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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

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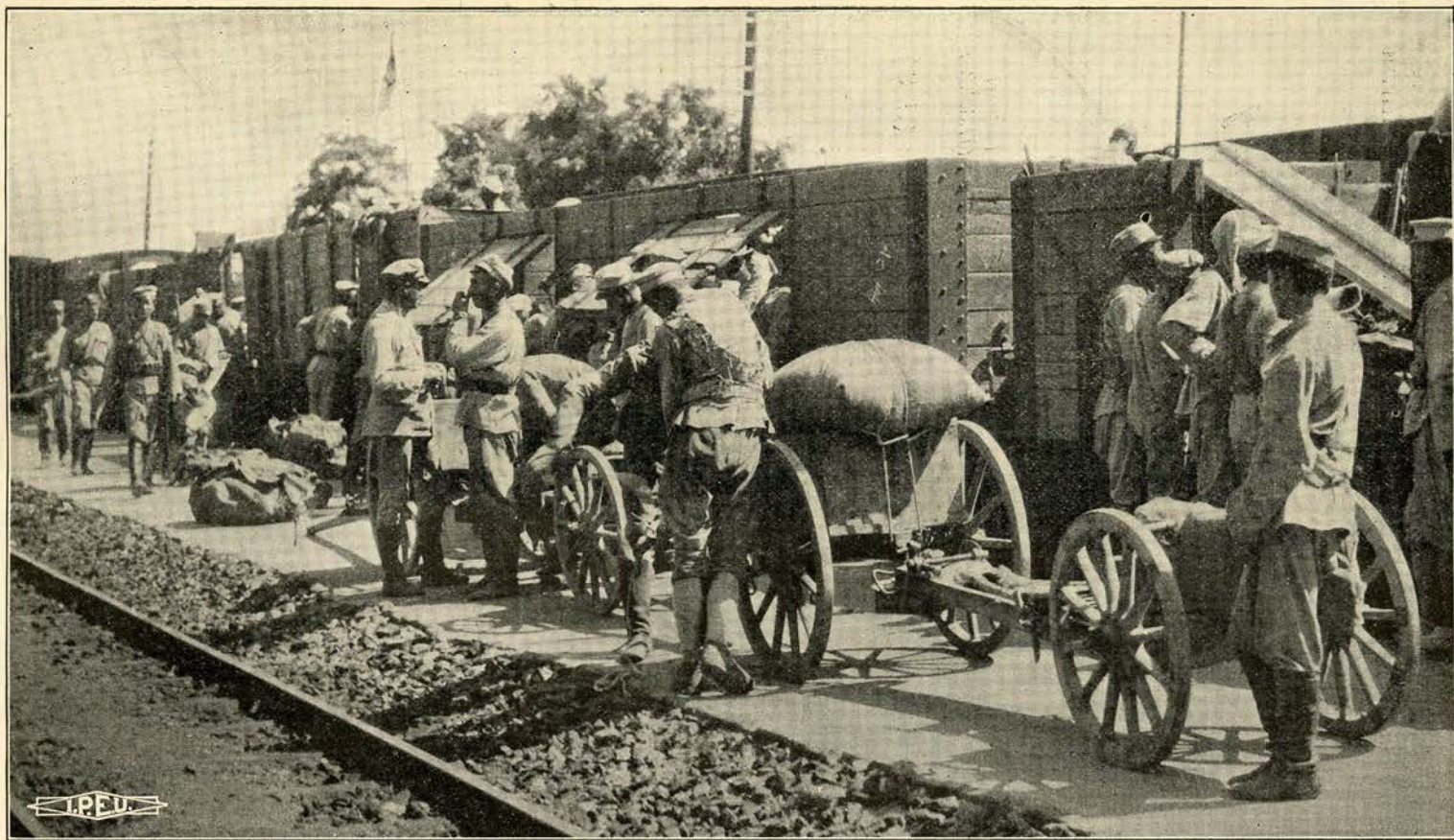
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CZARIST WHITE GUARD TROOPS MOBILIZING AT PEIPING, CHINA, FOR AN ATTACK ON THE SOVIET UNION.

The attack of the mercenary Chinese and White Guardist hirelings of world imperialism against the Soviet Union on its Far Eastern border, forcing the Red Army to pursue and disperse the attackers is the climax of the increasing war danger of the past two months. The renewed attack of world imperialism upon the First Workers' Republic is the signal for the working class, especially of the Pan-Pacific countries, to organize a united revolutionary front for the defense of the Soviet Union and for the common struggle against imperialism and imperialist wars.

Attention! Readers:

The SECOND PAN-PACIFIC CONFERENCE which was concluded August 21 at Vladivostock, like the first conference at Hankow in 1927, was held successfully in spite of the bitter opposition of all imperialist powers and their lackeys.

The attempts of the imperialists to frustrate the conference, which constitutes a direct attack on the Soviet Union inasmuch as the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat is one of the staunchest supporters of the First Workers' Republic, were felt at Vladivostock. Many delegates were blocked, while others attended, risking their lives in overcoming all obstacles, for they, as well as the delegates not present, recognize the vital role of the P.P.T.U.S. in the class struggles of the Pacific proletariat.

As to be expected, the imperialist blockade has interfered with communications and it is only as we go to press that conference material has arrived. Not wishing to delay publication further we will publish the combined September-October issue without the report of the conference and therefore will publish a special number giving a full report of the proceedings, resolutions, decisions, and will begin reports on discussion.

Brief Notes on Current Events

THE imperialist incitations through "ready-to-wear" Chinese generals to provoke such hostilities in Manchuria as would afford an excuse for war on the Soviet Union, have so far been shattered on the adamant resistance of Soviet peace policy. The profound disappointment of these bandits at the Soviet's resolute refusal to be provoked, is shown by the wild lies of wholly imaginary Red Army "attacks" which have accompanied White Guard invasions of the Soviet frontier and the most barbarous brutality toward Soviet citizens imprisoned without charge or reason within Manchuria.

The imperialist powers which shed crocodile tears and oceans of proletarian blood at "Hun atrocities" in Belgium, are silent at these horrible tortures, wanton murders and imprisonment of thousands of men, women and children of Soviet citizenship in Manchuria under indescribable conditions, in flagrant violation not only of treaties but of customary consideration for non-combatants. The proletariat of the Pacific must protest not

only verbally, but by punitive action against those responsible—and they are by no means all in Manchuria, but in all capitalist countries—your "own" country.

One must not forget, either, the open mobilization allowed in capitalist countries of White Guard bands of "service" against the Soviet Union. Japan freely supports this. While Stimson was "explaining" that the United States was not officially responsible for the lying statements of Mr. Mantell and other "American advisors" to the Nanking "government", in San Francisco, Tsarist White Guards were and are openly being organized, banquetted and shipped off with honor and acclaim to attack the Soviet Union.

We waste no tears over reports that numerous bands of these counter-revolutionists have met short shrift when they collided with the iron wall of the Red Army. But we point out that the proletariat of the imperialist countries are remiss in their duties to have allowed them to get that far without vigorous protest. Splendidly militant against the

war danger as the proletariat showed itself to be on August 1, throughout the capitalist world, it must not forget that concrete and specific action is required, and free itself from the notion that defense of the Soviet Union is a matter to be settled on some distant frontiers rather than right where they are, in their "own" country, in their shops and work places.

The war danger is by no means allayed—quite to the contrary—by the hullabaloo raised by MacDonald's visit to Hoover. Ever more bitter grows the conflict between British and American imperialism, as indicated in the new civil war in China, the conflict at the Hague "won" by Britain and punished by a foray on the Pound Sterling, the sharpening contest for markets and numerous other hostilities. The oppressed peoples of the Pacific should know from MacDonald's specific endorsement of the Mandate System at the recent "Jubilee Session" of the League of Nations, that any illusions they had of the so-called "Labor" Party being any less imperialist than the Tories, are idle imaginings.

With Snowden's position at the Hague, MacDonald united all capitalist forces of England behind labor-imperialism, and came to America with a threat of war, however well-dressed in words of "peace". Upon only one point can Hoover and MacDonald agree in world politics: their mutual hatred of the Soviet Union and an accord for war against it. We cannot over-emphasize the fact that the tremendous success of the Five-Year Plan of Soviet industrialization is a revolutionary attack of the highest importance on world imperialism. Hoover and MacDonald both understand this, and the whole world proletariat must stand sentinel in organized readiness to face the issue.

* * *

WITH "identical" notes of a polite but unequivocal "NO!", the imperialist powers have given answer to the fools and worse who thought that by assiduous bootlicking and venality in hostility to the Soviet Union, China could persuade imperialism to end extra-territoriality "rights" in China.

Nearing the end of his disgraceful lackeydom, Chiang Kai-shih may, ere these lines are read, have passed from the scene with his "government", barring additional heroic resuscitation by America's financial pulmotor. British imperialism, which has found a "labor" mask good at home, has taken up a "Left" Kuomintang disguise in China, vary-

ing from its traditional support to purely feudal elements. Hence we have its wilom 1927 "enemy", Wang Ching-wei sheltered by it at Hongkong, the "International" (British) Settlement at Shanghai freely permitting Wang's "reorganizations" group to establish headquarters therein, and the feudal Kwangsi militarists instructed to co-operate with Chang Fa-kwei's "left" army, in calmly punching holes in Nanking's boasted "unity" and driving south to establish a puppet government for Britain at Canton.

Likewise, it appears that the "reds" who were blamed for Chiang's bodyguards suddenly trying to assassinate him, were merely financially interested in having him commune with Confucius instead of with American "advisors". The imperturbable Feng Yuhsiang and Yen Hsi-shan, also engaged in religious devotions visiting the "sacred mountain", have not neglected to order their armies southward, possibly to enjoy the salubrious climate and escape the cold of Shensi, but suspiciously near to Hankow.

Nanking's need for sympathy expressed in cash, can be seen by its "offer" to give Standard Oil a twenty per cent rebate on future taxes, if the company would only pay taxes in advance to the tune of \$10,000,000 Mex. This bankruptcy also reveals the swamp of graft and corruption which the "reorganizationists" call attention to, but merely from envy.

Again we point out that China's unity and independence is and will remain a fiction, until the ripening forces of mass revolution, the independent class uprising of workers and peasants fighting under the banner of a Chinese Soviet Republic in alliance with the world proletariat, especially the proletariat of the Soviet Union, drives foreign imperialism and Chinese feudalists and capitalists into the sea.

* * *

THE prosecution in the Meerut trial, now being carried out by the social-imperialist government of MacDonald, has prepared the atmosphere for closing the prison doors behind 32 Indians who have dared to challenge British exploitation and its murderous attacks upon the Indian workers and peasants, by effectively organizing them to collectively strike and protest. This is seen, in part, by the presentation of alleged "red" evidence, as well as by the testimony of the White Guardist, Dero Jinsky, Inspector in the Bombay Police, Special Branch.

To the Indian masses, craftily isolated by

British imperialism from the world labor movement, the Meerut defendants are precious, for they are of the "masses" and "have grown and developed as the result of a mass revolutionary struggle; they have developed at the cost of those heavy sacrifices which the masses have suffered. This explains the strong and touching devotion which the workers of India display to their still comparatively recent thrown-up leaders"; a devotion which is not limited to sentiment but is taking organizational forms in the rapid growth of the revolutionary movement.

The P.P.T.U.S. calls upon the toiling masses of the Pacific area and of the whole world to rush every assistance to the rising masses of India, whose triumph will shatter the whole system of colonial oppression. Organize Meerut Defense Committees! Hold meetings! Demonstrate! Rush funds to the National Meerut Prisoners Defense Committee, 30 John Street, London, W. C. 1.

* * *

THE Fifth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions will take place on July 15, 1930, on the Tenth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The Congress will be of utmost significance to the workers of the Pacific countries as well as to the international proletariat for it will sum up the results of the rich experience gained in the economic struggles in the last two years and will outline the further ways and means of penetrating into the masses and winning more and more new strata of workers over to the side of the revolutionary class struggle.

The necessity of trade union organizations, particularly from the colonial countries, attending the Congress and making their participation active, is obvious in view of the manifest upward surge of the international labor movement and the experience gained in the economic struggles on the basis of the Fourth R.I.L.U. decisions, especially in view of the growing war danger and the need for establishing international trade union unity.

* * *

NEW from Latin America is fragmentary due to the imperialist wall of strict censorship, but reports at hand of the armed uprisings of the workers and peasants in Columbia in late July and early August which were misled by reformists of the Social-Revolutionary Party and during which more than 300 were slaughtered, bears witness to the

present period of sharpening class conflicts.

