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# **The Pan-Pacific Monthly**

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



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# Pan-Pacific Labor Directory

(Including European organizations affiliated to the  
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Australian Council of Trade Union; C. Crofts, Secretary.  
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Harry Pollitt, Secretary; 38 Gt. Ormond Street, London,  
W. C. I.

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Confederacion Generale du Travail Unitaire; G. Mon-  
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**INDONESIA**

Indonesian Labor Federation, Batavia, Java.

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Korean Labor Federation; Seoul, Korea.

**MALAYA**

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nea, Java, Celebes, Malay Peninsula, Burma, Siam, and  
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Rizal, or P. O. Box 849, Manila, P. I.

**UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS (USSR)**

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

**UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

Trade Union Unity League; Wm. Z. Foster, Secretary;  
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太平洋工會秘書廳

# The Pan-Pacific Monthly

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Head Office: Shanghai, China

EARL BROWDER, *Editor*

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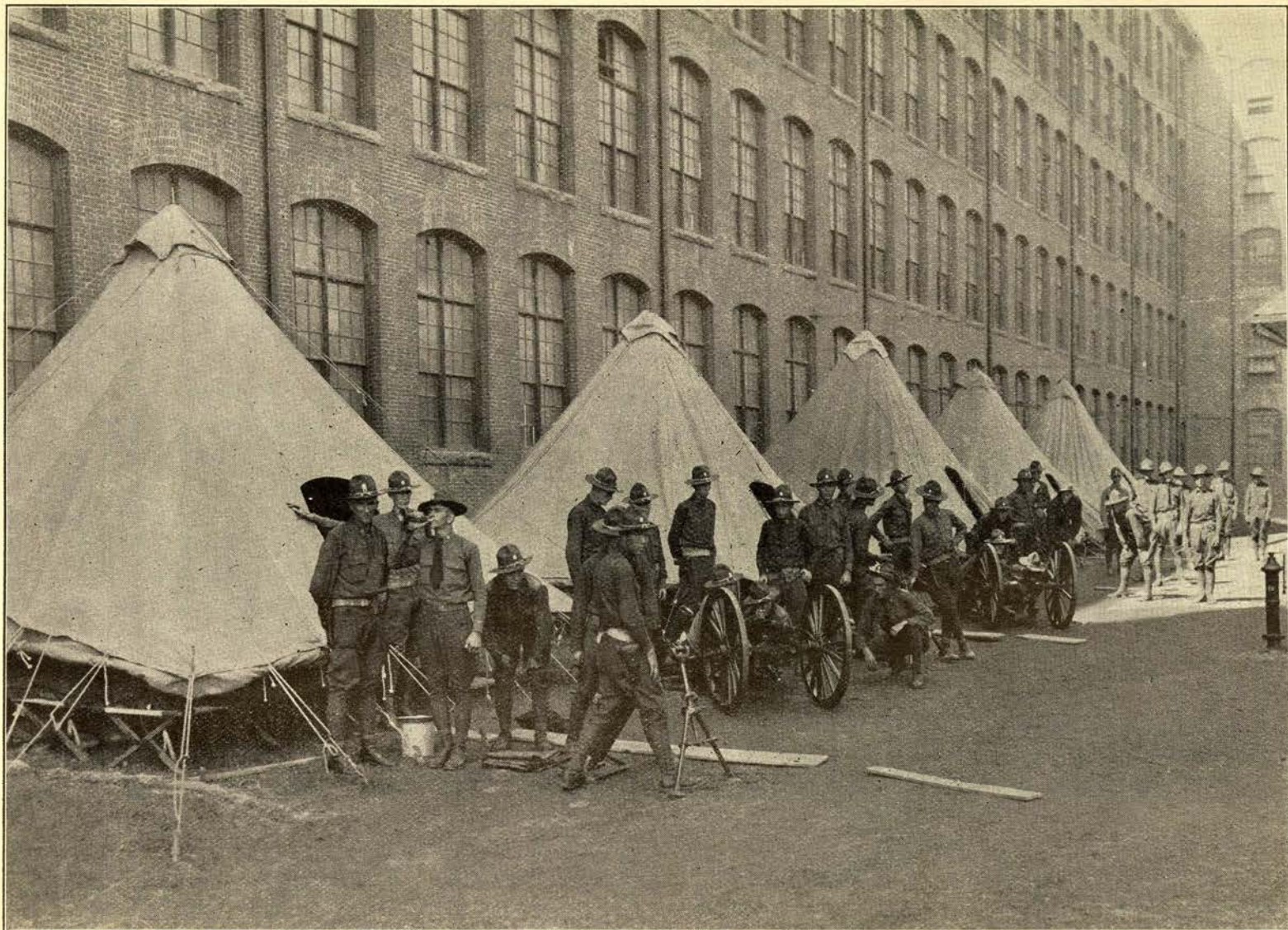
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*In the Gastonia strike: The Watch Dogs of U. S. imperialism on guard against the American Proletariat.*

# Labor Imperialism and India

By C. P. DUTT

THE British Labor Government has made its first contribution towards policy in India since its accession to office. The pronouncement, made through the mouth of the Viceroy in India, follows a line fairly accurately forecast beforehand. This is not surprising, for the foreign policy of the Labor Government, as already exemplified in the case of Egypt, the Middle East and China, is bound within very narrow limits. The first factor in the situation is the increasing development of mass discontent and revolutionary ferment inside India. The second factor is that the Labor Government is pledged to maintain and continue the imperialist policy agreed upon jointly by all the British Parliamentary parties and typified in the joint participation in the Simon Commission.

The Simon Commission, the report of which will not be ready until 1930, was rejected and boycotted even by the bulk of bourgeois nationalists. The Indian Congress pledged itself last year to take drastic action if the British Government does not offer dominion status to India by the end of 1929. Under the pressure of radical forces, growing stronger along with the intensification of repression, the Congress has selected the "left" nationalist leader Jawaharlal Nehru as president of the coming session in Lahore, Ghandi having declined the responsibility.

Under these circumstances, if the Labor Government made no more concessions, the Congress would be bound to commit itself by some form of action. Yet most of the bourgeois leaders would be glad to find an excuse for retreating. Thus, the British Labor Government has its chance of appearing to do something new which would be eagerly seized by those harboring expectations from a Labor Government, while at the same time

it would in no way alter the policy fixed by imperialism.

The Viceroy's statement does two things. Firstly, it makes a new vague promise of dominion status which goes no further than anything previously said:

*"I am authorized on behalf of his Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status."*

Secondly, following a suggestion already made by Simon, it proposes a round table conference of "all parties and interests" after the Simon Commission has made its report and for the purpose of discussing the findings of the Simon Commission.

There is nothing here which meets the Indian bourgeois nationalist demand for a round table conference empowered to decide the future Constitution of India. The British Conservative press emphasizes that the Viceroy's statement contains "no promises and no change of policy," that the Simon Commission is still the sole channel for proposals on India and that the British Parliament remains the final arbiter.

Nevertheless, as in the case of the Egyptian Treaty, all sections of the Labor Party are busily extolling the new declaration as the basis for a happy solution of the Indian problem, as the I. L. P. *New Leader* calls it. The *Daily Herald* says there is now "complete unity of purpose" in Britain and India and the path to co-operation is now open.

The Executive of the I. L. P. in a resolution "congratulates the Government in its

re-affirmation of the justice of India's claim for self-government" and urges an amnesty for political prisoners to create a favorable atmosphere of discussion.

Acceptance of this even by the bourgeois wing of the nationalists is not such a foregone conclusion. If the Simon Commission was boycotted why should its report be discussed? Nevertheless, even Jawaharlal Nehru talks of a Conference being acceptable if the present "war-like" policy of the government is discontinued and the fundamental basis of the Conference is satisfactory. The basis will probably not prove satisfactory but the immediate object of the British Labor Government will be served if the attention of the Indian Congress is diverted to these conditions for co-operation.

The Labor Government is turning from the Simon Commission because it knows that this body is too compounded in India. The Government, however, is carrying out pre-

cisely that which the Simon Commission will propose.

\* \* \*

THE hope of British imperialism that the trial of the leaders of the Indian militant working class movement now proceeding at Meerut would spread confusion and terror among the rebellious Indian workers shows no sign of being realized.

The Preliminary Enquiry, now in its eighth month, still drags on interminably while the prosecution brings forward its innumerable police spies with reports of public meetings and intercepted letters. Among the two thousand documents are two hundred speeches said to have been delivered during the strike of the Girni Kamgar (Red Flag) textile union in Bombay. There is no pretense of proving acts of violence or conspiracy to plan insurrection. Leadership in the strike movement, speeches advocating class struggle are considered sufficient.



*One of the thousands of textile workers shot down indiscriminately during the textile strike in Bombay.*

The Public Prosecutor, Mr. Langford James, relies on the crudest methods to prove his case. The Workers' and Peasants' Party proclaims that it is out to destroy imperialism. But is not the head of the imperialistic British Government his Majesty the King-Emperor? Before the Soviet regime was established in Russia did they not get rid of their king? These are the actual questions put to witnesses by Mr. Langford James.

Meanwhile, it is hoped to break the spirit of the prisoners by cruel treatment and petty tyrannies. Not only do they have to undergo the usual gross hardships of under-trial prisoners in the fever-infested Meerut jail, but those who have fallen ill get inadequate medical assistance. One of the prisoners, Muzaffar Ahmad, is dying of consumption, but the authorities refuse to release him on bail or even allow him to be examined by a Calcutta doctor.

A glaring example of the interference with the defense that goes on was the recent arrest of one of the assistants of the defense counsel, who is to be charged with criminal trespass because he entered the court premises after the session was ended but while the prisoners and their counsel were still being detained there. This arbitrary action was taken by the complainant in the case who happens also to be the lessee of the Court premises, and a petition of the prisoners to have the case removed to another Court on this ground was rejected by the magistrate.

The only result achieved by the prosecution so far is to make known throughout India the cause for which the prisoners are fighting and to popularize the slogans of militant class struggle. Their cries of "Down with British imperialism" and "Long live the Indian revolution" have been taken up by demonstrators in all parts of India and have replaced everywhere the old cries of "Mahatma Gandhi Kijai," etc.

The cynical defense of its action put forward by the Labor Government through the mouth of the Under Secretary of State for India, Dr. Drummond Shiels, at the British Labor Party Conference, has been received

in India with derisive scorn. Mr. Shiels acknowledged the responsibility of the Labor Government for the conduct of the Meerut case, but he claimed that they were not being tried merely because they were trade union leaders. He said the Government would support "genuine" trade unionism in India, and he boasted that the policy of the India Office was in the interests of "the uninformed, humble people of India." The Calcutta Congress paper *Liberty* comments that this speech "could not have been improved upon even by Lord Birkenhead."

In spite of the ferocious tide of persecution, the Indian working class movement refuses to be subdued. In Meerut itself, the mass demonstrations outside the Court in support of the prisoners have led the authorities to prohibit the assembly of more than five persons together.

The most ferocious attacks have been launched against the Girni Kamgar Union in Bombay. The recently issued reports of the Riots Enquiry Committee (appointed to enquire into the communal riots in Bombay last February) and of the Strike Enquiry Committee (appointed under the Trades Disputes Act to enquire into the causes of the general strike in the textile industry this year) both reveal themselves as representing nothing more than a method of attacking the Girni Kamgar Union. The Riots Enquiry Report even suggests that steps should be taken to prevent "Communists" from occupying leading positions in Indian trade unions. These reports foreshadow an attempt to declare the Girni Kamgar an illegal organization.

Under the combined attack of the textile capitalists and the British rulers, with the use of unlimited, strike-breaking tactics, prohibition of picketing and organized violence, the Girni Kamgar Union has been compelled to call off the textile strike unconditionally, which accordingly came to an end in October. Nevertheless, the Union is still firmly established, based as it is on the mill committees organized by the workers in the mills themselves. The textile workers have been

starved into surrender for the moment, but their class spirit is unbroken.

