world.

Long live the memory of Comrade Sou Chao-jen!

Long live the unity of the workers of the Pacific countries!

Long live the unity of the international working class!

THE PAN-PACIFIC TRADE UNION
SECRETARIAT.

Strike Struggles and Tasks of Revolutionary Unions

By A. LOZOVSKY

The following article is the concluding part of a speech delivered by A. Lozovsky, General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions. In view of the fact that it contains valuable material dealing with the whole international labor movement and its tasks in the period now opening, the Pan-Pacific Monthly believes that the trade union movement of the Pacific area will be benefited by a study of the problems of labor and their solutions as given in this article. The first part of the speech was published in our April issue. In that part were discussed the new features of economic fights in the present period, the change in structure of the working class and its effect on the trade unions, reformism and the labor aristocracy, the nature of present struggles—offensive or defensive, leadership of struggles by revolutionary trade unionists independently of the reformist bureaucracy, how to conduct such struggles so as to secure the participation of the broadest masses. In this last matter, the reformists were criticized for their opposition to the participation of the unorganized workers in the election of strike leadership and direction. From this point the present article continues.—EDITOR.

The Old and New Argument on the Unorganized

IF we had had differences only with the reformists on this question, it would have been nothing new. I may remind you that the question of the part played by the unorganized in the struggle, was a subject of discussions as far back as before the war. To anyone interested in this question we could recommend the study of the discussion between Rosa Luxemburg on the one hand and Scheidemann and Husemann on the other on the question of the role of the unorganized in economic and political struggles. But it was a much more complicated business. It appeared that in our own ranks there was a reflexion of social-democratic traditions, social-democratic views regarding the unorganized, these traditions and views proving strongest in those countries where social-democracy is strongest, in Germany to be precise.

Inside the German Party a struggle round the decisions of the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress had already become acute. The struggle for the independent leadership of economic disputes, the building up of strike committees, the bringing into the struggle of the unorganized, etc.—these formed the net of problems round which the internal groupings gathered; these were the questions which be-

came of fatal import for a certain number of communists who had to be driven out of the Communist International.

Obscurity on the Question of T.U. Leadership of Economic Fights

How do these ex-communists look on the matter? Noteworthy is Walcher's article in the third issue of the journal known as "Against the Stream" ("Gegen den Strom"), the official organ of the Communists expelled from the party. The article is headed "Some Words on the New Tactics of the Trade Union Movement." Walcher writes: "Who must lead the economic struggle? The trade unions. That is stated in all resolutions. Yet the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress has brought forward a new slogan: that economic fights must be led by the trade union opposition, although the trade union opposition is not the trade union." From this fallacy emanates all the obscurity now embodied in the basis of the Rights' Platform.

Of course, the trade union must direct the strike struggle and all economic disputes, that is what trade unions exist for, but what are you going to do if the trade unions do not direct that struggle? That is the question. If the reformist trade unions do not run the strike but smash it, what are you going to do about it? What is the sense of our mouthing such elementary truths when we

need to talk of what the unions really are and what leadership they actually provide.

Instead of trotting out truisms like this, that the trade union should conduct the strike and so on, we want to know whether the reformist unions do provide leadership, and whether we are going to arrange our tactics with a view to waiting until the reformist trade unions begin to lead the strike struggle. Experience has shown that the reformist trade unions do not lead the struggle, that they actually break strikes.

We are faced with the alternative: either we are going to try to lead the strike ourselves and increase our influence while carrying on the fight, thus winning over new sections of the masses and so gradually ousting reformist influence at the point of production, or we are going to put our money on the reformist "dark horse" and lay down our tactics with a view to forcing the reformists to fight. The Fourth RILU Congress was in favor of the first, and the German Rights of the second. Hence their great slogan "Force the Bureaucrats to Fight"! ("Zwingt die Bonzen!")

But, comrades, how are we going to force them to fight? One of two things: either we believe that they can actually give a lead, or we are going to wait until they change their point of view, we meanwhile trying to convince them and prove to them the soundness of our viewpoint and then 200 years or so from now they will have come round to the view that our policy is the sounder one. In either case these are no tactics for communists. Communist tactics do not consist in forcing bred-in-the-bone reformists to fight, but in leading the working masses against the will and wish of these bureaucrats and hounding them out of the movement. When there is a difference of view on what would seem to be such an elementary question for communists in our own ranks, we find it a bit of a tight fit in one Party and one International with communists of this brand. Let them go over to the social-democrats and there force the bureaucrats to put up a fight.

Fetishism of the TU Machine and Fear of Independent Leadership

From the tactics of "force the bureaucrats to fight" there emerge a number of other issues which brings the policy of the Communist International and the RILU into conflict with the social-democratic traditions still to be found in the minds of some communists.

If we take up the stand that we are to wait until we have reformed the machine, and are not going to lead the struggle, then it is obvious that our whole aim should be not to win the masses or to gain influence at the point of production but to conquer the reformist apparatus. But what is meant by the trade union machine? The machine consists of elected persons, technical workers, property, real estate, houses and so on. The machine has nothing else. Then whom are we going to conquer and what are we going to win? The reformist machine consists of dyed-in-the-wool social-democrats whom it is utterly impossible to win over; they can only be re-made in the next world, they'll have to be born again (laughter). We are therefore faced with the question, not of conquering the reformist apparatus, but of winning the masses, kicking out the reformist machinery and installing our own revolutionary machine.

But every time we bring up the question in this way there is a special species of communist (Germany is its habitat), which begins to get the wind up: "How are we going to carry on an independent struggle? We will elect strike committees, is that what we are going to do? Are we going to draw the unorganized into the struggle? Then what is the trade union machine for?"

Comrades, if we were to adopt this standpoint of these timid communists we would never get any further forward, in fact would soon be dropping very far to the rear. That is why the Communist International considered it best for itself to get rid of these poltroon communists and get people off its hands whose social-democratic traditions prevent us from moving onward, and why it submitted to all the parties the question of the independent leadership of economic fights.

The True "Innards" of the United Front in the Strike Struggle

Particularly in the economic field, the struggle is bound up with the problem of the united front. When we say that the whole mass of the workers must be drawn into the struggle it means that we must be able to build up a united front. And here again the policy of the Communist International and the RILU clashes with that of the "social-democratic communists", if one may put it that way. The united front from below means a united front at the point of production where the workers elect their various organs.

But when they hear the words "united front" the "social-democratic communists" always wonder what the union leaders, the reformist bureaucrats, will say about it. Would it not be better to talk the matter over with them first? That is how they argue. It is perfectly obvious that these people haven't the faintest idea of the tasks and objects, nor even the true essence, of the united front, for the united front has never been a method of conciliatory agreement with the Jacks-in-office. It has always been a method for lining up the workers to fight against these self-same reformist bureaucrats. Yet in quite a number of strikes we have had many most unhealthy features showing that our communists did not thoroughly realize what the united front was and how it was to be built up.

Examples of Bad Policy

More: traditions of trade union legalism and of the purest fetish-worshipping attitude towards the trade unions were revealed in these strikes. Let us take, for instance, the Lodz strike. The strike had already begun, the workers had elected a strike committee, and when the Polish Socialist Party Union sent its representatives to the strike committee and stated it would take over the leadership of the strike, the left-wing trade unionists were overjoyed and gave the PSP Union the majority of seats on the strike committee. That was the beginning of the end as far as the strike was concerned.

Another case in point. Some months ago the Bordeaux dockers came out on strike. There were two unions in the place, the reformist one with 150 members and the revolutionary union with 300, some thousands of workers being involved altogether. The leaders of the Unitary Revolutionary Federation agreed on a united front with the socialist mayor of the town and the leaders of the reformist union. Now as to the nature of this united front of theirs. Speakers of the Unitary Confederation of Labour (CGTU) coming from Paris were not to be allowed to take the platform at meetings of the strikers so that no differences of view might be created among the men out on strike. It was not a united front at all: It was a pact stipulating that neither party, reformists nor communists, would attack each other.

I don't know, comrades, how you look upon pacts of this sort, but I consider this kind of thing the lowest form of opportunism, a violation of all the resolutions of the Com-

munist International and the RILU. I consider that tactics like these must be utterly repudiated by every true communist. If, during a strike, we are going to conclude pacts regarding mutual neutrality with the reformists, how are we going to grow and increase in numbers, how are we going to extend our influence?

If we cannot prove during struggle that our tactics are better, that we are more consistent, that we are the most self-sacrificing progressive section of the proletariat, then how on earth are we going to prove it? By resolutions? By speeches? It is perfectly plain that such tactics can only emerge from the most extreme opportunism. Our comrades of the CGTU were therefore perfectly right when they turned up in Bordeaux to tear up the pact in question and take over the leadership of the strike which they fought to the finish, and during the strike itself they wound up the local branch of the reformist union and brought all the workers into the Unitary revolutionary union.

I could cite dozens of facts from the recent miners' strike in the Gard and Loire, from the strikes in Northern France, and from other countries as well, all going to show that many communists fail completely to realize what sort of united front should be organized, especially in the very thick of the fight.

Studying the Experience of the Strike Struggle

The experience of the recent fights and the tactics of the united front both in regard to independent leadership and the building up of fighting organs as well as in the matter of bringing the unorganized into the struggle ought to be most carefully studied by everyone of us. Owing to the extremely varied situations that arise, it is quite a complicated business to elaborate tactics in economic fights.

Comparing one country with another—Germany, Britain, France, Czecho-Slovakia, the Balkans, then China, Japan, India, Indonesia, and then the United States—everywhere we find great differences in the level of the trade union movement and most diverse and unequal political and economic conditions, while the numerical strength of the revolutionary section of the labor movement in proportion to the whole working class varies, thus creating a difference in the balance of power from country to country within the proletariat.

For this reason the elaboration of general tactics is a most complicated work requiring the participation of thousands and tens of thousands of practical workers, of thousands of leaders in the field of party and trade union work, in order to extract from all this varied experience certain general features giving the direction to our work in the sphere of organization and the leadership of economic battles.

We of the R. I. L. U. have taken the following line in this question. As far back as the third RILU Congress, i.e., in the middle of 1924, we raised this question of strike strategy. But it is only now, at the fourth RILU Congress, and after these recent strikes, that we have got down to the concrete study of the experience gained in this direction. We drew up a resolution on the lessons of the economic struggle in Germany which will be most instructive for each country, and not for the Germans alone. We elaborated a very detailed resolution on the lessons of the economic struggle in France. A like resolution has been drawn up regarding the economic struggle in Czecho-Slovakia and another on the struggle in Poland.

The study of the experience of these four countries and the detailed recapitulation of the weaknesses and mistakes committed in the economic struggle there possess the greatest importance for the entire international labor movement, inasmuch as they have peculiar features: Poland with its fascist regime and extremely split up TU movement, where even the reformist TU movement has been sundered into two parts, the fascist wing having broken away; France with its divided TU movement (there are two trade union centres); Czecho-Slovakia with a patchwork trade union movement having 11 TU centres; and Germany with her single trade union movement.

To Benefit All Countries

But we did not stop at that, for the study of the experience of individual countries, in view of the great importance attaching to this experience, is not yet enough. We wanted to do something bigger, that is, we wanted to formulate the experience of the recent fights in such wise that this experience might be pooled and utilized outside the four countries in question. For this purpose we called a special conference to deal with questions of strike tactics. It met in the third week of January in Strassburg and discussed all ques-

tions connected with strike tactics and especially the questions that have cropped up during the last few years.

This is a very difficult and complicated field to work over, for, as you are aware, the tactics and strategy of the economic struggle have been left practically untouched. Military tactics, on the other hand, have been elaborated in great detail. In every country you will find dozens of military schools where they teach the strategy and tactics of warfare. In every language there are hundreds of bulky volumes devoted to the problem of waging war. There is any number of specialists on the subject. Yet the problem of strike strategy, the problem of the strategy of economic battles and our tactics in these battles, has not been worked up and but little studied.

We have descriptions of strikes in all countries but we have no important, detailed, and all-round investigation into all the peculiar features to be found in each strike of any size and in every important economic dispute, although the careful study of the economic fights of many countries represents a matter of the greatest interest for the whole world trade union movement.

Recently I have had specially to study the economic struggle not only of European countries; I have had to go into the strike movement not only in Germany, France, Britain, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, but also of the United States, of China, India, Japan and other countries, and must say that, in spite of the great diversity of the social-political conditions in which the working class has to fight and despite the great differences in the level of the labor movement, there are many common features. For this reason the labor movement of the more backward countries as well could learn very much from the experience acquired by the revolutionary workers elsewhere.

In Latin America

I have recently had to give much attention to the labor movement in Latin America—Mexico, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, Chili, etc.—to find in that vast continent a very young labor movement with tremendous possibilities, a movement in which but a short time ago the anarchists were still very powerful, a labor movement which was still very primitive, in which emotion is still very strong but in which there is little of deliberate policy. There is much revolutionary enthusiasm in this

movement but also much "wandering in the wilderness"; the broad masses want to fight and are prepared to sacrifice themselves, but they do not yet see the way clear in front of them.

And when one comes to study the economic progress of this young labor movement, battles of a profoundly political character, and compare them with what is taking place in other countries, one realizes how little we have done so far to make our experiences the common property of these new countries now drawn into the world labour movement.

Consider the big fight on the Colombian banana plantations. For many of you these banana plantations may mean nothing, although the United Fruit Company there is possessor not only of plantations but railways, telegraph lines, etc., has its own police, troops, gunmen, etc. Thirty thousand strikers fought a real war in the literal sense of the word not only against the armed forces of the Company but the troops of the Colombian government as well. In the fight, more than a thousand men were killed. Actually speaking, this business began as a strike and finished as an insurrection and armed uprising.

I have taken only one example out of many which could be cited from any of these countries.

Political Nature of Modern Economic Struggle

There is no border line dividing the economic from the political struggle. Only the anarchists draw a distinction between economics and politics and separate them. In the present day strained situation, in an atmosphere thick with the hatred felt by the masses for the capitalist order, in the conditions born of a ruthless capitalist rationalization and an increased sharpening of social relations, every strike, no matter how elementary the demands of the workers may be, acquires a profoundly political and deeply class character, and the problem of the leadership of these strikes therefore confronts us as one of the most important issues, showing us how to reach the masses who, though still inside the reformist organizations, cannot help fighting against their own increased exploitation.

Sound leadership of the struggle, proper preparations for the struggle, the proper running of the economic strike, the sound organization of elective organs, firm connections between these organs and the masses,

steady control by the masses over the strike committees; the representation of the unorganized on these committees as well as the women workers, young workers, unskilled workers, etc.—these are all elements which will extend our influence over the broad masses. There is no other road for the Communist International, for the communist parties and for the RILU than that of winning the independent leadership in the economic struggle.

No matter where strikes or important disputes take place, it is the task of the revolutionary unions to take the initiative in building up elected organs and getting all workers, whether reformist, communist or non-party, whether organized in unions or unorganized, to take part in these elections. And it is up to the communists to win influence in these organs, not from outside but from inside, and to work so that the workers themselves should elect communists to these elected organs. The confidence of the workers waging the fight must be won. By this means, through the elected democratic organs, the struggle should be led and the masses who have begun the fight for elementary demands led on further, the economic struggle raised to the higher political plane.

