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Secretariat**



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# Pan-Pacific Labor Directory

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

## AUSTRALIA

Australasian Council of Trade Unions; C. Crofts,  
Secretary. Trades Hall, Melbourne, Victoria.

## CHINA

All-China Labor Federation; Sou Chao-jen, Chairman.

## ENGLAND

National Minority Movement; Tom Mann, President.  
Harry Pollitt, Secretary; 38 Gt. Ormond St., Lon-  
don, W. C. I.

## FRANCE

Confederacion Generale du Travail, G. Monmousseau,  
Secretary. 142 Rue Montmartre, Paris, France.

## INDIA

All-India Trade Union Congress; N. M. Joshi, General  
Secretary. Servants of India Society's Home,  
Girgaon, Bombay 4, India.

## INDONESIA

Indonesian Labor Federation, Batavia, Java.

## JAPAN

Nippon Rodokuimai Hyogikai; R. Noda, Chairman;  
Shima-ku Mita, Shikokumachi 2-5, Tokyo.

Toitsu Domei (Trade Union Unity League.) 18 Nic-  
home, Minamisakumacho, Shiba, Tokyo.

## KOREA

Korean Labor Federation; Seoul, Korea.

## PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Congreso Obrero de Filipinas; Hilario Barroga, Presi-  
dent; Domingo Ponce, Secretary; Antonio Ora,  
Treasurer; C. Evangelista, Organization Secretary,  
Manila, P. I.

Philippine Confederation of Peasants; J. G. Manahan,  
President; Emilio Amago, Acting Secretary, 700  
Avenue Rizal, or P. O. Box, 849, Manila, P. I.

## UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS (USSR)

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

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Trade Union Educational League; W. Z. Foster,  
Secretary; 2 West 15th St., New York City.

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全世界工人團結起來!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

太平洋工會秘書廳

# The Pan-Pacific Monthly

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Managing Editor ..... Harrison George

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

Editors:

EARL BROWDER (*America*)

TENG TSUNG-HSIA (*China*)

SOU CHAO-JEN (*China*)

J. S. GARDEN (*Australia*)

A. KAVASAKI (*Japan*)

M. APLETIN (*U.S.S.R.*)

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## Discuss! Elect Delegates!

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.

### AGENDA

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.

### PREPARATIONS

Organizations should prepare for the Congress by: (1) Wide and thorough discussion of the Agenda among the membership; (2) formulation of proposals upon Agenda; (3) overcoming all technical difficulties and sending delegates to arrive at Vladivostock well before August 1, 1929. Act at once!

PAN-PACIFIC TRADE UNION SECRETARIAT.

## AN OFFERING OF THE KUOMINTANG TO MR. ALBERT THOMAS



The head of a worker, a member of the All-China Labor Federation, murdered by the Kuomintang and the head hung in a basket from a tree in the streets of Shanghai. When Mr. Thomas, chief of the Labor Office of the League of Nations, recently visited China and the Far East to help the reformist traitors—Suzuki of Japan, and Joshi of India—to organize an Asiatic Labor Federation against the P. P. T. U. S., he said in a speech at Shanghai, where such gruesome proof hung before his eyes: "The Kuomintang and the International Labor Office have the same purposes."

## Brief Notes on Current Events

THE workers of the whole world must rush to the assistance of their striking brothers of Bombay and to the rescue of the Indian Trade Union leaders imprisoned under charge of conspiring "to deprive the (British) King Emperor of his sovereignty of British India". At last reports, 150,000 Bombay textile workers, led by the left-wing union of 65,000 members, had again opened a struggle for their economic demands denied them by the Fawcett Commission which was put up by the Anglo-Indian government to defeat the former six-months' strike and, with the aid of the reformist union of 8,000, to trick the masses into class collaboration with their exploiters.

It is to be noted that the arrests of the left-wing trade union leaders were made to synchronize with the Fawcett Commission report and thus both are a part of the general imperialist assault on the Indian proletariat and its genuine trade unions. The workers have clearly understood this, and their strike is fundamentally against British imperialism. Many railway workers have joined in the strike in protest against the anti-labor terror of the government. The Girni Kamgar Union, closed by the police when its President, A. Alwe, and Secretary, S. A. Dange, were arrested, has been reopened, revolutionary workers elected to take their places, and the struggle re-opened which was halted only a half-year ago after a heroic six months' strike in which the workers showed their courage to endure the deepest accentuation of the chronic starvation they suffer when working.

Now, the Fawcett Commission Report justifies wage cuts, the mill bosses refuse to reinstate victimized unionists, the government arrests the union officials and transports them to distant Meerut to stand trial before a known anti-labor and pro-British judge, while the reformists, Joshi, Bakhale and others make an agreement with the bosses and the government for a joint attack on the revolutionary wing of the trade unions.

The heroic Bombay workers have accepted the challenge and taken the offensive. Every workers' organization of the Pacific area and of the world must rally the masses to support

morally, but still more materially, these vanguard fighters of the Indian proletariat. The 31 Meerut defendants must also be defended. **Act, and act swiftly!** Messages of protest and solidarity may be sent to "Girni Kamgar Union, Konjad Building, Parel, Bombay, India". Since British imperialism forbids and seizes any funds sent from abroad to aid Indian labor, funds either for relief of the Bombay strikers or for the Meerut defense, clearly **specifying for which purpose**, may be sent to the "International Secretariat, League Against Imperialism, Berlin S.W. 48, Friedrichstrasse 24, Germany" with assurance of safe delivery; or remittance to any section of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

\* \* \*

THE Nehru Report, the request of the Congress Party for a dominion status for India, has received fitting reply from the British government. In the Legislative Assembly, Crerar reported on the recent arrests in an exaggerated propaganda "anti-red" speech justifying British tyranny. At the close, Pandit Motilal Nehru moved to discuss the motives of the Governor-General in ordering the 31 arrests.

The President of the Assembly agreed, but during a recess, the British Viceroy, with his prerogative powers, issued an order which gagged the Assembly, vetoed the decision of its President and forbid discussion. The dictator said "No!" and discussion stopped. Thus the Legislative Assembly is exposed as a toy given the Indian bourgeoisie to be taken away if petulantly (but ineffectively) cast at the despotism of the British crown.

Another incident of like nature took place on the Public Safety Bill (See No. 26 Pan-Pacific Monthly) which the government desired passed by the Assembly. The President again disagreed on passing it without discussion, but the native lackeys of imperialism, for one reason or another, opposed discussion—thus aiding in suppressing the native workers—and the vote to close discussion carried.

Then the dictator Viceroy, reports state, "declared a state of emergency exists" and that the Public Safety Bill becomes effective without the sanction of this miserable fake of an



### SOHAN SINGH JOSH

Former President of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India; President of the Young Indian League, and one of the 31 arrested on the Meerut Indictment.

Indian parliament. The British may as well dissolve the Assembly and have done with the farce—thus giving legal form to its contemptuous rejection of the servile plea of the Indian bourgeoisie for "dominion" status.

\* \* \*

**W**HILE the Indian bourgeoisie meekly bows its neck to the British yoke, and the Bombay workers are fighting it with gaunt determination, reports state that bloody conflict has broken out between Hindu and Moslem in the strike area. Unquestionably, this is deliberately provoked by British agents to divide the workers.

In the February riots, which gave an excuse for the British to throw troops armed with machine-guns and tanks into the streets and fire upon the masses, the result was 137 dead and 783 wounded. It is highly significant that the very left-wing leaders now imprisoned on false charges of "violence, murder" and what-not, in the February riots appealed for peace and unity between Hindu and Muselman in a circular which said:

"It is apparent that the enemies of both the workers of all communities

seem to be at the bottom of the mischief. Therefore, all attacks, all rumors and incitement should cease. If this is not done, all the unity and fortitude we have evinced to safeguard our wages and our rights, our homes and our children, and the brave fighters we have trained, will be sacrificed. Everyone must go to work. The Union will look after your homes."

\* \* \*

**R**EAL fighters for Indian independence are not yielding ground before the arrests and terror of British imperialism. At Allahabad, 500 new members joined the Young Indian League. Jawaharlal Nehru presided at the meeting of the League which planned to defend the officers of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

Incidentally, the charge of the Meerut indictment, that the Workers' and Peasants' Party, the trade unions and the Youth League, are all a part of the Communist International, is so much nonsense. Whoever heard of the Communist International admitting trade union affiliation? Neither would it admit mixed class political parties such as the Workers' and Peasants' Party of India, but neither it nor that Party favor individual terrorism as a tactic, as the capitalist press propaganda infers in an effort to poison opinion against the arrested leaders of Indian labor.

The meeting of the Young Indian League referred to above, correctly characterized and answered the attack by the following resolution:

"This meeting of Naujwan Bhart Saba (Young Indian League) congratulates Comrades Kidarnath Sangal, Abdul Majid, Sohan Singh Josh and others, on their arrests under Section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code, and believes that the government's policy of repression was meant to crush the Labor and Youth movement. The meeting, accepting the challenge offered by the government, assures those arrested that they will leave no stone unturned to fulfill their mission."

\* \* \*

**T**HE second world congress of the League Against Imperialism will take place at Paris, opening on July 20, and will last approximately 10 days. The general, and various special reports, will be discussed.

So far, the League reports that 250 delegates have assured their presence; including 10 from India; 15 from Indonesia; 10 from Latin America and 15 from Negro organizations. The Philippine Labor Party recently affiliated.

The necessity of trade union organizations, particularly from the colonial countries, attending the congress and making their participation active, is obvious from the viewpoint of united and effective struggle for the ends of the League and the trade unions as well.

\* \* \*

THE band of murderous thieves collectively described as "the powers", have raised the "embargo on arms to China" which was previously the ineffective method each used to prevent the other arming its particular Chinese militarist. It is significant that the United States alone declares it will "maintain" the embargo on arms to China except shipments authorized by the Nanking "government"—which is Wall Street's ward, just as the U. S. aided the present Mexican government.

This clearly shows a sharpening of the danger of the new world war, with its focal point in the Pacific area.

By this arms embargo business, the great rival imperialisms of England and America clearly challenge each other to fight it out for control of China, the only disguise being that, so far, the fighting forces are Chinese on both sides. That a British prince at this particular moment visited Japan to kneel at the feet of an ill-begotten despot who sits on the shaky throne of Japan, only proves that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is re-established in preparation for appeal to arms on a wider scale by these powers against the onrush of America in the Far East.

Concurrently, the Chinese battlefields resound with the clash of arms. In Kwangtung, where Canton generals play both ends against the middle, 100,000 troops of the Kwangsi (British) clique are battling 70,000 defenders whose commanders are "loyal" to the highest bidder. In central China, Feng Yu-hsiang, wily but desperate, consolidates his army for defense and provokes Chiang Kai-shih by minor violences on the Hupeh-Honan border.

Whereupon, Chiang asks him "What do you mean by that?" and sends troops of Fang Chen-fu and Tang Shen-chi southward through Tsinan-fu against Feng's position in

Honan. Which in turn allows the crafty Manchurian Sun Chuan-fang to rush troops south on the Tientsin-Mukden line and others towards Peking from Jehol, whether to aid or attack Yen Hsi-shan the reader can guess for himself.

But this is not all of the picture. And we must sharply contradict the mistaken idea that the Chinese labor and peasant movement and the genuine anti-imperialist revolution based on the workers and peasants have "faded out" or "disappeared". On the contrary, the struggle is rising in ever wider and deeper tides.

This is shown statistically in the reports of the Chinese press on the White Terror during January and February and by numerous strike conflicts and struggles. The "China Herald" for April, shows the official figures on the White Terror (and one must add a great many more not officially reported) to be, for the two first months of this year, as follows:

Arrested, 3,379; executed, 1,648; Red Army soldiers killed in battle, 5,120.

In spite of the efforts of the Nanking butchers to pretend friendship to labor with the "proposed" factory laws Nanking never intends to enforce, the Chinese workers are rising to ever greater struggle against it, its yellow unions and the imperialism it represents. No terror can abolish the Red Unions which are winning the workers, and neither will this deceptive trick stop the advance of the All-China Labor Federation.

In Peiping, Tientsin and vicinity, open demonstrations and strikes are occurring, with considerable masses involved in militant action. Reports state that 7,000 miners have struck at the Kailan Administrative Mines at Tangshan. The British consul, of course, intervened with demands for the arrest of "Communists". In Shanghai, recently published figures show that in the first 9 months of 1928, there were in Shanghai alone, 175 strikes involving 233,431 workers and 6,340 establishments.

We assure world labor that the militant spirit of the Chinese workers, hundreds of whose leaders each month are shot, strangled, beheaded or tortured to death, is nevertheless rising with magnificent heroism against imperialist exploitation and its murderous tool, the Kuomintang.

\* \* \*

GREAT secrecy surrounds the recent arrest in Japan of 300 more workers and students charged with having "dangerous

thoughts". Scores of students have been expelled from universities around which a continual riot of protest rages. Evidently the 2,000,000 yen appropriated in March last year to combat "dangerous thoughts", and the wholesale arrests made at that time, was not enough. In the present year's budget another 1,500,000 yen was provided, and 300 more arrests made, each head containing "dangerous thoughts" costing, at this ratio, a cool 5,000 yen.

It is very difficult, when one looks at a head, to identify it as holding "dangerous thoughts", so the Japanese police, who cannot solve the unemployment problem, or any other problem which generates such thoughts, have struck upon the idea of finger-printing the possessor of a head suspected of containing "dangerous thoughts" and trace later cogitational processes to those digital impressions.

One more method of "thought control" reveals the traitorous role of the reformists, the same ones who are fighting the P. P. T. U. S. This is admitted in the "Japanese Chronicle" as follows:

"The repressive measures adopted by the authorities in Kagawa prefecture against radicals were most stringent. At the cost of the prefecture, men of note belonging to **Right organizations**, were engaged for giving lectures before the assemblages of villagers in different districts, while taking rigorous repressive measures against the local radicals. The police report regarding the results of these measures, has it that there has been a marked change in the ideas of the farmers in the prefecture."

Clearly, Bunji Suzuki and his clique are acting as agents of Baron Tanaka in this as in his Asiatic trade union scheme. We again warn all trade unionists of the Pacific area that this right-wing gang of police agents and spies are fostering a situation they hope to stabilize throughout Asia.

The Japanese police last year sent their agents to Shanghai, Harbin, Berlin, London, New York and elsewhere, to study how best to suppress the labor movement at home, meanwhile Suzuki and his friends cooked up their plan, assisted by Mr. Albert Thomas of the League of Nations' Labor Bureau, to halt the growing influence of the P. P. T. U. S., by trying to form an opposition "Asiatic Labor Movement".

They will not succeed, but they must be fought against. Those who are in league with the police must never be allowed to speak, unexposed as to their treachery, in the name of labor. And big delegations from every Asiatic country to the Vladivostock, August 1 Congress of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat will be a fitting reply to Suzuki's schemes.

\* \* \*

**T**HE Yokohama tramway strike (See No. 26) lasted only two days and failed to benefit the strikers because their reformist leaders accepted the chief of police as "mediator". The Hyogikai, which is affiliated to the P. P. T. U. S., opposed the terms this "mediator" offered and fought to extend the strike to Tokio and deepen it.

In the Yokohama dockyard strike also, the reformist leaders led the workers into a disastrous compromise and committed the gravest crime against labor solidarity by forbidding all young workers from joining the strike. The small concessions gained will be found to be insecure so long as militancy and unity are lacking.

The Tokio bus-drivers and street-car men, united on the same policy, are, at last report, engaged in a "go-slow" strike after a refusal of their demands. Newspapers state that the income of the bus lines are reduced 50 per cent.

The strike of 2,500 workers, mostly women, of the Tokio Muslin Company, continues since April 4, over a tricky profit-sharing system. This strike has shown considerable militancy, considering that the boss has divided them physically, some of the women being (as is the custom in Japanese factories) held as prisoners in the factory dormitories where they normally live a slave's existence, while police guards keep their comrades outside from contact. Songs, cheers and shouted slogans maintain the solidarity of both groups, and indicate the courage with which Japanese labor will yet smash their way to power.

\* \* \*

**S**PEAKING at Canterbury, England, Lord Cushenden, British "disarmament" representative at Geneva, last month stated: "The idea that there is danger of war is all bunkum and bosh." And Premier Baldwin stated, "Britain has given practical proof of its desire for world peace by reducing armaments."

If we lay aside the Geneva farce and look at only a few figures we see that Britain had

a peace-time army in 1923 of 329,000, in 1929, of 385,000; in 1923, 385 fighting airplanes, in 1929, 850; cruisers, 48 in 1923, 55 in 1929; carriage machine guns to each division, 24 in 1914, 192 in 1929.

We will not now cite any of the similar figures for the United States, but only ask any sensible person to remember that the U. S. Congress passed the bill for 15 new cruisers the same week it ratified the Kellogg Pact, and to read the following quotation from the *San Francisco News* of May 4, which appeared under the meaningful title "Ace in Hole":

"In a small safe in an office at 112 Market street reposes America's chemical warfare preparations for the Pacific Coast. Within an hour, through the contents of that safe, a hundred San Francisco factories would be transformed into arsenals and generators of munitions products and war gasses. Inside the safe are the contracts made between the United States chemical warfare procurement district and San Francisco industrialists."

These are the imperialist conspirators against world peace whom pacifist fools and traitorous reformists ask labor to believe are "fighting against war". Moreover, definite preparations for war on the Soviet Union, the only nation which offers honest disarmament proposals, are being speeded up by the imperialist powers.

On March 20 the Swedish ship "Libau" entered Danzig with a cargo of explosives. On March 21 the big British ship "Farnham" landed 192 tons of cordite from Philadelphia, the Polish navy is being increased, while the Polish port of Gdynia is being improved in a way that will serve as a British naval base in a war on the Soviet Union. The same with the Danzig harbor, where the French general Le Rond is given control, and Le Rond is known to be intriguing for an anti-Soviet bloc in Poland, Roumania, the Baltics and even in the Balkans. The workers of the Pacific must show by their actions in every country, and by strong delegations to the Vladivostock

Congress of the P. P. T. U. S., that they are standing by revolutionary world labor for a real fight on the war danger.