New strikes are breaking out in other parts of the country. The tin plate workers of the Taka Company at Jamshedpur are still on strike as solidly as ever, and the strike of the oil and petrol workers in Calcutta has now lasted over two months. These workers demand recognition of their union and a substantial increase in wages. The company has offered an insignificant wage increase which has been rejected by the men. In Karachi, recently, the dock workers came out on strike and boldly resisted the attempt to use strike breakers against them. As usual, the authorities quickly had recourse to armed police and savagely attacked the strikers. Many smaller strikes are taking place in various centers, and it is clear that the ferment of industrial unrest is by no means subsiding.

The movement to boycott the Whitley Royal Commission on Indian Labor, which arrived in India on October 11, has been growing in strength. While the active leaders of the working class movement are in jail at Meerut, and workers on strike are being crushed by repressive legislation and police terrorism, it is impossible even for the reformist elements to regard the Commission as having come to assist Indian Labor. The Meerut trial is the predominating issue which is causing important sections of the trade union movement to decide to boycott the Commission. The Provincial Trade Union Federation of the United Provinces, at a conference last September at which 6,000 people were present, passed a resolution deciding to boycott the Commission:

*"in view of the fact that the Whitley Commission was appointed at a time when the Meerut case was going on against a number of labor leaders and has not been withdrawn by the Government in spite of the repeated requests of the workers."*

A number of other labor organizations, such as the Workers' and Peasants' Party, the Girni Kamgar Union, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Union, the Barabazar Labor Union, the Bombay Port Trust Employees Union, the Bombay Tramwaymen's Union, etc., have decided to have nothing to do with the Commission.

The British *Manchester Guardian* in a leading article last August frankly exposed the real purpose of the Whitley Commission. It declared:

*"Experience of the past two years has shown that the industrial workers in the biggest centers are peculiarly malleable material in the hands of unscrupulous Communist organizers, and this is one of the circumstances which gives such importance to the recently appointed Commission on Indian Labor."*

British imperialism, acting through the agency of the British Labor Government, is straining and striving to exorcise the Communist spectre. But do what it will, its measures fail of their intended effect. The Indian working class is advancing under heavy fire; but precisely the fact of its advance under those conditions makes it impossible to be stopped. The Indian revolution is gathering strength.

# To the All-India Trade Union Congress

*From the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat*

Shanghai, 12 November, 1929.

To the Delegates Assembled at the  
All-India Trade Union Congress,  
Nagpur.

**D**EAR Comrades,  
I am directed by the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat to extend to the delegates of the All-India Trade Union Congress assembled at Nagpur the most hearty and fraternal greetings on behalf of our affiliated membership. It is with deep interest our Secretariat and constituent organizations, which now embrace a membership of 15 millions in fourteen different countries, have followed the tenacious and gallant struggles of the Indian workers, especially the textile workers. Our Secretariat is fully aware that the Indian workers are not only subjected to all the worst forms of rationalization of industry, but to every form of violence—from communal warfare deliberately fostered and organized by British usurpers, to wholesale murder of protesting demonstrators and strikers by British forces and their hirelings.

The workers of India suffer from exactly the same form of oppression as do the workers of other colonial and semi-colonial countries, most of which are in or around the Pacific. Their lives are full of misery, not because they are "backward" but because of the terrible exploitation by British and other oppressors. They are ill-fed, work exhaustively long hours; exist in terrible dwellings; denied an elementary education; all rights of citizenship; their meagre homes subject to invasion by foreign tyrants or their lackeys; are prevented from exercising the unhampered right to organize trade unions and political organizations of their own choice; free speech, assembly and press are denied them at the will of the foreign invader; wholesale arrests of their leaders upon framed-up

charges based upon extracts from irrelevant documents, which are torn from their contents, while many are sent for years of rigorous punishment solely upon evidence given by agents of government provocateurs, and strikers are shot down indiscriminately. The Indian peasantry, like the peasantry of other oppressed countries also suffer from exorbitant rents, usurers' extortions, oppressive taxation, evictions from their land to make room for capitalist ownership, arrest, banishment or imprisonment at the least sign of protest against these unbearable impositions—all these and many other brutal and tortuous methods are practiced against the toiling workers and peasants of India and other colonial countries in the Pacific.

Faced with all the forms of oppression as outlined above and the resultant situation, with the anti-Trade Union Act and the Public Safety Bill, together with "Bengal Ordinances" and other similar measures that are all designed to perpetuate the systematic offensive of the British imperialists against the organized workers and peasants, the decisions of the All-India Trade Union Congress will have far-reaching effects. The policy of the P.P.T.U. movement is to assist in developing national unity for united national struggles in each country. Our policy is to support demands for higher standards of living: by raising wages, shortening hours, fighting the effects of rationalization and against victimization, for the right to form factory committees, by demanding social insurance relief, including maternity benefits, etc. But these can only be obtained by an uncompromising fight with imperialism. Therefore the P.P.T.U.S. connects the struggle for immediate economic demands with the demands for political rights, such as free speech, assembly and press, the unhampered right to organize trade unions and workers' political parties, the right to strike

and picket, free and compulsory education for children, the enfranchisement of all workers and peasants, irrespective of sex, abolition of the illegal and oppressive taxation and usurers' extortions, monetary assistance to be given by the government for cooperative farming, repeal of all anti-working class laws, against all discriminating immigration laws as well as employers' schemes for mass emigration to bring down wages with complete freedom of all workers, irrespective of race, color or nationality, to go from one country to another, with complete national independence for all oppressed peoples, the struggle against the imperialist war danger and defense of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, etc.

The positive program and policy of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat therefore constitutes a direct challenge to all imperialist oppressors. The British imperialists try by developing a high degree of rationalization at home and by deepening their colonial exploitation to stop the decline of British capitalism. This decline is indicated by the enormous deficit in Britain's trade balance, the huge foreign and internal debts, the inability of British industry to maintain its position in the world markets against the efficiency and mass production of other competing capitalist nations. This not only results in a sharpening of the conflict between the various groups of imperialists, but the attempts of British and other financiers to prolong capitalism by intensifying the exploitation of the workers and peasants results in a sharpening of the class struggle both at home as well as in India. Therefore, to be able to effectively meet the offensive, it is the aim of the P.P.T.U.S. to help develop unity of the organized labor of India with all other workers and peasants of the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the Pacific area; and to further develop unity between the workers of the imperialist countries with those of the oppressed nations.

3  
But in order to develop national and international trade union unity we must know and overcome all the forces that make for disintegration. We must divide these into the positive and negative forces of the class strug-

gle. Unfortunately for the working class of India and other countries there are those who (some consciously and other unconsciously) assist the imperialist enemies of organized labor. During disputes they aid the employers by sowing dissension in the ranks of strikers by advocating a return to work and dependence upon arbitration of disputes, when it is known that the employers suggest "arbitration" and "conciliation" as an offensive weapon to achieve their ends (the peaceful submission of the workers to wage-cuts, victimization, longer hours, intensified labor, etc.), and without any losses involved in struggles. The P.P.T.U.S. recognizes the need for able tactical maneuvers which will strengthen the workers' offensive, but rejects all forms of compulsory arbitration and fights strenuously against "industrial peace" policy of the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress and other capitulators, which is the policy of the "Amsterdam" International, whose bureaucrats work hand in hand with the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, the instrument of the European imperialist powers who are the brutal oppressors and exploiters of the workers and peasants of the colonies and semi-colonies. The theory accepted by the P.P.T.U. Secretariat is that organized labor will succeed in improving the conditions of the workers and peasants to the same extent it is able to develop organization, strength and ability to inflict losses upon the employers. To the same degree labor will have achieved power to go further to the struggle for complete national independence, and thence towards the realization of the objective resolutions 9 and 37 passed by the last All-India Trade Union Congress at Jharia, i.e., towards the realization of a "Socialistic Republican Government" and "with the object of establishing at the earliest opportunity a Workers' Cooperative Commonwealth of India..."

Our Secretariat desires the Nagpur assembly of the All-India Trade Union Congress to realize that to achieve any progress in the removal of the colonial leg-irons still firmly rivetted upon Indians and other oppressed peoples in the Pacific area, the labor movement must rid itself of all imperialist prote-

ges and celebrities of the "Amsterdam" International and the I.L.O. You are perfectly aware that neither the trade union bureaucrats of Great Britain nor their colleagues of "Amsterdam" showed any desire for serious contact with Indian organized labor previous to the advent of the P.P.T.U.S. The "Amsterdam" International flatly refused recognition of the All-China Federation of Labor when a personal appeal was made for assistance during the struggle against imperialism in 1926-27, and the British Labor Party and General Council of the T.U.C. supported Baldwin's policy of occupying Shanghai and other important centers in China with British armed forces and battle-ships. These forces still remain in China today under a so-called Labor government, and will be used to uphold British exploitation as they are used in India, Arabia, Africa, etc. The organized workers are justly suspicious of those labor imperialists who preferred to complacently occupy a parasitic position on the backs of the Indian workers and peasants, to that of directly assisting them in their struggle against a common oppressor of both British and Indian workers.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat would be negligent in its duty to its own membership if it did not point out that the call for an Asiatic Labor Conference is primarily a manoeuvre of the British and other imperialists supported by their agents within the labor movement. Suzuki Bunji, who is openly acting as the agent of the Japanese government within the labor movement, has made many abortive attempts to create such an Asiatic movement. But now the Western as well as the Eastern imperialists have become alarmed at the development of the P.P.T.U.S. and the militancy of the Indian and other Oriental workers. It is necessary to get control of these workers and therefore what they failed to do in India and other Eastern countries through their British and Amsterdam agents, they now hope to achieve by their "alluring" instrument an "Asiatic Labor Conference." The real reason for the visit of Albert Thomas, director of the I.L.C., to the Far East, was to find a basis for controlling the unrest

among the working class of colonial and semi-colonial countries. He endorsed the disruptive proposals of Suzuki, and during the recent Geneva Conference, plans were evolved to carry the project a step further, although the promoters are finding it very difficult to realize. All was made perfectly clear in Albert Thomas' report of his tour of investigation in the Orient given to the governing body of the I. L. C. and published widely in the capitalist press. Quoting Mr. Thomas' report, the British-owned "North China Daily News" says: "There is a movement in favor of 'Pan-Asiatic' understanding. Such understandings are not aimed against Europe (imperialism) or against more general understanding, but to some minds they are more attractive, and appear to hold out a promise of more tangible and immediate results than the Geneva (and Amsterdam) institutions." Then he went on to show what results he had in mind. He said: "To the nationalist movements (of the oppressed peoples) . . . Western civilization opposes its organizing capacity, its systematic methods, its technical progress, etc."

Our Secretariat submits to the delegates assembled at the Nagpur Congress that there is positive proof of an understanding between Suzuki, Jeshi & Co. with the imperialists of the I.L.C. and their agents in control of "Amsterdam," whose real object is to split the P.P.T.U. movement. Mr. Thomas has in plain language told his imperialist audience that the "Asiatic Labor Conference" was not aimed to attack bloodthirsty European exploiters, and further: that Western civilization oppose the struggle for national independence with its superior systematic organizing ability and technical progress, which, we must know, and is now clearly indicated, includes the organization of the "Asiatic Labor Conference." Technical progress, of course, includes also mechanized armies, bombing planes and modern cruisers for the purpose of subjecting colonial and semi-colonial peoples to a foreign rule as was so recently demonstrated in Arabia (Palestine).

These frank and unvarnished statements positively and unmistakably prove a conspiracy exists to destroy not only the P.P.T.U.

movement and to isolate the Asiatic workers from their fellow workers around the Pacific, but also the effectiveness of the trade unions of India, China, Indonesia, Philippines, Malay, Korea, etc. Those who favor this movement of the imperialist and native exploiters are helping to continue the enslavement of the Indian people. By attacking and weakening the organizations of workers and peasants, which alone form the very basis of the struggle for complete independence, means to prolong the starvation, misery and torture of the Indian workers and peasants in order to maintain the parasitic position of the British capitalist class. Therefore our Secretariat, in view of the above statements which have been made since the Jharia Congress, does not hesitate in asking the delegates assembled at Nagpur to pass a resolution rescinding the Jharia Congress decision and decisively repudiate all attempts to call an Asiatic Labor Conference. The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat is now the only organized trade union center embodying the trade unions in and around the Pacific Ocean. Upon your decision on this question rests not only the future of the All-India T.U.C., but also the decision will have far-reaching and immediate political effects upon all the organized Oriental workers and peasants, and affect, favorably or unfavorably, according to your decision, the lives of the hundreds of millions of Eastern toilers.