The struggle of the Colombian masses is of especial significance also because it has taken place in a pre-election period and serves to expose the hypocrisy of bourgeois "democracy", for in this conflict as well as in the recent banana plantation workers' strike, the government military authorities, obeying the orders of the American oil and fruit interests, have murdered hundreds of workers.

Now more than ever the Colombian workers and peasants must intensify their efforts to organize the unorganized into militant industrial trade unions affiliated to the Latin American Trade Union Confederation, thereby working for trade union unity as a proletarian defense against aggressive imperialism and native reaction.

In this task the Left-wing workers in the United States, under the direction of the militant Trade Union Unity League, must give their active support. They must work tirelessly to establish closer relations with the Latin-American workers so that a joint struggle may be waged against the common imperialist oppressor and its agents in the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

* * *

THE rapid process of fascization in Mexico is shown by the proposed Federal Labor Law which undoubtedly will soon go into effect. Morrow having succeeded in establishing "unity" between the church and the federal government, is, with the national bourgeoisie, faced with the problem of defeating the revolutionary labor movement.

The proposed national labor code is an attempt towards this end. Under the law, the separate state governments will lose their right to legislate in matters affecting labor. This is necessary in view of the "liberal" labor codes of certain of the states (many of which force employers to pay wages during strikes, etc.) and in view of the necessity of further centralizing state power into the hands of the national government which has fully capitulated to Wall Street.

The enactment of this code which is another step in creating fascist trade unions, comes at a period in which the Portes Gil government has launched an intensified campaign of white terror. The police have suppressed El Machete, official organ of the Communist Party of Mexico, and arrested its editor. In the fields leaders of peasants are being killed, H. Landino, organizer of agricultural workers of Vera Cruz, is among the vic-

tims of government persecution. In Yucatan, Indian workers on American-owned chicle plantations have rebelled against inhuman working conditions only to have Mexican troops sent against them. With the deportation of two political refugees to Cuba, steps are being taken to deport all foreign-born workers active in the revolutionary labor movement. These events take place while the presidential election campaign is in progress, a campaign from which the Communist Party has been barred because of its revolutionary fight against American imperialism.

But the situation in Mexico is not a one-sided battle, notwithstanding the betrayals by a number of labor leaders like Ursulo Galvan who has gone over to the side of the reactionary government, the rich land-owners, the priests, and the foreign capitalists. The work-

ers and peasants are not only resisting the onslaughts of American imperialism and the native bourgeoisie but by their increasing support of the Unitary Confederation of Labor of Mexico and the Peasants League, are thus actively entering upon the path of class struggle—a struggle from which only the working class can merge victorious.

The armed uprising of workers, peasants and native Indians, of strikes, etc., and the new wave of terror in Mexico, Honduras, Columbia, Guatemala, Ecuador, Brazil, Cuba, Porto Rico, etc.—undertaken by the governments in power at the instigation of Wall Street—indicate that the struggle of the Latin American workers against imperialism, particularly American Imperialism, is increasing on an ever widening scale.

Appeal to the World's Workers

From the All-China Labor Federation

Regarding the Shooting of Comrade Loo Yun-sun by Police on July 26, 1929

Dear Workers:

SINCE the Kuomintang, under the instructions of the imperialists attacked the U.S.S.R., class conflicts have been intensified throughout the whole world. Imperialism on the one hand, suppresses the revolutionary struggles, arrests members of the trade unions and kills revolutionary leaders in the West; on the other hand it co-operates with the Kuomintang militarists to use white terrorist tactics on a larger scale, to suppress the revolutionary leaders in China, etc.

On the 26th of July, when the anti-imperialist mass demonstration passed over the Bund bridge, the armed police of the imperialists shot on the unarmed masses without any reason or warning, with the consequence that a railwayman, the leader of the demonstration, Loo Yun-sun, was seriously wounded. The police then took him to the Japanese police station and attempted to bury him in secret, and up to the present no one knows where he is.

The imperialists and the Kuomintang understand that although the Chinese Revolution suffered defeat in 1927, it is **again steadily growing**. They know that the Chinese

masses are still an important factor in the anti-imperialist fight, and that the downtrodden Chinese working class is the main force of world revolution. Therefore, when the Chinese workers demonstrated to support the U.S.S.R., and against imperialist war, they (the imperialists and Kuomintang) were well prepared and adopted savage measure to suppress the demonstration.

This incident is only a more prominent fact of the guilt of imperialism, but cannot hinder the development of the Chinese revolution. On the contrary, they will stir the revolutionary courage of the Chinese workers and make them fight more decisively to overthrow the ruling power of imperialism and the reactionary Kuomintang.

The Chinese workers have actively participated and are in the vanguard of the class struggle of the world. We must fight on without any retreat. Our revolutionary fighting spirit must be so decisive that it cannot be defeated. We believe that the sacrifice of Comrade Loo Yun-sun has the same value as the sacrifice made by the workers in Berlin, Warsaw and other countries during their brave fight against capitalism. The Chinese

workers realize that during the long period of anti-capitalist struggle, the class united front of the world's workers should be continuously extended and strengthened; the broad working masses of the whole world should be mobilized and fight for working class aims.

The recent large strikes (including tens of thousands of workers) in the Japanese textile mills and the Electric Department of the Shanghai municipality, are the result of the cruel exploitation by imperialists of the Chinese workers and the shameful part played by the Kuomintang for the imperialists to suppress the workers. These strikes are the expression of the brave fight of the Chinese workers.

The Chinese workers are now in the front

ranks supporting the U.S.S.R. Workers of the world! Fight, and prepare to use the class struggle to answer the attack on the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Revolution by the imperialists and the Kuomintang. The Chinese workers hope to make a class united front with workers in other countries on the Pacific, and also in Europe and America, in order to fight against imperialist war. We will follow the line—from supporting the victory of the Russian October Revolution to the victory of the World October Revolution. We shall see that historic struggles will be developed from the sacrifice of Comrade Loo Yun-sun.

(Signed)

ALL-CHINA LABOR FEDERATION.
Shanghai, 27th July, 1929.

The Heroes of the Economic Front

By L. F. VINOVA

[The class struggle goes on, whether it be in the capitalist world where the workers are struggling to overthrow capitalism, or in the Soviet Union, where capitalism is overthrown from power as a ruling class but where the remnants of capitalist economy remain until, by struggle, socialist economy forces out and displaces them. The worker of the Soviet Union, behind the defensive line of Red Army bayonets, is fighting on the economic front, with real and heroic sacrifices of leisure hours and many comforts otherwise possible, to physically build the basis of socialism by an intensified industrialization plan. This famous Five-Year Plan has amazed everyone, and its political consequences so affect the world situation as well as the more limited inner class relations, that the fact—the first year's work exceeded the Plan's estimate, makes necessary an analysis of what key of understanding can unlock the "mystery". We believe this article furnishes us that key.—EDITOR.]

VERY often, even among communists, the Five-Year Plan is considered as follows: The authorities for planned economy calculate, on the basis of an ocean of statistical material, how much can be gotten out of the economic resources of the country, and then set up a program. Either this program is carried out, and that means the plan was good, or it is not carried out, in which case mistakes must have been made in setting it up.

The planned economy of a proletarian state must under no circumstances be understood so mechanically. One must not forget for a single instant that the Five-Year Plan is really not a "plan" in the normal sense of the word, but a strategical plan of the class struggle of the ruling class, the proletariat.

The carrying out of the Five-Year Plan is not a purely technical performance of achievements laid down "from above" but it is the living class struggle, and only the class con-

scious, active support of the masses can help it to victory. The production plan of a great capitalist trust can be better carried out the less the workers of the trust think about it or what it means, just as a bourgeois army is the more efficient the less its soldiers think about whose interests they are defending.

In a proletarian State, however, exactly the opposite is true. This is not an "agitational phrase". It can be proven quite concretely by figures. Why do bourgeois and social democratic observers find the tremendous socialist constructive plan in the Soviet Union so "utopian", so impossible of realization? The reason is that they fail to grasp the difference between the social driving forces of economic life in their countries and in the Soviet Union, because their class attitude prevents them from understanding this difference.

When such observers describe the economic plans of the Soviet Union as utopian, they do

not make any mathematical error. From the standpoint of "pure mathematics", that which the Soviet Union is carrying out upon the economic field is impossible.

"Class" Mathematics

Our advantage, however, is that we do not reckon with "pure mathematics", but with the class mathematics of the revolutionary proletariat. But even from the standpoint of pure mathematics, proletarian planned economy has a number of advantages which capitalist economy has not.

In Tsarist Russia, for example, approximately 50,000,000 Pounds Sterling of the surplus value produced by the workers was expended in luxuries for the bourgeoisie. Today this tremendous amount remains in production. Further, the possibilities of planned economy in a, for the most part, systematically organized economic system, permit a far more rational utilization of economic forces, etc.

The class mathematics which the bourgeois theoretician is unable to understand, actually commence when the masses themselves begin to take an active part in economic development. The Five-Year Plan is a struggle with all the joys of victory, but also with all the sacrifices which the class struggle demands. It is an enthusiastic struggle for a new proletarian life. We must never forget this when we read and study the figures, the results, the difficulties and the successes of the socialist constructive work.

The right-wingers and the vacillating elements in the Soviet Union failed to take into account these "class mathematics", or, to use a Marxist expression, these dialectics of the proletarian revolution. They calculated and calculated and finally shook their heads and declared that such a plan could not possibly be carried out.

One of the most characteristic expressions of this pessimism was the opinion that the production plan and the capital investments plan could not be carried out because there was not sufficient building material to carry out the building plan, and so on.

Here we saw the same thing. Mathematically, perhaps, this was right, but nevertheless the industrial production plan as laid down by the Five-Year Plan for the economic year was carried out in full.

The possibilities of development for the coming year are even greater than those provided for in the Five-Year Plan. Let us com-

pare three figures. They refer to the development of industry in the economic year 1929-30. The so-called "commencing variant" of the Five-Year Plan reckoned with an increase of 10.6%. The right-wing comrades declared even this figure to be unobtainable. Not long ago, however, the Soviet Congress increased the figure to 20.2%. Today, it transpires that the possibilities of the increase of production are 28.7%.

Proletarian Masses Building Socialism

What is the chief error of the right-wingers? This error is that they underestimate the role of the emancipated proletariat in the socialist constructive work. The right-wing comrades forget that the proletarian masses in the Soviet Union have overcome difficulties far more serious than the lack (which, by the way, is only relative) of building materials.

It was much more difficult a task to create a Red Army out of the ground, than to overcome the 10 to 15% deficit in building materials. If the normal economic methods are not sufficient to solve a problem, then the problem has to be solved with "abnormal" revolutionary economic methods. According to all the laws of military science, the Red Army ought to have suffered a defeat during the civil war because of the superior numbers and equipment of the enemy. But the Red Army was victorious.

Just as the masses were mobilized against the class enemies, they will now be successfully mobilized to overcome the economic difficulties which are being used by the class enemy of the revolution. Not individual experts and scholars take up the struggle against the lack of building materials and for the overcoming of the other difficulties of the constructive work, but the masses themselves.

By the socialist competitive scheme, by a series of creative ideas (the continuous working week, etc.) and by a real heroism in the carrying out of the economic work, and by the mobilization of all those in whose interest socialism is being built up, the masses have once again confounded the pessimists and achieved "wonders".

And here lies the riddle of those "class mathematics" which permit the builders of socialism, the class conscious masses which are fighting for socialism and fighting for the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan, to build up many things for which others, even the pessimists in our own ranks, have "insufficient building materials".

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Nevertheless, over this issue the Australian capitalist class has made parliament the scene of a Gilbert and Sullivan "struggle", and given the reformists among the trade unions a brilliant opportunity to discharge their present historic role as defenders—in the name of Labor—of capitalist interests.

It is particularly interesting to note that Bruce's maneuver in parliament followed a decision of the last congress of the Australian Council of Trade Unions to take a referendum on the question of leaving the Federal Court and of resisting its decisions (its "awards" having consisted of awarding black eyes to labor). Evidently, Bruce would rather center the attention, participation (and obedience) of labor upon the capitalist election with its "Hobson's choice" of arbitration courts, than leave such matters in the hands of the trade unions however confused they might be temporarily. [The Congress of the A. C. T. U. not only resigned leadership by "passing the buck" on arbitration to the referendum, but favored, for some reason beyond our understanding, another Tweedledum-Tweedledee capitalist-reformist device called a "Conciliation Tribunal" whose awards and findings shall have legal sanction and shall be enforceable unconditionally. Evidently, the Congress was very fond of any nice words which could be used as a new name for an old trick, but simply could not bring itself to break away from its old love for legalistic flabdubbery and strike a new and independent class position.]