\* \* \*

**I**N 1872, a native Samoan chief is said to have "ceded" the harbor of Pago Pago to the United States. Pago Pago is on the island of Tutuila of the Samoan group. On February 19, 1900, President McKinley ordered the U. S. Navy to seize Tutuila Island and establish a naval administration. An officer of the navy took charge and made law by proclamation. Natives were arrested and sentenced to death by naval authorities. Even an American was persecuted and deported.

Now an act of the U. S. Congress has made these Samoan Islands an American colony and a civil administration will be established. This completes the seizure, and is done under the tragically ironic excuse that it was necessary to stop "undemocratic practices". First America obtains a "cession" by doubtful means, then sends in naval authority which summarily commits murderous acts of tyranny, then use these violent acts as an excuse for complete annexation.

"Why?" The answer is, that Pago Pago is one of the best-sheltered harbors in the South Pacific. A first class naval base there will be useful to the U. S. A. against England, allowing the U. S. Navy to operate constantly in Australasian waters.

\* \* \*

**T**HE Trade Union Unity Convention called by the Trade Union Educational League of the U. S. A., the affiliate to the P. P. T. U. S., for June 1, has been postponed to allow for better preparation, as the responses for the organization of a new militant trade union center has, in initial stages of work been proven so great that not all possible responsive sentiment could be organized to attend the convention in the time allowed. The date now tentatively set to be confirmed later is August 31. This indicates that the left-wing trade union movement is progressing on a sound preparatory basis.

# A Call to Action

## *Rally to the Support of the Indian Trade Union Movement*

**F**ELLOW Workers: For over a century and a half Indians have fought against the exploiting and oppressive British rule. To continue their rule, foreign British tyrants for generations kept Indians divided, by engendering strife between castes and communities. Whenever they failed, British armed forces have always mercilessly massacred the protesting Indians.

The wholesale slaughter of 1,500 innocent workers and peasants at Amritsar is fresh in our memory; the shooting of the textile workers by Ramsay MacDonald's Labor Government in 1924; the killing of Lala Lajpat Rai, the Indian Nationalist leader, and other workers who dared to protest against the insolence of the British Simon Commission; and many other recent murders committed by the cruel assassins of British imperialism, only indicates the bloody path of the struggling Indian workers and peasants.

In recent years the centre of the struggle against British rule has correctly shifted towards the working class. The intolerable lives of the workers in the factories, mines, mills, etc., owned by such savage British exploiters of the Far East as the Sassoons, have forced them to resist. They formed their trade unions, which have recently developed at an unprecedented pace. New leaders have sprung up, and the workers have, under their guidance, fought against inflicted brutalities, which have endured far too long.

The British imperialists know that once the workers of India are organized into mighty trade unions, further develop their own conscious leadership and fight against starvation wages, intolerably long hours, unsanitary workshop conditions, brutalities of British foremen and administrators, child labor and underground work for women, for better housing accommodation, illiteracy, etc., nothing can stop them fighting for absolute independence.

Whatever reforms have been reluctantly given have all been rendered ineffective and

counteracted by other iniquitous measures. No franchise for the workers and peasants. Indian representation in the Legislative Council is limited, and legislation opposed to British interests, which should happen to obtain a majority vote, can be vetoed by appointees of the Indian Office in London; therefore, Indian representation is a mockery and a farce. The masses of workers and peasants have no other alternative than to organize into powerful trade and peasant unions, as a preliminary step in the fight against economic, political and social impositions that are resulting in pauperism, disease and death to many millions.

Because the workers and peasants have begun to fight against these conditions, British imperialists have launched a new attack. Once more the struggling Indian workers and peasants are confronted with a reign of terror. The new offensive of the British Government is nation-wide. In Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Poona, Allahabad, etc., homes of officials of the labor movement have been raided, labor papers suppressed, offices of the trade unions and working class political parties have been ransacked and records stolen, by British detectives and their hirelings. Over 120 warrants are issued for arrests in Bombay alone, and already 31 of the best leaders of the Indian trade unions have been flung into filthy British jails in India.

Besides alleged members of the Communist Party, among those already arrested are S. H. Jhabwalla, General Secretary of the Bombay Trades Council and the Railwaymen's Union (Jhabwalla also holds posts in many other smaller trade unions); S. A. Dange, General Secretary of the Bombay Textile Workers' Union and an official of the Indian Trade Union Congress; Dharamvir Singh, Vice-President of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, and a member of the Legislative Council as a representative for the independence movement; J. C. Joshi, Secretary of the Youth Movement for the United Provinces and Spratt, a young En-

glishman who has acted in an advisory capacity to the Indian labor movement for the last three years. The latter is also editor of the official paper of the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

In answer to questions in the British House of Commons, Earl Winterton, the Secretary of State for India, replied that this new offensive was taken "with the full assent (instructions) of the Secretary of State for India," and that these workers are charged with a "conspiracy to deprive the King of Sovereignty over India."

The offensive has been carefully planned, for all raids took place simultaneously. The warrants were issued by the District Magistrate of Meerut, which means the victims will be tried where hardly any trade union movement exists. This is an attempt, in the first place, to deprive the masses of any first-hand knowledge of the Star Chamber proceedings which are obviously being prepared for the forthcoming trial. If the trials took place in Bombay or Calcutta, these British despots fear that direct action would be used by the masses in protest against this capitalist conspiracy to rush their leaders to prison for long terms. But the workers will answer them, for already 20,000 textile workers have struck in protest at Bombay, and it is reported that many other workers have called protest strikes throughout India.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat hails this courageous action of the Indian workers as the correct reply to this terrible offensive. This is a sure sign of ultimate victory for the Indian workers and peasants. All trade unionists in every country must assist organized labor in India to beat back the enemy. This is a struggle for the right to organize. It is a fight for freedom of speech and assembly, not only in India, but in every colonial and semi-colonial country. We must have no democratic illusions, for victory will be won by the strong determination of the Indian workers and peasants in a fight to a finish, assisted by the international working class.

We warn the Indian workers against the vacillating compromisers such as N. M. Joshi of the Executive Indian T.U.C., for it

was he who attempted to barter away victory and to split the striking textile workers in the last big dispute. With Comrade Dange in prison, N. M. Joshi will try to regain his lost prestige, and destroy the fighting forces of the Girni Kamgar Union (Textile Workers' Union), which has now the largest membership of any union in India.

Remember, also, that those arrested were actively opposing the formation of Albert Thomas' I.L.O. Amsterdam Asiatic "Labor" Conference. The P.P.T.U.S. has already warned the organized Indian and other workers against the organized attempt to internationally isolate the Asiatic workers. This maneuver is also a fight against the P.P.T.U.S. This proposed conference has the endorsement of the British imperialists and all their lackeys, the Labor imperialists of the British General Council and the Labor Party. The Secretary of State for India who ordered these arrests will not prevent delegates arriving in India for such a hybrid conference. With most of the best trade union and labor leaders in prison, their I.L.O.-Amsterdam Conference is but another way to get a stranglehold upon Indian workers and peasants. To be forewarned is to be forearmed.

Rally to the oppressed trade unionists of India! Help them win this fight! Every affiliated organization and every member of the P.P.T.U.S. must regard this fight as our fight. The Indian workers can win with our united assistance. Hold protest meetings. Collect money for the defense of our imprisoned fellow-workers. Dock workers and seamen, prepare to use united action against the British imperialists. Prepare to boycott British shipping. Rally to the P.P.T.U.S. call for international action. Down with British despotism! Free the imprisoned trade union and labor leaders! Long live the Indian trade union movement!

For the PAN-PACIFIC TRADE  
UNION SECRETARIAT.

Acting Chairman: HONG CHUNG-TSE.

Joint Secretary: M. APLETIN.

March 23, 1929.

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*In our next issue: Feature articles on the Philippines and Australia; the life and work of Sou Chao-jen.*

# The Youth Problem and the P. P. T. U. S.

By A YOUNG WORKER OF SHANGHAI

**D**ESPITE the attention and energy devoted to the building of militant trade unionism by the unions of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, one field offering great potentialities still lies neglected. The organization of the working youth, its mobilization into the fighting front of the P.P.T.U.S., has not only not been realized, but indeed has not been attempted to any appreciable extent.

Records of the conferences and plenums of the organizations show that their discussions of labor conditions and organization of the young workers have been general in character and indefinite in their conclusions. Such decisions as have been taken have not been the subject for vigorous action. The organ of the P.P.T.U.S. has not given any bold or sustained lead. The individual organizations have shown little appreciation of the need for special measures to deal with youth questions. Such indifference to the needs and interests of a large section of the working class must be radically changed—and that speedily.

Whether or not the militant unions of the P.P.T.U.S. have recognized the fact and made it the basis for well-considered action, a sharp "Youth Problem" exists for the P.P.T.U.S. and its individual sections. Faced by the intensifying imperialist oppression and, through rationalization, by fiercer exploitation, the youth in the Pacific area are deeply discontented.

## Youth Discontent Fundamental

On more than one occasion, this deep discontent has welled over into fierce battle against imperialist domination and exploitation, rising at times to such heroic heights as in the Indonesian rebellion and the well-known part played by the young workers in the Chinese revolution. That these were not merely temporary, isolated waves of youth revolt, is shown by the severity and persistence of the measures taken by the individual governments against the youth.

Japan has its "Law Against Dangerous Thoughts", in the operation of which it spends huge sums, without in the slightest stopping the growth of militant sentiment among the youth. The Indian press and politicians alternate between cajolery and threats to curb and control the youth movement there. In each country of the Pacific region, capitalism is compelled, on the one hand to take measures to destroy the growing and militant youth organizations, and on the other to institute fake sports and cultural organizations, "juvenile affairs boards" and the like, to deceive and conciliate the young workers.

In this latter, they have the wholehearted support of the reformists. For so long as the working class youth were apathetic and the adult working class indifferent to their interests, these reformist leaders betrayed the youth and left them entirely to the mercy of the capitalists, doing nothing whatsoever to defend or advance their condition. With the growth of class consciousness among the young workers, a new position is taken by these gentlemen.

## Reformists Awake to Change

Their policy is no longer one of contemptuous neglect of the young workers, but rather one of spreading the reformist net to catch within it the young workers, so to make possible control of the movement of the youth, infusing their minds with reformist ideology, but all the while betraying their real interests and preventing an effective united front of the young with the adult workers.

An example may be cited from Japan, where the young workers formed their organizations in the Social-Democratic movement despite the opposition of the leaders, but where these leaders quickly changed their attitude from open hostility into taking the youth organizations under their lead for discipline and control. But even so, Suzuki and Company

find their ward a lusty infant, kicking mightily against adult reformist control and policy.

The brutal exploitation of youth and child labor has long been notorious in India, China, Japan and other Eastern countries. The pressure of world competition and the advent of rationalization in these countries is marked by a general worsening of labor conditions. One of its specific and most characteristic features is the wholesale displacement of adult labor by the so-much-cheaper labor of youths and children. Australia and New Zealand are also affected by this tendency.

Thus rationalization is having the effect of increasing the relative weight of youth in industry and consequently, also, the role of the young workers in the working class and its movement. More and more it becomes true that, without the wholehearted support of the young workers and their participation in strike movements, these movements cannot be successful. The problem, therefore, for the P.P.T.U.S. is: How to rally the masses of young workers behind the banner of the P.P.T.U.S., into active support and membership?

#### Special Measures Necessary

Experience in Europe and America proves that it requires very special measures. From this experience, the unions of the P. P. T. U. S. will do well to draw. One can only hope that the coming Congress of the P. P. T. U. S. will add to its value by an earnest consideration of this problem, and if this article will turn the minds of our members into a better treatment of this question, then it will have served a very useful purpose.

From the experience of the militant unions of the West in organizing young workers, the following can serve as a basis for discussion:

1—The unions must throw open their ranks to ordinary membership for young workers from the age at which they enter industry. In consideration of the lower wages of the youth, facilities in lower entrance fees and dues must be granted. Only by granting, also, youth members full rights of voice and vote in the union can their interest and activity be secured.

2—It is not sufficient merely to throw open the ranks to the young workers. Their special interests and psychology demand also special forms of youth organization within the union. Some special forms found to be successful in experience are the following:

(a) **Youth Sections:** All youth members to be formed into a youth section of each union branch, with organizational autonomy for the special purpose of facilitating discussion of questions relative to youth conditions and organization, and to organize educational, cultural and sporting activity on a working class basis to increase the attachment of the youth to the union.

(b) **Youth Committees:** Each Youth Section to have its Youth Committee, elected by the members of the Section, for leadership of its activities. Parallel with the city, district and national committees of the union itself, the formation of Youth Committees, elected by the Youth Sections for co-ordination and development of their work.

(c) **Youth Representatives:** On each branch, factory, district and national committee, of the union, the young members to have their elected representative with full rights, functioning to ensure adequate consideration by these committees of youth questions.

(d) **Youth Conferences:** To gain expression of the young workers on questions of youth policy, and on wider questions, e.g., the attitude of the union to the war danger, conferences of the young members, occasionally extended to include also the unorganized workers, should be held. The youth to be represented with full powers in all union conferences.

(e) **Youth Programs:** Based on the actual conditions of the youth in industry and according to their best interests, each union should formulate a Youth Program of Demands. This program to be the policy around which the young workers are organized and the basis on which the union fights the employers in defense of the interests of the young workers.

(f) **Youth Strike Participation:** In all strike movements a united front of the young workers and apprentices, with the adult workers, must be encouraged. The demands of the youth must be included in the general demands upon the employers, and around these demands the young workers won to participation in the strikes. The young workers should have their elected representative on the Strike Committee. (It was a big mistake of the Yokohama dock strike that not only were the young workers not included in the demands of the strikers, but they were left at work by the wish of the strikers, meanwhile

probably carrying on, against their will, scab work at the dictation of the foremen).

The coming congress of the P. P. T. U. S. must consider the question of youth organization, clearly define its attitude, and give a bold lead to all affiliated organizations. But it is not necessary for the affiliated organizations to wait until the congress before taking action—the question is too urgent for that. A beginning can be made immediately along the following lines:

1—Commence a campaign for youth organization, employing all possible means; youth meetings, leaflets addressed to the youth, publicity on the urgency of the question in union journals, etc.

2—Enroll for this campaign, the activities of the young members of the union, by calling special meetings of these young mem-

bers, where their numbers make possible the immediate formation of these members into a Youth Section; calling a conference of young members to discuss the conduct of the campaign and to draft a provisional program of youth demands, etc.

3—Take steps to remove all constitutional barriers to the entry into the union of young workers, and to the formation of Youth Sections, etc.

And, as a fitting supplement to these measures, at least the larger delegations to the coming congress of the P. P. T. U. S., should include a representative of the young workers. In this way, the congress will be enabled to give realistic attention to the important question of rallying the young workers of the Pacific area behind the banner of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

## Pretty Words Hide Ugly Facts

By M. WOJTKIEWICZ

*The workers must always be on guard, not only against agents of the capitalists getting into the ranks of their trade unions, but also against capitalist ideas getting into their own heads. Often the latter is the result of the former. Reformist leaders, in the Pacific area as elsewhere, are trying to enchant the workers with pretty words. In Australia it is "Industrial Peace," in the United States it is "Worker-Management Co-operation," just as in Europe it is "Industrial Democracy." All fine words, but impossible of attainment without deep injury to the interest of the working class while the capitalist class owns industry and rules the government. Only in the Soviet Union are they both realized and of benefit to the workers. The following article from an European worker dealing with "Industrial Democracy" in Germany, is given as an important theoretical contribution.—EDITOR.*

"Industrial Democracy"—this is the last phrase, the latest acquirement, of post-war social-democratic wisdom. At two trade union congresses in Germany already the question of industrial democracy has been discussed. A whole literature has grown up on this question. Industrial democracy has become the subject of the sympathetic notice not only of the social-democrats, but of the bourgeois economists and publicists as well.

What is the essence of this industrial democracy? "Industrial democracy" is the payment on the bill of exchange given by the

social democratic leaders to the working masses. But the bill is drawn on socialism! Of course, it is a shady transaction, a forgery in fact, but that does not worry the leaders of reformism! Before the masses realize what is wrong, some time will have elapsed, and perhaps these same leaders will manage to think up something else. The point now is to secure a breathing space for capitalism.

But "industrial democracy" is not only a fraud designed to hoodwink the masses. Under its cover the trade union bureaucrats and leaders of social reformism enter the

boards and economic administrative bodies of capitalist undertakings and acquire very palpable benefits as a result, in the form of fairly solid salaries, bonuses and other perquisites. In this way, the trade union bureaucrats manage to keep their socialist virginity and at the same time acquire a nice nest-egg for themselves.

By thus depicting "industrial democracy" as the gateway to the kingdom of socialism (at some future time), the revisionists give body and soul to their idea of the concrescence or simultaneous growth of both socialism and capitalism. For, as T. Leipart, the head of trade union reformism in Germany, contends, industrial democracy means that "industry must not be the private affair of the employers, but the business of all in which the whole people are interested. Industrial democracy as we consider it means struggle against the omnipotence of the employers in capitalist economy." (1)

#### A Brand New Idea!

He then goes on to say: "Here there occurs a definite alienation of private property . . . and monopolistic capital becomes subject to the control on the one hand of the Government authorities and on the other of the trade unions. . . . We observe here a form of the socialization of private property. And we are enabled by wholesome and constant action to further the process, to extend this path of socialization, whereas up to now we have been of the belief that the socialization of private property is only possible as the result of political struggle." (2)

This, then is the theory of the peaceful and gradual socialization of industry which provides for the painless penetration of the trade union and State organs, step by step, without noise and without fighting, into control and management of capitalist enterprises.

Fritz Naphthali, the chief theoretician of "industrial democracy" and no less renowned as Hilferding's deputy in the post of Minister of Finance of the German government, develops the very same idea. "Industrial democracy," he writes, "is on the one hand a definite form of democracy, economic democracy, which, unlike political democracy,

serves as the complement of the latter; on the other hand it forms an industrial constitution, i.e., a democratic constitution of economy in contradistinction to economic anarchy. . . . The democratization of industry connotes the discarding of the rule of the employers and the transformation of the leading economic organs serving private capitalist interests into organs serving the interests of the whole of society."