There is still another reason why we draw the attention of the delegates to the motives of the British imperialists. The majority of the Indian bourgeoisie have also abandoned the struggle for national independence by the acceptance of a Dominion Status for India. This throws the leadership of the struggle for independence upon the leaders of the workers' and peasants' organizations, with the perspective before them to create a Workers' and Peasants' Government. If the organized labor movement pledges itself to this task all the honest elements among the lower stratum of the bourgeoisie will join in the struggle, under proletarian leadership. By accepting a Dominion Status—an India exploited by the British—the Indian bourgeoisie have politically landed themselves into almost the same

position as the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang in China. But what will the British Labor government give them as the price of their capitulations? Their retreat and guarantees for the continued British exploitation of India will be answered, and even Dominion Status may now be withheld for years to come. It is useless to try to involve the masses for such a mess of pottage, for even if it was achieved, the enslavement of India still continues. Therefore the delegates of the All-India T.U.C. are confronted with the momentous but simple task of deciding for or against the continued enslavement of India, and preparing a leadership capable of and willing to fight and drive out all foreign usurpers and oppressors.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat also draws the attention of the Indian workers to the imperialist war danger. Every imperialist nation is strenuously adopting itself for the next imperialist war which will find its center chiefly in the Pacific area. Therefore it is the duty of all organized labor in the Pacific area to prepare the workers and peasants to resist with all their force, being drawn into another world war. Our Secretariat views the present and past manoeuvres of the imperialist states and the recent "statements" and "agreements" of Mr. MacDonald and president Hoover, as nothing but political acts designed for two purposes: 1) to deceive the masses of the population, particularly the working masses by inferring that peaceful settlements of all the conflicts between the hostile capitalist groupings are possible; and 2) as definite political manoeuvres, each imperialist group trying to obtain favorable positions to strengthen themselves in preparation for further belligerent acts. Of course these manoeuvres are dictated by the existing economic or other difficulties and therefore it is a satisfactory gesture for British capitalists to suspend construction of an odd ship or two. But these gestures do not affect the general tendency of each nation to develop the power of its naval, military and air forces. Each prepares to engage definitely in a world struggle for a redistribution of the earth—a fight for the power to exploit more of the world's workers

and peasants. Lest any delegate to the All-India T.U.C. at Nagpur is misled by the pacifist phrases of members of Mr. MacDonald's government, let him reflect upon the repeated statements since they took office, regarding British colonial policy. In reference to Egypt, Palestine and India they have declared: "*That no fundamental change of policy is contemplated.*" This, together with Mr. Snowden's fierce fight for the interests of British imperialism at The Hague indicates: 1) the preparedness of MacDonald's government—the so-called "Labor government"—to defend British imperial interests at any cost; and 2) the maintenance of British tyranny and its bloodthirsty rule in India and elsewhere.

The P.P.T.U. Secretariat desires to draw your attention to the attack upon the U.S.S.R. in Manchuria. The imperialists utilize the Chinese militarists to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway preparatory to a military invasion of the U.S.S.R. This is not unconnected with their general attacks upon the labor movement. The Soviet Government gave up all the old rights and privileges exacted by the Czarists from China. They gave 50 per cent control of the C.E.R. to the Chinese with promises to relinquish the railway completely, the latter point being conditioned only by the imperative necessity of safeguarding the Soviet frontiers. Then the Chinese militarists betrayed the Chinese revolution and have now, in agreement with the imperialists, attacked the Workers' and Peasants' State. They see in the Soviet Union a firm supporter of all the oppressed nations and a defender of the international proletariat. Also the Soviet industrialization program proceeds apace and strengthens socialist economy while the decline of capitalism continues. Not only this: already 25 per cent of the Russian workers have obtained the 7-hour day, while the 7-hour day is being introduced as rapidly as possible into other establishments, as well as the new decision of the continuous working week which gives the workers one day's rest in five. These are aspects of Soviet economy which stand as living achievements of the only Workers' and Peasants' Government, and are hated by

all imperialists and their lackeys. Take these points into consideration together with the above facts relating to the policies and intrigues of the I.L.O. and its agents. We sincerely ask the Nagpur Congress to renounce Mr. N. M. Joshi's plea at the Geneva Conference of the I.L.O. "for greater vigor in the task of making the ideal of the international Labor Conference a reality in those (Eastern) countries" in order to combat the "danger of Moscow's catching the imagination of the people" (All-Indian T. U. Bulletin). Instead, the P.P.T.U. Secretariat calls upon the Congress to defend the Soviet Union and repel the attacks of a common foe.

Our Secretariat wishes the Congress to note that the policy of the P.P.T.U. movement is one of progressive militant struggle upon every sector of the workers' front. There can be no compromise with the imperialists or native exploiters or their lackeys. We must prepare on every front to strengthen organized labor nationally and internationally, and for this reason we ask the delegates of the All-India Trade Union Congress assembled at Nagpur to decide to fill the gap left vacant by the decision of the Jharia Congress which resolved "That the consideration of the question of affiliation of the All-Indian Trade Union Congress with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat be postponed for one year."

We have recently received the affiliation of the Malayan Federation of Labor with headquarters at Singapore. This Federation embodies the trade unions of several Malay States where so many Indians toil in absolute slavery—contract labor. The dynamic force of a struggling India will have enormous repercussions in every colonial and semi-colonial country and all our affiliated national trade union movements are anxious for your cooperation in a common struggle against a common enemy. Therefore we ask you to abandon all indecisiveness regarding your international connections, break off all relations with the imperialist I.L.O. intriguers, both at home and abroad, and take your logical place which the status of India assigns to you and join with the other organized and oppressed workers within the

Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. You are meeting at a most crucial moment in India's history and we hope your Congress will conclude as one of the most successful in the history of the Indian labor movement.

We remain,  
With fraternal greetings,  
TING-YU-LIN,  
*Chairman.*  
J. DAVIES,  
*Assistant General Secretary.*

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## Developments in India

AS this magazine goes to press, unconfirmed reports from India state that the All-India Trade Union Congress voted to affiliate to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, and that a leading left-winger, Comrade Bose, was elected to the highest leading body of the Congress.

Should this report prove correct, it must be taken as a sign of rapidly maturing events of historic significance in India. It can only be understood as the result of a tremendous movement of the masses, pressing their will upon a group of resisting, reactionary officials hitherto in control of the All-India T. U. C., headed by Mr. N. M. Joshi, who works hand in hand with the League of Nations and British imperialism. Under no condition should there be any illusions of a change of heart of the right-wing officials surrounding Mr. Joshi.

Among the leaders of the Indian trade union movement there are two camps, one aligned with imperialism and the native bourgeoisie, and the other fighting against imperialism and against the native exploiters. Both sides of this class struggle have their representatives in the All-India Trade Union Congress. Comrade Bose, or any other true left-winger, if elected to the leading committee of the All-India T. U. C. will prob-

ably find himself surrounded by a majority of the old right-wing camp, who will attempt to continue their same old line. It will be the duty of all left-wing representatives to give expression to the will of the masses; while participating in the leadership of the T. U. C., it will be their special duty to guard against this leadership being turned against the mass movement. It will be their special duty to continue the splendid advance of the left-wing unions, of the revolutionization of the masses, of the overthrow of the old right-wing policies which so long have hampered the development of the Indian trade union movement. It will be their duty, from their posts of responsibility, to mobilize the masses for struggle against imperialism and all its agents and against the native bourgeoisie which is suppressing the strike movement and betraying the cause of India's liberation by accepting "Dominion Status" a la MacDonald.

The same elements who betray the cause of independence are also the saboteurs of the strike struggles of the masses. Militant trade unions can only be built through struggle on both fields, which are only two sectors of one battlefield — the masses versus imperialism.

EARL BROWDER.

# The Bursting of the Wall Street Bubble and Its Meaning to World Labor

by HARRISON GEORGE

IN October last there began a series of spectacular panics on the New York Stock Exchange which, during the course of some weeks became, in the words of a capitalist chronicler, "a settled reign of terror" that, taken in conjunction with its causes and effects, affects the entire fabric of world imperialism, including the world proletariat and its organizations. More immediately and directly it affects, of course, the working class of the United States.

Gone, and gone forever are the fairy tales of "eternal prosperity in America," the advertisers of which have, since the last World War, inflicted this illusion upon countless millions of workers abroad to such a degree that even in the Soviet Union we heard such remarks as "the young, red-cheeked American imperialism" only a year ago, while in capitalist countries America was looked upon as a sort of paradise, where everyone hoped sometime to go were it not for immigration restrictions making America nearly as difficult to enter as paradise.

It is necessary to say at the beginning that what "paradise" existed in America, was a bourgeois paradise, in the splendors of which the American proletariat had little share. True, during the period of expansion of American imperialism just following the World War and ascending on the advantage it had against shell-shocked Europe, the standard of living of American workers *on the average* was shown by statistics to be somewhat better than those in other capitalist countries. But this *average* was always deceptive, always figured out on the basis of the *organized* workers (mostly the skilled), always inflated with the inclusion of managers and superintendents, and generally faked in such

a way as to conceal the basic fact—the fact, cold-blooded and unmistakable, that at no time was the average real wage of the factory workers (mostly unskilled and unorganized) within even thirty per cent of touching the bottom minimum scale set by the government itself as the very least life could be sustained upon in health and animal necessity.

We see for example, that while the government declared that some \$2,300 was required yearly to sustain an average family, the average factory wage was reckoned by the week at \$25 or—if the worker worked the whole year through at this rate, at \$1,300. Naturally, millions have no steady work. Naturally, also, below even this profoundly deficient average, millions have always faced a life of bitter privation. Limitless hours at speeded toil for slow-starvation wages—a hopeless struggle for existence, with women, youth and child labor growing, with disease and poverty ever present in the slums of the cities and the hovels of the country-side. "Prosperity" indeed!

But out of this game the American capitalists were wringing the sinews of war for world hegemony. Out of this rationalization enormous profits were accumulated, affording a credit power never before equalled with which to club the way of Wall Street through diplomatic obstacles toward domination of Latin America, to stretch envious hands out to seize the prize of China from the grasp of England and Japan, to fight on every continent to break into the market areas controlled particularly by Britain.

To the American bourgeoisie, flushed with profits, there appeared only one year ago to be no end of unobstructed extraction of sur-

plus value from the rationalized exploitation of its workers. Stocks, usually "watered" in their issue to totals far in excess of the physical value of production equipment, and always subject to speculation by stock gamblers—a betting based essentially on whether much or little profits can be wrung from the working class—began on Hoover's election, a skyward leap in prices on the greatest of Monte Carlos, the stock exchange. And why not? Was not Hoover, the alleged wizard of commercial engineering, the oracle of rationalization at home and trade expansion abroad, enthroned in power at Washington not more than one year ago? The "Hoover boom" became the eighth wonder of the world.

But alas and alack! The sickness of world imperialism is beyond cure. Even those "red cheeks" of American imperialism turn out to have been but the customary fever-flush of tuberculosis. America may lead in rationalization, but it has no monopoly on it, and its example being copied in the other imperialist countries boded no good for Amer-

ican imperialism, though its advertisers foolishly boasted at the time of Hoover's election that America in the role of god-father to Europe had "rescued and re-established" European stabilization and everything would hereafter go on as before the world war.

Yet it was precisely this regaining of the pre-war level of production that was bringing about a sickness for which neither Hoover or any other Jesus Christ of capitalism has or can possibly discover a cure.