Period of Opportunity

Quite a number of big questions arise in connection with our tactics as seen against the background of the disputes now coming to a head. The study of what is now taking place must force everyone of us to realize that these disputes are going to grow in number and that these individual economic fights are going to involve wider and wider sections of the masses every day. These separate outbreaks on different sectors of the front are all symptoms of a rising, wide-sweeping wave not only of economic clashes; they also mark the beginning of a political forward move in the labor movement.

If we of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions remain beyond reach of this upflooding wave and lay our hopes on the reformist apparatus or demand of the reformists that they fight instead of our fighting for ourselves, or wait till they do something for the movement instead of doing it ourselves, and if we are unable in each of these strikes and disputes to win new positions, to bring over to our side tens and hundreds of thousands of workers, to bring them into the trade

unions and consolidate the revolutionary trade unions, and to line up the unorganized masses who give us their backing, then we will never carry out the elementary duty now being placed on us at this time which is proving so favorable for the development of communism and of the revolutionary trade union movement.

That is why it is required of each and every one of us that we regard our tactics during economic fights with far greater attention. That is why the Communist International has come to grips with this problem. That is why the Red International of Labor Unions is studying each country step by step, examining the positive and negative aspects of our tactics in the fight, is trying

to summarize the experience so far gained and pool it for the benefit of all countries.

That is why every revolutionary worker must give his most serious attention to the rising tide of economic movements, fully realizing that these economic fights possess a profoundly class, political nature and that by riding on the wave of these economic struggles, by guiding them, by impelling the movement forward, by lifting it to a higher level, we can extend and strengthen our ranks, consolidate the revolutionary trade union movement and take a gigantic step forward towards the organization of our forces for the realization of those tasks and aims to advance which we built up the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions.

CORRECTION IN NUMBER OF ISSUE

Due to the difficulties of communication in discontinuing publication in China and beginning publication of the official organ of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat in America, an error was made in the number of the issue for April, which should have been No. 24, but was issued as No. 25. Readers who are preserving files of the Far-Eastern Monthly, to which the Pan-Pacific Monthly is the successor, will kindly note the omission of No. 24. The consecutive numbering of the Pan-Pacific Monthly, beginning with April, 1929 as No. 25, is continued for the benefit of readers of the Pan-Pacific Monthly.



The Classes in the Fight Against Imperialism

By NIVEL

THE great task confronting the countries of the East is the breaking of the shackles of imperialism which holds them in bondage, stunts their growth, sucks their life blood out of them and condemns them to misery and degradation.

Which are the social forces that can and will accomplish this greatest task of modern history—the overthrow of imperialism and the emancipation of the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the world?

It is quite evident that not all the social forces of the East will, with equal zeal and zest, shoulder the great historical burden. There will even be some which will not only refuse to join the ranks of the anti-imperialist fighters but with all their power will help to keep the imperialist noose tight around the neck of their own country.

The feudal and semi-feudal forces (war lords in China) are reactionary elements who live by the most rapacious exploitation of the population in general and of the peasants in particular. At times some of them may be inclined to show some fight against the imperialists so as to keep to themselves all their grab and avoid sharing it with the imperialists. However, immediately they feel the overpowering weight of the imperialist strength, they are cowed and are ready to act as the agents and watch-dogs of imperialism putting the screw of oppression even more tightly on the population so as to satisfy the imperialists without diminishing the extent of their own spoil. As a rule, however, they are the willing tools of imperialism because they see in the latter the force which will come to its aid against the forces of revolution.

Now what about the bourgeoisie? It has entered the world as a great revolutionary force. It has smashed the old feudal order in the Great French Revolution of 1789. It has challenged a world of enemies and, fired by boundless enthusiasm, has fought them all

and come out victorious on top. True, the bourgeoisie having achieved its historical mission and having established capitalism with all that it stands for as the new social order, has itself become conservative and now that it is in the stage of decay, having grown old and decrepit, is the most reactionary force in existence which does not shrink before the most atrocious measures to crush the forces of the new order which is going to take the place of capitalism.

However, in the East the situation is entirely different. The bourgeoisie there has not yet fulfilled its historical mission. It is being held down by the forces of feudalism and of war lordism on the one hand and by the foreign yoke of imperialism on the other. Will it not then rise in the same spirit as the bourgeoisie has risen in 1789 in France? Will it not take up the fight against feudalism and imperialism and carry the country with it?

Alas, the young bourgeoisie of the East will not do that. It has been loaded at its birth with the vice of age.

"The further to the East of Europe the more weak, cowardly and dastardly, in a political sense, becomes the bourgeoisie and the greater the cultural and political tasks that devolve upon the proletariat."

These remarkable words are taken from the historical Manifesto of the First Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party proclaiming to the world the birth of revolutionary social-democracy in autocratic Russia. The development of the Russian Revolution of 1905 has proved the truth of these words. The Russian bourgeoisie fearing the rising power of the proletariat had quickly changed front and coming to terms with autocracy turned against the proletariat and broke the back of the Revolution.

The nascent bourgeoisie of the countries of the East with the experience of the October Revolution of 1917 before its eyes, is

haunted by the spectre of the Proletarian Revolution. It shrinks before its historical tasks and instead of fighting feudalism and imperialism is making common cause with them at the price of some compromises and concessions. From an enemy of imperialism the native bourgeoisie is becoming its supporter. We have seen how the bourgeoisie of India has abandoned the fight against British imperialism and is doing all it can to come to terms with it. We have also seen how the Kuomintang in China has compromised with imperialism and is waging a war of extermination against the real revolutionary elements who are fighting imperialism.

It has therefore fallen to the lot of the proletariat of these countries to take up the fight against feudalism, war-lordism and imperialism abandoned by the bourgeoisie. The proletariat of these countries is the most resolute fighter of imperialism. The proletariat cannot free itself without shaking off the bonds of imperialism and of its henchmen—the feudal lords, the war lords and the bourgeoisie.

In this heroic struggle the native proletariat is not alone. In the home countries of imperialism the working class is being oppressed by the same iron hand that holds in bondage the colonial peoples. Therefore, the overthrow of imperialism is the task not only of the working class of the colonial countries but of the international proletariat as a whole.

In this battle against imperialism the oppressed and downtrodden masses of the peasantry will be found on the side of the workers. The peasant problem is a land problem. The driving force behind all the agrarian risings and revolutions is the peasants' hunger for land. In the great French Revolution of 1789 the bourgeoisie took away the land from the nobility and from the Church and gave it to the peasants. By this act the peasantry was made secure for the Revolution and the latter became invincible.

At present, however, the situation, particularly in the East, is entirely different. The bourgeoisie is linked up with a thousand ties with the landlords. Very often the bourgeois in town is the landlord in the country. The bourgeoisie has made the feudal lords its allies against the forces of the proletarian revolution. The peasants' fight for the land means the fight against the allies of

the bourgeoisie. The way to the land is blocked to the peasants by a solid wall of landlordism, capitalism and imperialism. The peasant cannot break this wall without the help of the proletariat. The agrarian revolution will succeed only with the triumph of the proletarian revolution.

Only the victorious working class can and will give the land to the peasants. This has been proved by the history of the three revolutions in Russia—that of 1905, of February and of October, 1917. The October revolution has also proved that neither the bourgeoisie nor the petty-bourgeoisie (Mensheviks, social-revolutionists) would give the land to the peasants. The alliance between the workers and the peasants is natural. The enemies of the proletariat are the enemies of the peasants too. When united the forces of the proletariat and of the peasantry are invincible.

In the measure as the strength of the organized working class increases will it be able to enlist on its side the petty-bourgeoisie of the town—the artisans, the petty-traders, the shop-keepers, etc. These heterogeneous elements are easily swayed to the Right or to the Left. Being petty owners the word "property" has a magic hold on them, and they fall an easy prey to the incitement of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary labour movement holding it out as a movement directed against the "Sacred right of property."

However, with the rise of the labour movement, especially after it has achieved notable successes, the sympathies of the petty-bourgeoisie turn to the working class in whom they see the power that is going to save them from ruin at the hands of capitalism.

To obtain victory it is necessary for all the forces of anti-imperialism to unite. The Anti-Imperialist League is the embodiment of that unity. It is gathering round its banner all the exploited and downtrodden masses in the colonies and in the metropolies who are determined to fight imperialism. The need of the hour is organization. The ideas of anti-imperialism should be brought home to the broad masses of the peasants of the colonial countries. There should be no country with anti-imperialist forces unaffiliated to the Anti-Imperialist League. Imperialism is the last phase of capitalism. It is doomed by history. With unity and with a clear program of action victory is certain.

Albert Thomas in China and Japan

By TAMURA

THE trip of Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, to China, Japan, Indo-China and Indonesia, together with the convocation of the Pan-Asiatic Labour Conference, to be called in April, 1929, in India, and to be participated in by the Japanese and Indian reformists, and leaders of the Kuomintang trade unions, point to the fact that international reformism is straining all its forces to strengthen its position in the countries of the Far East. The tremendous importance of the Chinese revolution, the uprising in Indonesia, the intensification of the class struggle in India and finally, the growing influence of the left organizations in imperialist Japan itself—all these factors have forced the imperialists to hastily mobilize their obedient reformist forces in order to fight the revolutionary labour movement in Asia.

Acting upon instructions from the capitalists of his country, Bunji Suzuki, the president of the Japanese Federation of Labor, Sodomei, as far back as 1926, during his visit to Geneva for the International Labor Conference, commenced negotiations with Thomas with regard to his visiting the Far Eastern countries for the purpose of bringing them within the orbit of the international labour movement and for investigating the conditions of labour obtaining there. At the same time Suzuki raised the question of the convocation by the Japanese and Indian reformists, jointly with the representative from the Chinese trade unions, of a Pan-Asiatic Labor Conference for the purpose of fighting the growing influence of the revolutionary trade union movement in the East.

Reformists a Little Late

The realization of these plans was hindered only by the opposition of the revolutionary Chinese workers, the chief object of the reformist desires. Instead of the formation of a yellow Asiatic International, of which Suzuki and his confreres dreamed, they had to become the witnesses of the con-

ference of revolutionary trade unions of the Pacific countries, held in Hankow in May, 1927, at which the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat was inaugurated. Thomas and Co. only succeeded in commencing to carry out their Asiatic plans after the counter-revolutionary *coup d'etat* carried out in China with the help of the imperialists by Chiang Kai-shek and other Kuomintang generals, who drove the revolutionary labor organizations underground by their bloody terror and in their place established "their own" trade unions.

After arrival in China, Thomas exerted all his efforts to present the reactionary Kuomintang as the peace-maker of China and the builder of socialism there, to create a reputation for the Kuomintang leaders as defenders of the interests of the working class, and to come to an agreement with them in order to carry out the policy of collaboration with the International Labor Office. In speaking to the workers Thomas advertised the Kuomintang achievements in the sphere of social policy and the help which the International Labor Office is in the position to extend it, even with regard to the abolition of extra-territoriality.

Kuomintang and I.L.O. Aims "Identical"

The Chinese proletariat "found out" from the speeches of Thomas that the attitude of the Kuomintang Party, which shot down the workers by the thousands, "is full of attention to the proletariat and is in complete accordance with the principles of Sun Yat Sen," that "the national government fully recognizes the harm of capitalism," and that finally, "the day will come when the International Labor Office, the aims of which are identical with the ideals of the Kuomintang, will unite all workers and give them the possibility to overthrow the yoke of world capitalism and imperialism."

In his efforts to present the Kuomintang in the role of the benefactor of the Chinese workers in one of his speeches Thomas did not even stop at characterizing their position

as being better than the position of the workers in the U.S.S.R. Within a few days' time, however, after having visited several factories, Thomas preferred not to express himself in such sensational form.

Driven underground, the revolutionary Chinese trade unions are unable to openly expose Thomas. The Kuomintang leaders, of course, were in full agreement with him as to the need of wide participation in the labors of the International Labor Office and for the establishment of connections with the international labor movement.

Hot Reception in Japan

The left trade unions of Japan fully estimated the honorable role which the venerable Director of the Bureau of Labor took upon himself in the emancipation of the toilers of the Far East. Whilst right Japanese unions, in honor of Thomas' arrival formed the so-called "Right Wing League," the unions, which before its break-up in the spring 1928, were affiliated to the left trade union center the Hyogikai, the day before his arrival, formed in Tokyo and Osaka the so-called "Leagues for the Struggle Against Thomas," and set on foot a widespread campaign to expose him. In order to protect Thomas from any excesses the government had to call up whole squads of detectives and police.

When on December 11 Albert Thomas proposed to the left trade unions that they nominate three or four representatives for negotiations, they replied to him that "the Japanese workers and peasants emphatically refuse any meeting with the traitor in a semi-official capacity, and agreed to meet him only in public." Only the president of the Tokyo Branch of the International Labor Office, Assari, pulled Thomas out of this fix, informing the lefts that "besides the fact that Thomas is extremely engaged he, Assari, does not consider it possible to permit such a meeting, insofar as it will be used by the lefts for propaganda purposes."

The government and capitalists of Japan likewise recognized the importance of the work of Albert Thomas. The reception given him has for long been accorded nobody. Prince Tokugawa, the president of the House of Peers, declared at a dinner given in honor of Thomas by the Tokyo branch of the International Labor Office, that

"It is the source of a great honor as well as satisfaction to be able to extend on be-

half of the League of Nations Association of Japan, our hearty welcome to Mr. Albert Thomas, esteemed Director of the International Labor Office, who, as a moderate social reformer, contributed much toward the solution of multitudinous social problems. . . . We wish our distinguished guest to know that we in this far away country are praising his achievements in dealing with social problems and are fully appreciating his wise moderation and keen foresight, so appropriate to the demands of the time. . . . We shall be benefited greatly by his noble ideas and varied experiences."

Thomas put himself and the Japanese capitalists to rest with regard to taking account of naked facts. Except for reminders of the advisability of Japan ratifying the most important international labor conventions, Thomas in no way interfered with the peace of his hospitable hosts. When in Wuhan, Nanking and Shanghai he did now and again consider it advisable, after his loud-sounding speeches, to have a look at the factories, but in Japan he considered it possible, and what is still more important, more convenient, to substitute these visits by chats with the employers and reformists, and by attending rich dinners, which brought him presents from millionaires.

Doing Another Commission's Work

"Were Thomas," writes the liberal **Osaka Mainichi**, "a member of the Commission on the Traffic in Women, one might say he has investigated the matter at first hand. . ." "One wishes to know how many real factories he has visited—we do not mean one or two extraordinary 'model factories'. . . . It seems rather strange that he has chosen to spend a few days of sojourn in Osaka, the very heart of the nation's industry, by visiting luxury resorts. . . . After so much smell of champagnes and perfumes, the inhaling of a little smoke and dust in the factories may seem very homely to the Director of the 'Labor' Bureau."

There is nothing strange in the fact that Thomas manifested so slight an interest in personal acquaintance with the position of the workers in the Far East. Although the Director of the International Labor Office did officially put forward as the chief reason for his trip the desire to investigate the conditions of labor in Asiatic countries, in undertaking this distant voyage he was ruled by

entirely different aims. To carry out his chief task—to intensify the struggle against the revolutionary labor movement in the Far East, the greater consolidation between the European and Asiatic reformist forces—he spent no small efforts both in China and Japan.