Again he says: "The complete realization of economic democracy is only possible when the disposal and handling of the means of production devolves not on private persons but on the whole of society." (3)

#### Poisoning of Trade Unions

Naphthali's ideas are repeated practically word for word by a resolution of the last Hamburg Trade Union Congress, where we are told that "industrial democracy signifies the gradual discarding of the rule of the power of capital and the transformation of the leading organs of industry from organs representing capitalist interests into organs of the commonweal."

When the social-democrats talk about the present economic position as a period in which socialism merges with capitalism, one involuntarily recalls Lenin's words:

"Capitalism in its imperialist stage comes into contact with the socialization of production in its every aspect and, as it were, drags the capitalists, against their will and wish, into some new social order, one representing a transition from complete freedom of competition to complete socialization. Production becomes public, but the appropriation of its fruits remains private. The public means of production remain the private property of a small number of persons." (4)

The reformists joyfully accept the first part of the definition given by Lenin, while saying nothing about the second part, which cannot be separated from the first. They declare the objective pre-conditions to the realization of socialism to be the actual realization itself of socialism. They have, of course, not a word to say about the fact that the oppression of

(1) Th. Leipart: Auf dem Wege zur Wirtschafts-democratie, page 9.

(2) Ibid, page 17.

(3) Fr. Naphthali: Wirtschaftsdemokratie, pp. 14-15.

(4) Lenin: Collected Works, Vol. XIII, or "Imperialism," pp. 22-23, first English edition.

monopolistic capital can only be destroyed by revolution and that only then may one speak of the realization of socialism.

### Gradualism

The fact alone that monopolistic capitalist economy is acquiring the form of socialized production is sufficient for the reformists to call on all struggle. They hold that all that is needed is gradually but systematically to withdraw the capitalists from the utilization of this socialized production for their personal benefit. But to do that there is no need for revolution!

The democratization of the political order, the republican system, the democratic constitution, places in the hands of the working class, so say the reformists, the weapons necessary for the execution of this task. For does not the Weimar Constitution (German) of 1919 definitely state in Article 165:

"The workers and office employes are called on, on a footing of equality and in common with the employers, to co-operate both in the regulating of the conditions of labor and wages and in the general economic development of productive forces."

This article of the Weimar Constitution brings tears of gratitude to the eyes of the worshippers of "industrial democracy." It is referred to by Naphthali, by Leipart, by Tarnow and others, and thus an article of the Constitution which the legislators framed to smother the class consciousness of the workers and bind them to the chariot of the capitalist government is, in the opinion of the reformists, a means of bringing about "industrial democracy," of realizing socialism.

### Fake Socialism

During the war, owing to the lack of food-stuffs, the Central Powers and the countries under their rule made wide use of various substitutes instead of the natural food products previously used, these being known as "surrogat." The same thing has happened in the realm of ideas. Now the "industrial democracy" proclaimed by the reformists is, in its way, a substitute for socialism (Ersatzsozialismus).

But to get the masses to believe in this fake socialism it must be shown to them that socialism is actually being realized. Yet, where is this socialism in the process of realization to be found? Nowhere, in fact; but in the search for this socialism the social-democrats

make a plunge at all sorts of government, municipal, coöperative and even trade union industrial and trading enterprises (5) to exclaim: "Here it is, our long-awaited socialism!"

In Naphthali's book on "industrial democracy," in the editing of which he had the help of such leading lights of reformism as Hilferding, Eggert, Nerpel, Leipart, Tarnow and other professors, various forms of enterprises, differing little from the usual type of capitalist undertakings, carefully peep out from all corners of economic life to be held up as achievements leading us on to the realm of socialism.

But, after all, government enterprises have existed for a long time and nobody except a few bourgeois economists have even considered them small working models of socialism. The same may be said regarding the municipal, co-operative or trade union enterprises thus held up to our attention. But for its own aims, reformism has placed genuine socialism together with the "socialism" of the college professors. Marxism is here replaced once and for all by the "socialism" of the bourgeois economists.

This, of course, requires a final, complete and irrevocable change of attitude towards the State. Marx's teaching with regard to the State as an organ of the class rule of the bourgeoisie, has been substituted by a new conception: that the State is above all classes and represents the interests of the whole community.

### Revising Marx

And if the State does "now and again" apply a policy harmful to the masses of the people it is because the influence, say the reformists, of capitalism's representatives in its apparatus is still too great. It only requires getting more members into parliament, more deputies on the town councils, to penetrate the governmental institutions, form coalitions extending the influence of the "labor" elements in the running of the government, and everything will be lovely.

"Industrial democracy" in the field of economics fulfills the same task that political democracy does in the political field, that is, it clears the way for class collaboration with

(5) Editor's note: In the U.S.A. the trade union bureaucrats and other reformists give the workers "labor" banks, "labor" insurance companies, coöperative colonies, fantastic building co-operatives, in short, everything but class struggle trade unions.

the bourgeoisie and does away with all class struggle in the economic sphere. "Industrial democracy" is the logical and consistent culmination of that process of social-democracy which began on that memorable August 4, 1914.

Since "industrial democracy" must do away with the class struggle, according to these reformist ideas, it is also essential to discard all those working class institutions which, owing to their contact with the masses, might spoil the friendly work of the workers and their employers to "develop the productive forces of the country." On this point the attitude of the "industrial democrats" towards the factory committees is characteristic.

"Whereas at the Breslau Congress the factory committees were talked of as the spreaders of industrial democracy, there is today not a word of any such thing. The inclusion of the factory committees in the system of industrial democracy would be dangerous to the reformists, for the workers in the factories are more interested in the immediate improvement of working conditions than in the extension of capitalist rationalization and co-operation in the management of their factory in the name of 'industrial democracy.'" (6)

#### Cool Towards Factory Committees

Such a prospect is regarded with disfavor by the social-democrats. They therefore try in advance to prove that the factory committees are useless as organs of industrial democracy. "At the present time," writes Naphthali, "the Factory Councils are not carrying out the democratization of industry; they are only self-governing bodies in the factories, whose purpose is to see to the observance of collective agreements and the regulations laid down by law."

Then what, after all, is concealed under the loud-sounding slogan of "Industrial Democracy"? The social-democrats by mouthing it so often are merely trying to conceal their real efforts to harness the masses for the service of capitalism, and that is the real essence of the new theory of the social-reformists. In the name of "national interests" the working class are asked not to remain indifferent to the efforts of the capitalists to stabilize capitalism. On the contrary, the workers are asked to extend the capitalists the utmost support. As Naphthali writes:

"In democratizing industry, the immediate participation is necessary of the representatives of the workers in the business guidance of numerous industrial enterprises. Inside these enterprises the workers' representatives must not only control and hold a watching brief, but must co-operate and take part in the business guidance of the plants on an equal footing with the other members of the factory management."

#### "Why Be Poor?"

And that devoted supporter of Naphthali, Fritz Tarnow, pathetically exclaims: "Why be poor when beggary is not an economic necessity, but a social evil which can undoubtedly be cured within the framework of capitalist industry." (7) All that is needed, according to him, is to give scope to the development of the collectivist tendency penetrating modern industry, which he regards as given shape in capitalist combines and capitalist rationalization. The improvement of the organization of labor and technical rationalization will help to do away with poverty. These are the wonderful prospects Tarnow outlines for our edification.

Capitalist rationalization, carrying the exploitation of the workers to the utmost limit and throwing hundreds of thousands of them into unemployment is, for these "industrial democrats," an inseparable part of the work of "realizing socialism."

The idea of "industrial democracy" is not new. The Webbs in Britain were writing about it at the end of the last century. But its social essence has only recently been brought to light. It is only now, when the working class is directly confronted with the question of the inevitability of a revolutionary struggle for power, as the sole path to its economic and political freedom, that the idea of "industrial democracy" is being so ardently advocated by the social reformists.

But despite the "industrial democrats," the declarations and posturing of the reformists and their talk about the peaceful engraftment of socialism on to capitalism and of the victory of the socialist principle over the private capitalist principle in economic life, events take their course unheeding and unmindful of them. And events hold in store such tremendous and bitter class battles that the idea of industrial democracy and of peace in industry is foredoomed to utter failure.

(6) Ulbricht: "Wirtschaftsdemokratie, oder wohin steuert der A.D.G.B.?", pages 6-7.

(7) Fr. Tarnow: "Warum arm sein?", page 71.

# Australian Letter

By "PAN" (Sydney)

" . . . A man should love his work as the means of his subsistence and should be grateful to his employer for providing work. . . .

"Let every man endeavor to become an employer himself, and we shall have the best country in the world. . . .

"Picketing by strikers is to be strongly condemned as being against the natural law of justice. . . ."

—(Archbishop Kelly's views on the "Timber Dispute," as reported by the "Sydney Sun," 11, 3, '29.)

**T**HUS the church avows its open alliance with the press, the judiciary, parliament and all the other forces and instruments of the capitalist state on the side of the capitalist class against the working class.

**In the Timber Industry:** The employers wish to lengthen working hours, cut wages and worsen conditions generally. The capitalist Arbitration Court obliges its masters and decrees the abolition of the 44-hour week. Eight thousand workers are locked out with the intention of starving them and their families into submission. The capitalist state furnishes police to protect scabs; the press poisons "public opinion" against the workers; the capitalist courts issue penalty judgments against unions and leaders for defending the workers; capitalist Parliament not only sanctions all this, but even proceeds to rob the workers of the rest of their hard-won gains (basic wage, compensation, child endowment, etc.); and, the church crowns everything with its blessing.

And for all this, Archbishop Kelly tells us, "we should be grateful to our employers for providing work"! . . .

**In the Mining Industry:** The coal barons issue an ultimatum for lower wages; the miners refuse to accept; the mineowners lock out 12,000 workers. The capitalist state with its press, judiciary and Parliament again comes to the aid of the employers. Again the church bestows its blessing. And

again we are taught "to love our work as the means of our subsistence, and to be grateful to our employers for providing work. . . ."

## Timber Dispute

The "Timber Dispute" is in its eighth week. The struggle has developed both in scope and intensity. The timber workers are out to a man. Very few scabs have so far been recruited by the employers. The moral and financial aid to the fighting timber workers from the rest of the trade union movement is exemplary. Picketing has been so well organized and so effective that the capitalist press is frantic with rage over "this and other imported methods of struggle."

. . . Neither the heavy fines imposed by the capitalist courts nor the numerous prosecutions, nor the farcical "secret ballot" ordered by the Arbitration Court among the timber workers have in the least weakened the ranks of the fighting men.

As the struggle continues, the employers are adopting methods and tactics which will only intensify and extend the fight. And with every passing day it becomes clearer and clearer to every thinking worker that this is not only a fight of the Timber Workers alone, but of the whole working class of this country against a carefully planned general capitalist offensive.

How the employers regard this fight may be gleaned from the following facts:

The timber barons are attempting to intimidate the owners of those yards which are still working 44 hours a week. They go as far as offering to pay to such bosses the usual rate of profit, if only they will lock out the men and close their works. The Melbourne Chamber of Commerce (the initiator of the farcical Industrial Peace Conference), which is conducting the dispute for the employers, has declared a boycott on all timber coming from "white yards" which are still working 44 hours. The banks are to refuse credits to those employers which refuse to obey this instruction.

In Sydney a similar policy of capitalist dictatorship has been decreed.

That such action is far from a sign of strength on the part of the employers may be judged from other measures intended to beat the workers into submission quickly:

A £1,000 fine has been imposed on the Timber Workers' Federation, under the Crimes and Arbitration Amendment Acts. This fine, by the way, was imposed by the same Judge Lukin who had issued the obnoxious 48-hour award that caused the dispute.

The same Judge Lukin it was who also decreed the holding of a secret ballot among the timber workers on the question of whether they are willing to work under his award or not. This ballot is generally looked upon as a farce, for even before it is taken (under the provisions of the Arbitration Amending Act), the Government and the capitalist Arbitration Court declare that "the law must be obeyed," which means that Lukin's Mussolini award is to be obeyed, or———?!

This Lukin ballot, to be taken on the Lukin award, under Lukin penalties, was submitted by the officers of the Arbitration Court to many workers who are not involved in the dispute, including those at work under union instructions. Many unfinancial members are to vote. Similarly hundreds who have long since left the industry. Special penalties are provided for showing the ballot paper to any other member of the union, and against "intimidation."

#### The Answer of the Union

The answer of the Timber Workers and of the rest of the labor movement so far has been: Greater solidarity, better strike and picketing organization; widespread relief work with the wives of the Timber Workers and the militant women's groups taking a leading and active part; £3,000 a week are coming in from the various unions to the Disputes Committee.

And the answer of the timber workers to the "secret ballot" farce of Lukin's will be (according to press reports) the burning of all ballot papers at a grand mass meeting to be held soon; the effigy of Judge Lukin is also to be burnt at the meeting of timber workers and the ashes sent to the judge. The Tory "Sydney Morning Herald" of

March 23 describes this as "an extraordinary scene, unprecedented in Australian trade-union history," and as "an open challenge not only to the Arbitration Court, but to the Federal Government. . . ."

#### Union Women

The part played by the wives of the Timber Workers and by the militant women's groups who organized them in Sydney and Melbourne deserves special mention. It is no exaggeration to say that the activities of these women since the beginning of the timber dispute have contributed considerably to the maintenance of the splendid morale of the men in the fight, and to the splendid solidarity of the rest of the movement.

Moreover, such activities are invaluable as a precedent and example to be followed in future disputes. All credit for this pioneering work in industrial disputes is due to the militant women's organization.

Both in Sydney and in Melbourne (the main centers of the dispute) weekly meetings of timber workers' wives are being held, more successful from week to week. They also attend the mass meetings of the men, where women's representatives speak. They organize collections in aid of the fighting men, and have also succeeded in organizing effective relief for the timber workers' families.

There is a daily issue of bread and meat and other products collected from shopkeepers by the women in Sydney. Strikers' wives have also adopted the policy of visiting the wives of "scabs," in order to persuade them to have their husbands join the fight. A fortnight ago the weekly meeting of timber workers' wives held at the Trades Hall (Sydney) decided to relieve pickets who would have to come to town to vote on Judge Lukin's enforced ballot. Special badges are to be issued to these women pickets. The same meeting also sent a message to the Cessnock Council of Action, greeting the miners' wives and expressing solidarity with the miners' fight.

Already the guardians of capitalist law are taking action against these women. Prosecutions of timber workers' wives for taking up collections have been instituted in Sydney.

A very effective slogan of the fighting women has been: **No Rent—No Eviction.**

And when the shameless labor traitor and

"Industrial Peace" heroine, Mrs. Adela Pankhurst Walsh, called a special meeting of timber workers' wives last week, in order to prove to them "how criminal and futile" was the fight of the men against longer hours and lower wages, the women did come. And Mrs. Walsh had to leave quickly . . . for she was hooted and jeered off the platform and out of the hall. Mrs. Walsh fills columns upon columns of the capitalist press, where she pleads for a "ballot among the wives of the timber workers and miners," as a parallel to Lukin's "secret ballot" among the men. . . .

Who can sink lower?!

### 12,000 MINERS LOCKED OUT

Twelve thousand miners are locked out. Capitalist "rationalization" of industry is being applied to the northern coalfields of New South Wales. The effects of the world coal crisis are being felt strongly in this country. Oil and hydro-electric power are rapidly encroaching upon the coal market. Thousands of miners are thus doomed to be thrown out of the industry. The coal barons have already taken the "first step" towards reorganizing and "rationalizing" the industry—at the expense of the miners.

They have closed down the mines and locked out 12,000 men who refused to accept lower wages (by 1/- per ton). What the Northern Coal Owners' Association is aiming at is nothing less than the forced closing of the poorer mines, the reduction of wages, the elimination of competition and the elimination of more than 10,000 workers from the industry. They will then have a free hand to manipulate prices and pile up profits.

The victims are to be the miners. Increased misery, lower wages, still greater unemployment, are to be the penalty.

Attempts to sidetrack the miners by promises of one of those eternal "inquiries" have been made. But this farce has collapsed in a somewhat unexpected manner. While Messrs. Bruce and Bavin were throwing sand into the eyes of the miners with promises of an "inquiry," Mr. McDonald, the coal baron of "Industrial Peace" fame, threw a stink-bomb on to the stage of negotiations by declaring that he would allow "no inspection of the owners' books." Thus collapsed another farce.

An interesting feature of this inquiry-

comedy is the rejection by the Government of the accountant nominated by the Miners' Federation for the promised inquiry into the condition of the industry. Premier Bavin insisted on the accountants being members of the Institute of Chartered Accountants. Inquiries revealed that 47 members of this Institute were shareholders in the various coal companies of the northern fields. . . .

Another farcical feature is the hypocritical talk of prosecuting the coal barons under the Crimes Act for closing down the mines and causing a lockout. The "Sydney Morning Herald" simply declares that "capital can hardly be penalized for refusing to continue any business enterprise, once financial results are unsatisfactory." (Suppose the workers used the same argument!) Besides, even if Mr. John Brown does pay the maximum penalty—£1,000 fine—he can still smilingly keep the mines shut, for the capitalist law cannot compel him to reopen them.

But what concerns the miners most at the present moment is their organization for a determined fight against the owners. No parleys with Bavin or Bruce will help them; nor futile promises of still more futile inquiries.

The miners must be prepared for a general stoppage, if the coal barons are to be prevented from carrying out their predatory plans.

Councils of action are the need of the hour. And the slogan is the same as applies to the Timber Workers and to the entire trade union movement:

**Not a Penny off the Pay!  
Not a Minute on the Day!  
No Retreat! No Submission!  
Organized, Militant, Class Action!**

### Metal Industry Next

But the capitalist offensive is more general than the present attack on the Miners and Timber Workers.

The Metal Industry is next. If there is any doubt about this, the following warning should suffice to dispel these doubts:

"With modern methods of production, skill does not count at all. The wage should be based upon the fact that no skill is required, and that any additional wage to that base should be by way of payment by results," said Mr. W. C. Myhill, representing the Metal Trades Employers' Association, in opening his case in the Federal Ar-

bitration Court today, before Judge Beeby, in connection with the claims of employers in the metal trade industry for the introduction of payment by results."—("Sydney Sun," 21, 3, '29.)