The fatal contradictions eating at the vitals of the whole imperialism system, grown fat and diseased on the life-blood of the world toilers, is pursuing its course, and more and more, with every addition to stabilization, every addition to the world productive capacity, was drawing the structure of American capitalism into the downward sucking vortex of the general imperialist crisis.

The blow at American domination in China, by the onslaught of Britain and Japan through the revolts of Feng Yu-hsiang, covertly aided by Yen Hsi-Shan, joined in point of time by Chang Fa-kwei and the "reorgan-



*Some of the Textile Mill Strikers, Gastonia, U. S. A.*

izationists" in the South, coming, as it did, as a shock to American ambitions that had reached out its own hand for the Chinese Eastern Railway and Manchuria, was a terrific set-back for American interests. At the same time, it must be remembered, that the revolt of the rival militarists, reactionary as they all are, found a certain advantage for attack on Nanking in the mass hatred of Nanking's bloody despotism and servility to imperialism in attacking the Soviet Union. The conscious vanguard of course had no illusions in the rebels and fights them as well as Chiang Kai-shek, but the wider masses saw, too, that the Soviet Union, friend of the oppressed, was being attacked by Nanking, and had no stomach for supporting Nanking in such imperialist banditry.

On another front, also, in Latin America, the masses are registering anger and struggle against Yankee imperialism. It was no accident that the labor instrument of the American state department, the Pan-American Federation of Labor, was forced to postpone indefinitely its congress called for in January in Cuba, the "Yankee plantation" ruled by the murderous fascist Machado.

The Latin American Trade Union Confederation, exposing the role of the Pan-American Federation of Labor throughout every Latin American nation as the labor organ of the Monroe Doctrine, has given not only this instrument a terrific blow, but also the imperialism which wielded it.

Nor was it found that MacDonald was any less a vigorous defender of British interests than Baldwin when he visited the land of "prosperity," welcomed with warships and kindly escorted about by U. S. cavalry. MacDonald rejected the proposal to abolish British naval bases within immediate striking distance of America in Halifax, Bermuda and Jamaica; the "labor" government refused to agree to Hoover's demand for "freedom of the seas" in spite of all Hoover did to represent this demand as "feeding women and children of war-torn countries" by supposed philanthropical "food ships," and for all the fuss and feathers raised about MacDonald's mission to "reduce naval armaments," the

net results were but a feverish spurt on the part of both powers to rush the production of new warships and particularly new air and chemical war preparations.

The coming "five-power naval conference" then, which is being whittled down to three by France's declaration, refusing to accept its decisions as binding without reviewal by the League of Nations, is not by any means a prelude to peace, but merely a diplomatic play on the part of both England and America, to assure that in the coming war the other will not have too much of an advantage. It is to be compared with two prize fighters meeting before entering the ring, to examine each other's boxing gloves to see that the foe has not slipped some brass knuckles in the gloves meant to be used on the other's face, to see that the weight and arm reach of the opponent is not giving him an "unfair" advantage. But while in prize fighting rules may be established, and may be even lived up to, in war the imperialist necessities of the rivals prevent any real establishment of rules, and rules, if made at all, are invariably broken.

Yet the farce is put out in the capitalist press, since the requirements of any capitalist nation preparing for war, demand that it fool its own population, who must be propagated with the idea that its particular government is doing everything possible to maintain peace, so that when it enters war the government may appear before the population as acting "in defense" and in spite of its "desire for peace."

The unmistakable evidence that England would fight further American expansion into its markets, did its part in puncturing the bubble of American illusions. But another basic weakness was within America itself. American labor was beginning to react to the rationalization attack upon it, in spite of all that could be done by the social-fascists of the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party.

Strikes, particularly of unorganized factory workers, are becoming more frequent and determined in spirit. It was no accident that a wave of stubborn strike struggles began

sweeping the newly industrialized South and the more intensely rationalized northern factory industry shortly before the crash on the Stock Exchange. Nor was it an accident that, once the old revolutionary opposition movement inside the A. F. of L. struck out on a program of independent leadership of the masses, that they tapped an hitherto unknown stream of mass fighting spirit at the Cleveland Convention of the Trade Union Unity League that surprised many of those who had entertained doubts previously on the new course to the left insisted on by the Red International of Labor Unions.

Not only were the American masses beginning to fight further rationalization pressure, but the unemployed army was growing, narrowing the internal market; while the agrarian crisis, instead of being relieved by the fake "remedies" palmed off on it by finance capital, deepened very markedly, still further limiting the boundary of the internal market. The booster propaganda of the auto industry and the radio industry, to the effect that the internal market could never be saturated, a propaganda that worked for a while on the basis of installment plan selling, began to have an empty sound.

Production was being curtailed, the steel mills slackened, and in spite of all the blowing of gilded trumpets, depression crept into every major industrial artery, until the inflated prices of stock, prices set by the stock gamblers' hopes of future profits, broke down in a wild panic in which millions of petty bourgeois and labor aristocrats saw their "honest and hard-earned" savings swept away over night.

Many, indeed, of the petty bourgeoisie, were hard hit; if not in the first wild break, then in the second, as many were there who, assured by Hoover and all other sages of capitalism, that "the fundamentals of American business are essentially sound," after the first panic, took such advice seriously and followed the admonition that "now while stocks are low, is just the time to buy"—with the result that their lifetime of petty bourgeois hoarding and penny saving was rewarded by total loss in the later crash, a phase which moved

an ironic rhymster to contribute the following to the thoroughly big capitalist *New York Times*:

The grasshopper sang "Oh! Why be a slave?

Why work and worry and scrimp and save?

The life for me is to laugh and lark it,  
Flying around on a rising market!"

The ant kept on with his humble chores.  
Far away from the trading floors  
He delved till his form was lean and lank,  
And he stopped each week at the savings bank.

The market broke. The grasshopper crashed.

Then swift to Wall Street the wise ant dashed

And bought for a rise with all his power—  
And lost his roll in the next half-hour!

Indeed, humor may carry us further, since a well-known journalist at Washington has declared that many of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, seeing a chance after the first break to turn an honest penny, used the funds of their union treasuries to "buy stocks while they are low," only to find the bottom had not been reached and that some hasty covering up in accounts was necessary.

So painful was the subject that aristocratic cafes put up signs asking patrons not to talk of stock quotations. Al Smith, the recent candidate for president, became entangled as a director in a shady bank transaction involving a suicide of a bank president. Employees in the Wall Street district tell of frequent incidents, barred from mention in the capitalist press, of frenzied speculators in the height of the panic, leaping to their death from the windows or skyscrapers in the financial district of New York.

The magic names of Morgan and of Rockefeller, splattered over feverish front pages, assuring one and all that it was purely a "psychological" depression, and that "now is the time to buy stocks," failed to work. The

“red-cheeked American imperialism” turned pale. The prices of stocks of Morgan’s own bank were cut nearly in two. Fifty billion dollars of what capitalists call “values,” locked in the deepest and thickest steel vaults mysteriously evaporated—disappeared! American capitalism was—and is—in a crisis.

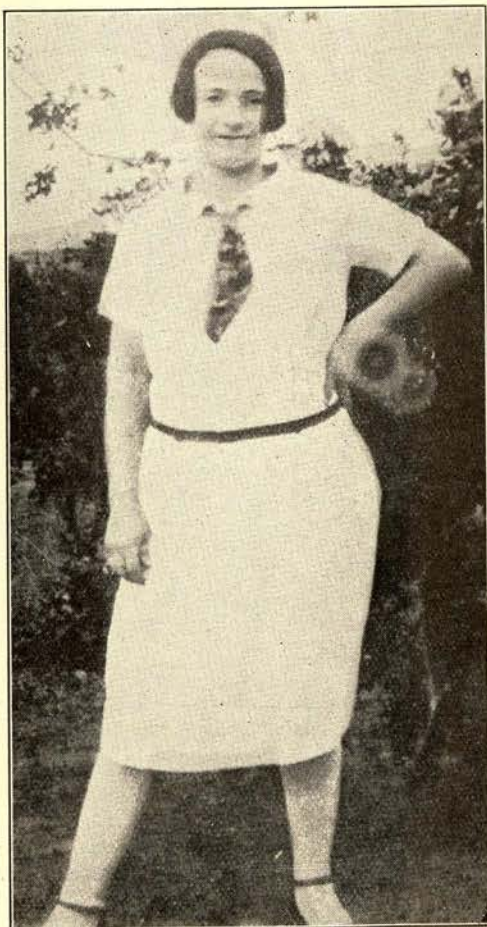
Heroic stimulants are being applied. Hoover, to whom the bourgeoisie turned for assistance, called a series of conferences, designed to put the Humpty-Dumpty of Wall Street together again—at the expense of the working class. Industrialists gave public assurance that they would not cut wages (which they immediately started doing on a large scale) or throw more workers into the unemployed (which they at once did at increased tempo).

“Labor,” supposedly represented by the officials of the A. F. of L., pledged they would not start any demands for wage increases, and promised they would “help industry solve its problems”—which means that they would, with this backing of government and industry, still further fascitize its attack on the new revolutionary union movement of the T. U. U. L., and the announcement of Hoover was made that this “Conference of government-capital-labor” would be made permanent “to meet further emergency,” thus marking a long step and a sudden one to displacement of parliament, which finance capital was sharply attacking for “delaying needed tariff legislation.”

Special mention must be made of Henry Ford, the ace of bourgeois reformist demagoguery. Coming out of the conference with Hoover, he remarked grandiosely that not only would he, the king of rationalization, not cut wages, but he would raise wages. He was pressed to tell how much, but evaded that question. “Wages will be raised. Ain’t that enough to know?” he said. But Henry always has a little joker in the deck he deals from. For on that same week, 30,000 Ford workers were discharged who were getting six dollars per day. Ten days later a part of them were re-hired as “new workers” at five dollars per day. When Ford gets around to giving them ten cents more a day he will

be hailed by a world of simpletons as one who has solved the “wage problem” without a revolution.

The net results then are: The settling down of chronic depression in American economy; a strong fascist development supported by the A. F. of L. and in which new forms of social-fascism are developing from the labor bureaucracy and the Socialist Party; an intensified attack on the wage standards of the workers, with even greater rationalization than before; a fascist attempt to rob the workers of resistant power by attacking the revolutionary trade unions and suppressing the Communist Party; an attempt such as never before to force the surplus commodities of



ELLA MAY

*Gastonia striker shot down by mill company thugs.*

American industry on the world market, and to do so an intensified aggression against imperialist competitors and a new campaign to destroy the embodiment of proletarian hopes of a revolutionary solution—the Soviet Union.

The perspective for the proletariat then is one of great opportunities and developing struggle, struggles against new and fiercer attacks, of advancing counter-attack everywhere, against more and sharper colonial exploitation, against war and particularly for defense of the Soviet Union. It is a period of wars and revolution, and the proletariat of the Pacific accepts the challenge. The ex-

ploited and oppressed of colonial lands, together with the revolutionary workers of imperialist America have nothing to lose but their chains.

Close all gaps between the vanguard and the masses!

Sweep aside reformist obstacles to the independent leadership by the revolutionary unions of the broadest masses!

Away with waverers and confusionists!

Clarity, decision, and persistent courage!

These are the slogans of battle for the toilers of the Pacific! Under these we march to victory!



*America's South in upheaval; without leaders, the mass of textile strikers at Elizabethton, Tennessee state, break down the mill gates and pulls out the scabs. Note the youth and female composition of the textile mill workers.*

## “The Second Section”

*A Victory of the P. P. T. U. S. Against Imperialism*

As related in the November issue, the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference was held in two sections, one at Vladivostok, the account of which was mostly given in our last issue, and one in Shanghai of delegates blocked by imperialist obstacles from arriving at Vladivostok.