While the battle over the "Industrial Peace" issue exposed before the rank and file to a considerable degree the "Right" reformist leaders and their role, in the arbitration issue the reformists of the "Left" coloration have demonstrated that they increasingly occupy the role vacated by the "right" (vacated by being exposed rather openly) as sowers of reformist illusions, as inculcators among the ranks of labor of a dependence in one form or another upon the bourgeoisie, its parliament, its courts, arbitration and otherwise, as discouragers of an independent class position of reliance in the struggle for labor interests upon the organization and militancy of the masses.

A Deviation to the Right

In no other way can one account for the fact that, on the first intimation of the Bruce government that it considered proposing to parliament the abolition of the Federal Arbitration Court (better stated, the substitution of the Federal Court by State Courts),

than the most advanced section of Australian labor, the Sydney Labor Council, in a conference called upon the question, swallowed the bait and rushed to the defense of the Federal Arbitration Court!

The resolution to this effect is packed with "left" phrases about "fighting" the Bruce government, and one must be naive to imagine that such phrases are accidentally used if we recall that the N. S. W. workers have been fighting splendidly against the Lukin and other awards precisely because of disillusionment with the whole arbitration fake as well as because of resentment at the particular award. But no "left" phrases can conceal nor specious reasoning justify the decision that

"all trade unions should line up, and with the assistance of their State and Federal Parliamentary representatives, fight for retention of the Federal Arbitration Court".

From no possible angle can one see how a "victory for labor" on this issue would be anything but a defeat, a surrendering of class interests into the hands of the capitalist class court, whose awards labor practically agrees in advance to abide by, by its own movement to fight for the court's retention. Of course, if one holds that the Federal Court is "above classes" and is not an instrument of the capitalist class but an "impartial" body, then we no longer argue from the viewpoint of the working class but from the viewpoint which the capitalists have been trying to inculcate in the ranks of labor through their allies, the "right" reformists. We see, therefore, that all the "left" phrases of the N. S. W. resolution are only a protective disguise for the reformists of the extreme "right", who have long attacked the N. S. W. Council as "Bolsheviks" and whom in turn the N. S. W. workers have found out in various struggles are the allies of the employers.

The N. S. W. resolution paves the way for "industrial and political" support of the Labor Party, discredited by its treason to labor in the Queensland strike, the South Australian unemployment issue and other class questions. It does this under the "left" disguise of "industrially and politically fighting the Bruce government."

Nothing sounds nicer, but if we will only understand that Australian capital is preparing to turn over to its ally, the Labor Party, the job of making Australian trade unions obey the decisions of Australian capital spoken through the mouth of the Arbitration Courts

(Federal or State), the perspective loses its alluring aspects and the N. S. W. resolution is seen for what it is—a reformist trick to benefit employers, foisted upon the trade unions. Has arbitration changed its character? No evidence can be given that it has. Then what has changed is the attitude of N. S. W. unions.

N. S. W. Workers Will Correct Mis-step

One must be the more surprised that such a mis-step should have occurred in the New South Wales unions, inasmuch as the N. S. W. Council is affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions, which latter body certainly cherishes no reformist illusions about capitalist arbitration courts among its sections. That affiliation, however, and the further fact that N. S. W. workers in many cases—their initiative in establishing the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, their rejection of the reformist trick of "Industrial Peace" and their

splendid fight on arbitration in the Timber-Workers' and other disputes—have shown that they are ready to fight in the front ranks of Australian labor once they are clear on the issue.

These facts are guarantees moreover, that when the rank and file of N. S. W. trade unions discover where reformism is leading them, they will resolutely reject both the reformists and reformist policy and—far from relying on any kind of arbitration court—will rely solely upon better consolidation of their own class in the shops and work places, upon industrial unions and—of highest importance—a policy of class struggle which excludes arbitration by capitalist courts of class interests, interests that can be advanced, under capitalism, only struggle.

—San Francisco, September 22, 1929.

Problems of Migration

By S. STOLER

[The following article is of especial significance to the trade union movement of the Pacific area for the questions of immigration are more sharp and complex in the Pacific than anywhere else in the world. The tasks arising from this problem—of breaking down racial prejudices and national barriers which still divide the exploited classes and oppressed peoples to the advantage of the exploiters and oppressors, of organizing the unorganized, of establishing international trade union unity, etc.—were taken up at the Second Pan-Pacific Conference, the decisions and resolutions on which will be published in a later issue.—EDITOR.]

1. The Problem

THE problem of immigration and emigration is indissolubly bound up with the class struggle. Its political, economic and social causes and effects, reflect most glaringly all the crying contradictions of capitalism and imperialism. Like the problems of unemployment, rationalization of industry, exploitation and pauperization of the working masses, the liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, etc.—so also the problem of immigration and emigration cannot and will not be solved in the interests of the working class—as long as capitalism and imperialism exist.

The chronic economic crises of capitalism which force millions and tens of millions of toilers to seek relief through emigration to other countries; the political persecutions and

reaction which drive hundreds of thousands of workers to seek shelter in other countries (Italy, Poland, Roumania, Spain, etc.); the inhuman exploitation and pauperization of millions of peasants and workers by native and foreign oppressors (China, India, etc.), which drive these teeming masses of humanity to seek some improvement in their condition—however slight or temporary; the unequal distribution of population and natural resources in the various parts of the world; the economic and political domination of the overwhelming majority of humanity by a small but ruthless group of imperialists; the insoluble conflict of interests between the various imperialist powers, for sources of raw materials, foodstuffs, cheap labor power and markets; the resulting artificial national and

racial barriers, tariff walls, immigration laws which exclude other nations and races; the stifling of the normal industrialization process in the economically undeveloped and backward countries; and finally, the deliberate cultivation of national and racial hatred and prejudices, and the utilization of the vast reserve army of labor, particularly of the cheaper and unorganized labor of oppressed and economically backward countries as a weapon against the working class in the metropolis—such is the background and the play of gigantic contradictory forces behind the problem of immigration and emigration.

The scope of the emigration problem, from a political, economic and social point of view may be judged from the bare statistical fact that in 1921, the Chinese population resident abroad was nearly 9 million; the number of Indians abroad was over 2 million, that of Japanese over 600,000; while the number of emigrants from 15 European countries to five oversea countries during the first fourteen years of this century was about seventeen millions.

II. Guiding Principles

The problems and tasks arising out of this enormous migration movement and out of the accompanying contradictory factors enumerated above, which confront the international labor movement today are therefore of prime importance.

The P.P.T.U.S. which unites in its ranks the organized labor movement of those countries in and around the Pacific which constitute the main source of emigration and the main reservoirs of immigration (potentially and actually) is thus faced with the task of enunciating the general guiding principles on the problem of immigration and emigration. These should, I believe, be on the following lines:

(A) The working class is international; it must combat and overcome all national, racial, religious or color divisions. The international working class cannot permit a classification or grading in its own ranks, into: "first grade" and "second and third grade" workers; "superior" and "inferior" nations, races or groups; "pleasant and unpleasant" colors, etc. The interests of the workers throughout the world are identical, regardless of race, nation or color. Their common task and aim is: to struggle unitedly against capitalism, imperialism and against their tools and agents, of all races, colors and shades, both outside and within our own

ranks.

(B) What applies to the class struggle generally applies to the problem of immigration and emigration specifically.

Under no circumstances can the international working class and those organizations which lead it in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism, permit a division or classification of emigrants and immigrants along national, racial or color lines.

Such divisions and classifications are encouraged deliberately and systematically by our class enemy, the capitalists and imperialists, in order to split our ranks and thus utilize one section of the working class against another (as a matter of fact, the capitalist class never hesitates to open all doors for mass immigration or recruiting of the very "inferior" and "unassimilable" nationalities and races—whenever they deem it profitably. Example: mass importation of indentured and contract labor from China into Australia in the 19th century; the extensive use of Chinese labor in the building of the great railways in America; the use of unorganized and backward masses of foreign labor, of all races and colors, as strikebreakers in times of intensive struggles on the industrial field, etc., etc.)

(C) From an internationalist working class point of view, there cannot possibly be any justification or toleration of any pretense or claim on the part of the workers of any capitalist country for a "monopoly" of the natural resources of that country (which they do not own or control); or of a monopoly of the opportunity for work (which is subject to the general chaos and anarchy of capitalist economy; or a "monopoly" by a minority of skilled or "white" workers of privileged working and living standards (which depend exclusively on the degree of organization and militancy of the working class in their struggle against capitalism, and not on any permanent "exception" or accident or exclusion policy in the field of immigration).

Being that under capitalism, all restrictive and exclusive measures are dictated solely by capitalist and imperialist interests, it is the duty of all working class organizations and particularly of the revolutionary trade unions in the Pacific, to combat openly all restrictive immigration legislation which discriminates in favor of one race, nation or color against another.

(D) Therefore, the P.P.T.U.S. should declare itself for the right of the workers to

free immigration and emigration from and to any given country.

III. Difficulties, Fears and Prejudices in the Ranks of the Working Class

While enunciating the above general guiding principles, the P.P.T.U.S. should of course be fully aware of the many practical difficulties and more or less justified fears encountered in the ranks of certain sections of the workers on the question of immigration and emigration.

The basic element in all these fears and prejudices is that of: fear of underliving and undercutting by unorganized and backward immigrant masses, and the inevitably resulting lowering of prevailing standards of living and working conditions.

This natural fear is so much the stronger in countries where, due to advanced industrial development coupled with particularly favorable economic conditions—such as the post-war imperialist prosperity of the U. S. A., or the pre-war shortage of labor in Australia, the workers of a given country have acquired a comparatively high standard of living. The fear of an "invasion" of the labor market by unorganized masses who are ready and willing to work longer hours and for lower wages, and whose living standards are much lower than in the country of immigration, gives rise to a multitude of prejudices and to bitter national and race hatred.

The actual practice by the bourgeoisie of certain countries of importing cheap labor on a mass scale, to be used as a lever against the native working class, has only intensified these fears and prejudices. (The importation of foreign labor for the direct and immediate purpose of breaking strikes, has, at different times, caused open race wars and armed clashes; e.g. Australia, U. S. A., the Rand in S. Africa, etc.)

It is around this basically economic fear, that there has grown a thick crust of racial and national hatred and prejudice and discrimination against workers of certain races, nations and colors (Asiatics, yellow and black workers, and more recently against the "inferior" Southern Europeans).

The P.P.T.U.S. should therefore declare itself, and call upon its affiliated sections to fight energetically:

(1) Against all mass migration schemes of the various imperialist powers, which are intended to weaken the position and lower the living and working standards of the native proletariat, e.g. (the State-aided mass mi-

gration schemes of British imperialism in Australia, Canada, etc.)

(2) Against all forms of contract and indentured labor at present widely practiced by the British, Japanese and other exploiters in their various island possessions in the Pacific and on the Asiatic Continent. (Malay States, Dutch East Indies, South Sea Islands, etc.)

(3) Against the capitalist practice of importing foreign labor for breaking strikes and forcing the native workers to accept worse working conditions.

IV. Immediate and Concrete Tasks and Demands

In order to safeguard effectively the class interests of both the native workers in immigrant countries and of the millions of immigrants and emigrants, on the lines indicated above, the P.P.T.U.S. should urge all its affiliated sections:

(1) To organize all immigrant workers, irrespective of nationality, race or color in the existing trade unions, on a basis of complete equality with the native trade unionists; all forms of discrimination must be combatted with and done away with.

(2) The militant and revolutionary trade union organizations in the countries of the Pacific, to take the initiative in this matter, by creating special organs (committees or bureaus for organizing immigrants), and to prevent the immigrant workers from falling under the influence of reactionary, fascist or reformist elements.

(3) To make no compromise in the principle of **Equal Wages for Equal Work** for all workers, regardless of nationality, race, color or sex (especially urgent in the transport industry and in shipping).

(4) To fight for the **unrestricted right to organize and right to strike**, of all, particularly immigrant workers:

(5) The **unrestricted right** of the immigrant worker, on a basis of full equality with the native worker, to all benefits of existing social legislation, e.g., unemployment relief, social insurance, accident compensation, legal and medical aid, etc.

(6) The active participation of all workers, irrespective of nationality, race or color, in trade union life and trade union leadership.

Their election, on a basis of equality, into Strike Committees, Factory and Shop Committees, Shop Delegates, Vigilance Committees, Mutual Aid Societies, and all trade union organs.

(7) To defend all workers, especially immigrants, against repressive measures by employers and governments as a result of their trade union activities and participation in strikes and labor conflicts.

(8) To combat, particularly in countries of mass emigration, the private and government Recruiting Agencies, and to fight for the control of all such agencies by the trade unions.