The employers' organizations of New South Wales have informed the Arbitration Court that £3/7/10 "is sufficient to pay for the commodities required to secure the standard of living for a man and his wife."

The New South Wales Government is to make drastic amendments to the Workers' Compensation Act—at workers' expense.

Mr. Bruce's Child Endowment Commission reported against any form of child endowment. It declared that "any existing state legislation instituting endowment should be repealed." . . . Furthermore, that "the basic wage should be reduced by elimination of the provision made for children, which is now an integral part of the wage." Also that the basic wage "should be declared every five years by a Commonwealth Tribunal," irrespective of the constant rise in the cost of living.

Even Judge Piddington, one of the three judges on the "Industrial Commission" which inquires into the basic wage in New South Wales, has characterized the machinations of this body as "an ill-omened decision to expedite the attempt in New South Wales to lower the standard of living by judicial action." . . .

Another indication: The "Sydney Morning Herald" of March 23, 1929, reports that

the Tariff Board, after considering the question of raising the tariff for the felt hat industry, reported to Parliament to the effect that "the wage rates for some operations were higher than necessary for a good standard of living, and for the industry to compete successfully with foreign mills. . . . There was room for a reduction of wages. . . ."

In the Transport Industry the attack on the workers is undiminished. Scabs still rule the wharves, while working conditions are being consistently worsened.

Thus the capitalist offensive in Australia is on at full speed. The attack is concentrated on the key industries: Transport, mining, metal. Other industries are already involved.

Submission or indifference on any sector of the working class front is prejudicial to the entire position of the working class.

Ever greater and more urgent becomes the need for 100 per cent organization in the trade unions, on the basis of militant **Industrial Unionism** and militant **Factory and Shop Committees**.

It is these problems of organization (industrial unions and shop committees), and with the fundamental problem of laying down and pursuing a consistent policy of militant class struggle against capitalism, capitalist arbitration and rationalization—that the coming Congress of the Australian Council of Trade Unions will have to deal with in the first instance.

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Bordeaux:	104, Quai de Bacalan	Archangel:	Naberesehnaja
Rotterdam:	7a, Willemskade	Vladivostock:	52, Ulitza Lenina
Hamburg:	8 Rothesoodstrasse	Odessa:	2, Boulevard Feldman

# The Australian Immigration Problem

By S. CARPENTER (Sydney)

*In the May issue of the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY, the author of the present article dealt with the general aspects of the Immigration Problem, its history and economic background, its trade union phases, and the relation of British imperialism with the "White Australia" policy.—EDITOR.*

## V. THE PRESENT IMMIGRATION LAWS AND THEIR OPERATION

THE Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, which was adopted after the federation of the colonies into the present form of Commonwealth Government, already definitely embodied the so-called "White Australia" policy, for the first time on a pan-Australian scale. This law superseded all previous immigration legislation of the various states. By this law, an immigrant might be required to write out, at official dictation, a passage of fifty words in any European language. It is thus clear from the wording of this law that it was intended as an instrument of exclusion of Asiatic immigrants. It was understood from the first that European immigrants would not be required to pass this test.

The Japanese Government protested. To soothe the Japanese Government, an amending act (1905) provided the substitution of "any prescribed language" for the words "any European language." But no regulations having been drawn up prescribing any language, the original act is still de facto in force. Students, merchants, etc., are admitted by a special passport arrangement. In 1912 certain concessions that had been made to Chinese of British nationality (Hong-kong) were offered to all Chinese and later to all Asiatic and Pacific island nationals. In 1919 certain passport exemptions were made in respect to Indians.

### Important Amendments to the Original Immigration Law

**Amending Immigration Act 1920:** Principal provisions of this act are those prohibiting the entry of (a) any person who

advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the established Government of the Commonwealth or of any State or of any other civilized country, or of all forms of law, etc. (b) and of Germans, Austrians, etc. . . . a consequence of the World War.

**Amending Immigration Act 1924.** It is required that every alien immigrant must be in possession of at least £40 landing money, unless his maintenance has been guaranteed by one residing in Australia.

**Amending Immigration Act 1925.** Several important amendments, the principal of which are those providing power (1) to prohibit the entry of any person declared by the minister to be—in his opinion from information received from the Government of the U.K. or of any other part of the British Dominions, or from any foreign government, through official or diplomatic channels, undesirable as an inhabitant or visitor, etc. (2) to prohibit by proclamation either wholly or partially, either permanently or temporarily, the immigration of aliens of any specified nationality, race, class or occupation (a) on account of the economic, industrial or other conditions existing in the Commonwealth; (b) because the persons specified are deemed unsuitable; (c) because they are deemed unlikely to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Australian citizenship within a reasonable time after their entry. (3) To deport persons other than those born in Australia who have been concerned in Australia in acts directed towards hindering or obstructing, to the prejudice of the public, the transport or the conveyance of passengers, or the provision of necessary ser-

vices and whose presence in Australia is considered to be injurious to the peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth.

It will be seen from the above amendments to the Immigration Law that Australian capitalism was not late to fall into line of shaping its laws in conformity with post-war developments on the industrial and political fields. The spectre of Communism, and the growing industrial unrest in this country, coupled with the function of Australian capitalism as an outpost of British Imperialism, are clearly seen to be the motives of such provisions, as the exclusion of "Any person who advocates the overthrow of . . . any State or any civilized country . . ."

This means that a rebel worker who had fought against say the Spanish Fascist Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera or an Italian worker who is opposed to the Fascist terror of Mussolini, could be refused entry into this country. The Amending Act of 1925 (noted above) widens these provisions even further. "To prohibit the entry of any person declared by the Minister to be undesirable—from information received from the Government of the U.K. or from any other foreign Government. . . ."

On the whole the policy of Asiatic exclusion has been effectively enforced. Since the inauguration of the Commonwealth, the Asiatic population of Australia has decreased. In 1901 47,014 Asiatics were resident, but in 1921 there were only 28,087, including 17,009 Chinese, 2860 Hindus, 2856 Japanese and 1083 Malays.

The original Act further prohibited the entrance of immigrants under contract or agreement to perform manual labor within the Commonwealth, except (a) crews of coasting vessels employed at the ruling rate of wages, (b) persons exempted by the Minister as possessing special skill needed in Australia. This provision was the result of Labor influence. Its administration caused even more trouble than the exclusion of Asiatics . . .

Therefore, in 1905, the Deakin Ministry introduced a separate measure to deal with contract immigrants. The contract must be in writing, and the approval of the ministry has to be obtained before the landing of the immigrant. Such approval will not be given if the contract is made to affect an indus-

trial dispute, or if the remuneration and other terms offered are not as advantageous to the immigrants as those obtaining for workers of the same class at the place where the contract is to be carried out.

Since 1921 it has become evident that Australia must expect an increased immigration, consequent upon the restrictive policy adopted by the U.S.A.

In January, 1923, the arrival in Sydney of about 300 Italians, most of them destitute, brought the question of Italian immigration into public notice. An agreement was reached with the Italian Government (which refused to agree to a quota) to issue passports only to those who had £40 or those nominated by residents in Australia.

The tentative restriction of European immigration by agreement with the governments concerned was extended at the end of 1924 to cover intended immigrants from Greece, Jugo-Slavia, and Albania. Not more than 100 immigrants of each nationality will be admitted in any one month, and they are also required to possess £40 or be nominated by a resident.

## VI. BRITISH IMMIGRATION INTO AUSTRALIA

We have already pointed out that British capitalism looks to Australia to absorb increasing numbers of "surplus" workers from Britain. This is done not only with the object of relieving British capitalism of the growing pressure (economic and political) caused by unemployment at home, but also with the object of flooding the Australian labor market, and so to force down working conditions, making production in Australia more profitable both for the new Australian and the many British-Australian manufacturers. Other factors entering into this scheme are: the desire to increase the Australian demand for commodities and to strengthen Britain's preparations for war.

It is for this reason that migration is the central question in plans for Australian development.

### Migration Agreement Between British and Commonwealth Governments

On April 8, 1925, the British and Commonwealth Governments entered into an agreement under which it is proposed to furnish to the Governments of the various states, loan moneys at a very low rate of interest, to enable suitable areas of land to

be made available for settlement, or to enable such public works to be carried out as will tend to develop and extend settlement areas, or will enable areas already settled to carry larger populations. . . . The maximum amount of loan moneys provided for in the agreement is 34 million pounds. It is provided that for every £75 issued to a State Government under the agreement, one assisted migrant shall sail direct from the U. K. and be received into and satisfactorily settled in the State concerned. If full advantage is taken of the offer of loan moneys contained in the agreement, 450,000 new settlers will be absorbed during a period of ten years.

**Assisted Immigration.** Assisted immigration has been a factor of some importance in the increase of population. Statistics show that 1,025,682 persons have been brought to Australia in connection with schemes for assisting immigration.

During the period May 1, 1925-March 31, 1928, the Commonwealth and British Governments jointly donated the following contributions towards the passages of approved settlers for Australia from the United Kingdom: Children under 12 years, £6/10/- (representing all of the half fare); juveniles 12 and under 17, £27/10/-; juveniles 17 years and under 19 years, £22; married couples, including widowers or widows, and wives nominated by husbands, with at least one child under 19, £22 per parent (children at rate according to age); domestic servants, £33; others, including children of 19 years and over, £16/10/-. Allowing for this financial assistance, children under 12 years will be carried free, etc.

In addition to these contributions, loans of the balance of the passage are in special cases granted by the governments concerned. Persons entitled to assisted passages are divided into two groups. "Selected" and "Nominated." "S" immigrants are those such as farm hands and domestics who are originally recruited abroad by the Commonwealth Government. "N" immigrants are those nominated by persons resident in Australia, and the nominators are held responsible for their nominees upon arrival, so that they shall not become a burden upon the State.

**Results of Assisted Immigration.** In the earlier days of the settlement of Australia, State-assisted immigration played an import-

ant part. Such assistance ceased for the time being in the different states at various times before the beginning of this century. From 1900 to 1905 no assistance of any kind was given. Since 1906 assistance has again been given.

The number assisted in 1914 was 20,805; in 1915 it dropped to 5,796, and in 1919 to 245; in the following year it rose again to over 9,000, and rapidly to as many as 30,123 in 1927. Altogether the number of assisted immigrants from the early times to 1927, inclusive, was 1,025,682.

#### VII. GENERAL STATISTICAL DATA

The following statistical data, based on the official reports of the Commonwealth Government, will help to give the reader a clearer idea of the role of immigration in Australia, and of certain aspects of the policy of restriction of Asiatic immigration.

From 1861 to 1927 the increment to the population arising from the excess of births over deaths amounted to 3,811,757, or 74.90 per cent. of the total increase, **while the increase from net immigration** amounted to 1,277,512, or 25.10 per cent.

During the 27 years of the present century the total increase to the population was made up of 1,957,992, or 79.29 per cent., by natural increase, and 511,523, or 20.71 per cent., by net immigration.

The greatest increase to the population by net immigration which has occurred in any one decade was during the ten years 1881 to 1890. This period, however, concluded in world-wide speculation, which, in Australia, took the form of speculation in land values, and the effect of the financial collapse which followed this boom is shown by the small increment by migration from 1891 to 1910. For many of the years during this last-mentioned period there was an actual loss to Australia population by net migration. In 1907 the stream of migration again turned in Australia's favor, and during the five years, 1909-1913, the net immigration represented 281,193. The war interrupted the flow, but in 1927 the net immigration represented 48,924 persons.

The number of persons admitted without Dictation Test was:

1923 .....	95,725
1924 .....	105,571
1925 .....	98,279
1926 .....	105,918
1927 .....	115,314

Of these totals the corresponding figures for British immigrants were:

1923 .....	85,440
1924 .....	88,335
1925 .....	82,662
1926 .....	90,562
1927 .....	93,382

Of the Asiatic immigrants there were:

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
Chinese .....	1,974	1,917	1,256	1,780	1,767
Japanese .....	228	240	440	328	251
India-Ceylon..	141	174	186	188	190

Non-Asiatic Immigrants.

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
Italian .....	1,739	4,540	6,102	3,952	7,884
Jugoslav .....	240	1,933	950	1,427	1,432
Russian .....	256	312	515	477	371

### VIII. IMMIGRATION PROBLEM AND THE WORKING CLASS

Like every other important economic problem which confronts the working class today, so, too, the problem of emigration and immigration cannot possibly be solved in the interests of the working class as a whole as long as capitalism exists.

This does not mean that we may therefore fold our arms and allow the capitalist class to do as it pleases about migration. On the contrary, we must fight capitalism on this as on every other vital issue, because the policy of capitalism and imperialism in the field of migration is always designed to serve their interests to the detriment of the working class.

But in order to be able to fight capitalism on any issue, we must first be sure that we understand the basic principles and policies involved in order to make these clear to the working masses. Here we must admit that the problem of immigration has been badly neglected in our movement. If anything, the labor movement has allowed confusion and dangerous jingoistic prejudices to creep in and to befog the issue of migration in its relation to the working class.

Ask the average trade unionist and A.L.P. member of Australia today what he thinks about foreign immigration and you will get approximately the following reply:

(1). There are over 200,000 unemployed workers in Australia today already, so why allow more workers (regardless of nationality) to come in and glut the labor market, thus reducing wages and living standards.

(2). That he or she is definitely opposed to the immigration of Asiatics. In the answer to the question "Why?" there is first of all the basic economic fear of "coolie competition," and, secondly, a growth which has been accumulating—with the aid of reformist demagoguery—of racial prejudice and a feeling of "superiority of the white race."

(3). There enters a third factor, namely, another differentiating racial prejudice, fostered by British imperialism and Australian reformism; this ultra-jingoism is directed against "Southern Europeans," meaning Italian, Jugoslav, Greek and other workers. As these lines are being written (March 7, 1929) the Sydney "Labor Daily" reports as follows on an Interstate Conference of Labor women (A.L.P.), which is being held at this date in Melbourne:

"An animated debate took place on a motion by the South Australian delegates that the Federal Government be asked to arrange for a return of all the unemployed Southern Europeans to their own countries. Miss May Holman (W.A.) said that foreigners in her state got employment to the detriment of Australians. . . ."

We thus see that the basic factor in all these fears and prejudices entertained by the Australian worker today, is that of fear of economic competition which may endanger his very job, and the working and living standards generally. It is precisely this fear which capitalism has always played on in order to divide the working class along craft, sectional and racial and color lines.

We have seen from the historical section of our article that the employers never hesitate to mix their so-called White Australianism with plenty of Asiatic blood—so long as it proves profitable to them.

But for the Labor movement to ape the bourgeoisie blindly and to sow the worst jingoistic prejudices among the workers of one country against the workers of another country or race or color is absolutely criminal. But this is just what the Australian Labor Party and the Trade Union reactionaries have been doing for decades, until today large sections of the Australian working class are blinded by this jingoistic poison.

The most characteristic manifestation of this jingoism occurred at the 1928 Emergency Congress of the ACTU, where the question of affiliation of that body to the Pan-Pacific

Trade Union Secretariat was hotly debated. Mr. Gibson, a prominent reactionary trade union leader, made himself famous at that Congress, where he declared the Secretariat to be

"a heterogeneous mob of Asiatics with unpronounceable names, who have the impertinence to lay down the policy to the Australian workers."

We get the full flavor of Australian Labor Party jingoism when we place the above gem alongside the following document: (This is a motion brought in by Mr. Hamilton in the South Australian House of Assembly, at its session of August 8, 1928.)

"That, in the opinion of this House, the resolution carried by the All-Australian Trade Union Congress in Melbourne on July 21, affiliating a large majority of the Labor unions of Australia with the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, is a grave menace to the industrial conditions ruling in Australia, and to the White Australian policy."

"That this House is further of the opinion that, although the aforesaid affiliation has been agreed to and confirmed by the All-Australian Trade Union Congress, the rank and file of the trade unions, and the people of Australia generally, deeply resent this close association with people, the vast majority of whom are in a much lower stage of evolution than the Nordic races, and who cannot be regarded as their equals in education, environment, or humanitarian ideals. . . . That as the destructive policy of Communism, which includes the "class war," appeals only to the lower mentalities of the human race, its dissemination among the untutored millions of the Eastern nations, is fraught with the gravest danger to the civilized world; and this House strongly disapproves of any section of the population of this State assisting or being called upon to assist in the promulgation of doctrines which are inimical to peace and ordered progress."

#### The Tasks of the Militants

In this as in every other problem that concerns the working class, the militant Left Wing is confronted with the definite task of giving the lead to the working masses, and to clarify the basic principles involved.

It is important to understand that, while capitalism is unable to solve within its confines the problem of migration—no more than it is able to solve the problem of unemployment—yet the causes which make for the migration of workers from one country to another are on the increase. This is particularly so since the war. Unemployment has actually become chronic in England, in Europe generally and even in prosperous America. The shrinkage of the world market, the introduction of ingenious schemes of rationalization, the intensification of labor and the mechanization of production are throwing ever-growing armies of workers into what has become the category of "unemployables."

Emigration of workers from one country to another no longer comprises unskilled workers exclusively, as was the rule before the war. Large numbers of skilled workers are now drawn into the stream of emigration by the very processes mentioned above.

At the same time, facilities for emigration have been considerably restricted after the war. (Notably in the U.S.A.) The workers of the colored races (primarily of China and India) are laboring under particularly great difficulties, owing to the "color-bar laws," which forbid them to penetrate the "civilized" countries of the white races.

Besides the usual factors making for imperialist wars, such as the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials and spheres for capitalist investments, there thus enters the additional factor of the struggle for places and objects requiring the application of labor power and thus affording an opportunity to release the dangerous "surplus" of labor power at home.

It is the immediate task of the militants to carry on a determined and unceasing struggle against all forms of race prejudice and race hatred fostered by capitalism and reformism.

In the words of the Preamble to the Statutes of the Pan-Pacific T.U. Secretariat, we must

"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."

For this purpose, the closest contact must be established between the trade union movement of this country with the trade unions of

the other countries concerned in the problem of migration.