He did not go to Indonesia from Japan and meet the local reformists for acquaintance with the conditions of labor. Together with the Japanese reformists, who undertook

to prepare for the Pan-Asiatic Labor Conference, Thomas did everything in his power to strengthen the position of world imperialism in the colonial countries. Whatever may have been the "positive" results of Thomas' trip, his methods of investigating the position of the workers in the Far east will to a considerable extent help the latter to understand the policies of the International Labor Office and its closest assistants—the reformists.

The Australian Immigration Problem

By S. CARTENTER (*Sydney*)

I. INTRODUCTION

THE problem of Immigration is of outstanding interest and importance in Australian politics and economics. It gains in importance when analyzed in its relation to the Australian and international labor movements, a task which so far, it seems, has been woefully neglected.

Here is an island continent with an area larger than that of the U. S. A., and with a population smaller than that of New York City. Add to this the fact that Australia is situated in the center of the Pacific, which means in the very heart of the most probable arena of the next world war—between the three main competitors for predominance in the Pacific (Britain, Japan and U. S. A.); then the proximity of Japan and its lack of natural resources and its comparative overpopulation; the proximity also of such vast reservoirs of cheap labor as China, India and the Pacific Islands; also the post-war immigration restrictions by the U. S. A. Government, and the growing misery of vast masses of workers seeking economic relief from political and economic terrorism in Italy, Poland, Jugoslavia, etc.; and last, but not least, the growing unemployment in the mother country, in England, with the growing fear of revolution by the British bourgeoisie, coupled of course with their frantic efforts of the British imperialists to people their Pacific outpost—Australia—with ready material for the

next war—and you get a sketchy outline of the ramifications of the immigration problem for Australia and, in the first place, for the Australian and international working class.

The confusion and distortions which are characteristic of the Immigration Problem as dealt with by the spokesmen of Australian capitalism, in which category we must include the politicians of the A. L. P. (Australian Labor Party) and of the various so-called Labor Governments, have as rich a range as the colors of the spectrum.

The treatment of the immigration problem in the past, ranges from a bourgeois-professorial treatise on the possible affinity or aversion found between the blood corpuscles of a true 100% British-Australian and those of a Chinese, Japanese or "Southern-European" (this is the sort of stuff the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, indulges in); it then passes through the phase of the most blatant and assinine declamations by nationalist politicians and parliamentarians about "the superiority of the white race". Then through a diplomatic but severe declaration by the nationalist Prime Minister that the "White Australia policy" is one of the basic principles of this country. Then, it passes through the peculiar nationalist jingoism of the Labor Party, whose policy on immigration cannot be distinguished from that of the diehard Nationalist Party. For not

only does the A. L. P. carry on its official programme the plank:

"The cultivation of an Australian sentiment, the maintenance of a White Australia, etc., etc."

but it has also introduced an even "subtler" differentiation in racial prejudice and race hatred by systematically feeding the workers with a new poisonous bit of political charlatanry: "The Southern European" prejudice. Hardly an issue of the "Labor Daily" or the "Australian Worker", but we find vicious attacks on those "Southern Europeans", a term invariably used by these "Labor" demagogues as synonymous with "scab" or second rate people.

And, finally, at the other extremity of the immigration spectrum, is the attitude (not always clearly enough defined) of the more militant, revolutionary section of the Australian working class which, instinctively more than knowingly and deliberately, feels that the so-called "White Australian policy", in all its shades and variations, is incompatible with the true interests of the working class and with the principles of proletarian internationalism.

But the "White Australia" doctrine and policy is only one aspect of the Australian immigration problem. Equally important is the problem of non-Asiatic—in the main British immigration.

As we shall see later on, in the section dealing with State aided mass immigration, the Australian and British governments are co-operating in schemes to settle en masse hundreds of thousands of British workers in Australia. Special loans are set aside by Britain for financing these mass settlement schemes (about half a million emigrants are thus to be got rid of by British capitalism in the next decade).

British Emigrants

This aspect of the immigration problem is of even greater immediate importance than that of Asiatic immigration, for it is an essential factor in the current policies of British and Australian capitalism, and it affects immediately and directly the working class of Australia. This should be borne in mind when considering the attitude of the militant section of the working class on the question of immigration.

The outstanding features of these mass-immigration schemes are (1) the desire of British capitalism to get rid of its dangerous "sur-

plus" labor—unemployment having definitely become chronic in that country; (2) the joint effort of British and Australian capitalism to reduce the working and living conditions of the Australian working class to the British and European level, and (3) imperialistic considerations in relation to Australia's position in the Pacific and the prospects of an imperialist war in the Pacific area.

II. HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION

For a clear understanding of the specific character of the Australian immigration problem, it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of its historical and economic background. This will enable us to distinguish between the original economic basic factor of the "White Australian" policy and its later accretions of political demagoguery and racial prejudice for nationalistic and imperialist purposes.

It will also enable us to define more clearly our working class attitude on immigration.

The policy of restricting immigration into Australia—now generally known as the "White Australia" policy—became definitely established in 1901, after the federation of the several colonies into the Commonwealth Government. This policy was directed, in fact though not in name, against Asiatic immigration. But the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 was not the beginning, it was rather the culmination of several decades of partial restriction of Asiatic immigration by the individual colonial governments, mainly N. S. W., Queensland and Victoria.

Nature of Early Asiatic Immigration

In the early days of the Colony, there was no such problem as Asiatic immigration. It should be borne in mind that Australia was originally a convict colony. So long as the settlers had a sufficient supply of free convict labor, they were not interested in the huge reservoir of cheap labor in the Pacific. But towards the middle of the 19th century, with the rapid expansion of the pastoral interests and the consequent shortage of labor which made itself felt, the pastoralist interests turned towards China, India and the Pacific islands in an effort to obtain coolie labor. They naturally sought Government subsidies for their coolie importing schemes. In 1842, for instance, there was formed a special "Coolie Association" for the purpose of "obtaining permission to import coolies and other laborers from the East Indies".

But even in those early days, these efforts of the coolie importers met with the determined opposition of the workers both in the colony and in England.

Sir Henry Parkes wrote at the time about the pastoralists "who had been accustomed to having the convicts' toil for nothing, and they cannot bring their minds to paying for that of the free men."

During this period and until the end of last century, Asiatic immigration to Australia was mainly of two categories: (1) **Contract or indentured laborers** brought from Asia and Polynesia, and (2) the influx of Asiatic laborers in considerable numbers, beginning with the rush of the Chinese to the Victorian goldfields in the early fifties.

Contract or Indentured Labor

In search for cheap labor, the Australian pastoralists first turned to China, where contract emigration from the southern seaports to various countries had been carried on since 1845. In 1848 a shipment of 100 adult coolies and 21 boys arrived in N. S. W. from Amay. The men were to receive 2½ dollars a month, and boys, a dollar and a half, with food rations, "as specified".

During the early gold rush, when white labor became very scarce, new efforts were made to obtain Chinese coolies, but the gold fever spread to the Chinese themselves. Besides, the inhuman treatment of the coolies, and the unusually high mortality rate among them during their voyage out, caused many of them to abscond and to be "troublesome".

Attempts to obtain coolies from India were also made, but they too failed, because of opposition from the Indian government, which refused to allow the emigration of its subjects.

But as gold diggings became less remunerative and as the gold fever subsided, the scarcity of labor became less keen. Between the early sixties and the end of the 19th century, efforts to secure Kanaka (Pacific island), Chinese and Indian indentured labor were made chiefly from tropical and sub-tropical districts of Queensland, the Northern Territory and West Australia.

Kanaka Traffic

By the beginning of 1868, 2017 Kanakas had been brought into Queensland. But the abuses connected with their recruitment, transport and subsequent treatment, were so great that the government had to interfere.

But by 1891, the number of Kanakas still under contract in Queensland was 9362 out of a total of 46,387 introduced since the beginning of the traffic. Between 1892 (when the traffic was resumed) and 1900, another 11,000 were taken to Queensland.

Japan as a Labor Reservoir

When the Kanaka traffic was reopened in 1892, it was stipulated that the imported laborers should be employed only in the cane fields. Planters then turned to Japan as a possible reservoir to supply cheap labor for the other branches of the sugar industry.

In 1893 a large consignment of Japanese coolies was landed at Cairns, Townsville and in other parts of North Queensland.

The opposition, mainly from the labor camp, to this immigration of Japanese was no less strenuous than to the immigration of Chinese coolie labor, especially since the Japanese traffic was unregulated, no limitation being placed on the kind of work for which the Japanese workers were indentured, and the terms of the contracts were not publicly known. Moreover, there was introduced the element of fear of the Japanese government as a mighty imperialist power.

In **South and West Australia**, hundreds of indentured Chinese coolies were introduced annually, with official sanction, on railway construction, etc., until further importation was prohibited by federal law in 1901.

Today, there is no indentured colored labor in Australia, except in the pearl fisheries. Asiatics may indenture for the fisheries under special permit (mainly Japanese, Malaysians and Papuans).

Unindentured (or Free) Immigration of Asiatics

We have seen how until about the middle of last century, there were practically no free Asiatic immigrants into Australia. A few Chinese merchants were the sole exception. Asiatic immigration had thus been actually sought for by the Australian pastoralists and other capitalist interests.

But as soon as the news of the gold discoveries circulated in China, there began an inrush of Chinese to the goldfields of Victoria and N. S. W. This took place under what is known as the "credit ticker" system already in operation to Malaysia and California, and now extended by Chinese speculators and exploiters to Australia. Under this system the cost of transport was usually

advanced to the emigrant laborer at an exorbitant rate of interest (usually on the security of the persons of the debtor's relatives), and on the understanding that the creditor, through his agent, should exercise control over the debtor's activities until the principal and interest were paid off.

The First Clashes Between White and Asiatic Labor

By 1854, about 2,000 Chinese had gathered on the Victorian gold fields. It was in the mining industry, therefore, that trouble first arose as the result of the competition of the Chinese miners. In Bendigo (Victoria) in 1855, and Lambing Flats (N. S. W.) in 1861, serious disturbances arose from attempts to expel the Chinese forcibly from the diggings. In N. S. W., the European miners formed themselves into an Anti-Chinese "Miners' Protective League". The program outlined by this League is of interest:

"... The expulsion of the Chinese; repeal of the gold duty; police protection; . . . promulgation of the word of God throughout the mining districts; protection of native industries, etc."

(cited by J. T. Suthcliffe in his "History of the T. U. Movement").

A general uprising was only narrowly prevented by government troops. Various forms of restricting Chinese were adopted by the Victorian, South Australian and N. S. W. governments. License fees and entrance taxes were introduced.

These measures, however, did not prevent the Chinese from landing in other colonies and travelling overland to the diggings in Victoria and N. S. W. Thus, according to the 1861 census, there were about 13,000 Chinese in N. S. W., and nearly 25,000 or over 11% of the adult population in Victoria.

But so far there had not yet crystallized any general opinion against the principle of Asiatic immigration. This developed first in the Trade Unions which had originally opposed all proposals for the importation of indentured labor. The Trade Unions later began to oppose the immigration of free Chinese because of the difference in standard of living.

III. THE TRADE UNIONS AND ASIATIC IMMIGRATION

It is interesting to trace the evolution of what is now known as the "White Australia" policy, as it was shaped by the Australian

Trade Union movement, until today, hardly a Trade Union leader, and certainly no Labor Party politician, is capable of or dares to question such a "policy" from a critical working class point of view.

In 1873 there was a protracted Miners' Strike at Clunes (Victoria). The miners had refused to work Saturday afternoon shifts. The mine owners thereupon proceeded to fill the places of the strikers with Chinese laborers.

About two years later there was considerable trouble in Queensland over the same question.

In 1878 there was another serious conflict between the Trade Unions and the Australasian Steam Navigation Co. The Seamen of N. S. W. went on strike against the employment of Chinese seamen on these boats.

The concerted action of the Trade Unions of the various colonies (who had called an inter-colonial Congress in 1879) resulted in the elimination of the Chinese seamen. Pressure from the trade unions became so great that the Premiers of the colonies met in Conference in 1881 and agreed to restrictive measures.

Then occurred the crisis of 1888. The report of a Chinese Commission which had investigated and reported on the conditions and treatment of the Chinese immigrants in European colonies and in Australia especially, coupled with the arrival or expected arrival ("invasion") of a large number of Chinese to the Northern Territory, created a panic among the White Australians, and immediately severe restrictive measures were adopted.

Chinese immigration into Australia was now effectively restricted. After 1893 the desirability to extend the Chinese restriction to all Asiatics was frequently discussed in parliaments. The importation of Japanese by sugar planters in Queensland increased the antagonism of the Labor Party.

Development of Policy

How the development of the White Australia policy is reflected in the agendas and decisions of the Trade Union Congresses (the inter-colonial T. U. congresses, eight of which took place before federation in 1900), may be seen from the following.

At the first Inter-colonial Trade Union Congress in 1879, the first point on the agenda was "immigration, both Asiatic and otherwise". The policy adopted was that of restricting Asiatic immigration.

At the 1891 Congress resolutions were passed in favor of severe restriction of Asiatic immigration.

Prior to the election of 1889 in Victoria, the Parliamentary Committee of the Melbourne Trades and Labor Council drew up a platform. Among the 14 planks of this platform we find the demand for

"A bill to prevent the introduction of criminal, pauper or Asiatic labor".

In 1896 (prior to the 1897 elections), at a meeting of the Trades Hall Council (Melbourne) a sub-committee composed of representatives of the T. H. C. and the United Labor and Liberal Party of Victoria, formulated a platform in which, under the heading "Social Reforms", we find:

"Prohibition of importation of Chinese and Asiatic labor and of workmen under contract".

Prior to the 1893 election in Queensland, the Workers' Political Association issued a platform with the demand:

"Exclusion of colored, Asiatic and contract or indentured labor".

After the last of the Inter-colonial T. U. Congresses (1898), there was held, in May 1899, a special conference, to work out a scheme for the federation of inter-colonial labor organizations. Among the many objects enumerated, we find:

"To prevent the influx of colored races".

And, finally, the finishing touch to this "White Australian" picture was given by the Third Interstate Congress of the Political Labor Party (1905) which adopted the following objective:

"The cultivation of an Australian sentiment based upon the maintenance of racial purity, and the development in Australia of an enlightened self-reliant community".

In the A. L. P. Program of today this objective has been edited to read:

"The cultivation of an Australian sentiment, the maintenance of a White Australia, etc. . . ."

While we are on the subject of the A. L. P. attitude on Asiatic immigration, it is difficult to resist the question "Wherein does the A. L. P. and the official Trade Union movement differ from the arch-reactionary Nationalist Party on this vital question?"

The answer is even more irresistible.

As Mr. Bruce sees it:

"In a speech of June 23rd, Mr. Bruce, the Prime Minister, referred to the question of immigration. He said that the Commonwealth did not control the number of British migrants. That was an affair belonging to each of the States, which made requisitions for the numbers they required. The Commonwealth did, however, control alien immigration. Australia had a "White Australia" policy which was fundamental and vital, but which was not considered favorably in all quarters. . . . The question had been raised at the League of Nations, but never discussed, as Australia held it was a domestic question. As the League gained in power, however, it was probable that the policy would come in for severe criticism.