Seldom in the history of the revolutionary labor movement has an organization contended with such enormous opposition and contended so successfully as did the revolutionary trade unionists of the Pacific organized in the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

The delegations which, seeking to travel to Vladivostok, were met by a united blockade of all imperialist powers, arrested, turned back, some forced to detour for thousands of miles, some out-witting the imperialist bloodhounds and getting there despite the blockade, give proof of the deeply-rooted place the P. P. T. U. S. has won in the life of the teeming millions of the Pacific area. But equal, if not superior admiration, must go to those workers' delegations which, unable to break through the imperialist blockade, and meet inside its steel ring as guests of the Soviet proletariat in the fortress of proletarian power—the Soviet Union—defied the watchdogs of imperialism and met under their very noses in Shanghai!

And not only did they meet, but they displayed genuinely revolutionary initiative in carrying through discussion and decisions on the agenda previously outlined.

With this splendid victory over the imperialists, the number of delegates who failed to

overcome obstacles and attend either the Vladivostok Conference or the “Second Section” at Shanghai, were relatively few. Besides the Indian workers, whose leaders are being imprisoned and murdered by the “labor” imperialist government of Ramsay MacDonald and who were unable to reach either Conference, one delegate of the Philippine Confederation of Peasants, Comrade Rodriguez, was arrested by the Japanese at Dairen, South Manchuria, taken to Moji and then deported to Shanghai accompanied by Japanese police and met at Shanghai by Japanese and Portuguese detectives directed by the British secret police.

*The Pan-Pacific Monthly* knows that every revolutionary worker in all the world will feel a profound joy that every delegate elected, with the exception of Comrade Rodriguez, took part in one or the other Conference; that both Conferences discussed the same problems and came to the same decisions—a proof of the success of the P. P. T. U. S. in raising and harmonizing the political outlook of the workers of all countries of the Far East.

The “Second Section” of the P. P. T. U. Conference was attended by both new and old affiliated organizations, by delegates of the Japanese Council of Trade Unions (Kyogikai); the All-China Labor Federation; the Philippine Proletarian Labor Congress; the Indonesian Federation of Labor (all so far named also had delegates at Vladivostok); the Philippine-Chinese Labor Association; and the Nanyang (Malayan) Federation of Labor which, from its center at Singapore, Straits Settlements, unites the labor

movement of Sumatra, Borneo, New Guinea, the Celebes, the Malay Peninsula, Burma, Siam and Indo-China—a vast and important region for the first time joining its forces in the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

All honor to the revolutionary daring and strategy which defeated imperialism in the "Second Section" of the Pan-Pacific Trade

Union Conference! In it is reflected the implacibility of the revolutionary movement of the Toilers of the East! Its decisions require and receive an equal weight with the decisions of the Vladivostok Conference, and in the pages of this issue of *The Pan-Pacific Monthly* we give full space to the historic "Second Section" of Shanghai.



## The Opening of the "Second Section" at Shanghai

IN opening the conference the Acting Secretary stated that no other evidence was needed to prove that the P.P.T.U. Movement was evolving a correct policy to fight imperialism than the energy displayed by the enemies of organized labor, who had systematically developed plans to prevent delegates from arriving at Vladivostok. He pointed out that the imperialist blockade, which was carried out with the assistance of the national traitors and reformists of the colonial and semi-colonial countries had made it necessary to convene the second section of the Conference at Shanghai.

By organizing this Conference in Shanghai, the II Conference of the Pan-Pacific Trade Unions had representatives present from every important country in the Pacific area. He welcomed the four delegates from the Nanyang Federation of Labor, whose jurisdiction covered a wide and important area.

It was no accident that Singapore should be the centre of such an important labor movement covering Sumatra, Borneo, New

Guinea, Java, Celebes, Malay Peninsula, Burma, Siam and Indo-China. Singapore is of equal strategic importance for the labor movement as the part it plays as a central outpost to British imperialism. To have delegates from this strategic point pledging the adherence of their organizations will greatly strengthen the position of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement.

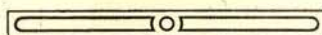
The Conference was not unconnected with the main body at Vladivostok as the same questions were being discussed in both Conferences. However, due to the illegal situation which made it necessary to end the Shanghai Conference inside three days, it would leave the resolutions on the imperialist war danger and the fight against international reformism wholly to the Vladivostok Conference and confine itself to: (1) the Report of the Secretariat, (2) Sino-Russian crisis, (3) fight against reformism in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, (4) factory committees, (5) migration problems, (6) the organization of the unemployed, (7) youth and the trade unions, (8) the or-

ganization of women and children, and (9) the strengthening of the Filipino trade unions.

An obvious contrast existed between the bourgeois character of reformist trade union conferences in colonies and semi-colonies and the proletarian character of the P.P.T.U. Conference. The reformist conferences were largely made up of self-appointed and self-seeking "delegates" who had the backing of both the imperialists and their respective governments as well as every employer, while the Shanghai section of the P.P.T.U. Conference was almost totally represented by actual workers either elected directly by workers' conferences or by their respective executives.

The Conference included seamen, wharf laborers, rubber, timber, metal and clerical workers, a barber, a teacher, and the Chairman of the All-China Federation of Labor (only the latter being a paid official of the trade union movement).

With the exception of the Philippines, all came from trade unions which were forced to exist secretly due to persecution and white terror, inflicted upon them because of their strenuous fight against imperialist exploitation in their respective countries. Each delegate is given every opportunity to fully discuss every point, in contrast to the railroading of decisions which goes on at conferences of professional officials at reformist conferences.



## A Pledge to the Soviet Toilers from the Workers of the Far East

*(The Shanghai Section of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference adopted the following telegram to be sent through the Red International of Labor Unions to the proletariat and peasantry of the Soviet Union).*

### TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF THE U.S.S.R.

The delegates assembled at the P.P.T.U. Conference at Shanghai from China, Japan, Java, Sumatra, Singapore, Philippines, pledge themselves to fight against the seizure of the C.E.R. and imperialist attacks on the U.S.S.R. We realize the attacks on the U.S.S.R. are directed against

the struggle of all oppressed peoples, the international working class and that Soviet Russia is in the front line of struggle. We will organize the workers and peasants of our countries for international unity, to fight against imperialist war, for independence and to defend the U.S.S.R.

The Conference Presidium.

## Malay Labor Steps Onto the World Arena

*(Extracts from the Reports of Delegates from Sumatra, Java, and from the Nanyang Federation of Labor of the Malay Peninsula, at the "Second Section" of the P. P. T. U. Conference, Shanghai, given in the First Day of the Conference, following the Report of the Secretariat).*

IN the course of the reports, the delegates, by their discussion of the changed economic situation since the World War, proved how closely they study world capitalism, and thus refute the slander of imperialism as to the alleged "backward" nature of the Malayan toilers. Both the delegates from Sumatra and Java related how:

"British and Dutch imperialists are cooperating very closely in their efforts to maintain their exploiting positions in Malay, for not only do these two powers invade Java, Sumatra, etc., but Japan, America and France are also attempting to increase their exploitation in these Islands and the Malay Peninsula.

"The hostility between the groups contending for powers in our countries becomes greater, but everyone suppresses the masses and their trade unions and proletarian parties. They have deported the militant leaders of the workers' organizations to unpopulated Islands since the rebellion in Indonesia in 1926, and, anyone who may attempt a visit to their deported friends are never allowed to return.

"In Sumatra the Anti-Imperialist League plays a big role among the peasantry, but the suppression of the trade unions makes it difficult to struggle even for better conditions.

"Dutch imperialists are sending reformists to our countries to fight against militant trade unionism, and while they are doing some damage to the trade union movement, they cannot succeed because the masses are still

under the influence of the Proletarian Party."

A most interesting contribution came from a delegate of the Nanyang Federation of Labor from Malay Peninsula. We give his statement verbatim:

"The terrible conditions inflicted by the British imperialists are almost beyond description. The economic depression which has hit the mining and rubber industries only intensifies the horrible conditions which have always existed in the Peninsula. It was these awful conditions and the influence of the Chinese Revolution that caused the workers to organize the Nanyang Federation of Labor in 1926.

"We have only been able to hold our annual congresses in 1926 and 1927. The British oppression was too great in 1928 and now they have forced us into an illegal existence by their terroristic tactics.

"The British have imported many reformist trade unionists who hold positions constructing the new naval base. They are using them to undermine our membership in Singapore by doing reformist propaganda among the workers. But the conditions are too bad for their reformist ideology to have any effect.

**BRITISH WORKERS! TAKE NOTE!**

"We must do propaganda among the workers in imperialist countries. They must be told that British imperialism desperately tries to hold its position of world dominance, as

all other imperialists do, by intensifying the exploitation of the colonial peoples. The larger the volume of wealth extracted by cheap labor in the colonies the more easy it is for British imperialists to pay their debts and cover their trade deficits.

"Without this exploitation British imperialism would be ended quickly. The masses of Britain must be brought into close cooperation with colonial workers, so they can jointly deliver themselves from imperialist exploitation. We will do our share in face of great oppression. What we need is a united front of all nationalities, for we are ill-treated not only by one group of exploiters, but by all their allies both native and foreign.

"The Chinese employers at Singapore have formed a branch of the Canton Mechanics Union (a fascist organization) which uses threats of violence if the workers strike, but we have struck and increased wages in some instances in spite of our illegal position. The P.P.T.U.S. must assist us to make our Federation the leading mass organization in Nanyang (Malaya); we must extend our organization among the seamen, miners, rubber, railway and dock workers. We realize the importance of the mining and rubber industries which are Government (British) owned. Therefore a strike in these industries is a strike against the Government (imperialism). In this way we shall fight imperialism and its reformist allies. We made propaganda

against both on May 1 and protested against the imperialists sending reformists to Nanyang.

#### THE P.P.T.U.S. MUST HELP

"But there are many nationalities among the workers of Nanyang. We have already drafted a program of demands, but the P.P.T.U.S. must help us to perfect this program. The time has arrived to form committees of action, to call united front conferences, including all nationalities.

"Our difficulty is to find efficient organizers; therefore the P.P.T.U.S. must arrange to send workers from imperialist countries to help us. We must send workers from India to work among the indentured Indian labor, who are most difficult to organize, and who only receive 40 Malay cents a day. This is the only way to fight imperialism."

Comment is unnecessary regarding the above. It is clearly shown how imperialism works to deepen its exploitation and the statement proves this worker knows how to deal with it. Another Singapore delegate stated that he thought every worker knew that British imperialism in Malay Peninsula was the real enemy and the class consciousness of the masses was rising. "We must realize," he said, "that without the overthrow of imperialism, colonial peoples cannot become free, so this should be our objective."



## On the Struggle of the Trade Unions Against Imperialism

*The following is the speech of the Chairman of the All-China Labor Federation at the "Second Section" (Shanghai) of the II Pan Pacific Trade Union Conference. This speech, the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY regards as one of the most valuable contributions to the line of struggle that must be followed by the trade unions of colonial and semi-colonial countries, and a guide to action, as well, of the revolutionary labor movement of the imperialist nations. It is especially worthy of study by the trade unions of India at the present moment.—Editor.*

THE biggest danger in our struggle for independence is a lack of understanding of our ultimate objective. If we think the national bourgeoisie will fight for independence it is well to draw lessons from the Chinese Revolution. The same elements and forces are at work in all other colonial countries, and already the betrayal of the independence movement is a fact in many countries.

The Indian, Indonesian and Philippine bourgeoisie have deserted the struggle for a miserable share in imperialist exploitation, and for petty administrative and governmental positions under imperialist dictatorship.

But these traitors will continue to speak of national interests in order to keep the workers and peasants from fighting for their class interests which is the objective in the struggle for national independence. Unless we realize this, then we shall never get national independence, and only the workers and peasants are capable of accomplishing this task, as we have learned from our experiences from 1925 to 1927.

### REFORMIST-FASCISM

We must realize the preparation for imperialist war is coupled with the suppression of militant trade unions and with greater exploitation of the colonial peoples. The life of imperialism depends upon this, and the national bourgeoisie become their running dogs, for they are not prepared to risk their

position in a struggle with imperialism. The suppression in China is greater than in other countries and we have lost more than 100,000 of our best fighters in the last two years. This is also connected with the preparations for war.