### Reformists Aid Employers

While we must fight persistently against race and color prejudices wherever we find them in the labor movement, and while we cannot possibly hesitate to endorse the general principle of free and unhindered immigration and emigration of workers from any country to any other country (a problem which is as little likely to be solved within the confines of capitalism in the interests of the workers as, say, the problems of unemployment, rationalization, etc.), it is equally obvious that the workers of Australia, acting in conjunction with the labor movement of Great Britain, must fight the mass migration schemes of Messrs. Bruce and Baldwin. It cannot be doubted but that these schemes are exclusively in the interests of the exploiters and imperialists.

While the best and closest relations must be maintained between the workers of this country and the immigrant workers of all other countries, and serious attempts made to organize them into the Trade Union movement in active struggle against capitalism, it should be stressed that the workers in Britain must be thoroughly acquainted, prior to emigrating, with the capitalist offensive in this country, with the true nature of the State-aided migration schemes, etc.

But it would seem that this alone is insufficient. The Bruce-Baldwin mass migration plans must be actively combatted as such, not only in Australia, but also in Britain. This, of course, presupposes an active struggle against British capitalism by the British working class and their Trade Unions. We know from experience that "Industrial-Peace" heroes of the Tillett-Turner-Purcell-Thomas type are only too anxious to help British capitalism get rid of the bothersome "unemployables."

It was no other than Mr. Ben Tillett who recently signed a joint report on Rationalization and Unemployment, together with Lord Melchett (Mond), in which he endorses both rationalization and mass migration.

If consistently militant, the trade unions will draw the immigrant workers—no matter of what nationality, race or color—into the trade union organizations, converting them into real fighters against capitalism and for better working conditions in the country in

question. (See the Color Bar in the A.W.U. and in other unions.)

### The A.W.U. Excludes Asiatics From Membership

Just how far this jingoism and race prejudice has already penetrated into the official programs and policies of the trade union movement may be judged from the fact that the Australian Workers' Union, numerically the strongest union in Australia outside the A.C.T.U., has incorporated the exclusion of Asiatics from membership in the A.W.U. in its official Constitution and Rules.

It is both amusing and tragic to read these rules pertaining to the qualifications for membership in that organization. Following is only an extract from Rule 6 of the A.W.U. Constitution. After a 30-line enumeration of the various trades and crafts which are eligible for membership in the A.W.U., Rule 6 concludes with the following qualification:

- " . . . provided that he or she is
- (a) Of European descent; or
  - (b) An Australian aboriginal or Maori, or negro citizen of the U.S.A.; or
  - (c) The offspring or descendant of a marriage between a person in class (a) and a person in class (b); or
  - (d) A person born in Australia who is the offspring or descendant of a marriage between a person of European descent and a person not of European descent; or
  - (e) Any other person . . . who is admitted by resolution of the Executive Council of the Union. . . .

And provided, also, that no fresh applicant claiming admission as the issue of mixed parentage born in Australasia shall be admitted to membership unless he produces a certificate of his birth." . . .

Stated simply and briefly, this rule means that no Asiatic worker is eligible for membership to the A.W.U.

It will be remembered that from the very inception of the Pan-Pacific T.U. Secretariat, especially from the moment that the Australasian Council of Trade Unions had decided to affiliate to the P.P.T.U.S., the A.W.U. launched a most venomous campaign both against the A.C.T.U. and the P.P.T.U.S. The A.W.U. today is the burg of class collaboration and compulsory arbitration in Australia. The A.W.U. is today ruled by a clique of reactionary bureaucrats of the type of Lewis

in the U.S.A. and Thomas in England. It will thus be seen that the above cited anti-Asiatic rule is quite in keeping with the anti-working class policies and tactics of the A.W.U. leadership.

It will be readily seen from the above description of the actual immigration laws that it is not sufficient nor effective to fight only against the legislative restrictions. It is by far more urgent to eliminate the hostile attitude of large masses of workers towards immigrant workers.

The basic factor in the hostility generally felt by the workers of this country towards immigrant workers being the fear of competition and the fear of losing the job, it becomes obvious that everything possible must be done to insure the full protection of the immigrant workers, in order to prevent the capitalists from using them as a lever to lower wages and reduce working and living standards. Such work can be carried out effectively only in conjunction with the trade unions of the countries from which the workers emigrate.

Here is where the need for close co-operation between the workers of Australia and the workers of China, Japan, India, Indonesia, etc., becomes glaringly clear.

#### On Congress Agenda

And here is where one of the chief functions of the Pan-Pacific T.U. Secretariat is revealed. It is from a full realization of the importance of this problem, that the P.P.T.U.S. has placed "Immigration" as one of the main points on the agenda of the Pan-Pacific T.U. Congress to be held at Vladivostok in August of this year.

It may be of interest to note here that some time ago the N.S.W. Labor Council decided to form special committees whose function was to be to meet immigrant workers as the ships arrived in port, in order to bring them at once into contact with the labor movement. But, like so many other good resolutions, this one, too, has remained a dead letter.

The question of the organizational and propagandist methods to be adopted in approaching newly arrived immigrant workers in an effort to mobilize them at once into the ranks of active trade unionists will need special attention. Fitting literature, especially designed for the immigrant, printed in var-

ious languages, will have to be used in this work. So far nothing of this sort has been done or even attempted in Australia. Instead, the daily press, in particular the labor press, is full of poisonous allusions to the "Southern Europeans," a term which has become synonymous with "scab."

#### 100 Per Cent. Scabs

This was particularly noticeable during the recent waterside strikes when, in order to hide their own treacherous tactics, the reactionary trade union bureaucrats deliberately diverted the indignation and combative spirit of the workers from the real enemy—the shipowners—to the "Southern European" workers, who constituted but an insignificant fraction of the blacklegs. Most of the scabs were good, 100 per cent. "White Australians."

In conclusion it should be noted that the various international organizations of capitalism and reformism, which from time to time make the gesture of "handling" the problem of migration, are as impotent of solving or even ameliorating it, as they are of solving the other contradictions of capitalism.

The Geneva "Labor Office" of the imperial League of Nations, the bourgeois-pacifist-imperialist Institute of Pacific Relations, the reformist Amsterdam T.U. International, and the Second International have all debated this question to the minutest technical details (almost nothing but the technical details), and the result is as great a fiasco as that of the famous "8-hour day Convention."

The only international organization which has ever tackled the migration problem seriously and from a consistently internationalist and working class point of view is the Red International of Labor Unions, which at its various Congresses and Plenary Sessions has had special Commissions dealing with this question.

The last (IV) Congress of the R.I.L.U., held in March, 1928, instructed the Executive Bureau to prepare the creation of an International Emigration Bureau.

It will be the task of the P.P.T.U.S. to pursue the serious study of the migration problem in the Pacific. The above article is intended as a first, cursory contribution to such a study.



*At the beginning of the Independent Struggle of the Chinese masses against Chiang Kai-shih; a Workers' and Peasants' meeting at Kian-fu, Kiangsi Province in the heart of China, March, 1927. This meeting decided to fight the counter-revolution, which had attacked the peasant and labor organizations locally.*

# The Agrarian Revolution in China

By EARL BROWDER

**I**N a previous article it has been shown how the influence of capitalist relationships and forces has destroyed the old basis of Chinese agrarian economy. But this shattering of the old has not been accompanied by laying a foundation for a new agrarian economy on a capitalist basis. Agriculture has made few advances economically and technically under the influence of capitalism (predominantly foreign), and such small items of progress as may be noted are much more than counterbalanced by the destructive effects, which have given agriculture an actual setback.

## Introduction of Machinery Into Agriculture

To what extent has the shattering of the old agriculture been accompanied by development of modern cultivation on the basis of machinery? Very little, indeed. In this respect China is perhaps the most backward even among the backward countries. Inasmuch as no agricultural machinery is produced in China, import records will show the total machinery put into use in any period.

During the six-year period, 1918-1924, the average imports of agricultural machinery amounted to 560,000 Chinese dollars. Comparing this to the number of separate farm households, about 75,000,000, this will be seen to average about two-thirds of a cent (Chinese) per farm per year—certainly an insignificant figure even for Chinese peasants. This is small even when compared to India, another very backward country, which during 1919-1924 imported almost twice as much machinery for a population about two-thirds as large. The Soviet Union is still regarded as technically backward in agriculture, yet its rate of mechanization of agriculture is several hundred times as fast. Capitalism has made practically no technical contribution to Chinese agriculture in this respect.

## Development of Commercial Crops

One of the principal indices of technical

progress in agriculture is the course of development of commercial crops. In China many of these are mainly for export and their development can therefore be easily studied.

Silk is one of China's most important commercial crops. Thirty to forty years ago it constituted 35 per cent. of China's total export, and was twice as large as that of Japan. By 1918 Japan had definitely surpassed China and taken hegemony of the world silk production. The squeezing of Chinese silk from its dominant position in the world market produced a catastrophic effect upon the agriculture of Kwangtung province, where production was most highly developed, and which produced one-seventh of the world supply of silk. With the rise of the new competition of rayon in the industrial countries of the West, Chinese silk has even less hope of surviving, especially when it is recalled that it was sharply declining before artificial silk production had begun.

Tea is another important commercial crop, the course of development of which can be measured by exports. Comparing the average tea exports of the years 1907-1910 with the average for 1923-1925 it is seen to have fallen by more than half. Chinese tea is definitely losing out on the world market.

Cotton is another important commercial crop. This cannot be measured by exports, however, as it is largely consumed within the country. After the United States and India, China ranks as the third largest producer of cotton. With approximately the same climatic and soil conditions as India, however, China has only about 10 per cent. as much land under cotton cultivation, and this production experiences increasing difficulties.

From these outstanding examples it is clear that the further penetration of capitalism into China is not raising agriculture onto any new basis with the development of commercial crops.

### Declining Fertility of the Land

The intensity of cultivation of land in China requires a high degree of artificial fertilization in order to maintain its fertility. Under the old order, for thousands of years, this fertility was maintained by a laborious and elaborate organization for conserving and distributing all possible fertilizers, especially manures. The breakup of the old stability threw into chaos also the old system of fertilization. Economic and political factors combined to make it less and less profitable for the peasant to fertilize his land. The result has been a steadily declining productivity, retirement of large areas from cultivation, and increase of the land shortage instead of the necessary expansion of the cultivated area.

### Breakdown of Irrigation and Flood Protection

Systems of irrigation and flood protection play an enormous role in Chinese agriculture, due to the intensity of cultivation, to the nature of crops (especially rice in Central and Southern China), and to the concentration of cultivation in the river valleys, deforestation of highlands, etc. Both irrigation and flood protection require a high degree of organization, stability, and sustained effort, and under the old order they provided the principal economic function and foundation of the governmental machinery.

The unsettling influence of capitalism broke down the old system, which fell even more into chaos with the political atomization of the country, while no new forces were released to take the place of the old social machinery to execute these tasks. The influence of capitalism in China has been to break down these two great collective functions, necessary conditions for the highly individualistic and atomized cultivation, with disastrous results on all of agriculture.

### Development of Capitalist Landholding

Capital has been accumulating in Chinese hands, since its introduction into China as a system, and to some extent it has been penetrating into agriculture. But the entrance of capital into agriculture has not been for the purpose, nor has it had the effect, of raising the technical level of production. On the contrary, it has been an influence for the further degeneration of agriculture, because, finding the highest profits to be made in rack-rents squeezed out of the landless peasants using the most primitive methods of cultiva-

tion, this agrarian capital has become almost entirely parasitic in its functions.

### The Agrarian Crisis

From the facts cited here and in the previous article it has been made clear that Chinese agriculture is in the midst of a most deep-going economic crisis, which shakes the whole structure of Chinese society, and which is the basic factor in the Chinese Revolution. It is the agrarian crisis which involves the whole 440 million population of the land in the Chinese Revolution.

Is it possible that this crisis may be solved on the basis of capitalist relationships, upon a basis of a stabilized bourgeois regime such as that of the Kuomintang? There is not the slightest evidence that such a thing is possible. On the contrary, all the evidence goes to show that the whole influence of capitalist forces is to deepen and intensify the crisis.

For a capitalist solution of the crisis not only would there be required a long period of maturing capitalist relationships, freed from the fetters of feudal social forms; it would also be necessary that the Chinese bourgeoisie should be consolidated as a class, **against** the native feudal elements and **against** foreign imperialism. None of these conditions are present, and none of them are possible.

Because of these facts the agrarian crisis drives the masses of the Chinese peasantry to the only possible way out for them: the road of agrarian revolution, carried through in alliance with the revolutionary workers of the cities against the combined forces of bourgeoisie, militarists, feudal reaction, and foreign imperialism.

### Agrarian Revolution

What are the most important tasks which must be performed by the agrarian revolution in order to free the Chinese peasants from the menace of destruction now hovering over them and at the same time to lay the foundations for raising the whole Chinese agriculture up to a new technical level of development — a prerequisite for building a new Chinese society as a whole?

First of all, the peasantry tilling the land must secure unfettered, unconditional possession of the land. This requires the complete elimination of landlordism, the destruction of all old land titles and systems of tenure, the wiping out of the rural governments based upon landlordism and feudal social forms. This means the nationalization

of the land by a workers' and peasants' government.

The present tremendous rising of Chinese peasants for agrarian revolution is not the first mass upheaval in China arising out of the forces which we have been examining. Although little information is available about the economic aspects of the great Taiping Rebellion of the middle of the nineteenth century, yet there can be little doubt that it arose as a mass reaction against the disorganizing influence of Western economic forces upon Chinese society and against the pusillanimous surrender of the Manchu dynasty to the foreign invaders, while at the same time it was a blind striving of the masses to meet new conditions with new forms of social organization.

The Taiping Rebellion was crushed after 15 years, by the combined forces of the Manchus and foreign imperialism, plus the inner contradictions within the Taiping forces themselves, which, without conscious program, was itself paralyzed from within by the feudalism against which it must have fought to accomplish its ends.

The Boxer Rebellion of 1900 was a smaller example of the same kind of mass movement, arising from the same basis, with the same weaknesses, and was defeated by the same forces.

The present mass movement of peasants, arising eight years ago in the South and now spread over all China, taps the same fundamental roots of social action and power, only in a far higher stage of development. Now the crisis has become so deep and so wide, the contradictions are so sharp and pressing, that the million-masses are pressed into ever more decisive action with a speed never before known. At the same time a new factor has entered this elemental mass movement of the millions, a factor never before present, which transforms the whole perspective of what the movement will accomplish. This new factor is **consciousness of its tasks and program**. The present peasant movement is

consciously and deliberately a movement for agrarian revolution, knowing what it wants and how to get it.

#### Working Class Leadership

This new element of conscious program is not some miraculous gift of the gods to the Chinese masses. It is a product of the historical circumstances in which, today, the agrarian revolution in China has become bound up with the industrial revolution, the rising proletariat of China and its revolutionary aspirations, and with a world-wide movement of revolt of all oppressed classes and peoples against imperialism. It is a product of the rise to consciousness of the working class, its grasp of the science of Marxism and Leninism, and the turning of this working class toward alliance with, and leadership of, the rising peasantry.

Even the most superficial examination of the history of the modern peasant movement in China will make clear the revolutionizing influence of the working class. With the First Delegates' Conference of Kwangtung Peasants in May, 1925, which held joint sessions with the All-China Labor Federation in the city of Canton, this leadership of the working class has been definitely established, and has put its mark upon every step in the development of the peasant movement.

Under working class and communist leadership the Chinese peasant movement is now stepping forward toward the only possible solution of the agrarian problem, which is at the same time the only possible road to the establishment of China's national independence, namely, the path to the democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants, the workers' and peasants' government.

Every true Chinese patriot, every friend of the Chinese people, every international revolutionist and enemy of imperialism, will place himself at the service of this great movement of the Chinese masses, the largest sector of the world-wide movement of liberation, for the full realization of its revolutionary program.

# The Colombian Workers' Iron Will

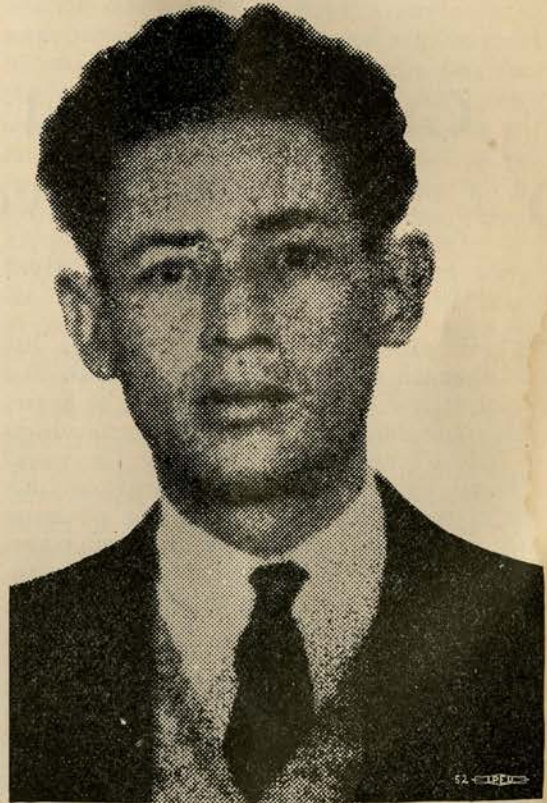
By JOSE AGUILAR

**W**ITH a determination as praiseworthy as any in proletarian history, with a resolution which speaks volumes for the maturity of the whole working class of Latin America, the workers of Colombia who passed and are still passing under a reign of terror, following the strike of 30,000 banana plantation workers against the U. S. Imperialist United Fruit Company, are closing their ranks in national trade union unity for further struggle.

Scarcely a month had gone by from the bloody massacre of 200 strikers and the wounding and imprisonment of hundreds more; while military courts were still controlling the entire country and meting out sentences of death and long terms of prison to the heroic workers of the Magdalena banana region, when 150 delegates from the three previously separate trade union centers, met at Bogota, united their hitherto dispersed forces into one united trade union center, reorganized this new center on the basis of industrial unionism, and sealed its class struggle and anti-imperialist character by declaring adherence to the new Latin American Trade Union Confederation, electing eight delegates to the latter's Montevideo congress.

The Colombian government, a tool of the feudal agrarian interests and vile servant of U. S. imperialism chiefly, though it has no reluctance to being bribed by British interests also, having murdered hundreds of workers and decreed a despotic "Heroic Law" designed to destroy labor unions, has resorted to framing-up new charges against such workers and even liberal political leaders as could not be connected with the banana strike and therefore victimized by the courts martial.