"Australia was an undeveloped country, and economically, the eyes of the world were upon it. They had to be in a position which was unchallengeable, to have a national aspiration, and with that to maintain the British character of the Australian people. Australia was 98% British and was determined to remain so."

(From "The Age", Melbourne, 25th June, 1928. Cited by I. L. O. Monthly Record of Migration.)

IV. GREAT BRITAIN AND "WHITE AUSTRALIA"

Before dealing with the specific problem of peopling Australia with increasing numbers of "surplus" workers from Great Britain, and with the policy of assisted migration which the Australian Government has been pursuing for many years in conjunction and with the aid of the British Government, it will be interesting to note the attitude of British imperialism towards the question of Asiatic Immigration into Australia and towards the "White Australia" policy.

This attitude on the part of British imperialism is necessarily determined by diplomatic and imperialist considerations in relation to the other imperialist powers in the Pacific. It would seem quite natural for Britain to be generally in favor of a "White Australia" with a predominantly British population, in order to make Australia secure as a military

and naval outpost in the Pacific, in relation to both Japan and the United States.

But in view of certain "delicate" diplomatic relations of Great Britain with Japan, e.g., military alliances against the growing rivalry of the U. S. A., it is rather "unbecoming" for Britain to state openly that she is in favor of the exclusion of Asiatics from Australia. It is on this issue of form rather than substance, that occasional conflicts arose between the Australian and the British imperial governments.

Thus when the inter-colonial conference of Premiers (1896) not only rejected the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, but also agreed to extend the provisions of the Chinese restrictions (described above) to all Asiatics, which meant Japan particularly, these decisions were vetoed by the Crown. Britain claimed that the proposed restriction of Indian immigration affected the "unity of the Empire". Moreover the rapprochement between England and Japan which later developed into the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, was being already fostered, and no colonial action that might impair these good relations with Japan could be allowed Japan's protests could not be ignored.

When the question was discussed one year later at the Colonial Conference held at London (1897), Joseph Chamberlain, who was at the time Colonial Secretary, expressed the sympathy of the British Government with "the determination of the white inhabitants of these colonies, who are in comparatively close proximity to millions and hundreds of millions of Asiatics, that there shall not be an influx of people alien in civilization, alien in religion, alien in customs—whose influx moreover would most seriously interfere with the legitimate rights of the existing labor population".

But Mr. Chamberlain asked the Premiers to consider whether they could not achieve this aim without saying in so many words "exclude Asiatics". He then suggested the famous "Dictation Test", which provided for the exclusion of immigrants who could not write out and sign in a "European language" a certain application or dictation. New South Wales, West Australia, and Tasmania readily adopted the language test.

(The conclusion of this treatise on immigration will be given in our next issue.)

Donations to the All-China Labor Federation from the American Committee to Aid the Chinese Unions

The PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY has received checks for \$600, and \$250, from the Committee to Aid the Chinese Unions, 96 Fifth Ave., New York City, for transmission through the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat to the All-China Labor Federation. The money is being transmitted by cable and before this notice is in print will be in the hands of the Chinese comrades. On their behalf, and until they can write their own acknowledgments, the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY thanks all the contributors to this fund which is an excellent practical demonstration of international solidarity.

EARL BROWDER.

New York, April 9, 1929.

The Agrarian Problem in China

By EARL BROWDER

THE least known and understood phase of the Chinese Revolution is perhaps the role of the Agrarian problem. Only in the most recent times has there begun that necessary probing into this problem, with the instrument of Marxian analysis, which alone can reveal its deep and decisive nature in the present Chinese situation. From the fragmentary and incomplete materials available in English the main features of this problem are already, however, quite clear for those who care to see them. And it is only by understanding the decisive role of the Agrarian question in China that all other problems of its revolution can be understood.

This postulate is not a generally-accepted one. In fact the current idea among American intellectual circles is quite the opposite. Quite typical of American university views on the question is the following statement by Lewis S. Gannett, associate editor of "The Nation" (New York) written immediately after his return from China in 1927. Mr. Gannett says:

"The great mass in China lives on as it has lived for untold centuries, untouched and unaware of the industrial contacts which are revolutionizing the self-conscious port cities. China's revolutions—dynastic, nationalist, or economic—will receive little either of effective aid or opposition from the peasant masses."

Such a viewpoint as that of Mr. Gannett, which is widely held, makes entirely impossible any understanding of the Chinese revolution. If it is only the population of the port cities of China, those in direct contact with the modern factory system, whose mode and conditions of life have been transformed, then indeed the Revolution, serious enough for the comparative handful directly engaged, is but an incident in the life of the Chinese people as a whole. Such a view cannot survive any serious study of the facts.

It remained for the Marxian students of China (principally the Chinese and Russian communists) to finally expose the complete shallowness and fallacious character of such

ideas as those expressed by Mr. Gannett. But even the more serious Chinese bourgeois intellectuals (non-Marxians) have abandoned this untenable position for some time. Thus the "left Kuomintang" writer, T'ang Leang-li, in his book "Foundations of Modern China" (London: Noel Douglas, 1928), says:

"But the difficulties in connection with the opening up of China to modern civilization do not end with the creation of the disinherited proletariat in the towns and the landless peasantry. . . The general effect of the linking up of the Chinese economy with the markets of the world has therefore been in the first place the throwing into confusion of the delicately-balanced economic system of China, with an attendant lowering of the standard of life of a great part of the population. . . In some provinces the process has gone on so rapidly that what was once an independent peasantry is now a class of tenants paying as much as 50 to 75 per cent of the yield of the fields in rent. The poverty of the Chinese village may have causes difficult to remove, such as the excessive subdivision of the land and the floods from the deforested mountains, but the disintegrating influence of Western capitalism is unmistakable." (pages 78-79).

In this quotation may be found the basis for a correct approach to and understanding of the basic importance of the agrarian question in the Chinese Revolution, an explanation of why this Revolution involves the entire people of 440 millions and not just a handful of the population of the port cities. The old delicately-balanced economic system of China, under the impact of Western economic forces, has been thrown into disintegration; the result is the growth of a disinherited proletariat in the cities and a large landless peasantry in the country, suffering under the most intense and ever-increasing exploitation; and every step forward in the development of modern industry in China, so far from solving these problems, intensifies the inner contradictions of Chinese so-

ciety to the breaking point. This point is the revolutionary crisis now existing, and its basic factor is the 85 per cent of China's population, the peasantry, most of whom are unable longer to continue under the conditions created by the collapse of the old economic structure.

How Capitalism Impoverished the Peasantry

The old agrarian system in China was based largely upon self-sufficing economy; to the extent that there was a market, it was almost entirely a local one, in which the function of money was entirely subordinated; while the technique of cultivation combined highly collectivist features (irrigation systems, flood protection) which furnished the principal economic basis for the governmental system, together with the most extreme subdivision and atomization of the unit of production, the individual farm, which was and is based upon the most primitive forms of land-tillage. (Chinese agriculture expends the greatest human exertion for the commodity produced than probably any other highly-organized agriculture the world has ever seen).

The peasants produced primarily for their own consumption, and at the same time developed to a high degree the home industries of handicraft (spinning and weaving, metal-working, etc.) To the extent that they produced for a market, it was almost entirely the neighboring big town, and if not formally, still largely in fact, in the nature of barter. It was a delicately-balanced system, holding the tremendous population just at a very low subsistence level, and depending for its stability upon being shielded entirely from the shocks of contact with the alien economic system of the West.

The forcible intrusion of capitalist commerce into China, through its defeat in war by Western imperialism (and later by Japanese), upset the whole balance. First, the artisan home industries were destroyed by the machine-made commodities which flooded the country. The peasant was thrown back entirely upon the production of the land, and had to get money to buy his necessary industrial commodities; therefore he was drawn more and more into the growing market relationships, and subjected to the market, which expanded from a purely local affair into an organic part of the capitalist world market. The Chinese peasant was harnessed to the chariot of world capitalism, even if he

was unconscious of the fact.

The old self-sufficing nature of cultivation gradually disappeared under the influence of market relationships; whole regions came to specialize in particular products for the world market, as mulberry leaves for silk production in central and southern China, etc. The flood of proletarianized artisans and half-peasants, deprived of their economic functions by foreign machine-made commodities, was augmented by the millions of carrier coolies thrown out of work by the advent of modern transportation, steamboats, gas engines, and railroads, and could be absorbed only in the smallest degree in the slowly-developing native machine industry. This flood of landless peasants and proletarianized artisans became a vast reservoir of cheap labor in the towns, and tenant cultivators on the land who hastened the further collapse of the independent peasant by the competition of their cheap labor.

On the basis of these conditions the accumulating profits of commercial and banking capital in the cities began to penetrate throughout the land into agriculture, in the form of the buying up of land by absentee owners entirely divorced from the local social and economic life, living far away in one of the capital cities.

The whole process beginning a hundred years ago with the opening up of China to foreign commerce, has now culminated after years of gradually speedier development, into the present general crisis which involves the life of the entire people in chaos.

Conditions of the Peasantry

The agrarian population is variously estimated at from 320 to 400 million persons. Based upon the lower figure, an estimate of the most important economic and social subclassifications has been given by the agrarian scholar, Mo Chek-tung, writing in the "Chinese Peasant" of January, 1925, (published by the Kuomintang Peasant Department in the revolutionary period, when it was headed by Liao Chung-kai, just before his assassination). His estimates are as follows:

The landlord class, numbering something over two million persons, is the main reactionary force in the villages. It is led and organized principally by the big landlords, and by the village gentry and "elders."

The main body of the peasantry number about 320 millions. Of these the most con-

servative are the yeomanry (working farmers owning their own farms), about 120 million strong. Of this group, not more than 10%, or 12 million, have any economic surplus, and only this number can have hopes of becoming themselves landlords and therefore tend toward an active reactionary role. About half, or 60 million, are just holding their own and making a living; these are usually timid, trying to avoid struggles, and help neither side much in the social struggles. The remaining 48 millions of the yeomanry are farmers who are losing ground each year and rapidly going into bankruptcy. These latter, although unreliable, definitely tend to support the revolutionary struggle.

The main force of the revolutionary peasantry consists of the semi-yeomanry, the tenants, together with the village poor. These total more than 170 millions. They carry the main burden of village exploitation, rents, taxes, etc. Their conditions are the most miserable of all who still have any place whatever in the economic system. For them the revolution in the village (overthrowing the landlord power, reducing or abolishing rents, establishing their own armed forces, etc.) is a necessity for their continued existence. It is from them that come the fighting forces of the Chinese peasantry.

Then there are the "lumpen proletarians" of the village. These are the people who have been squeezed entirely off the land, who are unable to migrate to the cities, and who starve and rot in idleness and crime. They furnish the base and reserve for recruitment of soldiers, bandits, thieves, beggars and prostitutes, and generally hirelings for the reaction on the one hand, and thus serve as an instrument of reaction, while on the other hand a portion of them become active fighting allies of the revolutionary peasantry. They number about 20 millions.

Since the above classification was made, four years of swiftly moving developments in China have carried the process much further than these figures show. The economic collapse of agriculture has been hastened and made complete by the political and social atomization of the country, the intensification of civil war and militarist struggles, and the further penetration by foreign imperialism. Famine holds 20 million peasants in its grip. And the revolutionary mass struggle of the peasantry to abolish landlordism has spread all over the country, from Kwangtung in the

South where conditions are most ripe, clear up to Manchuria which is supposed to be "stabilized" by the "beneficent" influence of Japanese imperialism.

These conditions of the countryside, involving the overwhelming mass of the Chinese people, form the basis and background for all other aspects of the Chinese revolution. Only from the foundation of an understanding of these main facts, is it possible to proceed to an understanding of the more immediate and obvious problems of the Chinese revolution.

Land Tenure and Relics of Feudalism in China

The dominant factor of land tenure in China has for two thousand years (since the Han Dynasty) been the system of private ownership. It is therefore incorrect to speak of "feudalism" in China in the sense of the feudalism of Europe of the Middle Ages. But the transformation of the agrarian social structure took place under different social and material circumstances than in Europe, and the system of private ownership carried over and incorporated into itself a mass of remnants, or relics, of the feudal system which are playing an extremely important role in the present crisis in China, in stimulating and sharpening the armed risings of the revolutionary peasantry.

In studying the extant feudal remnants it is not possible to give statistics covering the whole country. The best available study is that of conditions in Kwangtung, carried out in 1925 to 1927, under the direction of Michael Volin and Michael Borodin (published in English in Canton in 1927 in two large volumes, but the entire edition, except a few copies, was destroyed by the counter-revolution in April, 1927). The following facts and statistics are taken from the work of Volin and Borodin.

There are two principal types of landholding, the privately-owned and the so-called public lands. The latter constitutes about one-third of all land in Kwangtung, and has three main sub-types, ancestral land, village public lands, and scholar fields. Practically all this land is cultivated by landless tenant peasants, who pay rent of 50 to 80% of the product. A complicated system of sub-tenantry imposes a whole class of village parasites upon the backs of the tenants; these, the village "elders" and ruling groups, have

their own principal economic foundation in the public lands, so-called, and merge into the landlord class based upon the private ownership of land.

The private land in Kwangtung (about two-thirds of the whole), is divided up into exceedingly small farms, 53% of all farms being less than 10 mow (one and two-thirds acres). Of the approximately 4,000,000 peasant households in the province, the official report of the Ministry of Agriculture for 1917 fixes the number of independent peasants, owning the land which they cultivate, as 1,316,500 households, or approximately one-third. Since that time the disintegration of the independent peasantry has proceeded rapidly, and the percentage of independent peasants has doubtless decreased. Considerably more than two-thirds of the peasantry are tenants, of whom the overwhelming majority are cultivating tiny plots of less than two acres.

Tenancy the Key Problem

The key-question of social relationships in the village is therefore the leasehold relations between landlords and tenants. The form of these relationships, and the degree of exploitation involved, determines the social structure for the countryside. The semi-feudal character of these relations is exhibited first of all the form of rent, which is generally rent in kind, or natural rent, being a proportion of the crops, usually 50% and from that up to 80%. To this is added the role of the landlord as money-lender and merchant for his tenants, with extortionate rates of interest and profit. (Interest on loans to peasants by their landlords is quite usually 8 to 12% per month). In addition, the semi-feudal custom prevails whereby the tenant must bring free-will offerings to his landlord at rent-paying time, consisting of his choicest ducks or chickens (if he is so fortunate as to have any).

Under these conditions the tenants (as also constantly more so the independent peasants) fall into debt from which they can never recover. This results in a system of perpetual enslavement, for this debt is not cancelled by death, but is carried over onto the shoulders of the family; it is a family debt, and as such is perpetual unless the entire family is exterminated. The family system and its ramifications constitutes one of the pillars of reaction and exploitation in the village.

The landlord need not worry about his tenants leaving him with his land uncultivated. If a tenant goes bankrupt, or dies, there are dozens to step into his place. There is always a pressure of the entirely dispossessed, anxious to take the place of even the most exploited tenant. At any time the landlord may change his tenants, leasing the land to another, if he can get higher rent thereby, and the dispossessed tenant has no recourse. All leases are verbal agreements, or if written it is by the landlord himself or his agent, and the poor tenant, who in most cases cannot read, is even worse off than otherwise. The landlords and gentry are the complete political masters of village government, and second their economic oppression with political, placing all sort of taxes on the peasantry, oppressing them with local armed forces, etc.