(9) To establish in at least the most important centres of immigration and emigration, frontiers, ports and railway stations special information and propaganda bureaus, which will inform the emigrants and immigrants of conditions prevailing in the particular country; of the state of the labor market; unemployment, current wage rates; the need to organize and in which unions to organize; his or her legal rights and privileges or restrictions; existing strikes or lockouts, and to counteract generally, the lying propaganda of the capitalist migration agencies, which often delude the emigrant worker and only increases his misery when he arrives in the new country.

(10) To safeguard the interests of the immigrant workers in matters of hygiene, sanitation (living quarters), etc., and to see that special clauses to that effect be included in all working agreements, and fulfilled by the employers. Also for the adequate provision of medical aid, proper accommodation, and accident insurance during the voyage to the new country.

(11) Special safeguards for immigrant women and children, and the abolition of all legal or traditional disabilities which discriminate against immigrants.

(12) To fight against all forms of forced "naturalization" which is only a method of getting rid of the more militant and active elements among immigrants and of leaving the "reliables".

(13) To conduct active propaganda among the immigrant workers through special pamphlets, periodicals, leaflets and special articles in the current trade union press; such propaganda to be in the foreign language of at least the main groups of immigrants.

(14) Special meetings or conferences of immigrant workers to be called from time to time, especially on the eve and during important strikes and lockouts, for the purpose of acquainting the foreign workers with the causes and circumstances of the struggles, and their role in them as workers and members of unions.

(15) Special attention to be given to propaganda and organization among the agricultural workers, especially immigrants, who are the more easily used by the bosses against the organized workers.

(16) To fight against the use of Russian white guards and counter-revolutionaries as strikebreakers in China, etc.

(17) And finally, to combat all attempts of the bourgeoisie and their reformist agents, to divide the working class not only along national and racial lines, but also along narrow craft and trade lines (skilled vs. unskilled, etc.). Such a division is intended to strengthen the existing privileged position of the labor aristocracy against the ever growing mass of unskilled and semi-skilled labor—both foreign and native.

(18) It is desirable that the P.P.T.U.S. appoint a special Commission or Bureau, for a more detailed and deeper study of the immigration problem in the countries of the Pacific, and its particular causes and effects on the labor movement and urge all the affiliated sections to supply the Secretariat with regular information on all the important problems and events which are related with the problem of immigration and emigration of workers.

Honduran Workers Turn Left

[Translated from "El Trabajador Latino Americano"]

ON the first of May, at the conclusion of a great Labor Day demonstration, there was held at Tula, Honduras, an important National Trade Union Congress, which established the Honduran Trade Union Federation.

The creation of this new center is due to the fact that the leaders of the old Labor Federation not only had failed to uphold labor principles and renounced active defense of the most elementary rights of the working

class, but had allied themselves with the national bourgeoisie and the Yankee banana company—the United Fruit Co.

The toiling masses of Honduras, seeing the frank and open treason of their leaders, resolved to create a new center, and this is composed of the absolute majority of the unions of the country, among them the fighting Railway Union (Union Ferrocarrilera) of Honduras.

The yellow and governmental Labor Federation, an adherent of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, remains reduced to a small nucleus, with no influence whatever among the working masses.

The success of the Congress was extraordinary and exceeded the most optimistic expectations. All that is important and healthy in the Honduran trade union movement attended the Congress. One of the most interesting points to the delegates was the continental unity of the proletariat, the Congress resolving by acclamation to adhere to the Latin-American Trade Union Confederation, sending word to that effect to Montevideo by cable.

Especial attention was given to the problem of Negro workers. This problem has serious aspects in Honduras, there having been frequent collisions between native workers and Negro workers brought in from the Antilles by the banana enterprises.

These Negroes are obliged to work for miserable wages, much below the native proletariat, and are used systematically by the company to displace native workers. The Congress dealt with the problem from the standpoint of class, resolving to begin a vast campaign of agitation to organize the Negro workers.

Other questions thoroughly debated were: The peasant question; the organization of proletarian women; the war danger in Latin-America, the danger of a world war, etc.

Upon this last question, it was decided to recommend to the national trade union centers of the Central American proletariat, the holding of a special Central American Anti-War Conference.

The headquarters of the Executive Council

of the Honduran Trade Union Federation was established at the city of Tegucigalpa, Honduras, and it was unanimously decided to issue a journal "El Trabajador Hondureño", as the Federation's official organ.

The constitution of the new Federation is based on the principle of the class struggle.

With the Congress ended, the new center began an intense work of organization, reorganizing a number of previously decadent unions. In the short time of one month the Federation has become known and respected by the national proletariat. Because of this, the former "labor leaders" who are really agents of the government and the Pan-American Federation of Labor, allied at the same time to the national bourgeoisie and the Yankee banana bosses, have begun a furious attack against the fighting Honduran Trade Union Federation, accusing the revolutionary workers of "sedition".

This expression gives the measure of the reaction and of the ruinous treason to the workers' interests on the part of these ex-leaders. On its part, the bourgeoisie is beginning also to attack, quick to respond to the wish of the Yankee capitalists, who have obtained by a thousand subterfuges the closing of the printshop of the valiant revolutionary paper of the Honduran proletariat, "El Martillo".

The PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY is glad to announce that, despite the above statement that the shop of "El Martillo" was closed, the paper still appears, defiantly announcing that despite all the persecutions against it, barring it from the mails, seizing its issues, and so on, it will keep up the fight, illegally if need be, in Honduras or "in any capitalist country; and if these put us out, we will go to Russia, to beloved Moscow, from where we will tell the proletarians what are their rights and how to make them effective." Let the world imperialists take note of these simple words coming from the remote corners of the earth, to know what "Moscow" means to the world's oppressed—then let imperialism dare to attack the Soviet Union, to find that ere "Moscow" falls the whole world will flame beneath their feet.

Strike Struggles in India

THE revolutionary tide in India, forced on by mass strike movements in Calcutta, Bombay, Jamshedpur, etc., daily gains momentum, expressing the sharpening class struggle as well as a general maturing of the labor movement.

Strikes are occurring in rapid succession in the most important industrial centers of the country, with the general strike of the 150,000 Bombay textile workers still going on—a struggle in which the basic demands put up are not of an economic nature, but a struggle for the re-employment of 6,000 dismissed workers fired during the strike of last year and for the retention of the revolutionary organizations, factory committees, etc. This heroic fight continues in spite of the betrayals by the reformist misleaders like N. M. Joshi, indicating the growing influence of the left-revolutionary wing under whose leadership most of the economic and political struggles of today are being fought.

Also in Madras and Cawnpore, strikes have broken out in the textile industry, further reflecting the serious crisis in the India textile industry, the unbridgeable chasm between imperialism and colonial India, and the contradictions between the growth of the textile industry and the shrinkage of the domestic market.

The revolutionary crisis in India, however, is not confined to the textile industry. The strike of the 3,000 tinplate workers against the Tinsplate Company of Galmuri, Jamshepur, owned by the powerful Burmah Oil Company, has entered its sixth month. Here again, the rank and file of a reformist trade union are conducting a militant fight in direct opposition to the bureaucrats.

But of outstanding significance is the militant strike of the 200,000 jute workers in Calcutta in answer to the attempts of the Indian Jute Mills Association to lengthen the working week from 54 to 60 hours without an increase in pay.

The strike which started in a few jute mills in the beginning of August was extended to unheard of proportions. In spite of the mass shooting of strikers, wholesale arrests of mill workers and leaders of the left-wing trade

union, the sabotage and treachery of the national-reformist trade union leaders, who from the start attempted to throttle the strike, and the series of repressive measures, such as the "Public Safety Bill" and the "Trades Disputes Act", the mill workers brought the cotton mills in Calcutta to a complete standstill.

So effective were the militant tactics of the workers that on August 17, the Committee of the Indian Jute Mills Association was forced to agree to an increase of wages commensurate with the longer working hours, resumption of the old individual output quotas, provisions for maternity benefits, and to take on again all the workers who had been discharged or on strike.

Attempts of the employers to victimize the leaders of the workers after the liquidation of the strike were countered by a fresh mass strike on the part of 45,000 workers in the Hoogly District and Hawrah, 30,000 in the Budge-Budge mills, with the strike rapidly spreading.

A characteristic feature of this and other strikes of today is the exceptional class solidarity within the ranks of the Indian working class. Practically the whole of the working class in Calcutta rose to defend the jute workers. Ten thousand workers of the Burmah-Shell Oil Company went out on a sympathetic strike, as did workers on the city railway. In the jute industry itself the pressure brought to bear by the capitalists in certain given sections was and is met by solidarity strikes of all the workers in the industry.

At the same time, the peasantry, struggling under revolting conditions of labor, suffering mass unemployment, starvation, etc., forced upon them by the merciless oppression of Anglo-Indian exploitation, and roused by the heroic action of the working class of India, are slowly but surely awakening. The reprisals, mass trials and mass arrests taking place against the revolutionary peasant organizations in the peasant province of Punjab bear witness to the fact that the revolutionary movement is spreading to the countless masses of peasants. So intensified has become the class struggle in India that nothing can stay

the growth of the revolutionary movement among the Indian workers and peasants.

These events in India, mark a new stage in the Indian Labor movement—an era in which the working class is the dominant force in the national liberation movement, in which strike struggles are growing to unheard of dimensions, taking the form of a determined and resolute proletarian offensive directed against foreign imperialism and the native bourgeoisie. They cannot but force onward preparations for an **All-India general strike**, a strike for which the Left Wing must further consolidate its ranks, purging itself of all reformists and, in general, adhering to and fol-

lowing the line of class struggle as laid down by the P.P.T.U.S.

The powerful class struggle in India today makes it more urgent than ever for establishing a united revolutionary front between the workers and peasants of India and the workers of all countries of the Pacific, for the purpose of waging an effective fight against imperialism and the native bourgeoisie everywhere and putting an end to the oppression of one and the exploitation of the other. The affiliation of the entire trade union movement of India to the P.P.T.U.S. will constitute a great step forward in this direction.

The International Slavery Office of the League of Nations

By G. SLAVIN

ONE of the darkest chapters in the history of colonial exploitation is found in present-day colonial slavery in a masked form. Everything possible is done by the imperialists to prevent information regarding the use of compulsory labor to leak into the press. Some things, though few, are coming to light, and what is already known is sufficient to provide a more or less accurate conception of the true position of the colonial slaves.

Not so long ago, a great deal of noise was made by a book coming from the pen of Albert Londres, a French journalist, in which the writer describes the conditions of labor in French Equatorial Africa.

M. Londres tells how these unfortunate blacks, are being used to lay the Brazzaville-Ocean railway with the aid of pick, shovel and sledge-hammer—without any mechanical devices or transport; how they bore out whole tunnels, and have to carry the building materials for the line distances covering hundreds of miles. Kept at it for ten and eleven hours a day, they are half-starved, almost entirely naked, unsheltered and, like beasts, are left to face all the changes of weather with no covering or other protection.

Small wonder, then, that they die like flies. For every kilometer of line laid down by them, almost 200 corpses are thrown into shallow graves. For the last ten years, only 90 kilometers (One kilometer equals five-

eights of a mile.—Editor) in all have been laid, yet more than 17,000 Negroes have perished in laying that short stretch. Keeping these conditions in mind, one is not surprised to learn that during the forty years France has ruled the Congo, the native population has decreased by 75 per cent.

This is the way the natives are exploited in one French colony. It need hardly be added that France is no worse than Portugal, Spain, Holland or any other of the "civilized" countries which have taken upon themselves the "burden" of adapting the "backward races" to European civilization.

It is not the actual labor task alone that kills these Negroes. Many of them die while still on the road, without ever reaching their destination, as they are mostly made to march to the scene of their future labor on foot, are very badly fed, and are not afforded any proper night-camp facilities. If their route lies along a river, then they are transported on barges, suffering agonies from the lack of air if they are crowded below deck, and suffering the intolerable heat of day and the sharp chill of night if they are herded, shelterless, on deck. Often enough it happens that some fall overboard from simple exhaustion, to perish in the water, as no barge will be stopped merely to save a drowning native laborer.

By rounding up the healthiest and fittest

men from the villages, the recruiters thus doom whole settlements to a slow death. With only the old men, the women and the children left behind, the fields are uncultivated or the crop ungathered, according to the season, and this means death by starvation for the whole local population.

Recently the reformist trade union and socialist press wrote a good deal on the question of international regulation of "compulsory labor" of natives through the instrumentality of the International Labor Office.

In the reformist press, they have proclaimed what was to be the beginning of a new era in colonial policy, and boosted the noble part the League of Nations and its "Labor Office" were playing in thus bringing the gifts of freedom and peace to the slaves of the colonies, albeit within the framework of imperialism.