The young and courageous strike leader, Alberto R. Castrillon, member of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, has been sentenced by court martial to 24 years in prison for his direction of the 30,000 banana plantation



ALBERTO R. CASTRILLON

strikers. Also indicative of the advanced character of the Colombian proletariat is the fact that working women fought side by side with the male workers, two women strike leaders, Maria Cano and Maria Rico de Tobon, having been sentenced by the military courts to long terms of prison for "conspiracy against the state".

The government, in the hands of the Conservative Party, has framed up a "bomb plot", of course "discovering" the bombs, 99 of them, before they ever exploded. This charge they not only added to those against four pre-

viously arrested Communist leaders, but used to arrest all prominent leaders of the bourgeois opposition Liberal Party, including its candidate, General Cuberas Nino. The four Communist leaders held are Tomas Uribe Marquez, Ezequiel Campos, Ernesto Rico, and a woman, Enriqueta Jimenez.

The iron will of the proletariat of Colombia in answering its imperialist oppressors and native despots blow for blow, and in the very shadow of the gallows firmly uniting its forces for new battles, is yet another proof that the whole world working class is rising in a new offensive against world imperialism.

## Guatemala and Its Trade Union Movement

By GUMES

THE social structure of Guatemala has changed very little in relation with that which it had when it was a colony of Spain. The trade union and mutualist organizations of half a century ago still exist. The workers and artisans were able to organize only for mutual aid. They fought for no more than the juridical recognition of certain rights and for these only by legal means and without attacking in the slightest degree the constituted social regime.

These organizations did not cease to exist even during the most despotic regimes the Guatemalan people has suffered. During the 22 years of the bloody tyranny of Estrada Cabrera, the organizations, "The Workers' Future," the "Artisans' Center," the "Mutualist Crusade" and others, did no more than practice mutual aid, and that deficiently, accommodating themselves to the dominant power.

### Always a Colony

Guatemala has never ceased being a colony. It was a colony of Spain for three centuries, and after having obtained its political independence it was conquered economically by British imperialism. The principal economic resources of the country were monopolized by British capitalists, and the "independent" government itself was mortgaged to British imperialism by means of big loans, that have never been paid even to this day, because the

state income is enough only to pay the interest on these loans.

The pressure of British imperialism on the various governments which have ruled the destiny of Guatemala has culminated in the dismembering of the national territory.

President Cabrera presented to the British Crown one of the richest regions of the country, Belice, in exchange for a "sword of honor." This zone has been colonized by Negro slaves from Jamaica and from Africa, for the exploitation of coal mines and timber, and it continues being actually an English colony.

Meanwhile, United States imperialism was conquering little by little other natural resources not yet exploited by the English and, in this manner, initiated its penetration in Guatemala, which has carried as its consequence the struggle between the two imperialisms. Yankee imperialism took account of the fact that it would not be able to triumph without having in its hands the political control, and therefore aided a series of *coup d'etats* led sometimes by the "Liberal" and sometimes by the "Conservative" national political parties.

### U. S. Imperialism Enters

The movement of 1871, known as the "Reform," was no more than an audacious stroke of North American imperialism supporting the Conservative Party. After that date was

constructed the interoceanic railway by the North American company, "The International Railway of Central America," and the fight began for control of the banks and the exploitation of sugar, coffee and cotton.

This struggle could not be directed satisfactorily to North American imperialism by the various governments that followed that of the "Reformer," Justino Rufino Barrios. It was necessary to establish an iron dictatorship—under no matter which party—that would favor the consolidation of American imperialism and the displacement of British imperialism.

Such a dictatorship was exercised by the government of Estrada Cabrera. During the 22 years which it lasted the "United Fruit Company" and the "Cuyamel Company" obtained the concessions of the eastern banana zones.

Immediately after the world war all the resources that had been in the hands of German and British imperialisms passed automatically into the hands of North American imperialism. The government of Estrada Cabrera, following the orders of the White House, had declared war on Germany and the Central Powers. The governments which followed that of Cabrera have been, in fact, agents of North American imperialism, and Guatemala is actually a colony of the United States.

In 1923 the real trade union movement began with the formation of trade unions that proclaim the necessity of class struggle by means of direct action.

#### The First Great Strike

In 1924 ten thousand peones (unskilled agricultural workers little better than serfs) declared the first strike against the United Fruit Company in 54 of its plantations. They demanded a raise in wages, the eight-hour day and better living conditions. This strike, which lasted for 27 days, was crushed by force of arms, as a consequence of the lack of an organization that might have directed the movement. A great number of workers were killed or wounded, jailed and deported from the country.

The same year, 1924, five thousand railroad workers entered the struggle in defense of

similar demands. The direct intervention of the United States Minister determined the dissolution of the organization and, with it, the complete failure of the strike.

Imperialism went further. It demanded that the government decree a law prohibiting all strike movements and declaring leaders of such movements responsible for crimes of sedition and rebellion. Since then the Railroad Workers' Union has not been able to be reorganized.

In 1925 1,500 bakers of the capital city and of other cities declared a strike for a wage raise, no night work and a betterment of working conditions. It was the first successful strike. Almost all points of the strikers were accepted. The victory was due to the fact that the baking industry is not in the hands of imperialism, and, secondly, to the existence of a strong and revolutionary trade union, "Sindicato de Panaderos," which directed the movement. However, many workers, both of the said union and of other organizations that aided the strike, were imprisoned and tortured.

#### Class Trade Unions Developing

Toward the end of the same year the organization of working men and women made rapid advances. Numerous trade unions were formed and began the struggle directly, by means of strikes and other mass movements. Among the most important of these struggles were those of the Coffee Sorters (women), the Soap Workers, Glass Workers and Garment Workers (women), for the putting into effect of the eight-hour law and for increased wages. These strikes took on a clearly political character, because the workers saw themselves compelled to fight against the government which, closely linked to the capitalists, adopted severe repressive measures against the proletariat.

In the last few years the organization of trade unions has attained great progress, as may be seen by the growing consolidation of the "Federacion Regional de Trabajadores de Guatemala," the national center of class struggle unionism in the country. Class consciousness is growing ever stronger in the Guatemalan proletariat.

# British Imperialism in India

By J. RYAN (Director, Labor Research Bureau, Sydney)

EARLY in the 18th century British ships sporadically visited India and carried on trade with the people of that country. Later the East India Company was formed in London and regular commercial relations were established. This company was given wide powers by the British Government. It was permitted to annex territory and employ soldiers—Indian and British—to guard the plundered possessions.

A similar policy, however, was being pursued by the French East India Company, backed up by the French Government. A series of battles took place between the rival plunderers. In these battles first one, then the other, would have the advantage. Finally, by 1761, the French were definitely defeated and the British could proceed to subdue the Indians practically without hindrance. Some annoyance was caused by the Dutch, who endeavored to gain a foothold, but they were speedily disposed of.

Consolidation of British supremacy over the Indian rulers was achieved by the time-honored method of pitting one section of the people against another, sometimes judiciously assisting each side to annihilate their opponents. When necessary, open attacks were made upon recalcitrant princes or kings, and great slaughter was inflicted on the unfortunate, crudely-armed Indians. In many cases native rulers were induced to liquidate their standing armies and place themselves under the protection of the British. Eventually the British East India Company became the supreme authority in India.

It seems strange that a company should rule over a whole country, employ a standing army to suppress opposition, impose taxation and make treaties, etc., nevertheless that is what actually occurred. And it was a profitable business, too; many handsome dividends were distributed among the shareholders.

So repressive was the company's rule that when a mutiny occurred in the native army in 1857, over a comparatively small matter, the contagion spread like wildfire and thousands of British soldiers had to be sent from England to quell it. This they did with incredible savagery.

So great was the scare caused by the mutiny and its repercussions that the British Government decided to take the government of India from the East India Company and place it under the crown. The debts incurred through suppressing the rebellion were fastened on to the new "Government of India." A Vice-Roy was appointed and executive councils, composed of nominees, were formed. The country was divided into nine provinces—each with a provincial governor and an executive council.

This autocratic form of government continued until the "reforms" of 1919 were instituted as a result of the agitation carried on by the Indians during and after the "great war." The new constitution provided for a legislative council and executive council in each province, and a legislative assembly and executive council for the central government. On a very restricted franchise—7,000,000 voters out of 240,000,000 people—wealthy Indians have the right to elect representatives to the lower houses; the workers and poor peasants have not the right to vote. In addition to elected members there are nominated members in the lower houses. The restricted franchise and the large percentage of members, who are nominated by the governors, make the lower houses comparatively safe for British Imperialism.

In any case the lower houses are merely debating societies, because anything they decide upon can be vetoed by the executive councils which are appointed by the governors. In the central government, for ex-

ample, the ministers are appointed by the Vice-Roy, and no matter how often their proposals are defeated in the Legislative Assembly they do not resign nor do they abandon their proposals. It is significant that the Government of India spends over 50 per cent of its revenue on the military.

These reforms" aroused the resentment of all classes of Indians and gave rise to the "non-co-operation" movement—but that is another story which can be incorporated in another article, an article dealing with the national independence movement.

British capitalists derive wealth from India in four main ways: by selling British goods, by buying or producing cheap raw materials, by taxation, and by investment of capital in Indian industries. While the Indian market is no longer monopolized by British goods, nevertheless they still occupy the most important place, and in other respects British capital is predominant. The direct holding of capital from Britain in the big companies, usually registered in London, gives British capital a virtual monopoly of railways, shipping, banking, and the jute and tea industries. London interests also dominate in coal, steel and engineering.

### Invested Capital

Local British companies, mainly in Bengal, have strong interests in electric power, docks and transport, flour mills, rice mills, timber and construction, etc. Indian capital is predominant only in cotton among the large industries, but owns small firms in all branches of industry and controls most retail distribution. Of the capital invested in joint stock companies, over 80 per cent. is British. There is, of course, much unregistered Indian capital in small and private firms. The penetration of other foreign capital, particularly American, although not a serious factor yet, is growing. General Motors opened an up-to-date mass production motor manufacturing works at Bombay while I was there last December. The Tata Steel firm is now partly British and partly American.

The central financial institution is largely under Government control, with participation of British and Indian industrial and financial representatives. Indian capitalists have been pressing for popular control—greater representation of their interests—but have been foiled up to the present.

The policy of British Imperialism in India to retain its position of dominance is a three-fold one. It secures firm control of the chief industries, communications, administration, etc., and extends the area of its support among the land-owning and bourgeois classes. Secondly, by encouraging internal conflicts of various kinds, it disintegrates the forces of opposition to it. Finally, it conducts a policy of direct suppression of movements dangerous to its rule.

As stated previously, the British control a large proportion of the active capital operating in India; and with it the apparatus of the law, the administration, the educational system, the chief commercial organs of the press, the police and armed forces. In addition there is practically complete control of the rulers of the native states, who are despotic, and are allowed wide powers in their own territories. Imperialism is opposed to the introduction of democratic forms of government within the states, and assists the native rulers in the suppression of internal revolt. Further, imperialism has firm support from the big land-owning class and from those sections whose capital is invested in British firms.

### The Anglo-Indians

Imperialism receives strong support from the Anglo-Indian community, which supplies a substantial part of the skilled artisans, and to a lesser extent from the Indian Christians who are under the influence of the missionaries.

Nevertheless, the support of those sections of the population is not sufficient, and, especially after the great agitation of 1917-'22, further means have been adopted, not so much to gain support as to weaken opposition. There has, throughout the period of imperialist control, been a systematic encouragement of differences of religion, community castes, etc., and it has been a settled policy to perpetuate religious and customary evils, which retard physical, intellectual and social development. The mass of the people is kept illiterate and severe restrictions are placed upon the education given to the middle classes in schools and universities.

The most important case of this policy of fomentation of differences is that of the Hindu-Moslem divergence. While partly an artificial result of the agitation of the British-owned press on the alleged atrocities during the Malabar rising, the dangers of a

Moslem invasion from the northwest, and of the communal electorates, the trouble has a certain class basis. In the Punjab most of the peasantry is Mussulman, while the exploiting moneylenders are mainly Hindus. As also in Bengal, most of the peasants are Mussulman and the Zemindars (landlords) and moneylenders largely Hindus. These are the chief centers of communal feeling. Further, a considerable class of communal leaders has sprung up, whose popular influence and income depend upon the inflammation of communal passions, and the direction of the natural discontent of the exploited masses away from political avenues into the communal channel.

At the same time the policy of imperialism has been one of continued suppression of efforts to extend the basis of the national movement to include the masses. Men returning from Russia with radical or communist ideas have been practically all imprisoned. Others with similar ideas have been treated in the same way—as in the Cawnpore conspiracy case. There is an unbroken series of prosecutions in different parts of the country of writers and speakers for "inciting" the masses to hatred against the Government. A vigorous censorship of mails, especially foreign, is maintained, and wholesale proscription and seizure of literature with a radical tendency.

Nearly one-fourth of the population of India is included in the native states, which constitute on the whole the most economically and culturally backward and politically reactionary section of the country. In practically no case is there any important industrial development, and even communication is poor. Almost all states are under complete despotism, only a few being tempered with some rudiments of democracy. The

rule is harsh and arbitrary to an intolerable degree, and outbreaks of opposition by peasants often occur. Almost all rulers of native states are supporters of imperialism, and vice versa.

A large part of British India is also under the dominance of big landholders, who in some cases wield powers approximating to those of the states' rulers. In many districts forced labor and other feudal dues are still extracted from peasants, and arbitrary expropriation of peasants' holdings is common. Rents are forced up usually to the maximum possible limit, often many times higher than the Government tax assessments.

The princes and the big Zemindars (landlords) of the eastern (and to a smaller extent of the western) provinces are the chief owners of the land of the country, and the chief obstacle to the economic advance and prosperity of its main occupation, agriculture. The Chamber of Princes and the various Zemindars' Conferences, the organs of these sections, are practically without exception loyal to British Imperialism and for long represented its chief support within the country. It is part of the policy of Imperialism to maintain the native states and to some extent the Zemindary system, as a stronghold of reaction and political backwardness within the country. Political advance within the states is discouraged, and suppression of opposition movements supported.

This article is an attempt to sum up—all too briefly—the forces at the disposal of British Imperialism in India. In succeeding articles I will endeavor to give an outline of the position of the Indian capitalists, the middle class, the peasants and the workers.

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## Wanted, Copies of Past Issues

*On account of the difficult conditions under which the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat published its organ in China, first the PAN-PACIFIC WORKER at Hankow, later the FAR EASTERN MONTHLY at Shanghai, the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY on beginning publication in America, finds itself without a complete file of its predecessors. Yet we are receiving requests from many quarters for complete or partial files of these publications, also for copies of the bulletins issued by the Hankow Conference and its Resolutions and Decisions.*

*Readers who have retained copies of any or all issues and publications printed in China, who can spare a complete file or even single copies, will do us a great favor by mailing them to us at once. Address: PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY, P. O. Box 535, San Francisco, Calif., U. S. A.*

## To All Trade Unions of India

**A**FTER the Executive Committee of the Indian Trade Union Congress decided to postpone for one year the question of affiliation to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, the Secretariat decided to invite the various unions of India to send delegates to the next Congress taking place at Vladivostock on August 1.

But before the invitations reached India, many officers of the unions addressed were arrested. The lawless and arbitrary British officials probably will never deliver the letters to new officers of the Indian unions who took the places of those imprisoned.

Everyone is aware that the British government is trying to isolate organized labor of India, especially from the P. P. T. U. S. Because of interference with legitimate correspondence, this notice is published to notify all Indian trade unions that official letters of invitation to the August 1 Pan-Pacific T. U.

Congress at Vladivostock have been sent them.

Lack of space prevents giving the whole letter here, but its closing lines state, over the signature of the P. P. T. U. S.:

"We therefore extend a hearty invitation to your organization to send delegates to the II Pan-Pacific Conference which will open at Vladivostock next August 1. If it is impossible for you to send delegates due to lack of finances, you could probably arrange with some other union or unions to be jointly represented by a delegation. To have delegates at our next Conference will be a fitting reply to the exploiters of Indian workers and peasants who have finally decided to cut off Indian trade unionists from their fellow-workers abroad by passing the 'Public Safety Bill', which, with the aid of the anti-Trade Union Act, is intended to smash the Indian trade unions."

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## A New Stage of the Mexican Revolution

By EARL BROWDER

**T**HE events of March and April in Mexico have emphasized the fact that the Mexican Revolution has passed to a new stage of its development. The uprising of the reactionary landlord-clerical forces, which began on March 3rd with the mutiny of the troops of General Aguirre at Vera Cruz, disclosed the changing alignment of class forces within Mexico, their relations internationally, and the greater maturity of all the class forces engaged in armed struggle. Precisely what are the changes in the relation of class forces becomes a life-and-death question for the Mexican workers and peasants, for upon the estimation, correct or false, of these forces de-

pend the direction in which guns are turned.

### The Passing Stage of the Revolution

That stage of the revolution out of which Mexico is now passing was given its characteristic features in the Calles-Obregon regime, which emerged as a petty-bourgeois government basing itself upon mass support of workers and peasants while engaging in struggle against foreign Imperialism (United States and Great Britain) and against native landlord-clerical reaction, at the same time making compromises and concessions to its enemies and putting off the workers and peasants largely with promises.

Torn between conflicting forces and tend-

encies within itself, the Mexican revolutionary government pursued a zigzag path. But its course, on the whole, was directed against imperialism and feudal-clerical reaction until 1928. During this period the inner contradictions, the antagonistic class interests, were maturing and accumulating. In 1928 they broke through the old policies and alignments, and ended that phase of the Mexican revolution in which the leadership lay with the petty-bourgeoisie.

The anti-imperialist policy of the Mexican petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie, in its earlier stage of development, required that it rally the support of the worker and peasant masses. This was accomplished under the slogan of "Land and Liberty", which signified for the peasantry the demand for distribution of the land and breaking up of the great estates, and, for the workers, freedom of organization, right to strike, etc., with the reclamation of national resources from foreign imperialism.