The extent of exploitation by means of rent is limited only by the limits of starvation. Because the landlords can dispossess the tenants at will, and because there are always large numbers of landless, starving peasants willing to take land on any terms, the whole tenant-peasantry is brought down to and even below the starvation line.

Terrorism and Slavery

What extent is reached in some of the semi-feudal practices still imposed upon the peasantry, is exemplified by quoting from a decree promulgated by the Kuomintang government in Kwangtung, before its surrender to the landlords and imperialism, regulating relations between landlords and tenants (published on Jan. 5, 1927), which says:

"Strict measures shall be used to put a stop to the ill-treatment of tenants by landlords. In case of arrears of rents, the matter shall be brought before the authorities for judgment, and only the authorities shall have power to punish the tenants."

This is, of course, a very small reform indeed when it is remembered that "the authorities" in the village means the landlords as a class. The decree further declares:

"All such customs as the ownership of slaves shall be strictly prohibited. In some places in this province, it is said, there are some slaves whose wages are only three cents per month, but who are obliged at marriages and other formal occasions to offer presents to their masters."

A list of semi-feudal practices, and special

oppressions of the landowners against the tenants, is contained in a resolution adopted at the Second All-Kwangtung Peasants Conference, May 1, 1926. It says, in part:

"The landlords have established the custom that when they go to the peasant's houses to collect their rents, the peasants must prepare a feast for them and their companions. The landlords have also fixed the food which the peasant must prepare. The landlords also demand that the peasants offer them extra presents besides the proper amount of rent, such as hens, ducks, rice, wine, or sometimes money. . . The landlord enlarges his grain measure every year in order to squeeze more grain-rent from the tenant. Moreover after measuring the grain the landlord forces the peasant to carry it to his house. The peasant may even be beaten by the landlord for having worked too slowly."

It is under conditions such as those described that the great Chinese peasant movement has arisen. So long as the old semi-feudal customs were contained within a stable economic and social structure, the Chinese peasants were a very conservative mass. But with the destruction of the economic basis of their society, with the invasion of foreign machine-made commodities, the rise of market relations under the influence of the world market, with the growing influence of capitalist forces within China—the condition of the Chinese peasantry has gradually grown worse and worse, until finally they have come to the point where they must rise in rebellion or sink into starvation and death.

In another article we will briefly examine the influence of the technical methods of agricultural production, and the history of the organized peasant movement as part of the National Revolution.



The Strike Movement in Colombia

By FORTUS

The labor movement on the American shore of the gigantic Pacific basin is developing rapidly in size, importance and ideological maturity, especially in Latin America. The workers of these countries, exploited by imperialist capital and bitterly oppressed by its native governmental lackeys, have every interest in uniting their forces with the proletariat of the countries on the Asiatic shore and in Oceania. Nevertheless, so great has been the isolation and so enormous are the distances necessary to overcome, that only recently has the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat been able to establish contact with the labor unions on the Pacific coast of Latin America. Their rapid development, reflected in the great strike movement of Colombia and the establishment of a Latin American Trade Union Confederation at a congress being held at Montevideo on May 15 of the current year, assures us, however, that the present contact will soon ripen into affiliation to the PPTUS.—EDITOR.

* * *

THE strike of 30,000 workers on the banana plantations in Colombia, which recently broke out, forces us to pay closer attention not only to this strike, but also to the preceding clashes between Labor and Capital.

Agriculture predominates in the economy of Colombia. Despite the vast oil-bearing fields (88,000 kilometres out of the 1,400,000 of the total area) the colossal coal stocks, rich gold and platinum fields, emerald fields, etc., agriculture is still the chief source of income of the country.

After Brazil, Colombia is the second country in the world producing the best sorts of coffee, the export of which grows from year to year.

| | Total Export From Colombia | Coffee Export From Colombia |
|------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1913 | \$ 34,315,351 | \$18,369,768 |
| 1918 | 37,443,992 | 20,675,023 |
| 1922 | 53,616,331 | 36,291,812 |
| 1926 | 111,717,450 | 91,000,000 |

220,000 hectares of land are under cultivation of coffee. More than 80 million dollars are invested in the cultivation of these plantations.

The second place in the agricultural produce of Columbia is occupied by bananas. More than 20,000 hectares of land are used for banana plantations, of which 12,000 belong to the large North American Company, the "United Fruit Co.", or to the "Banana Trust" as it is sometimes called. The export of bananas, which at the beginning of the century barely yielded a million dollars is

now growing at an unprecedented rate and is the source of colossal profits for the above-named company. The figures of the export of bananas will be of great help in proving this:

| | Export | |
|----------------------|--------------|------------|
| | In Kilograms | In Dollars |
| 1910 | 99,609,244 | 1,168,178 |
| 1913 | 132,077,518 | 3,059,867 |
| 1917 | 126,944,549 | 2,695,365 |
| 1923 | 160,808,152 | 3,607,899 |
| First half 1927..... | 114,310,327 | 2,823,600 |
| First half 1928..... | 139,638,832 | 5,457,099 |

Thus we see that during the first half of 1928 bananas were exported to practically double the amount of the first half of 1927. If we bear in mind that the United Fruit Company owns all the railways of the district where it has its plantations, that the network of railways owned by it unites Colombia with other countries of Central America—Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica and others, if we bear in mind that practically all the refrigerators, warehouses, stores, telephones, telegraphs, radio, a whole network of public institutions—all are the property of the United Fruit Co., if we bear all this in mind—the huge importance which this "Banana Trust" has for the economy of Colombia becomes quite clear.

It is necessary to point out in addition that besides the exploitation of its own land, the "Banana Trust" controls the whole banana production of Colombia. The small peasant estates situated near the plantations, as also

the lessees of small plots of land belonging to the company, are completely dependent on the "United Fruit Co."

The workers live in crowded barracks, they sleep in heaps on the floor on grass or leaf bedding. The workers are strictly forbidden to leave the confines of the plantations. Their wages are miserable; they are not paid in cash, but get orders instead, which they change for food, etc., only in the company stores. These stores are famous for not having the basic products, but for having a large choice of wines, whiskies and gins of all sorts. The position of the women is still worse. Their wages are only half, and sometimes even only one-third of the rate paid the men. It is quite clear that under such unbearable oppression the workers are seeking for a way out of the position by spontaneous outbreaks of strikes.

Growing Strike Movement

Colombia has seen several such spontaneous, ruthless fights of the proletariat with capital during recent years. Their significance, however, is far less than that of the present strike. The three big strikes of the workers at the oil fields of the North American Tropical Oil Co. in October, 1924, September, 1926, and at the end of 1927, are the first attempt at class expression of the workers.

In April-May, 1928, a new strike broke out of 3,000 freight-workers and transport workers on the Magdalena River. The Government attempted to substitute soldiers for the strikers. This, however, was not successful. Seeing that during the 15 days of the strike the losses incurred would cut the annual transport revenue by 75%, the Government made concessions and agreed to grant the workers' demand for increased wages and social insurance.

The result of these strikes was unprecedented governmental terror. After the strike of the oil workers the Government had already issued its Decree No. 707, which states that the local police are permitted to disperse, detain, arrest all persons noted participating in the leadership of the strike struggle or simply "infringing public order". After this decree had received the power of law, despite the protests of even the conservative bourgeoisie, the Government of the big agrarians, alarmed at new agitation, issued the so-called "Heroical" law, under which all political cases are withdrawn from the civil courts and are to be settled by the militia (gendarmerie).

Under this law not only Communist or revolutionary agitation is prohibited, but any propaganda of the tasks of the labor movement whatsoever is also prohibited. Even speeches against the church are punished by imprisonment and fines. According to this law the police have the right to fine workers to unprecedented amounts. A day's imprisonment is substituted by a fine of one dollar. Besides this the police has the right not only to exile or deport anybody suspected of Communist or revolutionary activity but even those guilty of "untimely information" of anti-Government Acts.

Although this decision is contradictory to the bourgeois constitution of Colombia, under which exile from the country of native Colombians is not permitted, this law, which was introduced after the transport workers' strike at the beginning of this year, was passed by the Government. Under these conditions of unprecedented terror, legalized by the "democratic" Government in favor of foreign capital, the strike on the banana plantations broke out.

The Government resorted to the most ruthless methods in order to suppress the strike. Nevertheless, even if the workers are defeated, the strike will not lose its exclusive significance for the young, split, unorganized, labor movement of Colombia. From the information already to hand we know that the strike involved not only the workers on the banana plantations, but also the peasantry in the district, who are no less cruelly exploited by the United Fruit Company. This strike, like the strike of the oil workers, has aroused the sympathies of the workers of other branches of industry. This is the first attempt to unite the agricultural workers with the peasantry and the industrial workers in their struggle not only against the agrarian bourgeoisie, but also against the industrial bourgeoisie and foreign capital in general. This accounts for the importance of the struggle of the workers on the banana plantations.

Reformism Rejected by Workers

The workers only demanded wage increases. The lead of the strike, however, was taken by the revolutionary trade union organizations. The workers did not submit to the corrupt influence of the reformists, whose center is in this district; they succeeded in isolating the reformists from the leadership of the strike. And this is no less important for the labor movement of Colombia.

The strike undoubtedly emerged from an economic struggle into a political struggle. The smashing of powder magazines, the arming of the workers, derailing, organized retreat into the mountains, unification with the Anti-Imperialist League—all this brings this strike far beyond the confines of the country and makes it no longer an economic, but an international political fight. The fact that this strike met with sympathy not only in countries of Latin America, but also in the U. S. A., where the seamen organized a solidarity movement, shows that this strike has acquired the character of a struggle of the whole proletariat of South and Central

America against foreign capitalism.

The significance of this strike consists also in that it broke out on the plantations belonging to the United Fruit Co., in whose hands are concentrated not only one-fifth of the territory of Guatemala, but also practically all the territory of Costa Rica, Honduras, Salvador, and others, which countries are complete vassals of the "Banana Trust". And the fact that the workers of Colombia have succeeded in so heroically resisting the seemingly all-powerful American Company, plays no small role in the labor movement not only of Colombia, but also of the above-mentioned countries.



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The Ninth All-India Trade Union Congress

By JACK RYAN

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THE Ninth Convention of the All-India Trade Union Congress was held at Jharia, the center of the most important coal fields of India, on the 18th, 19th and 20th of December, 1928. Jharia is a town in the province of Bihar, about eighty miles north of Calcutta.

More than ordinary importance must be attached to the Congress because it met at a time when the organized resistance of the working masses against their miserable wages and working conditions had caused the British exploiters and their allies among the Indian capitalist class to adopt extreme methods of oppression, including shooting down in cold blood of strikers and the imprisonment of trade union leaders.

Anti-Labor Bills

Repressive legislation was also on the eve of being enacted; such Bills as the **Public Safety Bill** and the **Trade Disputes Bill** had already been introduced into the legislature and it appeared to be inevitable that they would become law in the immediate future.

The **Public Safety Bill** is designed to give the government power to deport "agitators," even though they be British subjects. When the **Trade Disputes Bill** becomes law, strikes will become illegal unless the employers are given sufficient time to recruit scabs (one month), and sympathetic strikes will be forbidden under heavy penalties.

Additional interest was given to the Congress by the fact that a number of worker delegates, leaders direct from the rank and file, were in attendance. These worker-leaders are a product of the intensification of the class struggle in India and the general wave of militancy, which is sweeping over the working class and rapidly unmasking the futile lawyer-politician leaders who have held the movement in check to a great extent. Unfortunately, there was still a preponderance of lawyer-politicians at the Congress,

but it was obvious that their days as leaders of the trade union movement are numbered.

I arrived at Jharia on the evening preceding the opening session, and was introduced to many of the prominent delegates from the various provinces. Most of them spoke fluent English, therefore conversation was not at all difficult. Much whispering and intriguing was going on, and it soon became apparent to me that the older leaders were alarmed at the strength of the left wing or worker elements.

On the opening day the Executive Committee met to discuss the business of the Congress. English was the language used. The Executive Committee numbered about sixty delegates. It was much too large and unwieldy for efficient work; also because of the fact that many non-delegates are permitted to take part and vote, such as past presidents and influential personalities, it was not truly representative of the trade union movement. The unfortunate feature of the whole thing is that the Executive decides all of the questions on the agenda, and the Congress itself adopts the decisions practically without discussion.

Suspected "Blue Sky" Locals

N. M. Joshi, the General Secretary, could not attend, owing to illness. Therefore the assistant secretary, R. R. Bakhale, handled the secretarial work. He reported that the credentials were in a deplorable state and that it was with difficulty that one could ascertain who were and who were not, delegates. As Bakhale is extremely conservative, the confusion over credentials was not favorable to the left wing delegates, who expressed grave doubts regarding the credentials of many of those who claimed to be representing unions in out-of-the-way places.

It appeared that there were approximately 120 delegates, representing 120,000 unionists, at the Congress. This is less than half

of the organized workers in India, but is a fairly good representation compared with previous congresses. Owing to the rules making it necessary for a union to have been established twelve months before it can be represented at a congress, the largest union in India—the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, which is controlled by the left wing—was denied representation.

P.P.T.U.S. Represented

Only credentials and standing orders were dealt with at the first meeting of the Executive. At 4 P. M. the Congress itself was opened by the president, M. Daud. The whole session was devoted to the presidential address, which lasted two hours, and speeches of welcome from delegates of various organizations. Two overseas' organizations were represented; the **League Against Imperialism**, by Jack Johnstone, and the **Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat**, by myself.

I had met Jack Johnstone at Calcutta a few days previously. He is a well-known working class leader in the U. S. A., having been active in the packing-house strikes and building trades unions for many years. On the Friday before the Congress commenced, he was served with an order signed by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, ordering him to remove himself forthwith from British India, by sea from the port of Calcutta. The order was made under an Act of 1864, which gives the government power to deport non-British subjects without explanation.

However, Johnstone managed to turn up smiling at Jharia in time for the opening session of the Congress. He delivered a brilliant speech to the delegates, exposing ruthlessly the oppressive character of British imperialism. I followed him, and spoke on the **Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat**, its aims and objects, the danger of an imperialist war in the Pacific, the necessity of liquidating racial prejudices and the desirability of achieving World Trade Union Unity.

We were both enthusiastically applauded and garlanded with flowers. After speeches had been delivered by Bradley (whom I mentioned in a previous article), Spratt, an Englishman engaged in research work in India, and Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, the Congress was adjourned until the following day.

It was 11 P. M. when I left the Congress "pandal" with Johnstone. We were walking along the road towards the center of town. I was telling him and others of my impressions of the Congress, when someone tapped me on the shoulder and said: "Johnstone has been arrested!"

It seemed that Johnstone had been suddenly seized about a hundred yards back along the road. I rushed back, but could only see a motor car speeding away in the distance. Some onlookers told me that Johnstone was bundled into the car which was immediately driven off at top speed. I immediately got into communication with the Indian trade union leaders, who made inquiries at the police station and other likely places. We could get no information whatever as to where Johnstone had been taken. Even after the Congress, diligent inquiries did not reveal the whereabouts of Johnstone.