As everywhere and always, the reformists again came forward in their cringing role of capitalism's servants, to carry disintegration into the ranks of the revolutionary-minded workers and the peasants of the colonies, by offering pledges of reforms to come, and to handicap the development of the national-revolutionary movement which is acquiring rather too threatening dimensions for the peace of mind of the imperialists.

The Devil Appointed Fire-Fighters

What the oppressed peoples can expect from these future reforms may be realized from the "eminent personalities" appointed to the Committee of Experts on Native Labor", which is charged to work out these reforms. These experts are:

General Freire d'Andrade, former Governor-General of Mozambique; M. Gohr, Director-General in the Belgian Colonial Ministry; Sir Charles Ernest Low, K.C.I.E., former Secretary for Commerce and Industry to the Government of India; the Right Honorable Sir Frederick Lugard, G.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., former Governor-General of Nigeria; M. Merlin, former Governor-General of the French Congo, French West Africa and of French Indo-China; Commandant Ostini, head of the Colonial Schools Department at the General Emigration Commissariat at Rome; Heer Van Rees, former Vice-President of the Council of the Dutch East Indies; Mr. Sugimura (Japanese) Counsellor of Embassy; Mr. H. M. Taberer, Chief of the Native Labor Recruiting Organization of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines. Later, five additional nominations were approved, including

Freherr von Rechenberg, former Governor-General of German East Africa, and G. P. Chamberlain, Professor of International Law at the Columbia University, U. S. A.

We see, then, that the official agents of imperialism, licensed thugs in high office, who were long given the direct government of all these colonies, and consequently responsible for all the horrors that took place under their orders, are now called upon to bring happiness to the down-trodden slaves of the colonies—these are the people who, the reformists assure us, will lead the oppressed natives of the colonies to freedom!

Before probing into the real meaning of this farce, let us briefly consider the history of the question of the international regulation of forced labor.

Mandate "Restrictions"

The restriction by international agreement of the right to use compulsory labor was first embodied in the powers given to the mandate countries, where it is laid down that:

"The Mandatory shall prohibit all forms of forced or compulsory labor, except for essential public works and services, and then only in return for adequate remuneration."

It must be at once stated that in actual practice this reservation has given nothing at all to the natives, whose position under the mandatory powers has not improved one whit. The reservation was only made for the sake of furnishing the moral justification for transferring Germany's colonies to new masters.

For a long time, the question of forced labor was handled by the "Temporary Slavery Commission" set up by the League of Nations in 1924. In a report submitted by the said Commission in 1925 to the Sixth Committee of the League, it is suggested that the prohibition to employ forced labor be extended to all colonies in the form laid down in the text of the Mandates. But a characteristic reservation was made, that each State concerned should determine at its own discretion what was to be considered "compulsory or forced labor" and what were "essential public works and services".

At the 46th meeting of the League Council in December, 1926, Austen Chamberlain, as British representative, moved that it be decided to submit the matter to the International Labor Office for the purpose "of studying the best methods of regulating the employment of forced labor, so as to prevent

conditions analogous to those of slavery arising therefrom". It was in accordance with this decision that the "Committee of Experts on Native Labor" already mentioned, was appointed.

From "Prohibition" to "Regulation"

Let us now consider the labors of this Committee. First of all, it should be observed that it does not propose to do away with forced labor, but merely to "regulate" its employment. The future international convention (agreement) on the regulation of forced labor permits the employment of this labor on the following four cases:

1. When the service to be rendered, or the work to be carried out, is necessary and of a public character;
2. Is of actual or imminent necessity;
3. When it is impossible to obtain voluntary labor;
4. When after a careful consideration it is recognized that these services will not lay too heavy a burden on the present generation.

Having thus preserved forced labor, in principle and in fact, the Committee goes on to draw up the most detailed regulations concerning the natives' interests. We need hardly to tell the reader that all these regulations, or which there is no dearth, are the merest empty phrases. France, itself, can boast the thickest of thick blue books containing all of its own different laws regarding the regulation and employment of forced labor, but the regulations we are now considering have even less practical importance, since in actual practice it will be left to the different governments to apply these regulations.

Most interesting in this respect is the statement made by the French semi-governmental journal "Le Temps", which in its issue of May 28, 1929, states in an article on forced labor that:

"The adoption of the Convention must not permit any control whatever on the part of the International Labor Office over the methods the French Government may adopt in applying the Convention. It is to be understood that if France ties herself by any agreements with other powers, she must be entrusted wholly with the application of these agreements. In the present instance, the question of sovereignty, and that of authority over the natives, dominates all other issues."

Let us now look at the way this question was handled at the Twelfth Conference of

the International Labor Office. At the very outset, the I.L.O. big-wigs did all they could to prevent any public discussion on the matter. When at last they had to yield to those reformists who are anxious to make some political capital out of this business for themselves, the discussion led to a big quarrel.

Discussion "Out of Order"

When one of the delegates of the so-called "labor section" of the Conference, Furtwengler, an official of the German Trade Union Federation, wished to take the floor and describe the actual state of things in the colonies, the director of the I.L.O., our old socialist friend Albert Thomas, arose in great excitement to gag him, on the pretext that Furtwengler was "out of order", that his speech was already going beyond the limits of the report submitted to the Conference. The Latvian delegate, Duzmans, who was in the chair at the time, upheld Thomas, and Furtwengler had to take his seat.

Of course, the reformist Furtwengler was not in the least concerned about the interests of the colonial slaves. He was only doing his duty as dictated by the German bourgeoisie, who are moving heaven and earth to get back their colonies.

Here again the attitude of the press towards this incident is worth noting. Whilst in Germany both the bourgeois and the reformist press gave all the details of the little scandal, the Belgian organ of reformism, "Le Peuple", did not give the matter a single line, while Jouhaux's organ, the French "Le Peuple", distorted the whole business entirely and said not a word about the way Albert Thomas had gagged Furtwengler.

This incident put a stop to public discussion, and the question was referred by the Conference to a Commission, which was just what the I.L.O. leaders wanted.

Disillusion Not Coming, But Here

In its time, the Washington Convention on the eight-hour day turned out a complete fiasco*, and now the bourgeois-reformist designs for restricting forced labor have broken down, once more demonstrating the total incapacity of the imperialists and capitalists to make anything like real concessions in the

* The Eight-Hour "agreement" was the big "victory" of Sam Gompers at the Washington Conference, ten years ago. Its design was to offer an antidote to the menace of Bolshevism, its lack of any practical benefit to labor is amusingly revealed by the fact that when unorganized textile workers recently struck at Marion, North Carolina, the A. F. of L. sent its tricky "Left" reformist leaders in to get control with the "demand" for a Ten-Hour workday. In their turn, these reformist will win the same respect of American labor as it has shown for Gompers, whose Memorial Fund has remained for some years at about \$44.—Editor.

matter of mitigating their murderous exploitation.

The reformists, whose one object in life is to save capitalism from a speedy ruin, are doing their utmost to prove to Big Business that certain concessions are necessary, and are emphasizing the danger which they, themselves run, of helping to increase the influence of the revolutionary unions.

At the Conference itself, Furtwengler spoke of the Bolshevik danger, and Joshi, too, warned his hearers against Bolshevism—and as leader of the reformist unions in India he should know. Joshi appealed to the Conference seriously to consider the necessity of implementing in practice the conventions adopted, as otherwise the danger of the further spread of Moscow's influence would be increased. If Geneva, quoth the mighty Joshi, does not effect an actual improvement in the conditions of Asiatic workers, it will

lead to the Asiatic toilers becoming completely disappointed in the activities of the International Labor Office.

He is not quite right: It will not lead to their disappointment, it already is doing so; and not only the workers of Asia, but the workers of the whole world around are becoming more and more convinced that the only way to get rid of capitalist exploitation is to wage consistent revolutionary struggle under the militant leadership of fighters wholly devoted to the interests of the working class.

The recent class battles the proletariat has fought in different parts of the world, constitute the best evidence of the growing determination of the toilers to put an end to the system of capitalist exploitation that the reformists are so anxious to patch up, and to effect the real emancipation of the workers from all forms of oppression and slavery.

Imperialist Lackeys to Meet

[The problems confronting the workers and peasants of the Latin American Countries, especially those with Pacific seaboard, are of outstanding political significance and are of vital importance to the labor movement of the rest of the Pacific; for the struggle against imperialism and capitalism is a common one. In the class battles which must be waged jointly, the fight against Yankee imperialism and its Latin American agent, the PAF of L., is of paramount importance. It is therefore important that all adherents of the PPTUS familiarize themselves with the following analysis of the PAF of L. and its Sixth Congress by the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions; an analysis which will undoubtedly give direction in, and a better understanding of, combatting the treacherous PAF of L.—EDITOR.]

IN accordance with the decision of the Fifth P. A. F. of L. Congress the Executive Committee is convening the Sixth Congress in Havana, which is to be opened on the first Monday in January, 1930.

Since the Fifth Congress (July 18-23, 1927) the general situation in Latin-America is characterized by the increased penetration of Yankee imperialism, increased competition with British imperialism, and, on the other hand, an intensification of the class struggle and the development of broad mass movements whose orientation is definitely revolutionary.

At the Congress of the Pan-American Union held in Havana, all the Latin-American countries were represented for the first time. This gathering clearly demonstrated how all the

native governments were sub-ordinated including even countries (like Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil), where British imperialism was always the dominant factor. It also made clear the predatory policy of Morgan, Morrow and Co., who were represented at the Congress by Coolidge, the ex-president, and Hughes and Co. The bankruptcy of the pseudo-revolutionary government in Mexico was also manifest at this gathering.

The first steps taken by Hoover, the new custodian of the interests of Wall Street, show clearly enough that this new imperialist agent will be just as unscrupulous and bitter as his predecessors. This aggressive and hypocritical policy has found response among the native governments who have increased ex-

ploitation and are going to all lengths to suppress the revolutionary trade union movement. During the last two years terror and persecution, always rampant, have now become systematic in Nicaragua; murders and the bombarding of the defenseless population have become of more frequent occurrence; in Cuba and Venezuela another crime has been added to the numerous brutalities of Machado and Gomez, the dictators, when Mella and Montenegro were basely murdered abroad. In Chile, Dictator Ibanez, the new agent of Wall Street, is rooting out the trade union movement; in Colombia we saw the mass butchering of workers during the strike on the banana plantations; while in Mexico the fascist government and Crom having solved the conflict with the clergy, now signalize complete subordination to Yankee imperialism.

Social-Imperialist P. A. F. of L. in Action

During this period of bloody fights, persecution and mass murders of workers and peasants in Latin-America, the P. A. F. of L., as hitherto, has kept rigidly to the policy of the Fifth Congress, held in Washington, whose basic features were as follows:

1—Since Dictator Machado "wish the Congress success", duly recorded in the minutes of the Congress, he was rehabilitated despite all his abuses.

2—In spite of the fact that news was received on the second day of the Congress, that Ocotal had been destroyed by American bombing planes, all the protests as well as the resolution on Nicaragua were sabotaged while nothing whatever was mentioned about the marines—an attitude that was fully supported by the so-called representatives of the Nicaragua workers.

3—Instead of the resolution demanding the release of Sacco and Vanzetti, a petition was urged appealing to the charity and mercy of their murderers, the Governor of Massachusetts, Fuller and his clique.

4—Not only was the resolution proposed by the delegate from Venezuela rejected (which condemned the crimes of imperialism and its agents—the dictators in the Latin-American countries (Legilla, Gomez, Machado and others, and demanded that all marines be withdrawn, that Porto Rico be freed, and that all existing agreements turning Cuba, Haiti, San Domingo and the whole of Central America into a colony be annulled), but it was bitterly attacked by all the police agents (delegates to this Congress by the dictators), who with foaming mouths defended their masters.

During the past period, the P. A. F. of L. has remained true to these decisions and shown an utter indifference to the brutalities and persecution directed against the continental workers. The American Federation of Labor, one of the two component trade union organizations of the P. A. F. of L. made even more clear at its last convention held in New Orleans that it was an integral part of imperialism: the plan of constructing fifteen new cruisers was heartily approved at this gathering, as well as Hoover's trip to Latin-America; McNutt, the commander of the American Legion, and Colonel Ross of the American army made speeches, while the last cruiser, the "Pensacola", released from the Brooklyn wharf which is to be used to bombard the Latin-American coasts, was blessed by William Green, the President of the P. A. F. of L.

The history of the P. A. F. of L. prior to, during, and after the 5th Congress has shown the continental workers clearly that its only function is to serve the interests of Wall Street, to retard and dam back the revolutionary movement among the masses. That this is already well realized was shown by the hatred against the P. A. F. of L. among the continental workers when at the Washington Congress several small organizations really representing the workers went over to the revolutionary camp (this move was seen in the Panama, Salvador and Guatemala).