But the imperialists and the national bourgeoisie know they cannot completely crush our trade union movement, therefore they organize their own reformist and fascist unions. This has happened in China and is developing also in other countries. The Kuomintang utilize all the thieves they can mobilize to cheat the workers in their attempt to destroy our unions, and the Philippine reformists who refuse to agree with collective leadership are essentially the same elements who aim to destroy the solidarity of labor.

### ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL: ONE STRUGGLE

The attack made by Chaman Lal at the last Indian Trade Union Congress, stating that the P.P.T.U. Movement is a political organization, is also a means to split the workers.

No activity can be disconnected from the political tasks of the working class. Resistance to the capitalist offensive is highly political, involving a struggle with capitalism. Chaman Lal was trying to confuse the masses and stop the development of the mass movement.

In the colonies, where unions are illegal, it is easy to lead only economic struggles, but

this would lead to a narrowing down of the workers' movements and finally to the abandonment of the class struggle altogether. It leads to compulsory arbitration and finally to fascism. Only by fighting in political struggles can the workers defend their economic demands.

It is absolutely necessary to connect every political demand with the economic demands of the workers. The workers suffer terribly from imperialist exploitation and to develop the fight against imperialism we must develop the struggle for higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions, etc. The same applies to our fight against the attacks upon the U.S. S.R., against imperialist war danger, and for national independence.

In countries where the trade unions are made illegal, it is ridiculous to speak of being non-political. We must demand the right to organize, strike, picket, and hold meetings, etc. We must demand a free workers' press and a free expression of opinion. This is the elementary struggle for political rights, which we must have to assist in developing a struggle for economic demands. In fact Chaman Lal does the political propaganda

of the British imperialists while his ally, the Labor Government, shoots down the Indian workers.

There is a great need for consolidating our trade unions organizationally. We should centralize the movement from the bottom to the top, and only in our unions can the workers have a democratic expression of their opinions. To strengthen our trade unions we must adopt national programs of immediate demands. These must include higher wages, shorter hours, better treatment and conditions, abolition of child labor, abolition of night work for the youth and women, social and unemployed relief, holidays, etc.

We must build factory committees which must become the basis of industrial unions, amalgamate sectional unions into class unions, create united front struggles for immediate demands and against reformist traitors with the workers in centrist and right wing unions, organize the unorganized workers, as well as the unemployed, etc.

By this activity we shall win the masses to fight against the united front of the imperialists, reformists and their colonial watch-dogs.



*In a Shanghai silk factory. Note the child slaves.*

# To the Workers and Peasants of the Pacific Area

*Manifesto of the Shanghai—"Second Section" of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference)*

**FELLOW WORKERS:** The delegates assembled in Shanghai at the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference draw the attention of the workers and peasants of all countries around the Pacific to the dangerous situation caused by the Chinese militarists seizing the Chinese Eastern Railway. This railway is of great strategic importance to Soviet Russia. It is an international railway which connects Soviet territory at two important points of the boundary of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic and Manchuria. It is the direct route from Europe to the Soviet port of Vladivostok.

From 1918 to 1920 inclusive, the armed forces of almost every imperialist nation occupied Vladivostok and invaded Siberia, including the forces of Britain, U. S. A. and Japan. They tried to crush the Russian Revolution in conjunction with other armies which were operating on many fronts in Russia. But the Russian workers and peasants armed themselves and fought off these invaders—they defeated them decisively.

As a result of the victory of the Russian workers and peasants over these imperialist forces and counter-revolutionary Russian white guard armies, the various nationalities within the old Czarist Empire obtained national autonomy. The nationalities entered freely into the Soviet Union in accordance with decisions of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets subscribed to by delegates from these now autonomous nationalities. This included the Far Eastern Republic which was created, and which is now governed by the workers and peasants.

All these autonomous units now constitute the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Politically and economically all are united and

freely accept democratic centralization and control of their interests. Every means of strengthening the Soviet Union and defending every front on the Soviet borders is decided by collective decisions of every Soviet Republic.

Behind this border exists one-sixth of the world which is very rich in natural resources. The autonomous Soviet Republics or nationalities cannot be exploited by the imperialists. They stand as a world example of the free cooperation of many small nationalities for the common interests of all, free and unhampered by imperialist exploitation. The very existence of the Soviet Union therefore stands as the challenge to imperialist powers, and imperialism is weakened to the extent that Socialist economy is developed within the Soviet Republics. Therefore the imperialists never cease their intrigues and attacks on every front of the Soviet border, from the Baltic to the Pacific, and preparations for further attacks are always being developed.

## FRIEND AND ALLY OF ALL OPPRESSED

Not only has the Russian Revolution freed the minorities within the Soviet Union, but the Soviet Government is a friend of all oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Their diplomacy and tactics are based on weakening imperialism and assisting and defending the weak nations and helping them in their struggle for independence. The industrial and political organizations of the Soviet workers and peasants also make international fighting alliances with the organized workers' and peasants' organizations in every country.

In accordance with this policy the Soviet

Union relinquished to China all special privileges, territorial, economic and political. Concessions, consular courts and jurisdictional rights were all given up which were obtained with Czarist gunboats and bayonets. In fact the Soviet Union is the front line of the struggle of the oppressed peoples and the world proletariat against the exploiting imperialists and their allies, such as Chiang Kai-shek, etc.

This international railway, the C. E. R., which the Soviet Union did not plan or construct, was designed and controlled entirely by the Czarists before the revolution. But it is a railroad that economically, politically and militarily can now be used by the enemies of the workers and peasants to attack the U. S. S. R. But notwithstanding this fact the Soviet Union signed a treaty in 1924 to relinquish fifty per cent of the management to the Chinese in accordance with the avowed policy which led to the renunciation of all Czarist special rights and privileges; provision was made in the Treaty for giving the railway to China.

The Soviet Union must safeguard the revolution which has enabled the Soviet workers to obtain the seven-hour day, social benefits, pensions, annual holidays, etc. and has given full use of the land to the peasants and driven out the landlords.

#### AN ATTACK BY IMPERIALISM

Since this 1924 Treaty was signed the Chinese National Revolution has been betrayed by the vacillating bourgeoisie and the militarist cliques. They have become more and more the puppets and tools of the imperialist powers. It is under the instructions of imperialists the Chinese counter-revolutionaries raided Soviet Consulates, murdered Consular officials at Canton, arrested thousands of Soviet citizens and have violated the 1924 Treaty and seized the Chinese Eastern Railway.

By these attacks each imperialist power agrees to harass and prepare further attacks upon the U. S. S. R. Simultaneously with this attack against the only workers' and peasants' State, the Chinese militarists at-

tempt to wipe out the reforms and workers' privileges established by pressure being brought to bear upon the Chinese by the Soviet management, which included the eight-hour day, insurance benefits, etc.

By this violation of treaties signed with the Soviet workers' and peasants' government do the imperialists aim to strengthen China? Emphatically No! The imperialists are only united on one point in policy—the attack on the U. S. S. R. as the vanguard of the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples. They all have conflicting interests in China and while intensively preparing to make war on each other they all hope to obtain greater privileges while the cliques and traitors to China are occupied with doing the dirty work for the very powers who enslave the Chinese peoples.

Japan strengthens her military forces in Manchuria, extends her influence and tightens her grip on Northern China. Britain and Japan conspire together and separately with the different militarists, and inspire militarist wars to keep China divided. The motive of each of these two powers is to strengthen their own special interests.

The agents of American imperialists have influence with the Nanking clique and urge them to attack the U. S. S. R. Their interests being opposite to England and Japan, they hope to assist the Nanking clique to draw Northern China under their influence, thereby simultaneously weakening Chang Hsueh-liang, the protege of Japan and strengthening the relative position of U. S. imperialism. Thus while all imperialist powers utilize Chinese counter-revolutionaries to attack the U. S. S. R. they are all at the same time actuated by their desire to extend and deepen their exploitation of the Chinese workers and peasants.

#### TO THE DEFENSE OF THE U. S. S. R.

Therefore this section of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference, composed of delegates from China, Japan, Philippines, Java, Sumatra, Malay Peninsula, in the name of the militant organized toiling masses of the Pacific area, call upon the workers and peas-

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Down with the Kuomintang executioners of the Chinese workers and peasants!

Down with war on the Soviet Union!

Down with all imperialists and their traitorous allies who prepare intervention against the Workers' and Peasants' State!

Down with preparations for imperialist war which will be centered in the Pacific!

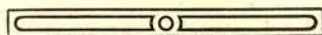
Long live unity of workers and peasants!

Long live the struggles for national independence under the leadership of the workers and peasants!

Long live the Soviet Union!

*Presidium, Second Section, Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference.*

*Shanghai, September, 1929.*



## Japanese Imperialist Maneuvers and the Strategy of the Kyogikai

A Japanese delegate of the Kyogikai (Japanese Council of Trade Unions) pointed out at the "Second Section" of the P.P.T.U. Conference at Shanghai, how the terrific persecution of the revolutionary unions of Japan was a means of Japanese imperialism in its effort to overcome imperialist difficulties, as well as being a part of the preparations for war, directed to the same end. Extracts from his report follows:

"In Japanese factories producing war materials, wages are higher than in other industries, but rationalization is intensifying labor conditions. War industries were working continuously."

He connected the Japanese colonization of China with the attempts to obtain raw materials (coal and iron) to build up war industries in Japan. The policy of the so-called Liberal Government is no different from the Tanaka policy. Suppression of the trade unions is just as ruthless. The domestic policy of "thrift" can only result in still further worsening conditions of labor.

The foreign policy of invading China had not changed and like all so-called Liberal governments, they carried out the policy of the financiers which did not change with a change in the personnel of governments.

"The decline of capitalism not only made for greater suppression of the working class and peasantry, but also for keener competition

among imperialist groups and greater exploitation and suppression of the colonial and weak nations. This is why Japan seeks to consolidate its position in Manchuria and to colonize inner Mongolia.

"The Japanese reformists practice their chauvinistic policies among the workers in order to split the workers' movement. They told the Japanese workers they were greater and wiser than the Koreans and in this way developed nationalism, which was a means to continue imperialist oppression in Korea. But the Kyogikai unions organized Koreans in Japanese trade unions.

"The attempt to form an Asiatic Labor Conference was the desire of Japanese imperialists who have been utilizing Suzuki & Co. for many years to create such an organization. It was impossible before, but now that the P.P.T.U. movement has spread its influence among the masses of Asia, Suzuki has also the aid of international reformism centred in Amsterdam, as well as the aid of the Labor Office of the League of Nations, dominated by British and French imperialism.

"It is therefore necessary to create a closer working alliance between all Asiatic workers centred in the P.P.T.U. movement. This is the way to prepare to fight the war danger and attacks on the Soviet Union."

## Practical Ways to Defend the Soviet Union

*At the Shanghai "Second Section" of the II Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference a resolution was introduced by a Japanese delegate dealing with the Sino-Soviet crisis. We give herewith a digest of the discussion and the decisions adopted on the subject.—Editor.*

THE discussion was begun by the Japanese delegate who introduced the resolution:

He pointed out that the seizure of the C.E.R. was an act in which the imperialist powers were all implicated. Japan supports the Kuomintang reactionaries in their attack on the U.S.S.R. while at the same time consolidating its own position and expanding its military occupation in Manchuria. Each imperialist power utilizes the Chinese militarists to attack the U.S.S.R. to disturb the peaceful development of socialist economy of the Workers and Peasants State, and to occupy China in war with the Soviet Union, while they deepen the imperialist exploitation of the Chinese people.

They see in Soviet Russia the defender of the oppressed colonial peoples and the front line of the world proletariat. This is why the imperialists use their willing tools, Chiang Kai-shek, Chang Hsueh-liang, etc., to deliver blows at the Soviet Union. In Japan, due to suppression and terrorism we had not been able to call mass meetings, but they had distributed leaflets in the factories, printed articles in the press, raised discussions in the trade union branches.