(Editor's Note: In the April issue of the **Pan-Pacific Monthly**, Johnstone wrote of his experiences in India, telling how he was held incommunicado in four different jails, from December 18 till January 3, when he was taken, as a prisoner, on board the Italian ship "Aquila," and deported under guard through Italy into Austria.)

When the Executive of the Congress met on the day following Johnstone's arrest, the delegates expressed indignation at the outrage. A strongly worded protest was sent to the government, and it was decided to **affiliate with the League Against Imperialism** for a period of one year, in order to show the government that its action had the reverse effect to what it had anticipated.

Some Crooked Work

An extremely clever piece of crookery was then indulged in by Diwan Chamanlal and Bakhale, who had both visited Geneva during the year, under guidance of a representative of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations. By shameless misrepresentation, they persuaded the delegates to agree to them using the name of the All-India Trade Union Congress for the purpose of convening an "Asiatic trade union congress."

Upon request, I was given permission to speak on the subject. I pointed out that Bunji Suzuki, who is an agent of the Japanese government, masquerading as a labor man, was the originator of this scheme, which was designed to further the interests

of Japanese imperialism. Also, that the proposition had been adopted by the I.L.O. for the purpose of binding the Indian trade union movement to the boss-controlled League of Nations and the reactionary Amsterdam International. I likewise stressed the fact that this was a blow aimed at the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, which had been organized for a considerable period and was functioning effectively. "In any case," I said, "we should organize on class lines, not as Asiatics against Europeans or vice versa."

Consistent lying by Chamanlal and Bakhale, coupled with lack of knowledge of international matters on the part of the bulk of delegates, carried the day, and it was decided by 43 to 26 to endorse the Asiatic conference. The left wing made a spirited fight on the question; the vote they recorded was an indication of their strength in the Executive.

Attack On I.L.O.

An attack was then launched against the I.L.O. by the left wing. It was pointed out that the I.L.O. was an adjunct of the imperialist League of Nations and that no good purpose had been, or could be, served by sending delegates to Geneva. The lawyer-politicians realized only too well that if a break was made with the I.L.O., their chances of a free trip abroad would vanish. They fiercely opposed the proposal of the left wing not to send any more delegates, but in doing so they did not defend the I.L.O., nor speak one word in favor of it. In fact they agreed with practically everything the left wing delegates had said. However, they pleaded that it was a pity to lose the opportunity of sending representatives abroad, who would be able, so they claimed, to broadcast the sufferings of the workers of India in England and other European countries. By almost exactly the same number of votes as on the previous question, the left wing proposal was defeated.

Delegates were then elected for the next Geneva conference. It was pitiful to notice the excitement and enthusiasm of some of the briefless barristers who by some method or another fasten themselves on the Indian trade union movement in order to obtain a nomination for Geneva. They speedily disrupted the meeting in their eagerness. I am strongly of the opinion that the connection between the I.L.O. and the Indian Trade Union Congress is the most important retard-

ing influence on the Indian trade union movement. Worker delegates are elbowed out of leading positions of the movement by "educated" opportunists whose whole ambition is to gain a trip to Geneva. A break with the I.L.O. would automatically mean that these parasitical elements would find other methods of personal advancement, thereby allowing the workers a greater control of their own movement.

In order to be able to send more tourists to Geneva, it was decided to "demand" of the government that two advisers for each item on the agenda of the next conference be sent with the delegates, otherwise no delegates will be sent. It is unlikely that this plea, camouflaged as a threat, will be given effect.

Amsterdam Hotly Condemned

On the agenda there was a proposal to affiliate to the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam). In discussing this item, the delegates took the opportunity of denouncing the Amsterdam International as a tool of the imperialists. Condemnation came from delegates of all schools of thought. Only one delegate—Kirk, an Englishman from Madras, who is suspected of being in the pay of the British authorities, spoke in support of affiliation. There were others, such as Bakhale, who favor Amsterdam, but they were so overawed by the torrent of condemnation for that organization that they remained silent.

Eventually, it was decided to affiliate with neither International until world trade union unity is achieved. This resolution automatically disposed of another item on the agenda, which proposed affiliation to the Red International of Labor Unions.

An outburst of criticism of the British Trade Union Congress occurred when it was decided to sever connections with that body and not to allow it to be the agent in England of the Indian Trade Union Congress in the future. The majority of the delegates were of the opinion that the British T.U.C. is a lackey of British imperialism, and that it is assisting the exploiters of India to perpetuate their rule. A motion to appoint the Workers' Welfare League of India as the London agent of the Indian Trade Union Congress was defeated, owing to the opposition of Diwan Chamanlal and Bakhale.

When the question of affiliation to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat came up for decision, I was permitted to address

the delegates once more. There was very little actual opposition to the Secretariat, except from Bakhale, but it could easily be seen that the fears of the right wing delegates had been played upon and that they felt diffident about joining up with an international trade union organization. A motion was made to affiliate with the P.P.T.U.S.; then an amendment was moved suggesting the postponement of the matter for one year. The amendment was carried by 36 votes to 28.

Much time had been taken up disposing of the foregoing matters, therefore adequate discussion could not be given to many resolutions dealing with various questions that were brought forward. Dozens of resolutions were adopted at an incredible speed. Some of the resolutions were excellent, particularly the resolution calling for a general strike if the Trade Disputes Bill is enacted. Other resolutions were not so good, but there were few really bad decisions. Most of them deal with problems in India itself and need not be outlined in this article. One resolution called upon the workers of Battersea (England) to vote for Saklatvala at the next elections in Britain.

Fight for Worker Leadership

An interesting position arose over the election of president for the ensuing year. Jawaharlal Nehru, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, was nominated. He is well-known personally in India, but has not been active in the trade union movement, nor is he a worker. Gulkirni, a practically unknown worker from Bombay, was also nominated. In the past it has been the custom to elect the president by a unanimous vote, but on this occasion it was significant that the nominee of the officials, Nehru, was elected by a small majority of seven votes. This is important, as it displays, rather forcibly, the desire of a greater number of delegates than usual, to have workers in the leading positions. Joshi was re-elected, unopposed, to the position of General Secretary.

All of the questions mentioned were decided upon by the Executive Committee, also many others of minor importance. They were then submitted to the full Congress and adopted practically without discussion.

The Congress itself was held in a huge

canvas structure called a "pandal." As mentioned previously, there were approximately 120 delegates. Several thousand workers attended the open sessions. They had to pay for admission. I was informed that if a charge for admission was not made, the "pandal" would be overrun by enthusiastic workers. This, to my mind, proves that the workers of India are enthusiastic about their unions.

Briefly summing up the Congress, while there were no remarkable changes in policy, the IX Congress was more important than previous congresses because a definite, energetic and organized left wing made its appearance for the first time. In addition, there was a decided opinion among a large number of delegates, that there were far too many lawyer-politicians in the movement and that the workers themselves should have a greater measure of control.

Future Outlook Good

For the future, the prospects are decidedly encouraging. The left wing is rapidly gaining strength and importance, mostly by its intensive organizing of previously unorganized workers and its successful handling of strikes. By the time the next congress is convened, there is every reason to believe that the left wing will be no longer a minority, and that the old conservative leaders will be defeated. Even at this Ninth Congress, the left wing would have been considerably larger had it not been necessary for several of the Bombay militants to remain in that city owing to the strike movements there. The victory of the left wing will immensely strengthen the movement for trade union unity and effective action in the Pacific area.

The growing strength of the militants and the awakening of the Indian workers have not been unnoticed by the British authorities, who are becoming ever more oppressive. Shootings of strikers have become a regular feature and, as already mentioned, repressive legislation is being introduced into the legislatures. The potential strength of the aroused Indian workers is so enormous, however, that the efforts of the British imperialists to hold them in check must surely prove futile.

British Imperialism Strikes at the Indian Unions

AT the end of March Anglo-Indian police, armed with more than a hundred warrants, descended on the headquarters of left wing trade unions, the Workers' and Peasants' Parties and the Youth League in all the principal Indian cities except Madras, and at one blow, arrested most of the active working class and peasant leaders in the country.

Calcutta, Bombay, Poona, Allahabad and Lucknow each had its day of police terror.

A few extremely interesting facts show very clearly the true causes at the bottom of this wave of terror with its arrests of workers and peasant leaders throughout India.

Most of the arrests took place in Bombay, where the Indian trade union movement has fought out its most successful struggles. In this connection the "Bombay Labor Gazette", a government publication, admitted, in January of this year, "The Girni Kamgar (left wing textile) Union shows a phenomenal growth in membership. At present, this union reckons a membership of 65,000."

Who are the trade unionists responsible for this extraordinary success? The same official source gives their names. The chairman is Alwe; the general secretary, S. A. Dange; the treasurer, S. V. Ghate; the vice-presidents, S. H. Jhabwala and B. F. Bradley; the assistant secretary, K. N. Joglekar. All these leaders have since been arrested.

All those arrested—in the other Indian cities as well as Bombay—are the most active workers in the Indian trade union organizations; all have played prominent parts in the great strike movements in past years.

Another reason for the government's action is the growing influence of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties among the Indian masses. Three of those arrested, Mirajkar, Pendse and Joglekar, were candidates of the Workers' and Peasants' Party in the recent Bombay municipal elections. In spite of the limited number of workers who enjoy the ballot, it received from 3,000 to 4,000 votes, only a very little less than the candidates who were elected. It must be remembered

that of Bombay's 1,200,000 inhabitants, only 90,000 possess the ballot, and of course among those who can vote are the labor aristocracy. It is obvious that, if all the workers could vote, the Workers' and Peasants' Parties would receive a tremendous majority. Hence the government has every reason to wish to crush this movement.

The warrants for the arrests were issued from the district of Meerut, near Delhi, and it is probable that the "conspiracy" which they charge refers to the conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party which was recently held there.

It must also be remembered that in India many things are illegal and are severely punished though they may be perfectly legal in England itself. For example, there is the case of Hasrat Mohani, chairman of the All-India Moslem League, who in 1922 was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for a speech in which he demanded complete independence for India. The speeches at the Workers' and Peasants' Party conference in Meerut in October, 1928, naturally demanded the independence of India, the removal of the various state boundaries, the nationalization of land and of the instruments of production, etc.

According to the latest reports, the trial of all the class war prisoners was to be held at Meerut in the middle of April. The attorney, Dawan Chamanlal, has undertaken to defend all those arrested. The majority of them are now in solitary confinement in the Meerut prison.

The prisoners have protested against this action and against their treatment as criminals instead of political prisoners.

The following list of the most outstanding of those arrested by the Anglo-Indian government during the present mass terror, with a record of their functions and activities in the labor movement, sheds light on the meaning of the new wave of arrests in India and the intentions of the Anglo-Indian authorities.

Among those now in Indian prisons are:

S. H. Jhabwala, general secretary of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Workers' Union, with a membership of 41,000 and organizational secretary of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation. He has official connections with numerous Indian trade unions. The municipal commissioner in Bombay threatens him with legal prosecution for "inciting the municipal workers".

S. A. Dange is general secretary of the street carmen's union of Bombay and of the Bombay Textile Workers' Union, with a membership of 65,000, assistant secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress and prominent member of the All-India Workers, and Peasants' Party. He has been active for several years in the labor movement. Until 1924 he was editor of the "Socialist" in Bombay, then he was sentenced to four years in prison at the Communist trial in Cawnpore.

S. S. Mirajkar, secretary of the Union of Workers of the British India Steam Navigation Company, secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay and candidate in the recent municipal elections in Bombay.

S. V. Ghate, vice-president of the Municipal Workers' Union of Bombay, treasurer of the Bombay Textile Workers' Union and member of the Central Committee of the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party.

D. R. Thengdi, former chairman of the All-Indian Trade Union Congress, chairman of the Kirkee Arsenal Workers' Union in Poona, member of the All-India Congress-

Committee. He has been active for a number of years in the proletarian movement in India and is one of the founders of the Indian trade union movement.

P. C. Joshi, secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of the United Provinces, member of the Central Committee of the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party and editor of the "Kranti Kari", a workers' and peasants' paper.

M. G. Desai, a young student and journalist, editor of the "Spark", a labor paper founded recently in Bombay.

Philip Spratt, a young Englishman, was prosecuted a few years ago for his revolutionary activities in India but later freed. Last April he was sent by the Bengal Trade Union Federation to lead the strike of jute workers in Chengail. He took an active part in the railway workers' strike at Lilloah, in the jute workers' strike at Bauri and in the iron and steel workers' strike at Jamshedpur.

Kalam is a functionary of the Workers' and Peasants' Party in Jhansi.

B. F. Bradley is vice-president of the Bombay Textile Workers' Union.

So far from these arrests terrorizing the masses, however, the effect has been quite the opposite, the workers throwing themselves by thousands and tens of thousands into protest strikes and demonstrations, with a fighting spirit which proves the profoundly revolutionary character of their whole movement and forecasts its ultimate triumph.

Anti-Labor Laws in India

THOUGH the labor and trade union movement in India is still in its youth, the bourgeoisie, applying all its international experience, is already preparing to meet the young movement with all the tricks it has learned in the long years of its struggle against the industrial working class. There is now before the Indian Parliament* a Trades Disputes Bill, which tries to prejudice the effectiveness of the developing trade unions from the very beginning through the creation of an arbitration system, and which is intended to prevent strikes, the best wea-

pon of the working class. As will be seen from the following extracts the Bill does not in the least hide its anti-labor tendencies.

Two phases of the system are provided: an Investigation Commission and an Arbitration Chamber. Both are appointed at the initiative of the local government authority or of the Governor General. This fact alone should assure them of the "full confidence" of the Indian workers.

The Investigation Commission, which consists of a Chairman and a certain number of members, varying according to the occasion, has to clear up the facts about an expected dispute between employers and workers and

* Press reports of April state that "the Indian Legislative Assembly has approved the penal laws dictated by the government", presumably those dealt with in this article.

then has to report to the authority by which it was appointed.

The Arbitration Chamber consists either of the "impartial" Chairman alone or of 2 to 4 additional members who must be proposed on a parity basis by the quarrelling parties. If one side makes no proposition the appointing authority decides according to its own opinion.

The Chamber is supposed to do everything in order to conciliate a dispute "without delay". It can, however, also "postpone the procedure until such times, which, in its opinion, will allow the parties concerned to arrive at some settlement". If this settlement is not obtained, a report must be given to the Government or to the Governor General along with propositions how to "regulate the strike".

Orders of the Governor General and of the Government authorities concerning the appointment of Commissions and Chambers have legal force and both bodies enjoy the same rights as civil courts. Their investigations or hearings are considered as legal procedures in the sense of paragraphs 193 and 228 of the Indian Penal Code.

Apart from the arbitration provisions properly, the Bill provides, in case that struggles should yet break out, all the measures by which the employers want to prevent their spreading and generalization.

For employees in public enterprises the following special provisions are made:

1. Every person employed against a monthly salary in a public enterprise, who voluntarily and without having timely (one month in advance) informed his employers in writing of this intention does not fulfil his duties, is subject to a fine of one month imprisonment or up to 50 rupees or both fines simultaneously.

2. Every person, who incites to any of the crimes, enumerated in the foregoing paragraph, is subject to a sentence of up to 3 months or a fine of up to 500 rupees or both fines simultaneously.