The government had purchased the support of the masses by means of promises which it could only carry out by making uncompromising war against the native landowners and foreign imperialism. But it felt itself too weak for such a struggle, especially because its own special class-foundation is weak. Its economic basis is undeveloped and its strength is sapped by its interpenetration with the feudal elements. It was fearful of the growing organization, consciousness, power and aggressiveness of the workers and peasants. It searched feverishly for formulae of compromise, for "some way out" other than that of uncompromising struggle.

#### From Compromise to Surrender

Therefore the peasantry was cheated of the promised distribution of land; the confiscation from foreign imperialism of Mexican natural resources was abandoned; the rising organizations of the workers were systematically corrupted through the Morones-Labor Party-CROM leadership. And finally, in the same series of developments, inevitably came 1928 and the complete surrender of the Mexican government of Calles-Obregon to Dwight L. Morrow, Ambassador from Wall street, for the U. S. Government.

During the past period, when the Mexican petty-bourgeois government was conducting a struggle against American imperialism, and when it was serving as a rallying-center for the national-revolutionary movements of all

Latin-America, it received the support of the masses of workers and peasants, including the conditional support of the Mexican Communist Party.

This policy was correct so long as there existed its foundation; namely, the anti-imperialist struggle of the government. But with the surrender to Wall street by Calles-Obregon, together with the decisive sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and all the commercial, banking, and small "modern" capitalists, such a policy of support, even though conditional and modified by sharp criticism, was no longer a revolutionary policy.

The government of Portes Gil, successor to Calles and Obregon, which openly depends for its existence upon the favors of American imperialism, is definitely a government of counter-revolution. It reflects in its transformed role the changing role of the petty-bourgeoisie which abandons its attempts at an independent line and accepts the leadership of the native bourgeoisie and foreign imperialism. Where the passing period of the Mexican revolution was under the leadership of the petty-bourgeoisie, the new period now opening finds that class deserted to the enemy, on the other side of the firing-line; the only forces now capable of carrying forward the revolution are those of the workers and peasants.

#### The Anglo-American Rivalry in Mexico

Undoubtedly the hastily-consummated surrender of the Mexican government to the United States was motivated by a double fear; first, of the threatening feudal-clerical reaction which grew bold with the secret but effective aid of Great Britain, and second, fear of the workers and peasants who were beginning to press more and more their demands.

In order to defeat the reactionary rising, the government had to find support—either by mobilizing and arming the masses, or by coming to terms with Wall street. It chose the latter.

Thus the civil-war alignment in Mexico fitted itself into the pattern of the world-struggle between Britain and America. And there can be no doubt that, while the civil war has its specific Mexican roots and causes which cannot be explained by international forces, the rivalry of the two giants of imperialism has played and is still playing a tremendous role in stimulating events and determining their forms. The civil war in Mexico, just

as the civil war also in China, becomes one of the preludes to the world war.

This fact is overlooked by our comrades in Mexico, an oversight which contains the possibility of serious mistakes in future. Thus the Thesis of the Mexican Communist Party says in its first paragraph:

"... American investment ousts and subordinates to its interests the rest of invested capital, attaining thus a united front of bankers and foreign exploiters, under the direction of American government."

It is true that American imperialism is strengthening greatly its hold over Mexico, and gaining new positions against its rival, Britain. But this fact sharpens, rather than eliminates, the imperialist rivalry. The very aggressiveness and growing domination of Yankee imperialism are precisely factors which, all over the world, sharpens the resistance of British imperialism and brings ever closer the inevitable armed conflict between them.

Properly to understand this basic fact, and concretely to study in all detail the resulting effects in Mexican political development, is necessary in order to fortify the revolutionary perspective, to guard against falling into subjection to either group of imperialist agents, and to strengthen the independent policy of the worker-peasant mass movement. The Mexican revolutionists must open their eyes to the role being played within their country by world forces, in order to correctly evaluate the internal situation.

#### **An Independent Worker-Peasant Policy**

The present new period of the Mexican Revolution is characterized by the emergence of the workers and peasants as an independent force, carrying through the revolution no longer **with** but **against** the petty-bourgeoisie, which has surrendered to the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

This essential feature of the new period is recognized by the Mexican Communist Party in its Thesis (paragraph 11) when it says:

"The first task of the Party must consist in separating the working and agrarian masses from the leadership of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie. The second, to organize these masses within one organization which will unify them for action. This task the Party must undertake with all energy. The Comintern at our April

conference has fixed the method and the organization. The method is a class program which should mark clearly the difference of the objectives between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and peasant class. The organization is the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc."

The project of a workers' and peasants' bloc was materialized in the great January conference in Mexico City, which demonstrated a high degree of consciousness and fighting spirit among the masses. The Conference adopted a program to develop the independent role of the workers and peasants, against both feudal-clerical reaction and against the Mexican bourgeois lackeys of U. S. imperialism, the Portes Gil government. This program included the arming of the masses, nationalization of the land, confiscation of the industries with workers' control, and the setting up of workers' and peasants' councils, etc. This program is clearly based upon a perspective of a sharply-revolutionary situation in which the leadership must be assumed by the working class.

Within a few weeks (on March 3rd) this perspective had been confirmed by the outbreak of the reactionary rising. And the course of the Gil government fully confirmed the judgment of its counter-revolutionary nature. Turning away still more definitely from the masses, the Gil government relied entirely upon the aid, in arms, munitions, and political support, of the United States. Toward the workers and peasants the government intensified its already sharply hostile policy, using the war mobilization in order to proceed to the violent liquidation of the organizations of the masses.

#### **Progress Marred by Confusion**

During the events of March and April there is no doubt that the mass movement of workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Mexican Communist Party, has made progress towards its necessary independent role. It has made some successes in breaking the masses from the petty-bourgeoisie and directing them toward an independent policy.

But at the same time it is also evident that some confusion of a serious nature exists on this question. Thus the heroic peasant detachment which defeated the rebels at Vera Cruz, found the fruits of their victory calmly appropriated by the government forces which did none of the fighting, while they them-

selves were dispersed and disarmed as their reward. The independent policy had not been adequately prepared, the leadership of the struggle against the rebellion had been again resigned to the petty-bourgeoisie as in the past.

That this was not entirely the mistake of the leaders in the field, but represented (at least partially) some continued confusion in the very center of the Party, is shown by the Manifesto of the Party published in "El Machete" on March 9th, in which is to be found the following:

"Demand from the executive federal power, and from all local powers, that all available arms and military equipment be turned over immediately to the worker and peasant organizations which together with the federal forces remaining loyal to the government shall insure protection to the territories and cities attacked by the reactionary troops."

This formulation of the demand for arms is quite clearly not directed toward independent action; in fact, it is a pledge of "loyalty" to the Gil government and an acceptance of its leadership. The "demand" was not, of course, agreed to by the government, which instead proceeded (as in Jalisco) to the arrest and deportation of worker leaders, breaking up their organizations, and even violating the parliamentary immunity of a Communist Deputy. If the workers and peasants still have illusions about "co-operation" with the petty-bourgeoisie, the Portes Gil government does not suffer in the same way.

#### Is There a Mexican Bourgeoisie?

One of the sources of difficulty in developing the independent policy of workers and peasants in Mexico, lies in the failure of the revolutionary leadership to properly appraise the role and influence of the bourgeoisie. Indeed, it is even questioned that there exists a bourgeoisie in Mexico, the formula being put forth that "the U. S. Imperialists are the bourgeoisie of Mexico", and that "in Mexico we have only a petty-bourgeoisie with a tendency to become a bourgeoisie."

This is a confusion of size (the Mexican capitalist is certainly small—therefore "petty"—compared with U. S. capitalists) with social and economic function and class interests (from which angle it is wrong to class these elements as "petty" bourgeoisie). The fact is, that out of the Revolution itself in its first

phase there has emerged a "modern" bourgeoisie, whose influence and power has been continually growing, and which is precisely the power which today has hegemony in the government.

It is the supreme task of the revolutionists in Mexico at this time to separate the masses (and to some extent also part of the petty-bourgeoisie) from the leadership of the bourgeoisie. But how can this task be effectively carried out when the very existence of the bourgeoisie is brought into question? It is evident that the denial of the existence of the bourgeoisie is not a method of struggle against it.

The same mistake was made by revolutionists in China during 1925-1927. Under the formula "There is no native bourgeoisie", there took place in reality a dragging at the tail of the bourgeoisie on the part of the revolutionary forces. The under-estimation of the influence of the bourgeoisie, the classification of the bourgeois elements as "petty bourgeois" and, by that fact, a part of the anti-imperialist forces even if wavering and unreliable — these are dangerous errors, whether made in China, India, or Mexico.

"The Mexican revolution . . . led to the formation of a government of the petty bourgeoisie. . . ."

"The national-emancipatory struggle against American imperialism which has begun in Latin-America is taking place for the most part under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie." (Thesis 6th World Congress of Communist International).

These quotations, placed opposite the statement that "The Portes Gil government of Mexico is a petty bourgeois government", may lend an appearance of justification to continued conditional support of the Gil government by the revolutionary forces. This is a great danger.

#### Transformation Completed

The Mexican government originated as a petty bourgeois government engaged in struggle against imperialism; but it has transformed itself into an instrument of U. S. imperialist rule. Inside of Mexico it bases itself upon the bourgeoisie and those sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and landed interests which have subordinated themselves to the bourgeoisie and to American imperialism. It is therefore no longer correct to speak of this government as "petty bourgeois" in the sense of

"national emancipatory", as terms in opposition to "bourgeois" and "national reformist". The Mexican government is incorporated into the forces of counter-revolution.

#### Towards a Workers' and Peasants' Government

There is not the slightest ground for pessimism because the workers and peasants stumble a bit, and make a few mistakes, in their first steps toward their independent struggle for power. Mistakes are not fatal, provided they are recognized and corrected. And as against these mistakes, there must be recorded the successful and highly important steps of the January conferences and the actions since then.

The formation of the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc, by its very existence, forces the masses on to the field of independent action, and raises the question of a Workers' and Peasants' Government. And the establishment of the Unitary Confederation of Labor of Mexico, with a large affiliated member-

ship, weakening thereby to that extent the treacherous CROM leadership of Morones & Co., and the imperialistic Pan-American Federation of Labor, is an enormous gain for the Mexican workers.

While the Mexican workers and peasants are thus entering upon the road of the struggle for power, for a Workers' and Peasants' government, the revolutionary workers of the United States must more sharply than before realize their own special tasks in this regard. Workers everywhere, especially in the United States, must really begin the agitation and mobilization of the workers for struggle against imperialist intervention; for support of the Mexican workers and peasants; for the organization of the Mexican immigrant workers in the U. S.; for practical help to the Mexican revolutionary organizations. These are among the first duties of the adherents of the P. P. T. U. S. in the U. S. A., who follow the Trade Union Educational League as the most conscious representative of the American working class as a whole.

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## 'The Philippine Islands

By HARRISON GEORGE

**T**HE affiliation of the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat in 1927, and the development of the C. O. F. since then, in a period of increasing class struggle, makes necessary a brief review of this chief colony of American imperialism, the characteristics of which have long been obscured by complete isolation from the world labor movement.

There are 7,083 islands in the archipelago, 11 being large and important, the largest is Luzon. The total area is 114,000 square miles. The Northern islands lie 800 miles from Japan, only 100 miles from Japan-ruled Formosa, and but 600 miles from the British base at Hongkong. The Philippines are the chief naval base of American imperialism in the Far East.

Rice, sugar, coconuts, hemp, corn and tobacco, successively, are the most important products. America, of course, dominates trade and increases its role of exploitation, upsetting the feudal relationship between the peasantry and artisan handicraft by its commodities from the United States as well as introducing such mechanical devices as displace labor (cigar making machines) and the ancient means of transport, the motor in place of the plodding carabao or water-buffalo. Former Governor General Forbes has said that 90 per cent of the wealth is owned by foreigners, and most of that by Americans.

Pauperism is increasing. Infant mortality in Manila is 48.8 per thousand compared with 18.28 in the U. S. A. Of those dying from beri-beri and malnutrition, 87 per cent are

nursed by mothers, which shows the terrible poverty. Manila is second only to Calcutta in deaths from tuberculosis, scarcely a toiler's family in the whole archipelago is without a tubercular member. In 1917, the Manila death rate was: Americans, 7.12 per thousand; Filipinos, 26.67 per thousand. On the main streets of Manila 13-year-old girls are offered for prostitution by male solicitors. "The best governed city in the world"—say American imperialists.

The bulk of organic and administrative law is made in America, by the U. S. Congress. The Jones Law of 1916, hailed by the bourgeois nationalists because it gave a vague promise of independence (sometime), placed supreme executive power in the hands of the U. S. President, exercised by him through the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the U. S. War Department. Hence the Filipino people live under continual martial law.

#### A Miserable Fake

True, there is a miserable fake of native government, called the Philippine Legislature, 91 Representatives and 24 Senators from the 48 provinces. Nine of the first and two of the latter are appointed by the Governor General to "represent" the non-Christian provinces. This gentleman, appointed by the U. S. President, can veto any act of the Legislature, controls all armed forces and departments of government.

A Supreme Court of nine is appointed by the U. S. President. Literate males over 21 years can vote. Illiterates also who pay 50 pesos taxes. Wholesale coercion and general corruption annuls even this pretension of "democracy". Governors of the nine "non-Christian" Mahommedan provinces are appointed by the Governor General. Imperialism craftily incites division between Christian and Mahommedan.

A population, in 1926, of 12,108,688 estimated, making 87 to the square mile, has 25 per cent living in cities and towns. Manila, the largest, has 320,000; Legaspi, 52,760; Iloilo, 49,115; 27 towns have from 25,000 to 50,000; 79 villages from 18,000 to 25,000. In 1918, there were 65,149 foreigners, 44,239 of them Chinese, 8,294 Japanese, 5,829 Europeans (mostly Spaniards), and 5,808 Americans. The latter in addition, of course, to the large body of American armed forces continually occupying the country.

About 75 per cent of adults can read and write either English, Spanish or their Malay

dialect. Of these dialects, two, Tagalog and Viscayan, are spoken by 75 per cent of the population. Illiteracy is most prevalent among the impoverished peasantry.

#### Imperialist Propaganda

American imperialism plays up, through cinema and press in America, the customs of the Moros of the South, and of the few remnants of aboriginal Negrito tribes in the mountains of Luzon, to picture all Filipinos as barbarians and, of course, "unworthy of independence". We have even seen pictures of "men with tails"! But the average Filipino (Malay) can give lessons in civilized behaviour to the Americans who rule him, in fact, one weakness of the labor leadership is its polite attitude toward those who oppress and rob the masses, its timidity toward breaking through the formalisms and legal bars set up by capitalist-imperialist authority.

Of course, this is based on a class collaboration tendency, and a change is going on. Soon the struggle itself will make courtesy a class affair between comrades, and blunt words and rude acts the treatment of all class enemies and those who defend them or betray the masses.

In 1925, the working class was classified as follows: Agricultural laborers, 2,547,572; in commerce and transport, 118,178; in trade and industry, 113,171; fishermen, 50,830; miners, 12,850; forest workers, 11,763; government employees, 3,037.

#### Always Starving

The following table of average wages illustrates the trend in Pesos (50 cents U. S.) and Centavos (100 to the Peso):

	1903	1911	1917	1918	1926
Farm workers .....	.55	.64	.67	.65	.82
City workers.....	.73	.88	1.25	1.98	2.00

Yet the Bureau of Labor in 1926, estimated the cost of living for a family of five to be 2.32 pesos daily in Manila, in the provinces, 1.82 pesos. We can see where the high death rate and tuberculosis comes from, as well as child and women labor and prostitution. No laws limiting hours of labor exist, except for youth labor under 16, set at seven hours, but wholly ignored in practice. Land and forest workers especially work 14 and more hours and official figures on all are false.

Mutualist and religious labor guilds appeared early in the 19th century, growing more numerous just before the revolution against Spain. On February 2, 1902, a national center was formed called the "Union

Obrera Democratica". Its founder, Isabello de los Reyes, was a non-worker. When jailed, he promised to cease agitation and is now a bourgeois politician. Dominador Gomez, a doctor, with a militant agitation under the slogan "Always united to conquer", built the U. O. D. up to 40,000 members and strikes occurred. Gomez was also imprisoned and his honesty attacked, and the organization dissolved by decree of the U. S. in 1903.

A more conservative body, the "Union del Trabajo" followed, but broke up over political rivalries of non-worker leaders and mismanagement of funds in 1907. Isolated unions of several trades remained. On May 1, 1913, the present **Congreso Obrero de Filipinas** was formed, led by H. Cruz, the present Director of Labor in the Philippine government and a strong class collaborator.

#### Gompers' Prototype

But the C. O. F., led mostly by non-worker elements following the bourgeois "Nacionalista" party, had a small split of similar or worse elements in 1916, who followed the bourgeois "Democrata" party. The splitters formed the "Asemblea Obrera", which later changed its name to "Federacion del Trabajo", an organization which has no constitution and no other officer than one Joaquin Balmori, who deserves the epithet he adopts for himself as "the Gompers of the Philippines".

This gentleman it is with whom the Amsterdamers are connected with the Philippines, though till now rather loosely. Balmori is one of the worst traitors to the Filipino workers, and has become rich by selling their interests, serving as a bootlicking spy for Governor General Wood and owns much property as a reward for his servile treachery.

In 1927, when the **Congreso Obrero** affiliated to the P. P. T. U. S., it was still much under class collaboration influence and tended to follow the guidance, greatly to its injury, of the Director of Labor, its old leader but gone over to the class enemy, where he belonged with his ideas of collaboration, arbitration, compromise and peace between classes. It was also wandering about in craft unionism and mutualism. But it was and is the real national trade union center, with 81,137 members; while Balmori's personally-owned center had only 3,268 (all in Manila); isolated independent unions having 22,786.

Since affiliation to P. P. T. U. S., the C. O. F. has shown a new spirit and an excellent policy, with great progress and practical re-

sults in the field of daily struggle. Of these events up till the time of its convention this year in May, articles in the next issue of the "Pan-Pacific Monthly" will tell.

#### The Struggle for Independence

During the 350 years of Spanish despotism, there were over 100 armed revolts, but poorly led and unorganized. Bourgeois historians have wholly concealed the fact, of which all workers should be proud, that it was a worker who organized and led the first revolt that would have succeeded had it not been for his murder by the bourgeois traitor, Emilio Aguinaldo.