It was suggested that the unions affiliated to the P.P.T.U. movement inform the workers about the conditions existing in the Soviet Union as compared with the terrible exploitation in other capitalist countries: the 7-hour day, that wages are going up while they are being reduced in all other countries, that the workers have free medical attention, social and maternity benefits, free milk for children, pensions, yearly holidays with full pay, free clubs and amusement centres, etc.

Many of these benefits were given the workers on the Chinese Eastern Railway due to the Soviet side of the management pressing

for these reforms for the Chinese workers. The existence of these conditions was irritating to the exploiting imperialists and very desirable for the workers, and the international working class must assist in defending them.

All the delegates agreed that the Soviet Government had demonstrated its friendship to China in giving up all the Czarist concessions and rights in China, which were extracted with bayonets. But the Soviet workers and peasants were not prepared to allow the imperialists to use the C.E.R. for making incursions upon the Revolution. Therefore they must maintain some control on the C.E.R. until China was ruled by other persons than the willing tools of the imperialists. To leave the Soviet Union exposed on any front would not only invite attacks from the imperialist powers, but would be treasonable to the international working class movement. But the Soviet forces were ably defending their border against attacks from both the Chinese troops and White Guard Russians, who were supported by the Chinese militarists.

However, not sufficient was done by the international working class to force the Chinese tools of the imperialist powers to cease their war against Soviet Russia. The war on the Chinese front was part of the general policy of attacking the U.S.S.R. on every geographic, economic and diplomatic front which was world-wide in its scope and action.

Therefore the world proletariat should develop counter-action and deliver blows on every imperialist front. The imperialists are only waiting for the opportune moment for intervention when they will commence invading the Soviet Union on every front. To wait until war further extends will be disas-

trous. In order to prepare the workers now for immediate action the resolution was unanimously carried which included the following tasks:

(a) The organization of a broad mass campaign in every factory, trade union and in every workers' organization to explain the imperialist and Kuomintang policy of war against the Soviet Union:

(b) enlist the whole workers' press in the campaign:

(c) organization of powerful protest demonstrations:

(d) the building of inter-trade union and factory committees for the defense of Soviet Russia:

(e) publication of popular literature for mass distribution:

(f) the building of special committees of the transport workers to prevent the transportation of troops and munitions against Soviet Russia:

(g) the building of special committees in the arsenals, chemical works, etc., for the prevention of production of war materials for the fight against Soviet Union.



## To the Workers and Peasants of India

*From the Delegates at the Shanghai Conference of the Pan-Pacific Trade Unions.*

**D**EAR FELLOW WORKERS:

The delegates assembled at the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference in Shanghai greet the struggling workers and peasants of India. We have watched the gallant fights put up by the textile workers of Bombay and Bengal, the railwaymen and the metal workers, as well as the oil workers, etc.

The British imperialists are alarmed at your heroic actions, and therefore have become desperate and try to stop your developing militant movement by attempting to fortify themselves for further suppression by vicious legal measures. They utilize the Public Safety Bill, the anti-Trade Union Act, the anti-Picketing Ordinances, etc. to prevent freedom of speech, press or public meeting. They invade trade union offices, make raids upon the homes of trade union officials, steal documents and funds, arrest India's best fighters and charge them with conspiracy, etc.

These acts all add to the existing tyranny and are all done to prevent the organization of strong trade unions and peasant organizations, which are necessary to fight against the most ruthless exploiters and oppressors of colonial peoples, the British imperialists.

### MEERUT—A SYMBOL

The determination and magnificent conduct of your leaders, who defy the British tyrants, many of whom are now on trial in Meerut, we take as a manifestation of the spirit and the bravery of the Indian masses. The defiant attitude of the class war prisoners in the District Court of Meerut the workers and peasants everywhere must emulate, and which constitutes the answer to the British imperialists and their so-called Labor government who persecute the fighting leaders of the Indian labor movement.

Comrades and Fellow Workers: This very British "Labor Government" that continues its violent suppression in India in 1929 shot

down the striking mill workers of Bombay in 1924. The cabinet ministers of MacDonald's government are all officials of the British "Labor Party" and many of them are national officials of important British trade unions. Together with other European traitors they dominate also the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Therefore the policy of these political and trade union movements is the policy of the British imperialists. This is why the British Trade Union Council refused direct assistance to the 1,000,000 locked-out British miners and betrayed the workers in the General Strike in 1926, and why Mr. Walter Citrine, Secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, now denounces the Girni Kamgar Union for its gallant and tenacious struggle against British and native mill owners.

#### TRAITORS IN THE INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

But unfortunately these British traitors also have supporters in the Indian trade union movement. N. M. Joshi is a collaborator of the imperialists and their treacherous British reformists within the British Labor Party. While recently attending the I. L. O. Conference of the League of Nations, which is also an agency of imperialism, Joshi urged the International Labor Office to extend its influence in India.

He bewailed the fact that Albert Thomas did not visit India during his tour of the Far East, when he conspired with the imperialist agents of the various powers who are executing trade unionists and suppressing the trade unions. He also urged that the ideals of Geneva must be used to oppose "other influences" (the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement) "which is making a strong appeal to the imagination" of the workers and peasants of the East.

This invitation to the imperialists to send their agents to India brands Joshi and his associates to be treacherous traitors. This is why he opposes the tactics and policy of the Girni Kamgar and other militant unions, and no doubt assists Citrine of the British Trade Union Council in his attack upon the loyal

officers of the Girni Kamgar Union. While British imperialists persecute, imprison and attempt to send Comrades Dange, Alivi and thirty others to prison for life, these Government agents and spies in the British and Indian Trade Union Congresses, are together conspiring and trying to destroy the militant Indian unions which your loyal officers are defending in Meerut District Court and for which they are laying down their lives.

#### JOSHI—A PET OF IMPERIALISM

Comrades: We can see why the Indian Government appoints Joshi to the imperialist I. L. O. Conference while they imprison Dange and his colleagues. We know why the British India Office appointed him a member of the Legislative Assembly. Joshi is appointed as a loyal supporter of British imperialism, British exploitation, British tyranny, and all the anti-imperialist phrases uttered by him are a means of deceiving you. They are used in order that he may remain in your ranks to oppose a militant policy which alone can win against the capitalist offensive, and obtain higher wages, shorter hours, etc.

During the recent I. L. O. Conference at Geneva, Messrs. Joshi, Matsoka Komakichi (the latter being the Government agent for Japan in the Trade Union movement), and other reformists held meetings to develop plans to split the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement. They hope to realize their Asiatic Labor Conference which was also agreed to by Chaman Lal. This scheme to isolate the Asiatic workers from the P. P. T. U. movement will not succeed if the Indian workers join the Chinese, Javan, Malaysians, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, Formosans, etc. who are all strenuously resisting this imperialist manœuvre.

This attack upon the Pan-Pacific trade union movement is part of the attack made upon the Girni Kamgar and other Indian unions. You will note the same united front against the Pan-Pacific trade union movement as exists against you; the imperialists, the British trade union and Labor Party officials, the "Amsterdam" and I. L. O. renegades,

the reactionary native and bourgeois "leaders" of the Indian Trade Union Council. Therefore it is clear that every militant organization in India must join the P. P. T. U. Movement.

You must also rally your forces for the next Indian Trade Union Congress. Every militant organization must send its delegates to the Trade Union Congress, instructed to vote for affiliation to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. You can stop the attempt to isolate the Asiatic workers by joining with us in the only real fighting organization in the Pacific area.

#### A MIGHTY ARMY OF LABOR

The P. P. T. U. S. has obtained affiliation of almost every important trade union movement around the Pacific. Our movement embodies more than fourteen million organized workers and peasants with an ever-extending influence. This is why we are attacked, and also a reason why the Indian trade unions should join the P. P. T. U. S. immediately. Don't wait for the affiliation of the Indian Trade Union Congress; individual unions in India are invited to join.

The policy of the P. P. T. U. movement is based upon a straight fight against all native and imperialist exploiters. We aim to develop a power strong enough to obtain a higher standard of living for all, especially the colonial workers and peasants. This cannot be done unless we at the same time strengthen the trade unions and with a militant policy fight for complete independence of all colonial peoples, which implies driving every imperialist power from all colonial and semi-colonial countries.

This is why we must also oppose acceptance for India of a Dominion status within the British Empire. Nothing short of complete independence can bring relief to the Indian masses. We therefore see in this Dominion status a compromise with British imperialism because the bourgeois leaders of the Congress Party and the Indian Trade Union Congress are not prepared to fight for complete national independence. They are content with minor reforms that will give nothing to the

masses, and at most only a few minor positions to the bourgeois reformists as a bribe to them for their treason to the independence movement.

#### LEARN FROM THE LESSON OF CHINA

The leading Indian reformists are traveling the road the Chinese have trod. They are also afraid of the mass movement and their vacillations lead them into the camp of British imperialism. We also see already by the actions of Joshi and others that they are prepared to assist the British imperialists in suppressing the masses and the militant trade unions.

These same types in Japan, Indonesia, China, Malay Peninsula, etc. have already assisted in or directly executed, imprisoned, and deported thousands of the best leaders. If the Indian workers and peasants are to save themselves from the tortures the workers of these other countries have gone through and are still suffering, you, the Indian workers, must assume the leadership of the workers and peasants and struggle for complete independence and against imperialist exploitation.

We, the delegates from Sumatra, Java, Malay States, Philippines, China, Japan, are in Conference in Shanghai because we have been prevented from reaching Vladivostok where the main part of the Second P. P. T. U. S. Conference is taking place. But although we know the delegates at Vladivostok will pay much attention to India, we nevertheless appeal to you to join us in a united struggle with our common oppressors.

We have made decisions to strengthen the militant unions; to build up factory committees; fight to release your arrested leaders; organize the unorganized workers; to pay special attention to organizing the youth, women and children; organize the unemployed; to fight for national independence; to fight imperialist war danger; to defend the Workers' and Peasants' Republic of the Soviet Union; to strengthen the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement and to fight every reformist attempt to create an imperialistic Asiatic

movement controlled by bourgeois reformists and imperialist agents.

Down with all splitters and disrupters of the trade union movement!

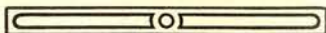
Down with British intriguers in India and their agents!

Long live the militant Indian trade unions!

Long live the struggle for complete independence in India!

Long live Pan-Pacific trade union unity!

Long live World trade union unity!



## Proletarian Advance in the Philippines

THE struggle in the Philippine trade union movement which came to a head last May has been sharp but decisive—and decisively in favor of the policy of class struggle in line with the P.P.T.U.S. as against the reformist traitors seeking to turn the proletariat and peasantry backwards and away from struggle into class collaboration with the treacherous bourgeoisie, now completely the agent of American imperialism.

We give below a summary of the Report of the Philippine delegation at the Shanghai—"Second Section"—of the II Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference. Since the Conference, the reformists made an attempt to assassinate Comrade Crisanto Evangelista.

\* \* \*

The Philippine delegation dealt with the split in the trade union movement there. They pointed out that the reformists were incapable of attracting the masses even though they had the backing of the Nacionalista and the Democratic Parties and U. S. imperialism.

Since the split the old C. O. F. has been reduced to 8,000 members, while the Proletarian Congress of Labor has attained a membership of over 40,000.

The old C. O. F. were now seeking to return on condition that the Chinese were excluded from the Proletarian C. of L. By this means they hope to split the workers again. But they will not be allowed to return for this is merely regarded as another manoeuvre to do the dirty work of the national and imperialist exploiters.

The delegate from the Philippine Chinese Labor Federation, which is part of the Proletarian C. of L., pointed out: the Philippine Islands is not only a source of raw materials, etc., to American imperialism, but is a base from which imperialist penetration will be extended into the Orient. It is America's commercial and military base in the Far East, and this is the political understanding which the Filipino workers and peasants must learn in order to struggle for the independence of the Philippines and against imperialist war preparations.