New Revolutionary Center Formed

On the other hand, the intensification of the class struggle has resulted in the revolutionary workers of Latin-America organizing themselves into class trade union centers in Mexico, Panama, Colombia, Brazil and Uruguay. Further, all the revolutionary unions (representing 350,000 workers), took part in the Constitutional Congress of the Trade Union Confederation of Latin-America, held in Montevideo.

There are two forces today in the trade union movement of Latin-America. On the one hand there are the P. A. F. of L. and Amsterdam—the agents of imperialism, and on the other, the Trade Union Confederation of Latin-America—a class organization which is struggling to organize and to defend the interests of the workers and peasants of Latin-America.

The Montevideo Congress created the only real class trade union organization that is struggling against imperialism. The resolutions adopted after detailed discussion by all who participated at this gathering outline the

only effective methods of struggle against imperialism.

Like at the former Congress, agents from the dictatorships in Latin-America as well as government and fascist unions (Morones and Co., Dr. Medranos from San Domingo, Arevalos from Cuba, Rios Kazelas from Peru, and others) will take part in the Congress to be convened in Havana. The work of the Congress—which apparently will be opened by Dictator Herardo Machado with a speech of greetings, will be confined to setting up connections and contact between the dictators of Latin-America and to drawing up ways and means of rooting out the revolutionary movement.

Tasks of Left Wing

It is therefore the duty of all revolutionary working class organizations of Latin-America to struggle with every means in their power, using all possibilities, against the P. A. F. of L., exposing its true character as an agent of imperialism, its close connections with the governments of the Dictators (invitations to the Congress were sent through the consulates) and against the fascist and Government unions and their police forces.

With this end in view all our supporters and sympathizers in the Latin-American countries must develop a campaign against the coming Congress through the press, at open meetings in the shops and factories.

The most effective means of struggle against

reformism are to carry on a vigorous day-to-day campaign to get the resolutions adopted at the Montevideo Congress realized, and to struggle to organize the workers in the class unions on the basis of their vital demands.

Special attention must be given activities in organizations that took part in the 5th Congress that still exist and have a rank and file membership, making clear to them the character and functions of the P. A. F. of L. This applies especially to Cuba, Guatemala, Salvador and the Panama where the question of participating in the 6th Congress should be placed to a referendum.

In all our activities and demonstrations we must counter the Pan-American Federation of Labor and its betrayal of working class interests to serve imperialism, with the Trade Union Confederation of Latin-America, its anti-imperialist policy and the class struggle. At these gatherings resolutions must be carried against the P. A. F. of L. and in support of the Trade Union Confederation of Latin-America.

The revolutionary T. U. organizations of Latin-America must boycott the Sixth P. A. F. of L. Congress which is being held under the police patronage of the bloodiest agent of imperialism, and do their best to prevent their delegates from attending.

Executive Bureau
of the R. I. L. U.

Moscow, August 30, 1929.

From Brussels to Frankfort

By WILLIE MUNZENBERG

THE Second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism, in Frankfort-on-Main, reflected the development of the national-revolutionary movement during the past few years. The right-wing groups of the national bourgeoisie in most countries have made their peace with imperialism, have allied themselves with imperialism and are now organizing a joint exploitation of the workers and peasants. In Brussels, at the First Congress, a number of these groups were represented, but at Frankfort none of them appeared.

The Kuomintang in China is characteristic of the development of these sections of the national bourgeoisie in the countries op-

pressed by imperialism. In alliance with the British, French and American imperialists, the Kuomintang has not only crushed the revolutionary workers and peasants movement in China, and choked it in blood, but today it is also striving to kindle a conflagration against the Soviet Union.

Capitulation of Native Bourgeoisie

In India, the right-wing of the national bourgeoisie, at this year's session of the Indian National Congress, abandoned the demand for the complete independence of India, a demand which the Brussels Congress of the League Against Imperialism also adopted at the direct proposal of the representative of the Indian National Congress, and

adopted a miserable compromise of Ghandi.

In the Latin-American countries, Calles and his friends, who posed as being very revolutionary in 1927, have since made their peace with Wall street and have become obedient servants of North American imperialism.

The congress at Frankfort expressed this development of the leading sections of the national bourgeoisie in the oppressed countries with all possible sharpness, and at the same time it exposed the counter-revolutionary role which these groups are playing today in the struggle for national and social freedom.

The congress went still further; it pointed to the dangers which exist with regard to those vacillating elements which consist partly of groups of the national bourgeoisie and partly of petty-bourgeois groups, gathered around Madame Sun Yat-sen, Eugen Chen and Janda Deng in China, and in India around the leaders of the "left-wing" of the Indian National Congress.

In its reports, its manifesto and its theses concerning the situation in China, India, Latin-America and Indonesia, the congress pointed out with all possible clarity that a real and serious revolutionary movement, capable of driving out the foreign imperialists and overthrowing native capitalism, could only be based upon the million masses of the workers and peasants.

Workers' and Peasants' Delegates

One of the great successes of the Frankfort Congress, which marked considerable progress as compared with Brussels, was that not only were the imperialist right-wing groups of the national bourgeoisie not present, but that the representatives of the workers' and peasants' organizations were present to a far greater degree than before.

From the Philippines, from China, from Latin-America, from Arabia, from North Africa, etc., there were almost solely representatives of proletarian organizations, of trade unions, workers' and peasants' organizations, communist parties, and so on, present. It was the characteristic feature of the Frankfort Congress that the majority of the delegates were from workers' and peasants' organizations, whereas at the Brussels Congress the intellectual groups still greatly predominated.

Expose Second International and I. L. P.

The Frankfort Congress also answered the pro-imperialist policy of the Second International, which adopted a decision against the

League Against Imperialism at the international congress of the Second International at Brussels in 1928. It is clear that an organization in which such people as the imperialist and capitalist ministers, MacDonald, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Henderson, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who are continuing Chamberlain's policy of oppression and exploitation in India and in the other colonial countries against colonial peoples, Herman Mueller, Severing and their friends, the former Belgian Minister Vandervelde, cannot conduct an anti-imperialist policy—that it can conduct only an imperialist and capitalist policy.

The declarations and speeches of hundreds of colonial delegates at the Frankfort Congress, brought this fact once again to the attention of public opinion and of the proletariat all over the world. The severe criticism directed against the Second International did not spare the so-called "left wing" of the socialist parties, like the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain.

The Congress was compelled to record the fact that the policy of the Independent Labor Party, which in words is an anti-imperialist policy, is in fact a support of the imperialist policy of MacDonald. The parliamentary Labor Party and the fate of the Labor government depends considerably upon the attitude of the I. L. P. fraction.

The criticism directed against the Labor Party of course hit James Maxton, also, the chairman of the I. L. P. and the chairman of the League Against Imperialism. Challenged by the plain questions of the representative of the Soviet labor unions, Melnichansky, Maxton made a long declaration to the Congress, condemning not only the policy of the MacDonald government and of the Labor Party, but also the policy of the majority of the Independent Labor Party. The future must show how far Maxton's promise to conduct a decisive struggle against the imperialist policy of the Labor Party and of the I. L. P. will be fulfilled.

The discussion between the communist section of the Congress and the Maxton group, which was intensified in the commissions and to some extent in the congress itself by the participation of anti-militarist groups, representatives of national-revolutionary organizations and intellectuals, gave the so-called great press the opportunity of speaking of a threatening split in the League and of the threatening break-up of the Congress.

For Policy of Class Struggle

But the League Against Imperialism stood its acid test at Frankfort. It has rejected the reactionary groups of the national bourgeoisie which pursue a capitalist policy jointly with the imperialists, and commenced an intensified struggle against them through the Frankfort Congress.

At the Frankfort Congress the League Against Imperialism made all the necessary preparations for the fulfillment of its historical task of forming a fighting alliance between the national-revolutionary wing of the petty-bourgeoisie and peasant strata, with the broad masses of the international proletariat. In various countries of international political importance, such as Indonesia, Arabia, Syria, Northern Africa, Latin-America, etc., there are still national-revolutionary organizations which are conducting a serious struggle for national freedom.

Unified Move to the Left

The great political success of the Frankfort Congress was the fact that it completely

united just these groups and organizations and strengthened the alliance with the representatives of the European and non-European working class and peasant organizations who were present at the Congress.

In comparison with the Brussels Congress, the Frankfort Congress represents a considerable move to the Left. The main weight of the League Against Imperialism no longer rests on liberal and intellectual men and women as individuals, as it did at the time of its formation, but upon the broad masses of the workers and peasants affiliated to the League in the oppressed countries.

That this development was made and this result achieved with the unanimous approval of everyone at the Congress, anarchists, syndicalists, anti-militarists, socialists, communists and social revolutionaries, is a success upon which the League Against Imperialism may pride itself, which causes profound chagrin to all our enemies and which is received by all our friends with pleasure and satisfaction.

Organizing an Earthquake

By HARRISON GEORGE

IT has become an axiom that American imperialism is the strongest of the earth. How the Yankee proletariat acts is therefore of deep importance, particularly to exploited and oppressed colonial masses. The attitude of the organized ten per cent is of unquestionable importance, but what the unorganized ninety per cent would think and do if organized is of far greater significance.

Especially is this true since imperialist economy of this period of rationalization and war preparation is worsening the conditions of labor on a mass scale; a fact from which, if we be Marxians and not vulgar bourgeois apologists, we see is developing a rising wave of class struggle.

The bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor, based on the narrowing stratum of skilled labor aristocracy, and in the best days of its unsavory past on the extreme Right of reformism, has become as much a part of imperialism as fangs are part of a snake.

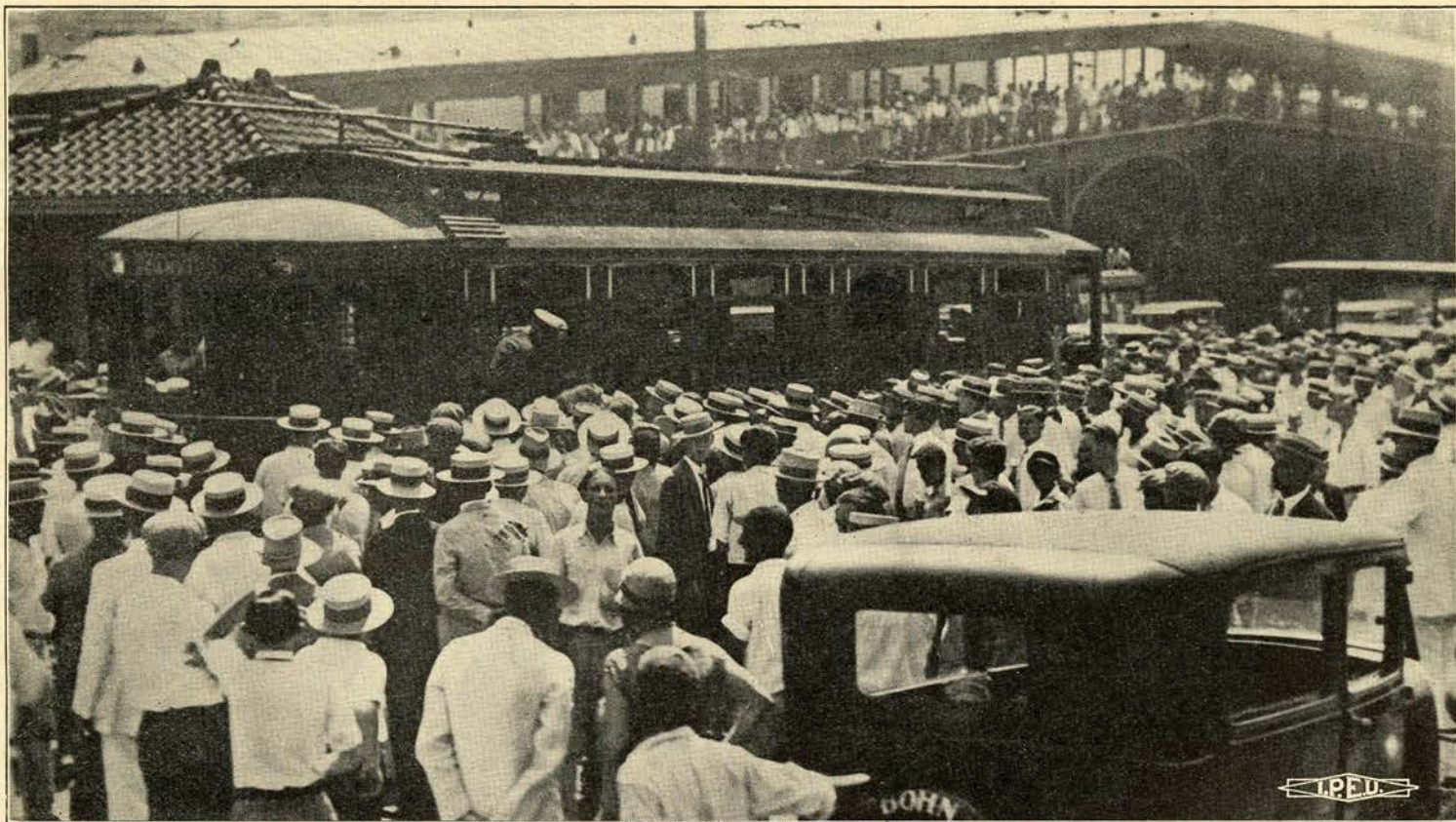
Social-fascist at home, it cynically breaks strikes of even its own members and plays

the role of police spy on revolutionary workers; social-imperialist internationally, it applauds every imperialist corruption and conquest and leads the counter-revolutionary wolf-pack against the Soviet Union. But with all this, and because until now it was allowed to monopolize the field of labor organization, it spoke in the name of "labor" and maintained a thin crust of reformism.