But still more important are the paragraphs about sympathetic strikes, and strikes for other but economic reasons:

1. Strikes and lockouts are considered illegal if (a) they pursue aims, which partly or wholly surpass the frame of that branch of industry in which the strikers or the employers declaring a lockout, are engaged, and (b) if the strikes or lockouts pursue the

purpose of exercising either direct or indirect pressure on the Government.

2. It is unlawful to carry on such strikes and lockouts or to support them financially.

This Bill of the British imperialists is energetically fought by the Indian Nationalist Press and by the trade unions.

The "Bombay Chronicle" on September 6, declares itself against the "whole trade union movement being made dependent upon the humors of an official."

On September 5th the same paper wrote in its leading article:

"The passing of this Bill through the National Assembly would grant to the autocratic and irresponsible executive the possibility of suffocating the movement in favor of the industrial workers and the peasantry. . . . The law about the liquidation of industrial conflicts is evidently directed against the interests of the workers and is harmful to the healthy growth of trade unionism in our country. The members of the National Assembly must take energetic steps in order to oppose this fascist Government proposal."

Djabvalla, a Left Labor leader, declares in a letter to the same paper:

"I consider the paragraph about strikes to be the most serious and most dangerous, not because I am in favor of strikes at all times, as some people seem to believe, but because the only effective weapon in the hands of the trade unions, from the application of which the success of the workers' struggle depends in most cases, is unmercifully taken from them by the Government. The basic idea of the Bill is to prevent all strike struggles of the workers. With the assistance of this Bill, the Government not only tries to suppress the mass movement of the workers, but it also wants to strangle the peasants' movement, as we have recently seen in Bardoli."

Finally, Djabvalla appeals to the Laborists and to the leaders of the Nationalist Movement, to come together and to fight the reactionary bill with united forces.

Various workers' organizations as well as Workers' and Peasants' Parties are preparing a broad campaign against the reactionary Bill. Thus, the Executive of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bombay decided to carry on broad agitation against the Bill. A

broad conference of trade union representatives and of representatives from the peasants' organizations of the province is to be convened and representatives of the Executive are to be sent to Simla during the session of the National Assembly, in order to organize the opposition against the Bill among the members of the National Assembly.

The Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal also undertook a series of measures. Especially it turned to the Trade Union Federation of Bengal (Provincial Department of the All-Indian Trade Union Congress).

Following this initiative, the Bengal Trade Union Federation adopted a resolution, which emphasizes the reactionary character of the Bill and calls upon the members of the National Assembly to prevent it from being passed at all costs. A memorandum against the Bill is being prepared. Meetings are being held over the whole province in order to enlighten the workers about the reactionary nature of the Bill.

The Opposition campaign is being continued over the whole country in the Nationalist press as well as in the Labor circles.

New Zealand: Position of Workers

By R. I. GRIFFIN (*New Zealand*)

THE possibilities of war in the Pacific and the rising revolutionary wave in India and China bring outposts in the southern seas such as Australia and New Zealand into prominence in the play of imperialist forces in the Pacific.

Assuming an Anglo-American war, they might easily become an objective of American imperialism. On the other hand, a rapid development of the Chinese revolution will result also in a stimulus to the Indian nationalist movement and, if led by the proletariat, open uprisings are certain over a large part of India and China under the slogan of transferring all power to workers' and peasants' councils.

This inevitably means the combination of imperialism against this development and also directly against Soviet Russia. In this case the white Dominions of Australia and New Zealand would easily become a base of operations for the imperialists in the Pacific.

Furthermore, the interests of the working class of these countries are inseparable from those of their colored brethren of the other Pacific countries. Take a case in point: Indian iron is imported into New Zealand for many purposes and recently a demand was made for a duty on this iron, it being claimed that it was impossible to compete with Indian iron because of the low rate of pay of the Indian workers.

An important thing to remember is that this Indian iron is being produced by British firms, who have transferred their machinery

and capital to India to the detriment of the British workers. Indian labor is cheaper and capitalism is able to use it with profit, but the result is unemployment in Britain and New Zealand which again means lower standards in both countries in order to compete with the Indian.

Another case was reported from America of what appeared to be Irish lace being sold at less than cost. Enquiries proved it to be lace made in China, the Chinese being taught by Irish missionaries! The result was that the Irish lace workers could not sell their product because they had a higher standard of living which determined the price of the lace.

The Indian, the Chinese and the New Zealand worker will, and must, learn from these things that they have common interests. First of all, they must unite in the Pacific for their common interests and against war. For this purpose the Pan-Pacific Secretariat has been organized and is meeting with success:

The mistake must not be made of regarding New Zealand as a bob-tail on the Australian kite. New Zealand has an independent Dominion Government and is five days by steamer from Australia—as far as New York from London—and has different conditions and characteristics.

The population of New Zealand is one and a half millions, of whom nearly 400,000 are classed as wage-earners. The State is the largest single employer, being responsible for the employment of at least 60,000 wage-earn-

ers, exclusive of municipal employees. The number of registered trade unionists is at present about 100,000 organized in some 400 unions.

Little progress has as yet been made in factory production although there continues to be a steady increase in the number of employees and in the value of the total product each year. This is particularly noticeable in motor engineering works, engineering and hydro-electric or establishments for the production of electric current. Printing establishments also show a considerable increase. Freezing works show a decline for 1926 as against the previous year, but have since increased. Saw-milling, which was responsible for the largest percentage of what are classified as factory employees, is also on the decline. The smaller and medium-sized factories (under 100 employees) show the greatest increase. Out of a total of nearly 5,000 "factories" only about 120 employ over 100 workers and a few over 200 or 300. The total number of factory workers is estimated at 67,254.

Four pounds a week could be taken as an average wage. The usual weekly time is 44 hours. Many workers own their homes. Practically all branches of factory production have a trade union registered under the Industrial Conflicts and Arbitration Act. The biggest and most important trade unions in New Zealand are the miners' and seamen's unions.

Miners and Seamen

The miners' union is not registered under the Act mentioned and secures agreements by "collective" bargaining and enforces them by job action. The miners (coal), are mostly immigrants (Scottish, Canadian, etc.), and have strong militant traditions. The total number is about 3,500 organized into one national body, the United Mineworkers, consisting of local unions with a National Council and a special West Coast District Council, where most of the mines are located. The District Councils are subject to the National Council which meets quarterly or oftener.

Although often working broken time, the miners in comparison to miners in other countries have had fairly good wages, averaging £5 per week for miners and £2/10/ for truckers (youths). Eight hours bank to bank are worked and many concessions such as pithead baths, etc., have been wrung from the employers. Housing conditions are bad. The

houses are owned by the companies but owing to the militancy of the miners the employers are not able to make use of this factor against them. The unions practically control the camps, owning the picture halls, etc. The secretary of the local generally functions as the local chief administrator or executive officer. The West Coast miners practically control their own daily newspaper.

New Zealand miners are suffering from the general decline in the coal industry, both production and export showing signs of a big drop. This has resulted in a certain amount of broken time and unemployment.

The seamen's union is at the present time strongly militant and has established ships' committees (all-inclusive) on all ships. Many concessions have been won from the employers as the result, it being not uncommon for them to hold up ships for better food, etc. The wages are second only to those of the Australian seamen; conditions are sometimes better. The average wage is £15 to £17 per month. An 8-hour day (4 on, 8 off), weekly half-holiday on payment for 4 hours, 14 days holiday or equivalent after 6 months at sea, have all been gained.

The union is a federation of four local unions under a National Council and a Resident Executive in Wellington. The total membership is 2,700. A bad feature is that the union is closed, only one member being accepted monthly. Monthly stop-work meetings are held in all ports and annual elections are by special postal ballot. All officers are elected by a rank and file vote.

Both these unions, the miners and the seamen's, are militant, and form the most active trade union bodies in New Zealand. In the event of war they are bound to play an extremely important part. In New Zealand, where the number of organized workers does not exceed 100,000, there are 6,000 belonging to the chief unions which if not formally affiliated to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, still can be counted on to stand by that organization.

Other important unions in New Zealand are: The railwaymen's unions, three separate unions, the men being regarded as State employees, with a total membership of nearly 11,000, excluding officials.

The waterside workers, who have militant traditions and good conditions, relatively, number about 5,000.

The cold storage workers, militant, but whose form of organization is bad, number

about 6,000. Recently they held a rank and file conference and agreed on a policy for a new form of organization. They are, however seasonal workers (the season lasting 5 months), who generally go to agricultural work or to general laboring in the off-season. They are important from the viewpoint of contact with the country workers who are practically unorganized.

The building workers, general laborers, carpenters, plasterers, etc., total about 15,000—all in separate unions in the cities, and now mostly in local Trades Councils (or District Councils of the Alliance of Labor). Some of the craft unions are nationally federated.

The timber workers, particularly on the West Coast, are also a militant section of workers. There are approximately 7,000 timber workers in one federation of small and very scattered unions. The industry is in a bad crisis at the present time and the rank and file are extremely backward.

The Central T.U. Body

There is one central trade union body in New Zealand known as the Alliance of Labor, originally intended as a One Big Union form of organization on an industrial union plan. It is now chiefly composed of federated unions and has swallowed up the local Trades Councils and converted them into District Councils of the Alliance of Labor. Practically all the unions in New Zealand are affiliated to this body. The total membership should be about 70,000. Originally Leftist and at one time anti-parliamentarian, the present leadership has been going more to the right. The Alliance as a whole participated in the recent industrial peace (rationalization) Conference called by the Government. The miners and seamen have attempted to function as a left-wing within the Alliance and for this reason put forward definite demands at the last Conference held in March, 1928, but they were in a hopeless minority.

At one time the railwaymen's union was affiliated to the Alliance, but due to a strike were forced by the Government (the employ-

er) to withdraw. The post and telegraph employees who had also agreed to affiliate at that time were prevented from so doing.

As one of its sections the Alliance of Labor has the New Zealand Workers' Union, which is supposed to be responsible for the organization of the country workers, but so far they have only succeeded in organizing the shearers, some tunneling workers and some road workers employed by the Public Works Department. The country workers, whose conditions are not good, remain unorganized, there being only 3 per cent organized altogether. The militants have put forward a demand for the organization of the country workers along with the miners and seamen. The Workers' Union recently attempted to obtain the affiliation of the freezing workers but they were not successful, the cold storage workers deciding on their own industrial union and direct affiliation to the Alliance of Labor.

Unemployment

However, the favorable conditions which the New Zealand worker has experienced cannot be expected to continue in view of the keener competition which New Zealand has to meet on the world market. Already, due to the decline in prices for primary products, in 1926, unemployment has become a real problem. Unemployment has kept at a high level this year in spite of the improvement in the export trade. The following figures show the degree and direction of unemployment:

Unemployed as Estimated by Unions (50 per cent reporting)

| | Nov. | Feb. | May | Aug. | Feb. |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Number | 3,172 | 4,222 | 4,406 | 5,325 | 6,605 |
| Percentage .. | 6.7 | 4.4 | 9.7 | 11.6 | 11.4 |

Chief Industries Affected by Unemployment: Percentages of Total Workers

| | | | | | |
|------------------------|------|------|------|------|--|
| Building and | | | | | |
| Construction | 16.4 | 13.1 | 8.0 | 11.9 | |
| Sawmilling | 28.1 | 22.4 | 10.5 | 17.4 | |
| Shipping | 30.5 | 30.6 | — | 15.9 | |
| General laborers | 18.9 | 24.9 | — | — | |

The Robbery of the Philippine Peasantry

By HARRISON GEORGE

THE attention of every adherent of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat should be drawn to the serious situation existing in the Philippine Islands. In these islands, many of the peasants have for generations occupied and tilled public lands as their sole means of livelihood. Notwithstanding the fact that they cultivate public lands, they are among the worst exploited of the impoverished Philippine masses, and being barely able to exist have no surplus goods or savings.

Yet now their small homesteads are being sold at public auction to big capitalists and rich landlords, and the peasants are being evicted. They are not able to purchase the very soil they have by years of hard toil cleared and cultivated, as the land is being auctioned off in large tracts to oblige the imperialist and native land-grabbers and to further enslave the peasantry who are thus placed utterly at the mercy of these speculators.

Thousands of Families Involved

On these public lands the peasants and their forefathers built their huts, accumulated their crude implements and small stock, improved the land by clearing and cultivation, and thus created the present land values. Yet now they are to be forcibly rendered homeless and destitute.

Already in the Province of Bataan 500 peasants have been evicted, and in Rizal and Laguna 1,000 and 3,000, respectively, are facing eviction. At Pililla, Rizal, a large tract of public land was recently sold which is the sole means of life for 400 poor peasant families. The crops raised by 100 peasants have been seized by two of these new and unexpected landlords in the Province of Nueva Ecija, the peasants being left without food or means of living and in danger of starvation. If such ruthless methods are permitted to continue without effective protest, there are 10,000 more peasants in this same pro-

vince faced with famine through seizure and eviction.

Through the C. O. F. (Philippine Labor Congress), the Confederation of Peasants and Farm Laborers is affiliated to the PPTUS, and many of its members have been evicted, while thousands more are in danger of being rendered homeless. Effective action is needed, and at once. It is wholly futile to plead, hat in hand, with the self-seeking native capitalist politicians (who are the very ones engineering the robbery). They are business men and landlords who lick the boots of such imperialists as Stimson and whose only thought of the peasantry is of how to exploit them. Hence, only by the unity of the workers and peasants in militant struggle against such exploiters can these evictions be stopped.

Suggestions for Action

A gigantic national protest can be and should be organized throughout the islands. The workers in the C. O. F., being better organized than the peasantry, should initiate the movement. The responsible leaders of the C. O. F., together with the officials of the Confederation of Peasants, should consider calling mass meetings and demonstrations in every town and village. Sentimental appeals addressed to landlords and imperialists, and supposed to "touch their hearts", will be entirely wasted. Exploiters have no hearts. Only a well-organized protest which expresses the power of masses will be able to stop the wholesale robbery.

This is not a fight only of those directly affected. The peasants are a part of the exploited masses, as are the workers, and if they are driven from their land and homes they will become competitors for jobs in the towns. The bosses who own docks and factories, etc., will try to lower wages by using the evicted and homeless peasants against other workers.

The courts, from the lower to the Supreme Court, are in the hands of the exploiting class, operating with class laws and decisions favoring that class and opposed to the toiling masses. Only an effective mass protest will prevent the courts legalizing the robbery of the masses.

The miserable standard of living of the Filipino workers and peasants is threatened with still further reduction. Every worker and peasant, every union branch and national union, therefore, should support the C. O. F. in a militant protest against the evictions and arrests of peasants and the robbery of their homes by sale of the so-called public lands. Demands should be raised for the restoration of lands already sold and the return, with adequate compensation, of the evicted peasants, cancellation of eviction orders issued and withdrawal of applications by the land-grabbers for further evictions. Wherever peasants cannot or do not wish to return, payment to be made for all improvements at a rate based on improved values. The peasants, driven like cattle from their homes, must be supported from the public treasury (fatted by the sale of these lands) in decent and

family comfort by special appropriation to be administered by the C. O. F. and Peasants' Confederation.

Conferences, local and national, should discuss these and other suggested measures, and if evictions do not stop, prepare for a general strike to reinstate the peasants and free those imprisoned for resisting eviction.