This worker, **Andreas Bonifacio**, a poor shop clerk or "bodeguero", in 1892 began to organize an insurrectionary society, the "Katipunan" (Sons of the Country), and on August 23, 1896, at its assembly, the Katipunan led by this worker, declared armed revolt against Spain.

The traditional hero venerated by Filipinos as Sun Yat Sen is venerated by the Chinese, was Jose Rizal. While it is quite true that Rizal was executed and freely gave his life, it was not in battle for he was a simple pacifist of the Ghandi type, an intellectual, a doctor by profession, who volunteered to serve as such in the Spanish army then oppressing Cuba as well. But Bonifacio was a **worker and a fighter** and, wounded in battle, died at the hands of a cowardly and murderous traitor who today is robbing the Filipino peasantry under protection of American imperialism.

#### "An Ignorant Worker"

When the Katipunan, led by Bonifacio, declared war, Aguinaldo, controlling a part of Cavite province, refused to follow him and attacked Bonifacio as "an ignorant worker and atheist". Aguinaldo formed a separate force, half-heartedly and often treacherously pretending co-operation. Aguinaldo's intrigue against Bonifacio broke up a unity assembly in March, 1897. In April of that year, Bonifacio, who had been wounded in battle with Spanish troops, was arrested by Aguinaldo and treacherously murdered at his order. In December, 1897, Aguinaldo made peace with the Spanish commander, who was none other than the present Fascist dictator of Spain, Primo de Rivera.

The non-fulfillment of the peace pact brought about resumption of hostilities, and Aguinaldo's bourgeois mind could think of nothing better than to bring in American imperialism to oust Spanish imperialism—

since Aguinaldo feared the masses and relied upon foreign arms rather than the heroism of the Filipino masses as did Bonifacio, the worker. What happened should be a lesson for the present independence movement, never to be forgotten.

American forces entered Manila on May 1, 1898, but remained after the Spanish were ousted, and after deliberately provoking conflict with Filipino troops on August 13, began a war of utter extermination in which torture and massacre spared neither age nor sex. The most popular song of the American troops was "Civilize 'em with a Krag"!, a rifle.

#### An Unspeakable Traitor

Aguinaldo was captured and turned traitor, urging surrender. But war continued, lasting nearly three years. For his treachery, to be expected from bourgeois leadership, the American government granted him an annual pension, a bribe, of 12,000 Pesos and permitted him to defraud peasants of an enormous area of land. This is the cowardly and traitorous murderer of the worker and real independence fighter, **Andreas Bonifacio**. Yet ignoramuses who write of the Philippines, picture this snake, Aguinaldo, as a hero; and are

silent about the brave worker—Bonifacio.

Until 1907, American imperialism permitted no elections. Since then it has let the native bourgeois politicians befool the masses with the notion that the Philippine Legislature would do something for independence. These politicians did nothing but talk for over 20 years, and have lately ceased even to talk for independence. The dominant "Nacionalista" party endorsed Stimson as Governor General in 1928, and the party leader, Manuel Quezon, after an accord with American bankers in New York, kowtowed to Chiang Kai-shih in China. Like all his kind in both parties, Quezon is very wealthy from exploiting the Filipino toilers. He owns under "dummy" holders, vast estates and also owns banks in Argentina, South America.

The Labor Party, formed in 1925, is a healthy counterpoint to the bourgeois parties, attacking them as traitors to independence, and following a generally clear class line, but somewhat confused and weak organizationally. There has existed no Communist Party, but recently a Young Workers' League has been formed. The role of the youth, women and peasant toilers must receive special attention in other articles.

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## Significant Strikes in the U. S. A.

**T**HE significance of the textile strikes now being fought out in the Southern part of the United States, goes beyond the usual measurement of simple trade unionism as to number of workers engaged and whether they win or lose their demands, however important these are.

These strikes, in Tennessee, North Carolina and South Carolina, are of workers only lately brought into the factories from the poor farming population of the mountainous "back-country", still holding connections with rural life and its peasant ideology, raw and inexperienced in the class struggle.

This is seen in the fact that the present strikes occur only now, although over a year ago their wages were cut 50 per cent and one worker forced to do the same work previously done by two. At that time some workers

went back to their mountain farms, some went to other mill-towns hoping to find better jobs. Finding no solution, and faced with further body-racking and wage-cutting speed up, they finally rebelled against the whole system of starvation and rationalization—finally accepting their position as proletarians and fighting to improve it as such in conflict with monopolist-imperialist capital.

They had no experience and no revolutionary outlook, and accepted readily any leadership that offered itself; in Tennessee they accepted the treacherous reformist union of the American Federation of Labor; in North Carolina they accepted the lead of the textile union following the revolutionary Trade Union Educational League; while in South Carolina, both these unions having failed to enter the field, these raw recruits to the war

of the classes are leading their own strike the best they know how.

That the T. U. E. L. did not get into contact with any of these strikes until after they took place, or entered with little or no ideological and organizational preparation, exposes clearly a lack of strike struggle perspective for that region.

The neglect of the South is a glaring example of the Right Wing tendencies (it was called "a reservoir of reaction") that have dominated the left wing. This tendency could not see that the rationalization, speed up and wage cutting that was building up profits for the bourgeoisie, was also creating a simple but definite class struggle mood among these new proletarians.

This Right Wing tendency saw only the power of the bourgeoisie and, holding no Marxian concept of or faith in the working class, which may be summed up in the expression "The workers may be decrepit, but not the bourgeoisie", accepted to a considerable degree the bourgeois idea that an "industrial revolution" was in process in the South, that this spelled "prosperity"—apparently for all classes.

Unquestionably this outlook caused the lack of contact and delay in entering the strikes by the T. U. E. L. adherents, thus allowing the reformists to get control of the Tennessee strike and brought about faulty strategy in the North Carolina strike. However, the left-wing Textile Workers' Union has made progress despite faults, rallied the Gastonia, N. C., workers to spirited struggle against the

ruthless, brutal attacks of bosses, Fascist thugs, troops and police, and has functioning mill committees in about 60 mills.

Significant, also, is the way the reformists handled the strike in Tennessee. They stifled the first strike and sent the workers back without any gains at all. The betrayal was so flagrant that these inexperienced workers have twice again rebelled and struck in open defiance of the A. F. of L. leaders nominally controlling them. These reformists have clearly sought to smother the strike in a maze of long and vague negotiations, from which nothing comes but a surrender of the workers and an open alliance of these treacherous officials with the bosses and the government.

One other significant point of these strikes is the fact that the strikers are almost wholly native Americans, differing in this respect from Northern strikes generally, where up till the present the immigrant workers have played such a prominent role.

Also, the Southern strikes take place in a region where the Negro working class, and the attitude of race prejudice of the white workers, instilled into them by tradition from childhood, must be taken into account.

This and other problems demand that the T. U. E. L. make a special study at once of the whole question of practical approach to the South, how to wipe out race prejudice entirely, unite the negro and white worker as comrades in the struggle against the class enemy, and raise the class understanding of all workers to the level of the international revolutionary labor movement.

## Official Communications

*From the P. P. T. U. S. to the Congreso Obrero De Filipinas*

DEAR Comrades: The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat greets the delegates assembled at the Philippine Labor Congress. Your Congress takes place at a most critical period in world history. In every Pacific country the capitalist offensive increases against the trade unions. The forms of attack vary in each country. They comprise terrorism in China and Indonesia, special anti-working class and anti-trade union laws in Japan and India, anti-native laws in Africa,

persecution of leaders in South America, corruption of trade union leaders in U. S. A. and the most subtle of attacks is "industrial peace" as attempted in Australia, while in the Philippines, due to the increased activity of the C. O. F., we can already note preparations for a new offensive and feel the maneuvers being made to disrupt the C. O. F. Obviously, with the use of such varied methods of attack against the trade unions, there is no straight tactic line in launching an offensive. We must

develop special tactics according to the situation existing in each country.

In order to halt this offensive the united strength of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement must constantly be applied. Every affiliated organization of the P. P. T. U. S. must be mobilized to assist in stopping the offensive. The recent arrests and suppression of the labor movement of India is the immediate concern of the organized Filipino workers and peasants, for the success of the British imperialists in India, or elsewhere, will make it so much easier for the capitalists to intensify the attack in the Philippine Islands, just as the successful use of every other weapon, from white terror to "industrial peace" becomes an incentive to apply the same tactics against the Filipino trade and peasant unions.

As the II Conference of the P. P. T. U. S. draws nearer the maneuvers of the various imperialists and their lackeys within the labor movement become more numerous and adroit. In addition to attacks in each country, attempts are being made on an international scale to stop the growing influence of the P. P. T. U. S. The British and Japanese imperialists are most actively engaged in an attempt to disrupt or split the P. P. T. U. S.

Attempts are being made, but without any great success, to organize an "Asiatic" Labor Conference in opposition to the Pan-Pacific trade union movement. This is being done with the assistance of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, and is supported by the Amsterdam International, who, because of their imperialistic designs against the Asiatic workers and peasants, have failed to obtain any influence in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Bunji Suzuki is the prime mover in the Far East of this attempt to split the P. P. T. U. S. He is the agent of the Tanaka Government within the Japanese social-democratic trade unions, and this maneuver also constitutes an attempt to extend the influence and domination of Japanese imperialism throughout Asia. It goes without saying that every organization affiliated to the P. P. T. U. S. will never lend assistance to any imperialist country against the colonial peoples, but we must be careful of these sneaking tactics which are being used under the cover of a "labor movement" and which are deliberately designed to assist imperialist exploitation of Asiatic peoples. We are sure that the C. O. F. Congress will condemn in no uncertain terms this attempt to

perpetuate the slave conditions of the colonial workers and peasants, and give a fitting reply to this international attack against the P. P. T. U. S.

Between the various imperialist powers irreconcilable antagonisms exist, and increase daily. These are expressed in the policies of the two leading powers, Great Britain and the United States of America. In every part of the world these two leading powers struggle with each other for financial, industrial and political power, and nowhere is commercial rivalry more pronounced than in the Far East and especially in China, a center of colonial revolution.

Since the violent suppression of the real trade unions in China, they exist secretly, and poverty among the workers and peasants is far worse than before the betrayal of the revolution by the Kuomintang. Each competing imperialist power in a divided China extracts the greatest amount of loot at the expense of the toiling masses, with the aid of the Kuomintang. This results in factional civil wars, dismemberment, and keeps China a semi-colonial country.

Because of its strategic position the Philippines is of great importance in this universal rivalry. Each imperialist country is definitely preparing for war while camouflaging their intentions by hypocritical phrases about peace. This hostility can be measured by concrete facts: (1) failure of the Naval Armament Conference at Geneva, (2) the recent exposure of the secret Anglo-French Naval and Military Alliance, (3) the passing of the United States Cruiser Bill (which is the reply to the Anglo-French Pact), (4) the construction of England's £10,000,000 naval and air base at Singapore, (5) the strengthening of the fortifications at Pearl Harbor and the Panama by U. S. A., and the Philippine Islands is a veritable base of the next world war which will be centered in the Pacific.

The Pan-Pacific T. U. S. would be negligent in its duty if it did not draw attention of the Congress to this growing war danger against the first Workers' and Peasants' Republic. The greatest danger to the international working class movement is the constantly threatening danger of war against the U. S. S. R. The British imperialists never tire in their unending conspiracy to involve Soviet Russia in war. However, these intrigues, practiced upon every border of the Soviet Union and in every country, have been

met successfully by the diplomats of the workers and peasants.

Briefly, this is the situation arising out of the present international rivalry which threatens to involve the workers and peasants in another world war. The offensive against the trade unions and the P. P. T. U. S., which is the only organization rallying the millions of trade unionists in the Pacific area, is directly conditioned by this world situation, for not only does the capitalist class try to obtain a favorite position in the world market by forcing the workers to slave longer hours for less wages, but this offensive is also to prevent organized labor developing a fight against the imperialist war danger.

What is the situation in the Philippines today? As in China, we see the bourgeois politicians of the Nationalist and the Democratic Parties betraying the struggle for national independence, and accepting the formula of Colonel Stimson: "Political independence can only follow economic development." Translated into actual practice this means giving up the struggle for national independence, slavishly accepting the colonial status and inviting greater imperialist exploitation. This is actually the position of the followers of Senator Manuel Quezon, who said recently:

"The United States are in the Philippines, not for the purpose of exploiting the Filipinos, but to help or develop our country for our own benefit, and for the purpose of establishing here a free self-governing community. . . . If the United States really meant to adopt the policy of exploiting the Filipinos, there would be no power that would stop her from doing it."

It is for the delegates now to judge whether this "economic development" preferred by Quezon and the national bourgeoisie carries with it exploitation. Your Congress is confronted with an increasing number of propertyless peasants, impossibility of meeting their debts due to exacting money-lenders, tradesmen and landowners, imprisonment of protesting workers and peasants, evictions of the peasants from their land, strikes against terribly low standards of living, unemployment, etc. These facts furnish the answer to Senator Quezon, and the Congress will derive the correct conclusion.

As in India, China, Indonesia, etc., the workers and peasants are the real custodians of the struggle for a higher standard of living

and national independence, and all who refuse to accept this fact are only seeking to use the workers and peasants for their own personal interests.

In order that the C. O. F., in co-operation with the Confederation of Peasants and Farm Laborers, can remedy the existing low standards of living, and take up the struggle for national independence, your Congress must recognize all weaknesses and adopt measures to repair all organizational defects. Out of a population of 12,000,000 there are approximately 3,000,000 wage earners, peasants and workers. Only a small fraction of these are organized into their respective organizations, but a good beginning has been made, although the organized workers are divided into more than 100 different unions.

The delegates should settle first that only the C. O. F. is recognized as the national center for the Philippine trade union movement. Proceeding from this basis the Congress must lay down a policy for the E. C. of the C. O. F. The most important tasks are: (1) to strengthen the existing unions by helping to organize the unorganized; (2) to obtain affiliation from trade unions still unconnected with the C. O. F.; (3) the C. O. F., E. C. to organize the workers in unorganized industries into industrial unions and assist them until they function properly; (4) to work in co-operation with the officials of the affiliated unions for the establishment of shop or factory committees in the various industries; (5) where small unions exist in one industry, to work in co-operation with the officials of affiliated unions and assist in reorganizing them into industrial unions; (6) to carry on a campaign for industrial unionism within those unions not affiliated to the C. O. F.; (7) to prepare special campaigns for bringing the women and the youth into the trade unions and to draw them into the daily work of the unions; (8) to establish a constitution and rules for the C. O. F.; (9) to establish educational classes for trade unionists, and (10) to issue small pamphlets explaining the class struggle and the benefits of trade unionism.

The E. C. should be instructed to draft a national program of immediate demands embodying, (a) the eight-hour day, (b) minimum wage, (c) limitation of child and woman labor, (d) social insurance including unemployment benefits and a period of rest with full pay for women before and after childbirth, etc.

The C. O. F. must not be forgetful of its duty towards the peasantry which constitutes the bulk of the Filipino wage earners. The organized workers must support the peasant demands for lower rents, higher wages and shorter hours on the plantations, etc., help them to fight against evictions and the exactions of the landlords and traders. In this way a real workers' and peasants' alliance can be built up.

Although you have correctly estimated the need for international unity by affiliating to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, there is great need for an educational campaign among the workers and peasants, explaining the objects of the P. P. T. U. S. and the real meaning of international unity. This should be carried on simultaneously with an intensive struggle against the danger of imperialist war and especially the danger of war upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the only workers' and peasants' republic.

Finally, the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Sec-

retariat congratulates the C. O. F. in its sincere attempts to improve the existing conditions in the Philippines. The achievement of the united front between the Filipino and Chinese workers during the recent disputes is of the greatest value. The small gains during the slipper and timber workers' strikes are directly attributable to this united front tactic. If made stronger, it will help to cement the bond of lasting unity between the Chinese and Filipino workers both in the Islands and on the continent of Asia, and will constitute a big step towards international unity.

Comrades: as one of our affiliated organizations, the Secretariat offers to Congress delegates the above suggestions which we hope will serve as a guide to your decisions. We feel sure that the Congress will prove one of the most important and constructive ever held in the history of your organization. With best wishes and comradely greetings,

THE PAN-PACIFIC TRADE  
UNION SECRETARIAT.

## From the South American Trade Union Anti-War Conference

*On February 25, the delegates from the trade unions of Paraguay, Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Uruguay and Brazil met at Montevideo in conference at the invitation of the committee for the formation of a Latin-American Trade Union Confederation. This conference dealt with the one subject of the War Danger, then and now of menacing importance to the peoples of Latin-America who, for the most part, occupy a semi-colonial status in relation to the leading imperialist powers. In No. 25 of the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY we printed the message of the P.P.T.U.S. to this Anti-War Conference. We give below the reply adopted in full session of the Conference.—EDITOR.*

Montevideo, Uruguay, February 26, 1929.

To the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat,  
Shanghai:

Comrades:—Confronting the conflict staged by the imperialisms of England and North America for the absolute domination of the Latin-American peoples, the culpable and traitorous attitude of the national bourgeoisie which has delivered itself unconditionally to one or the other imperialism, and the state of things they have provoked in America, that is, the imminent danger of war, confronting this reality, we, the proletariat of Latin-America, with a clear understanding of our class interests, declare that we have put ourselves on guard to defend these, our interests, to impede the imperialist war and to carry on the struggle against the traitorous bourgeoisie of these peoples.

The Congress that, for proletarian peace

and against imperialist war, we, the workers of Latin-America, are holding at this time, declares to you from the spirit that animates the workers of these peoples, that these workers joyfully welcome the greetings you have sent us for the success of our Congress. On our part, on the behalf of these peoples, we likewise send you greetings and the firm resolution of standing by you in all your struggles for defense of, or for the attainment of, our class interests.

We are sure that the workers of Latin-America, by their firm union and with the aid of the international proletariat, will know how to comply with their revolutionary duty.

With special greetings to you and all the adherents to your revolutionary organization,

For the Anti-War Conference:

Chairman: AURELIO CORVINO,

Chairman: C. PLINIA.

Secretary: A. VALDURAMORON.

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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.**