This crust, tinged pink with Left Reformist "progressive" elements too long charmed the revolutionary workers, who until recently were set on the idea that underneath it ran the "main stream" of the labor movement. We say until recently, for now the revolutionary Left-Wing has tapped the flood beneath its own feet of the mass discontent of the unorganized. This was the revelation afforded by the convention held from August 31 to September 3, at Cleveland, Ohio, under the auspices of the Trade Union Educational League.

Form New Revolutionary Center

The T.U.E.L. called upon a new and revolutionary "stream" of the labor movement,



"PEACE" IN PROSPEROUS AMERICA!

Strike scene at New Orleans, U. S. A., where militant street car workers are waging an heroic fight against the capitalist offensive of wage cuts, etc., against police brutality and the attempts of the reactionary A. F. of L. officialdom to effect another sell-out and to "company-unionize" their union. The present struggle, with those taking place in Gastonia, etc., indicates the rapid swing to the left of the American workers who are assuming the offensive against the employing class and its rationalization drive.

the unorganized, to send representatives to discuss the formation of a new—and revolutionary—trade union center. Although no financial assistance was given them, a surprising number of delegates responded, many almost moneyless and in tattered dungarees, travelling hundreds, and some even thousands of miles, beating their way.

Of exactly similar character to the 107 delegates elected by shop committees of workers otherwise until now wholly unorganized, were the 322 delegates elected by the recently organized new Left industrial unions. Besides these were 126 delegates from groups of the T.U.E.L. previously functioning as the revolutionary opposition within the reformist unions and 18 delegates representing local unions of the A. F. of L.

An analysis of the delegation reveals much: there were 64 Negroes, 72 women, and 159 Youth delegates. There were 181 miners; while 24 steel mills, fourteen automobile factories, textile factories by the dozen, the big meat-packing enterprises, fruit canneries, ship yards, farm and forest workers, seven railway lines, shoe factories, building trades, clothing workers, electrical goods factories, oil refineries, and so on, made up a list well ended by sailors and longshoremen from all big ports.

In all, there were 690 delegates, and the organizational result was the establishment of the Trade Union Unity League as a center of revolutionary unionism, embracing both the opposition in the reformist unions and the new revolutionary unions and with a program of work to organize under its own leadership the now unorganized masses.

The Right tendency which sought to cling to reformist policy in a disguised form, got for its spokesman just two votes. One angle of this tendency was expressed through a proposal to "defend" the 16 workers on trial for their lives at Gastonia, North Carolina, on the class-pacifist, non-resistant theory rather than that workers have the right to defend their interests and their lives by arms.

The scant consideration American imperialism has for its own justice and law, was seen a few days after the convention, when with a jury partly favorable to the Gastonia defendants, one juror conveniently "went insane" making it legally necessary to discharge the whole jury and get a new one.

That same night, the two leading attorneys for the government, who prosecute the 16 Gastonia unionists and are trying to send

them to the electric chair, themselves led a mob of merchants and mill bosses to destroy the union headquarters, seized three organizers and beat them into unconsciousness. Later, unsatisfied, they ambushed a lorry-load of strikers going to a mass meeting, and murdered a woman textile striker, mother of four children.

The cynical effrontery of these attorneys, John Carpenter and Major Bulwinkle, well exposes the class character of the capitalist courts, as the next morning after the murder, Carpenter as State prosecutor, decided that seven of his accomplices recognized by witnesses as having fired on the lorry, should not be held for murder but for a technical offense and released them on a small bond.

All this evidences the correctness of the Convention in overwhelmingly rejecting the reformist proposal on Gastonia which relies on bourgeois justice.

There is no question but that the new revolutionary trade union center, the T.U.U.L., will meet the full force of attack from the government-boss-reformist combination. During August, members of the Shoe Workers' Union of the T.U.U.L., were visited in their shops by agents of the federal government "Labor Department" and intimidated. Undate date of August 29, and—according to the capitalist press—at the request of the A. F. of L., Charles G. Wood, who signed himself as "Commissioner of Conciliation" in the "Labor Department" at Washington, wrote a letter to all shoe factory owners having working agreements with the union, ordering them to break the agreement "forthwith", naturally to discharge all workers who are loyal union members.

On the other hand, the T.U.U.L. is assured, as shown by the Convention and the determined sweep of class support in all sections, rising in the Carolina textile region to the threat of civil war, that the basic and broad ranks of the worst exploited proletariat will give it spirit and sinew to fight effectively.

International Trade Union Unity

The Cleveland Convention signifies much to the colonial and semi-colonial masses oppressed by U. S. imperialism, because, when they look to the American proletariat for action and not mere words of solidarity, they have hitherto only seen the A. F. of L., which aids imperialism. So long as the T.U.E.L. functioned merely as an ideological opposition, it could only assure the colonials—"We are not at all like Gompers and Green and

you have our very best wishes"—but it could do little or nothing to effect joint actions of solidarity, lacking effective organizational basis.

The Convention took significant and necessary steps to overcome this serious shortcoming and weakness and laid a firm basis for organizing a united front of the working class. It affiliated the T.U.U.L. to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, and pledged itself to world labor as the U. S. section of the Red International of Labor Unions. It pledged to carry out the Solidarity Pact signed between the T.U.E.L and the Latin American Trade Union Confederation at Montevideo, and it endorsed a resolution for Philippine Independence offering practical proposals for support of the workers and peasants of America's outstanding colony.

Formal relations between organizations are good, but not enough; neither is it enough if immigrant workers from colonial lands in the U. S. be organized, though that is quite important; it is necessary to wipe out provincialism in the minds of all American workers, making them realize that the struggles of colonial and semi-colonial exploited are a part, are indivisibly linked with their own struggles; that there is ONE struggle, and that joint action with colonial workers is as necessary as that no one scabs when one's factory is on strike.

American imperialism is the strongest of the earth, but armed with clear class policy the T.U.U.L., proceeding to organize the American proletariat, is organizing an earthquake.

For Immediate and Unconditional Independence of the Philippines

[Draft Resolution Approved at Cleveland Convention, Sept. 2, 1929]

THE Trade Union Unity Convention recognizes the fact that American imperialism's rule means not only increasing exploitation of American workers, but an ever increasing and intensifying oppression and impoverishment of the masses of colonial and semi-colonial lands dominated by American capital, among which countries the Philippines stand out as the open and frankly avowed colony of the United States. The time is past when American imperialism can longer conceal its rapacity behind hypocritical promises of ultimate independence and smug pretensions of benevolence.

The Philippine bourgeoisie, which through its political parties, the "Nacionalista" and the "Democrata" deluded the masses for decades with the false hope that by mere words imperialism could be induced to "withdraw" its present despotism, has recently not only ceased its merely verbal opposition to imperialism, but has gone over to the side of the oppressor and become its servant and agent in the exploitation and oppression of the Philippine masses.

The Philippine bourgeoisie, which is allied with and bound to the landlord class that—

protected by the imperialist ruled courts and constabulary—robs and enslaves the peasantry without mercy or limit, must no longer be considered as spokesman for the independence movement of the masses, but as traitors to it and as enemies of the interests and aspirations of the toiling millions.

Imperialist Economic Development

American imperialism and its native lackeys spread the illusion that American capital—and with it certainly American domination—will "develop industry" in the Philippines, implying that this will benefit the masses. But nothing can be farther from the truth. While American machine-made goods increasingly drives out of the native market the hand-made products of peasant and city handicraft labor, imperialist capital develops only such industry as gives raw material supplies to the American industry, and hinders all industry that might compete. American capital investment goes into extractive and transport industry and into bonds for "improvements" which load the populace with debts. The new Governor-General, Dwight L. Davis, has his policy announced by the Manila Herald of July 9, as demanding a re-

duction in sugar production, which interferes with the American monopoly, and in coconut oil which interferes with American dairy and packing interests, and states a program—

"As encouraging coffee, cacao, fibers and rubbers as a logical step to be taken by the Davis administration."

To attain these products desired by imperialist economy, those products which compete with American industry are to be discouraged, and great areas given over to imperialist plantations of rubber, etc. In this process great masses of the peasantry are utterly ruined, impoverished and driven off the land by force. Together with the carters and other transport workers displaced by motor and rail transport and the mass of displaced handicraft workers, the ruined peasantry is thrown into the towns and—in the absence of any important development of factory industry—growing unemployment and misery affects the whole toiling mass and threatens the town proletariat with a loss even of its present miserably low standards.

A Fight Against Imperialism

Against this intensification of imperialistic rule, only the rising resistance of the masses of workers and peasants in close alliance, in which alliance the organizations of the city proletariat must play the guiding role, can be effective, either in the effort to maintain and improve economic standards or in the struggle for independence. The Filipino masses cannot successfully fight for better economic conditions without fighting American imperialism, nor can the struggle for independence be triumphant without a fight against the ruling economic class—American capitalists and their native agents.

The Philippine bourgeoisie openly betrays, for the sake of some miserable percentage of the robbery of the Philippine masses, the cause of independence. The Philippine Commissioner at Washington, Pedro Guevara (Manila Herald, July 9, bargains independence for low tariff duties on Philippine products—"stressing the importance of the Philippine Islands in maintaining the balance of international power in the Orient".

In this way, not only is the cause of independence betrayed, but the Philippine bourgeoisie offers itself to and becomes a part of the war game of American imperialism against its imperialist rivals and against the Soviet Union.

P.P.T.U.S. and Policy of Class Struggle

To save themselves from utter starvation and beggary, to fight effectively for absolute independence, and to struggle against the war danger which threatens to engulf them, the masses of Philippine workers and peasants must organize and struggle independently of and against the traitorous Philippine bourgeoisie, on lines laid down by the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

The trade unions must be united—but upon a basis of class struggle, must clean themselves from all tendencies of class collaboration, and put forward as leaders rank and file workers and no longer keep professional people, petty bourgeois personalities and non-workers who act as agents of the bourgeoisie inside their ranks as trade union leaders. Those who keep one foot in the camp of the bourgeoisie while the other is in the ranks of labor must be replaced by real proletarians who may lack useless bourgeois polish but who are sincere fighters for their class.

The Trade Union Unity Congress recognizes the great steps forward taken by the Philippine unions since affiliation of the Congreso Obrero, to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat in 1927. But we note as well that the turn to a class struggle policy under guidance of the P.P.T.U.S., has been resisted by some elements among the old leadership who, while they use many demagogic arguments to sustain their claims as leaders of labor, cannot escape the fact that they are linked up with the bourgeoisie and its political parties of betrayal. To these concealed agents of imperialist and native capital in the ranks of labor, is due the split in the Congreso Obrero.

Those who would split the Filipino workers away from the workers of other lands are the same who would split the trade union movement of the Philippine nation and weaken the struggle for independence, the same who endorse the Bureau of Labor and every other device for preventing effective struggle by the workers and diverting the trade unions into class collaboration. But we are certain that those bourgeois elements who have dared to split the Philippine unions and sever connections with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, will be rejected and repudiated by the honest proletarians of the rank and file who must unite in the shops against the employing class and all misleaders in the unions.

For Joint Struggle

The Trade Union Unity Congress, the representative body of revolutionary trade union-

ism in the United States implacably opposed to American imperialism, recognizes as loyal allies in its struggle the exploited and oppressed workers and peasants of the Philippines. We repudiate and denounce the imperialistic and reactionary policies of the bureaucrats heading the American Federation of Labor, who oppose the immigration of Filipino workers to the United States and who have betrayed when they have not ignored the cry for freedom of the Philippine people. We not only pledge our word to the cause of Philippine independence, but by our present establishment of a center of revolutionary trade unionism we insure an organized power to back up our pledge.