The whole economic, political and social position of the workers and peasants is involved in the struggle, with American imperialism and its native lackeys, capitalists and landlords on one side and the exploited workers and peasants on the other. The native capitalists and landlords have sold themselves to imperialism for a share in the robbery of the native masses, and only the workers and peasants will fight for Philippine national independence. Hence they must strengthen their organizations, the C. O. F. and the Confederation of Peasants and Farm Laborers, restore the land to the peasants, defeat the imperialist tyrants and their allies—the native exploiters and landlords, unite the forces of workers and peasants and march forward to Philippine independence.

Official Communications

Letter of the P. P. T. U. S. to the Latin American Trade Union Congress,
Montevideo, Uruguay

Dear Comrades:

THE Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat extends its fraternal greetings and best wishes to the first congress of the Latin American Trade Union Confederation. The tasks and problems confronting the trade union movement of Latin America are in almost every respect identical with those forcibly occupying the daily attention of the P. P. T. U. S. This is because most of our affiliated organizations exist in colonial and semi-colonial countries and are exploited and ruthlessly oppressed by the forces of imperialism, of which Britain and America are the leading powers.

These unscrupulous powers, in their competitive struggle for markets, raw materials and cheap labor, are using the same methods to enslave the peoples of Latin America to their respective groups of finance capital as they have practiced for decades in the Pacific

area. They seek to divide the native bourgeoisie and utilize one group against another, or one republic against the other, as in Paraguay and Bolivia. When this does not suffice to obtain domination they resort to invasion, rapine and murder as in China, Nicaragua and Egypt, and finally subject them completely to colonial status as in Cuba, Philippines, India, etc.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat takes cognizance of the fact that several of the South American republics border the Pacific Ocean and are either dominated or under the influence of Britain or the U. S. A. It is in the Pacific where the struggle between the various groups of imperialists manifests itself most keenly; and every day gives added justification for the repeated warnings sent out by the P. P. T. U. S. of the growing war danger.

The Anglo-American naval rivalry, the Anglo-French agreement to naval cooperation and the strengthening of the military forces of France, the secret negotiations to revive the Anglo-Japanese alliance, the strengthening of the Pacific fleets by Britain and America, the construction of a British naval and air base, with heavy fortifications, at such a strategic point as Singapore, the improvement and strengthening of Pearl Harbor, the Pacific forts and garrisons of the U. S. A., etc., are all indicative of a real world war danger. In fact, few seem to realize that war actually exists today in colonial and semi-colonial countries, such as China, South America and India; invasion of Shantung by 20,000 Japanese troops who killed 5,000 Chinese at Tsinan, the occupation of Nicaragua by American marines, and constant murdering of Indian workers and nationalists under British rule, etc.

This hostile world struggle for power to exploit the world's workers is shrouded by hypocritical pretences of a desire for "peace" and "cooperation between nations". The "Kellogg Peace Pact" is an instrument of war, and intended to disarm the masses before the real declaration of war. The invitation to Canada to join the Pan-American Union, dominated by Wall street, is but one more act portraying the imperialist struggle. The rapid buying of shares in Latin American industries dominated by British capital, reacts violently against the British financiers, and leads to bitter antagonisms, the same as American and British rivalry does in the Far East. We need no more eloquent support than the words of Senator Gillette, expressed during the discussion on the Naval Construction Bill. He said:

"We must prepare for war as other nations do. . . . The United States must not forget the principal nations of the world are our debtors and wealth makes an attractive prey. There is already keen rivalry with Britain which promises to increase. . . . England refuses to decrease her naval armament; so the only course for us is to increase our navy. . . . Peace treaties can no more keep people from fighting than prohibition laws could keep people from drinking."

But the war danger has even a greater significance and is more serious for the international working class movement. The intense preparations for war are directed pri-

marily against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the permanent and real menace to all imperialist nations. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are in control of one-sixth of the globe. They support the workers and peasants of all countries, and assist the colonial and semi-colonial peoples towards their independence. Therefore hardly a week passes but acts of violence are committed against the U. S. S. R. which are instigated chiefly by the British Foreign Office:

Japan is encouraged in its encroachment upon Soviet communications in the East. Poland and the Little Entente are actively encouraged to commit violence against the only Workers' State on the western borders of the Soviet Union, while Britain prepares her air and military bases in the Far East, and creates rebellion in a State friendly to the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, in order to extend her hostile operations closer to the Soviet border. It is this hostile world situation directed against the Soviet Union, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and the international proletariat, which primarily influences the policy of the P. P. T. U. S.

In order to fight against this imperialist exploitation and suppression, whether directed from their agents among the native bourgeoisie or Foreign Offices, we must unite and strengthen the fighting trade unions in every country, especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. This will also give a great impetus to world trade union unity.

But our task is a difficult one: in China, Indonesia, Korea, Japan and Formosa, the right to organize real militant trade unions is crushed by the police and armed forces. Thousands of workers and peasants have met execution squads bravely in China and Indonesia during the last two years, while many have met their death and lay imprisoned in Japan, India, Korea, etc. But in spite of this, the struggle to maintain the fighting unions continues with intensified vigor.

As in Latin America, our great task is to organize the unorganized workers and unite the scattered, sectional and craft unions into industrial class unions. This can best be done by forming factory committees representative of all workers in a given establishment. This is essential in order to fight the almost unbelievably low standards existing in the Far East and to fight for better treatment generally, both from the native employers and imperialist exploiters.

The organizations numbered among our affiliated membership are those of Australia, China, Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Philippine Islands, U. S. S. R., U. S. A. (T. U. E. L.), and the British Minority Movement and the United French Confederation of Labor are also connected because they are immediately concerned with the colonial possessions of France and England. Not only must we draw the Indian Trade Unions into the P. P. T. U. S., but all the South American Unions from countries bordering the Pacific should become affiliated. We must also maintain a close working agreement with constant organic contact, with the Latin American Trade Union Confederation in order to obtain the maximum results from our activity.

Like the P. P. T. U. S., you have many opponents and obstacles that will have to be overcome. Not least among them is the Pan-American Federation of Labor and their agents in Latin American unions: the "Amsterdam" International and its Secretariats (the International Federation of Transport Workers, etc.). Inspired by Albert Thomas of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, a movement has been launched in opposition to the P. P. T. U. S. in the form of calling a Pan-Asiatic Conference to be held in Calcutta. This attempt to undermine the growing influence of the P. P. T. U. S. has the support of Suzuki, the agent of the Tanaka Imperial Government inside the Japanese trade union movement, and a few self-seeking individuals of the Indian T. U. C. The I. L. O. has also the full support of the Social Democratic traitors and bureaucrats of Amsterdam, and the Labor and Socialist International in their splitting maneuvers against the P. P. T. U. S.

The success or failure of the I. L. O., assisted by these renegades, depends upon the intensity of our work and degree of organization we obtain, in rallying the masses both to the Pan-Pacific and the Latin American T. U. C. We must not under-estimate these forces, which should rather inspire us onward to further active organizational work and unity of our forces.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor, assisted by the reformist officials of the Mexican trade unions (CROM) and other yellow unions represents the forces of American imperialism within the labor movement. Their aim is to enslave the Latin American peoples, and the P. A. F. of L. is the parallel move-

ment to that of the Pan-American Union led by Hughes—they are both agencies of Wall street.

Like J. H. Thomas and Ramsay MacDonald of Great Britain, who supported armed invasion and massacres of the Chinese trade unionists and organized peasants, and who attempt emasculation of the independence movement of India, Green of the American Federation of Labor who dominates the Pan-American Federation of Labor, also supports the invasion and massacres of the Latin American workers and peasants. These traitors must be exposed and driven from the labor movement in order to safeguard the interests of the workers and peasants of the whole of Latin America. The only real trade union centre is now the Latin American Trade Union Confederation. By persistent efforts you will win the workers from the Pan-American Federation of Labor by adopting and propagating a class policy.

In order to promote unity of action, we hope that your conference will recommend that the Latin American trade unions from countries bordering on the Pacific become directly affiliated to the P. P. T. U. S., that your decision will be to work in organic alliance with our parallel movement to yours; and we therefore, in order to commence this alliance, invite the Latin American Trade Union Confederation to send two delegates to our Second Congress which will be convened at Vladivostock on August 1st. (Our Congress is proscribed in Australia by the Bruce Government where we decided to hold it by invitation of the Australian Unions).

Again extending to you our heartiest greetings and salutations knowing that your Congress will be an epoch-making one, which we feel sure will result in uniting all the important and best trade unions under the leadership of the Latin American Trade Union Confederation, thus placing upon a firm and permanent basis the only real challenge within the trade union movement which will defend the interests of the Latin American working class and rout the agents of American imperialism (Wall street) from the organized labor movement.

THE PAN-PACIFIC TRADE UNION SECRETARIAT,

(Signed) Chairman: SOU CHAO-JEN.
Secretary: EARL BROWDER.

Shanghai, February 14, 1929.

Letter of the P. P. T. U. S. to the All-China Labor Federation

Dear Comrades:—The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat heartily greets the Plenum of the All-China Labor Federation and extends to the delegates assembled its best wishes for a successful meeting.

The tasks confronting you, arising out of the apparent contradictions in the national and international situation, are probably the most important in the history of the A. C. L. F.

The so-called Central Government has recorded a certain degree of progress: It has achieved a revision of the Customs Treaties and outwardly extended its hegemony over larger areas. We must recognize these facts although the latter are more apparent than real, and the Tariff Revision represents a reward given by the imperialists to the Kuomintang for their betrayal of the revolution, suppression of militant mass movements and the revolutionary unions.

It would be a mistake, however, if we did not also note the internal struggles still going on between the various cliques and within the Central Executive and the Government of the Kuomintang, and that the Imperialist groups continue to utilize these cliques and groups for their own spheres of special and exploiting interests, thus making immediate unity of China almost impossible.

Under these circumstances, the first problem for the Chinese workers and peasants in their fight against the existing low standard of living, excessively long hours, child labor, and for complete political independence for China, is to strengthen the All-China Labor Federation and extend its influence among the masses.

Side by side with the new developments, there has arisen a new revival of mass activity, especially in Shanghai. This strike movement (Post Office strike, tramway strike, tobacco workers' strike, etc.) revealed the need for greater activity by the adherents of the A. C. L. F. It is no accident that yellow unions have gained strength in Shanghai and threaten to extend to other centres, while at the same time they are led by betrayers who practice most openly their cheating policy.

The rise of yellow unions led by reformists, is the expression on the industrial field, of the betrayal of the revolution by the Kuomintang, which has the support of all the traitors within the International Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam who seek to enslave or behead the Chinese working class movement.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat notes that the traitors cannot keep the masses from striking while they work under such intolerable conditions. Therefore, in order to control the workers they reluctantly respond to mass pressure and put forth demands, mouth revolutionary phrases, and try to enroll greater numbers of workers into these fake unions. In this manner they hope: (1) to reduce the influence of the All-China Federation of Labor, and (2) to cheat the workers when strikes do arise by compromising with the employers, destroying their solidarity and splitting their ranks and sending them back to work defeated.

These are all methods used by every traitor throughout the history of the trade union movement, many of whom have been kicked out of the trade union movement in other countries or whose leadership is now seriously challenged by the growing number of militant workers.

The P. P. T. U. S. is glad to note that the All-China Federation of Labor has realized the urgent need for greater activity in the various yellow unions in order to protect the interests of the toiling and enslaved masses, and to build up real industrial unions with an honest leadership. To overcome these traitors the closest possible contact with the membership of the unions is necessary. The Plenum will reaffirm its struggle for better conditions in every workshop and factory, supporting and fighting for the immediate demands of the workers no matter how small they may be.

The P. P. T. U. S. emphasizes that, in order to give the workers the broadest possible basis for their activity, and to enable them to control their own affairs, to build up their own unions and leadership and to drive the

traitors from the working class movement, greater stress should be given to the need for factory committees.

Compulsory arbitration and guarantees cannot be enforced when the workers, the rank and file, are conscious of the cheating policy of the traitors of the Kuomintang within the yellow unions. So these questions must not be approached mechanically, but by constant propaganda and organizational work among the rank and file members, rather than seeking to obtain official positions in these yellow unions.

Organization of unions where none exist, strengthening the Seamen's and Railroad Workers' Federations and other unions affiliated to the All-China Federation of Labor is absolutely necessary—Organization of the Unorganized is the slogan. In this way we shall overcome the traitors and build up real trade unions as the real way to save the Chinese revolution.

In the International trade union movement the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat has achieved successes.

Our various activities have aroused the imperialists and their reformist traitors in the "Amsterdam International", and the International Labor Office of the League of Nations have become more active against the P. P. T. U. S. The imperialists are using the I. L. O. and the "Amsterdam International" to betray the workers of the Far East, to prevent the workers and peasants from fighting for independence from British and other imperialists, and to subdue the workers so as to reduce our opposition to growing war danger, and our support for the only Worker's State, the U. S. S. R.

To accomplish this, Albert Thomas, head of the I. L. O. made a visit to the Far East. During this visit he, assisted by Suzuki, the agent of the Tanaka Government in the Japanese trade union movement, and a few of the Indian bourgeoisie, who have obtained official positions with the Indian trade unions, endeavored to organize a Pan-Asiatic Labor Conference. For years they have tried to induce the Indian Trade Union Congress to join Amsterdam, but so far have not succeeded.

These are the same reformist betrayers who refuse to assist the Chinese trade unions and encouraged imperialist attacks on the Chinese people from 1925 to 1927. Now they hope to attack the organized Oriental workers with the bait of an "Asiatic" Labor Conference. But so far not much success has been made,

although every effort must be made to warn the workers of the designs of this treacherous gang who have countless times betrayed the European workers as they did the British miners in 1926.

Any endeavors which are made to induce the organized Chinese workers to align themselves with such a movement must be met with an unanimous voice against the murderers of the workers of Shameen, Wanhsien, Shanghai, Nanking and Tsinan. Remember this movement is a maneuver of the European running dogs of imperialism, the least success of which represents a great danger to the trade union movement of the Far East, a danger to the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples for independence, and is primarily intended to prepare for war against the U. S. S. R.

We must develop inter-communication and organizational relations between the various affiliated organizations as a means of developing international solidarity, during strikes and revolutionary struggles. Especially must this be done between China and other colonial countries. We must also bring the organized left wing workers of imperialist countries into direct contact with the organized colonial and semi-colonial workers and peasants. In this way the workers of imperialist countries will be able to obtain information first-hand of the conditions of the horribly exploited workers existing under imperialist exploitation, so as to prepare the workers of all countries for joint action against the common enemy.

Rest assured that every effort will be made to organizationally strengthen the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, bringing every trade union bordering the Pacific Ocean within our movement. This is the only way to challenge the treacherous efforts of the European imperialist agents, as well as their Asiatic dupes and allies.

Again wishing you the greatest possible success in your work of dealing with problems of such importance to the Chinese working class, which we feel sure will result in strengthening the All-China Labor Federation.

Long live the All-China Federation of Labor!

Long live the Chinese Revolution!
THE PAN-PACIFIC TRADE
UNION SECRETARIAT.

(Signed) Chairman: SOU CHAO-JEN,
Secretary: EARL BROWDER.

Shanghai, February 20, 1929.

For Workers in the U. S. A.; and Those
Abroad Interested in Their Struggles

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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.