We, the delegates here assembled, pledge our best efforts to:

1. Assist the cause of absolute and immediate Philippine independence.
2. Initiate and maintain the closest fraternal connections with the Philippine workers and peasants, and to this end we reserve a

seat on our National Executive Committee for a representative of the Philippine Proletarian Labor Congress and welcome the mutual exchange of literature and information.

3. Aid by all possible actions of solidarity the economic struggles of the Philippine workers and peasants and help them attain economic and political emancipation.

4. Fight against race prejudice and against all measures preventing the voluntary immigration of Filipino workers and peasants to the United States.

5. Organize in revolutionary trade unions in the United States all Filipino workers here as immigrants, on equal basis with all other members, and for equal pay for equal work with American workers.

6. Struggle against the danger of an imperialist war in the Pacific which would bring untold misery and slaughter to the Philippine masses, as it will to the working class the world over.

The Life and Work of Sou Chao - Jen

By TENG TSUNG-HSIA

[This is the third and concluding part of the life story of Comrade Sou, the first Chairman of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. He was also Chairman of the All-China Labor Federation at the time of his death, February 26, 1929, at the age of 41.—EDITOR.]

AFTER the betrayal of the Chinese revolution by the Wuhan Kuomintang Government on July 15, 1927, Sou Chao-jen went to Kiukiang to make preparations for the Nanking Uprising. It was at this moment that he made the following famous remark: "The Kuomintang left-wing movement of Tang Ping-shan is practically a communist right-wing movement for splitting the Communist Party for the benefit of the Kuomintang." At that time Tang Ping-shan was not yet expelled from the Communist Party, but Sou had already clearly seen through the mask of that pseudo-revolutionist.

As the Wuhan period was drawing toward an end, the atmosphere in the Communist Party was heavy-laden with the alliance with the petty bourgeoisie. Practically, the party did not only make concessions to the petty bourgeoisie, but actually capitulated to them. Comrade Wang Ho-po looked at such a pol-

icy with disgust. At the last meeting of the active members of the party at Wuhan, which concluded the work of opportunism, Comrade Wang said:

"The petty bourgeoisie is a wavering class. If the bourgeoisie is more powerful, the petty bourgeoisie will go to their side. If we are more powerful, they will follow us. What's the use of constantly making concessions? Let us do the work ourselves."

Naturally, such a statement could make no impression on such a meeting, filled with the poison of opportunism. Thus we see that the class character of the real proletarian elements in the party is the basis of its strength, a fact always more clearly shown at critical moments.

The representative of the Communist International arrived at Hankow at the beginning of August, 1927, and both Comrade Sou and the writer were called back from Kiu-

kiang to Hankow to take part in the famous August 7th Conference. This Conference marked an important link in the history of the Chinese Communist Party. The Conference pulled the party out of the mud of opportunism and put it on the correct Bolshevik path. The Central Committee was reorganized and Comrade Sou was elected as a member of its Political Bureau. Sou had been already elected as a candidate to the Bureau by the Fifth Congress of the party.

With the August 7th Conference, of course, he became a leader in the war against opportunism in the party. Under the most difficult conditions of white terror, with the possibility of arrest and death constantly hovering over his head, Comrade Sou worked calmly and bravely, traveling from Shanghai to Hankow back and forth. The organization of the Communist Party was thus maintained through the stormy times, and cleared of the curse of opportunism, the party was thus consolidated.

The Canton Uprising of 1927

On December 11, 1927, the first Soviet Government in the Far East was proclaimed at Canton. Comrade Sou was elected the Chairman of that Government. During the time of the great Canton Uprising, however, Comrade Sou was in Hankow, in charge of certain work there. But though that world-shaking uprising was neither organized nor personally led by Comrade Sou, its very foundation had been laid by his work there long before.

As known, that historic event was caused, besides the objective conditions, also by the subjective situation. Canton had been the spot where the movement had concentrated its energy for a long time. There, before the Hongkong-Canton strike, the total membership of the Communist Party was never more than 400. But after the strike it increased to several thousand and became a real mass organization. More than that, the strike lasted for more than two years, and in the long period of real struggles and under the systematic training of Marxism-Leninism, the cadres of the Communist Party were formed. It is because of these that the party in Canton can yet maintain and continue its work under the incessant and incredible white terror during which hundreds of thousands of militant workers are either arrested or executed.

As to the training of the trade union functionaries, the work was done in a still larger scale. It was the rich revolutionary inheritance of Canton that made possible the Can-

ton Uprising, with its great historical and international significance which opened up a new stage of the Chinese Revolution—the Soviet stage. The words—"Sou Chao-jen"—had already been deeply enshrined in the heart of the working class. It was but natural that he was elected as Chairman of the Canton Soviet. The peasants of the distant corners of the rural districts made no distinction between Sou Chao-Jen" and "Sou Wei Ai" (the Chinese name for "Soviet"). They knew and knew well that something with the name of "Sou" is the only thing that can and will emancipate them.

Sou Chao-jen did not lead the Canton Uprising personally. But he did participate in the discussion of the general plan and consideration for directing the uprising when the planned uprising was discussed by the Central Committee of the party. Therefore, we can say that Comrade Sou was the one who initiated the first Soviet in the Far East.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement

In 1924, the Red International of Labor Unions sent a representative to Canton with the sole aim of calling a Conference of Transport Workers of the countries along the Pacific.

Comrade Sou took part in that Conference. From that time on, he maintained close contact with the leaders of the trade union movement along the Pacific coast. In 1927, Comrade Losovsky, General Secretary of the R.I.L.U. participated in the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference at Hankow. Comrade Sou was elected by this Conference as Chairman of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, which was then located at Shanghai.

The Hankow Conference marked the beginning of the great union of trade unions of the whole Pacific area. The movement grew and the influence of Comrade Sou in the trade union movement of the Pacific also grew.

In 1928, the Sixth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was held under the direct leadership of the Communist International. Its true value rested in the fact that, after the severe defeat of the Chinese Revolution, the main task of the party was to win over the broad masses and be prepared for the next revolutionary tide.

Sou Visits the Soviet Union

In the Spring of 1928, Comrade Sou went to Moscow to attend the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, which took place in April, and the Sixth Congress

of the Communist International in August. His contributions to both congresses were great and valuable. He was elected to the presidium of each congress and was elected to the Executive Committee of both Internationals. Thus, Sou was recognized as a militant fighter of the world revolution.

Comrade Sou spoke very frequently in Leningrad and the Crimea. Wherever he went he was welcomed by broad masses with enthusiasm. He attended all sorts of workers' gatherings, no matter whether big or little. The Eighth Congress of the All-Union Trade Unions was the last meeting of the Soviet workers he attended. He gave a very significant report on the Chinese trade union movement there. This last speech he delivered will long remain in the minds of the working class of the Soviet Union.

Sou's Style of Work

In the foregoing pages we have told the story of the most important events in Comrade Sou's life. The strongest weapon he bore was the firmness of his class standpoint. His approach to the Communist path was not an easy one. He was formerly a member of the Kuomintang. He rallied the militants among the seamen and organized the Seamen's Strike, but most of the strike leaders were labor traitors. After joining the Communist Party, he came face to face with opportunist leadership. Despite these unfavorable circumstances, Sou stood firm in the interest of his class and remained a most uncompromising, loyal and courageous revolutionist.

His experiences and struggles were making him politically more mature as the days passed. Every comrade noticed the remarkable improvement Sou made in his one year's stay in the Soviet Union. What unlimited possibilities were in store for our movement if, when he went back to China, death had not prevented him from putting into practice the theoretical knowledge and international experience he had acquired!

Sou Chao-jen was very industrious. Likewise, he hated the negligence of other comrades, especially that of the intellectuals. He quickly and correctly saw that the attitude of indifference of many comrades toward work for the movement involves a great loss to the revolution, and he had absolutely no mercy on those who neglect and sabotage the work assigned them.

Discipline

Comrade Sou had been an old Kuomintang

member and enjoyed the fame as a leader before he joined the Chinese Communist Party. We might judge, therefore, that the iron party discipline would have been something strange and unbearable for him. But in fact it was not. This was proven time and again in his early days in the party.

Not long after the declaration of the Hongkong-Canton strike, as I recall, he told many new party members who were seamen: "... how much more energetically should we carry on the struggle, because formerly we had never obtained any guidance from the party, we had experienced extraordinary hardships and encountered lots of difficulties. But now things are different. We are now under the direction and leadership of the correct line of the political party of the proletariat! Now we should at least double our activity!" These words will never be forgotten by our seamen.

Sou was the real leader of the toiling masses, enjoying the confidence of millions and millions of oppressed workers and peasants. But he never "showed off" or styled himself the "head" like Sun Yat-sen, who in his speeches and writing called himself "the Great Master" or "Tsung-Li", or the "Commander-in-Chief" to get prestige!

A few small incidents are sufficient to depict Comrade Sou's modesty. At the early period of the Hongkong-Canton strike a certain yellow leader headed the workers' pickets. Whenever and wherever he went he was accompanied by eight armed guards, and he acted as if he was a "tuchan". But Sou used to go out alone caring nothing about the conspiracies and plans of assassination of the white terrorists. Only after it was known that the Hongkong imperialist government was plotting to murder our Sou, then the Communist Party ordered two comrades to protect him.

Firmness

Yes, Sou was modest, but it was never the case on political issues. On that he was firm. He would stand firm and argue with his opponents until they were fully convinced, or he would attack them ruthlessly if they were hopelessly absurd and incorrect. Take the recent example of the discussion of an open letter to the Chinese Communist Party. At first, a few comrades claimed that China is now at the beginning of an economic restoration, the social basis of the Kuomintang is, they held, extended, and the fresh revolutionary wave will occur only in the invisible

future, and therefore, they argued, there is more danger of a left deviation than a right deviation in the Chinese Communist Party. Comrade Sou argued with them bitterly, holding throughout the discussion, the line as laid down by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. At last, the most of Sou's proposals were accepted.

So much for the style of his work. And merely from these few points we can understand why the broad masses had so much confidence in Sou.

Sickness and Death

Sou was very healthy when he was young. But overwork and improper and insufficient food weakened his physique. Further, he lacked rest while he was sick. This caused his bad health in later days, weakening his resistance. In 1928 alone he participated in the Sixth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U and the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. What an important and hard task for such a responsible but physically weak comrade as Sou! After the close of the Congress of the Communist International, Sou was taken very ill with appendicitis. But he recovered. The physician advised him to take a long rest in a sanatorium in the Crimea before having an operation. This he did. When he returned from the Crimea he looked strong and healthy. He really appeared as strong as anyone. The physician said that no operation was necessary, but that he must have proper food and sufficient rest. While in the Soviet Union Comrade Sou faithfully followed this advice. But in January he went back to China.

Everyone knows what a hardship it is to travel illegally through that part of the world, in those months of the year. Not long after he arrived in Shanghai, therefore, he was again taken ill with appendicitis—and ere long he passed away. He died at a time when the revolutionary crisis in China is growing day by day. What a great loss!

Sou's Place in History

Comrade Sou was a revolutionary leader, pushed up by millions of the toiling masses in struggle. From what has been said it is clear how he became leader of the Seamen's

strike, leader of the masses of Canton and Hongkong, leader of the working class of China, leader of the Chinese Communist Party, one of the leaders of the Red International of Labor Unions and of the Communist International. Comrade Sou was the most outstanding leader of the Far East who came from the ranks of the working class.

Comrade Sou and Sun Yat-sen were born in the same district, while Sou and Ghandi of India were born on the same continent. But Sou's greatness is incomparable to that of the other two. Sou was looked upon by millions of the oppressed as the representative of the great force which could surely bring about emancipation. It is true that Sun Yat-sen and Ghandi both have their "isms". But the "ism" of Comrade Sou was Marxism-Leninism. Thus, Sun Yat-sen and Ghandi have not only lost their role in the revolutionary movement of the Far East, but their "isms" have actually become obstacles to the revolution. Only Marxism-Leninism will lead mankind to the final goal, and Comrade Sou was the first great fighter who carried that banner in the revolutionary movement of the Far East!

The Canton Soviet was the first in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Comrade Sou was the Chairman of the first Soviet in the Far East and was the center of attention of all the liberation movements of the toiling masses!

At a time when the Chinese revolutionary situation is becoming more critical daily, when the development of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat is moving rapidly forward, when the offensive of the proletariat and the exploited masses of the whole world becomes more and more pressing, our need for Comrade Sou was never so urgent. But he is dead!

However, though his body is dead, the example of his life and work, the soul of his courage and the heart of his class loyalty transcends the boundary of his years, and he lives on and forever in the struggle of the oppressed millions. Thus the loss by death of Comrade Sou will be recompensed by the relentless rise of the toiling masses from whom he came and for whom he gave all the energy of his life.

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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.**