## Co-report on Struggle Against War and Imperialism

By TING TAI-YEH—*Vladivostok*

COMRADE Losovsky in his speech fully describes the perspectives of a new war in the Pacific Ocean and discussed in great detail the tasks confronting the revolutionary trade unions in the countries of the Pacific. I shall therefore only dwell on the role which China will play in the war on the Pacific Ocean; and most of all I shall discuss the question relating to the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Before the war the chief competitors for supremacy in China, were Czarist Russia, Germany, France, England, Japan and the United States. But now, after the world war, the main competitors are U.S.A., Japan and England; as you know, China has tremendous sources of raw material as well as a great reservoir of cheap labor and it is for that reason that the imperialists are fighting for supremacy in China.

England has penetrated China before any other power. Along the Pacific coast England has built her ports and sphere of influence and is at present straining all its efforts to maintain its privileges in China. Japan also established its domination in Southern Manchuria, and is also doing all in her power to retain her supremacy. The United States entered China at a time when the country was already divided amongst the great imperialist powers; but the United States as the strongest imperialist power, is not only seeking markets for its products but also markets for investments of capital. It is for this reason that the United States is striving to penetrate China. As is well known, the United States already established its economic influence in South America, Canada, Australia and other countries. But the United States is not satisfied with these achievements.

In order to establish its supremacy in China the United States must defeat its competitors, Japan and England outside China. But this question cannot be solved in a peaceful way, it can only be solved by the means of war.

There is an opinion in existence that the United States is helping the Chinese nationalist bourgeoisie to carry out the industrialization of the country. This opinion is a mistaken one; anyone that says this does not understand the real significance of imperialist politics and particularly the policy of the United States. We could cite many examples showing that the imperialists of the United States are also robbing and enslaving the colonial nations no less than the imperialists of any other country. The Philippine Islands and many other islands belonging to the United States are in fact colonies which do not differ from the English colonies and the colonies of Japan. We know very well that the American bourgeoisie, far from being anxious to industrialize China, is interested in procuring raw materials for the industries of the United States. The American bourgeoisie wants markets for its industrial products as well as markets to invest its capital. When the American imperialists do in exceptional cases permit some industrialization in the colonies, this is done entirely for its own interests.

Comrades, American imperialists are fully aware of the fact that they can penetrate in China only by means of war. This they never forget. In recent years there were many rumors spread that the Americans will give loans to China. The American government is now paying very much attention to the Nanking militarists. Through that recently some agreements were completed

which showed that the United States in the near future will give some loans to the Chinese government, but what will these loans go for?

The American imperialists have already mapped out their plans. They will build radio stations in Shanghai and other cities. They will build roads, aeroplane factories, etc. But can we call this industrialization? Of course not. The American are doing this in order to prepare military bases on the shores of the Pacific Ocean for future wars. At present it is true these institutions are of a commercial character, but we know very well that at any given moment all these institutions can be put on a military basis.

At present the competition between England and the United States is the most important problem in world politics. But this, comrades, does not in the least diminish the significance of the rivalry between England and Japan. The American imperialists at present are not satisfied with the military agreement concluded between England and Japan. You know, comrades, that at the Washington Conference (1922) the United States forced Japan and England to give up its military agreement concluded in 1902, and the United States is uneasy about the renewal of this agreement. This is why the United States besides establishing its military bases in the Philippine Islands and other places on the Pacific, is also trying to build new military bases in China, in order to be able to successfully fight England and Japan. As far as Japan is concerned, she possesses a whole series of islands in the Pacific Ocean as well as an excellent military base in China and Formosa.

England is the oldest imperialist power and possesses military bases in the East, beginning from the Mediterranean Sea through the Red Sea and as far as Hong-Kong, but she is not satisfied even with that. She wants to establish a further military base in China. This is clear from the agreement concluded by England with the Nanking government, which shows that England will prepare officers for the fleet as well as increase the armies in the Pacific.

Such, in brief, is the situation on the

Pacific and the preparations of the great powers for a new clash. Remember the words of Lenin, who stated that as soon as the military power of the United States will surpass that of England, then we will have a new war, and this analysis of the great teacher will soon be realized. An American naval officer of high rank only recently in a speech in New York declared that the United States is preparing for a war against England. But, comrades, we must also remember that this war is being prepared not only in order that the imperialists should fight among themselves, but also to fight the Soviet Union, to fight the emancipation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The imperialists recognize that the mere existence and development of the Soviet Union is a menace to the capitalist system of exploitation. They know very well the organic connection which exists between the militant republics of labor and the revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The imperialists in carrying out their plans will use the feudal landlords and the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. We know very well that the militarists in China were helped by the imperialists and that until the present time England is supporting the patriarchal system in India. The great emancipation movement in the Eastern nations endangered the imperialist power, particularly the great revolution in China in the years 1925-1927.

Since that time the imperialists attempted to break the united front of the national bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie has at present passed into the camp of the counter-revolutionaries. Since that time the national bourgeoisie cannot play any longer a revolutionary role. She has become the tool in the hands of the imperialists against the revolutionary movement. The present conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway is a provocation against the Soviet Union by the Nanking militarists, while carrying out the instructions of the imperialist powers.

We know full well that without the help of the imperialists the Nanking militarists would never dare to attack the Soviet Union. We have in China a continual war between

the militarists. Some people think that the war between the Nanking government and the Kwangsi clique is a fight between the bourgeoisie and the feudal nobles. This is not so. This fight is a reflection of the struggle between England and the United States, which is now going on in China. Chiang Kai-shek is the tool of American imperialism, while the Kwangsi clique is the tool of British imperialism. Chiang Kai-shek represents the big trading capitalists in the ports. He is therefore in great need of a united Chinese market. The Kwangsi clique represents the smaller traders and the feudals who are interested mainly in the local markets. Besides this fight corresponds with the fight between the clash of English and American interests. America is pressing for the positions gained by England, while England is counter-attacking. When the war between the Nanking and Kwangsi cliques ended it did not mean the unification of the country. The present period in China is very similar to the period of nine or ten years ago between the period when the first war ended another one will begin. As far as the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway is concerned, we pointed out already that it is nothing more nor less than a provocation of the Chinese militarists acting on behalf of the Great Powers. On this question I would like to point out that France is very much interested in this railway, is no less than any other power interested that the railway should not be controlled by the Soviet Government. We know very well that French capital was invested in these railways. Japan also wants to gain the control of the railway because she has great interests thru Manchuria, which she wants to spread to Northern Manchuria. England, the oldest organizer of anti-Soviet attacks, is, of course, ready at any time and in any place to organize an attack against the Soviet Union. She also wants to use this railway in the fight against the Soviet Union. It also concerns America, for she is very anxious to use this railway in her fight against the Soviet Union, as well as against Japan.

We know very well that in Manchuria the United States plays an important role.

America is greatly interested to invest capital in Manchuria. She is planning to establish an international banking control over the Chinese Eastern Railway under the influence of the United States. We must also recall the other conflicts of world imperialism against the Soviet Union, such as the raiding of the Embassy in Nanking, Shanghai, the closing of the Far Eastern Bank, etc. All these are part and parcel of the anti-Soviet plan which the imperialists have been preparing for quite a long time.

Comrades, we want to declare from this platform that the present conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway is not a conflict between the toiling masses of China and the Soviet Union. On the contrary, this conflict helps to strengthen the fraternal connection between the masses of these two countries. This conflict represents a struggle between a world imperialism, the Kuomintang and the whole counter-revolution, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, the toiling masses of China and of the whole world on the other hand. This is a conflict between these two great forces, the armies of revolution and counter-revolution. At present war has not been officially declared. The imperialists are using all their reactionary forces against the U.S.S.R. In case of war these reactionary forces will be used to a still greater extent and this will expose still more to the masses the role played by the national bourgeoisie, will show to the masses that it is no longer able to play any revolutionary role. Anyone who still has illusions about the national bourgeoisie can only be regarded as an opportunist against whom we must carry on a merciless fight.

What is the present condition of the worker and peasant organizations in the colonies? We must state that at present the condition of these organizations differs radically from that of five or six years ago. In 1922 the Seamen's strike showed the strength of the Chinese workers. The Chinese peasantry has manifested its power only in 1926. At present the Chinese Revolution is not in the same state of upheaval, but it is gathering its forces. That this is so can be proved by the

following figures. In 1928, a year after the reaction in China, 239,000 people participated in the strike movement in Shanghai and in 1929, as you know, the workers and peasants dissatisfaction was growing from day to day.

Last year the agrarian population suffered defeats in many districts, but in spite of this, in spite of the White Terror, the partisan movement in China is growing very fast. It is interesting to recall the following facts. The so-called Red Guard, which only two years ago had 2,000 people, has at present 30,000 soldiers who are lead by the Communists. This is a good illustration of the present development in China. As far as other countries of the Far East are concerned, you know that in Bombay and Calcutta the strike movement is growing from day to day. Thousands of workers are taking part in this movement. The hegemony of this movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries belongs to the workers and peasants, who are the real driving force. Therefore, in order successfully to carry on our fight against imperialism we must devote the greatest attention possible to the organization of the workers and peasants.

Besides, we also know that where the workers' organizations are strong, imperialism is weak. For example, during the Shanghai strike the strike committee ordered that in order to trade with Canton one must get the permission of the strike committee and the American, Japanese, French and other imperialists were forced to submit to this order. In Hankow we had the example when the workers captured the English Concession, in Changsha, when the American oil company refused to function during the revolution, the workers established their own control, and in Canton, where a Soviet power was established, all the imperialists were driven out. These examples show that only when we have a real organization of the workers and peasants can we drive out the imperialists from the colonies and semi-colonies, and this is why our first task in the fight against imperialism is the tasks of organizing the workers and peasants.

The workers and peasants organizations in the colonies and semi-colonies have their own special weaknesses as well as advantages. The advantages consisting that in the colonies reformism has no favorable economic base for new development. This is why it is easy to achieve the radicalization of the masses. What is the weak point in the movement in the Eastern countries? It is that the industry is not developed and the number of workers is not great. This explains why peasant and petty bourgeois dispositions are prevalent in the workers and peasants organizations. Even though reformism has not a favorable base for the development in the colonies as it does have in America and Europe, still under the leadership of international reformism, it is a menace even for us in the colonies. Albert Thomas, this famous traitor of the working class only last year made a trip over China to persuade the workers to give up the principles of the class struggle. The Japanese reformists are attempting to organize a Pan-Pacific Conference of trade unions to counteract the activities of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat. This is why we must organize systematic campaigns to expose the treacherous role of the reformists in the colonies.

Comrades, the imperialists of all countries are preparing a new war, but the present world situation is different from that during the first war. During the first war, revolutions occurred in many countries in Europe which had not received any help from the colonial and semi-colonial countries. We had no such thing as an uprising in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. But at the present the situation is different. The radicalization of the masses in Western Europe and America is taking place at the same time when the revolutionary movement is growing in the colonies and semi-colonies.

Comrades, we enter the third period of post-war development. We must organize the workers and peasant masses. We must carry on a systematic campaign to expose the treacherous role of world reformism. We must prepare for a new revolutionary upheaval and for the establishment of the Soviet system the world over.

## Comrade Yamagata's Speech

*At the Vladivostok Conference of the P.P.T.U.S.*

Comrade Lozovsky and Ting Tai Yeh have dwelt at length on the question of the imperialist war dangers, as well as on the methods that should be applied in the struggle against it. I fully agree with the reports and theses of Comrades Lozovsky and Ting-Yeh; I should like only to add a few words on this question from the viewpoint of the tasks of the revolutionary trade unions of Japan.

### THE WAR DANGER AND JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

One of the characteristic features of world capitalism at the present moment is the accentuation of the inner contradictions of stabilization, viz., the contradiction between the growing production and the shrinkage of markets. This peculiar uneven development of capitalism has been more striking since the war than before it, and so it proved fully the correctness of Lenin's words on that issue.

### THE SHARPENING OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

1. The centre of world economy at present has been transferred from the European continent and England to America and Asia. The system of world supremacy established by the Versailles Treaty no longer fits the present situation. The controversy is between England, the biggest colonial empire which is now gradually losing its predominance in its colonies, and America, which accumulates its strength in order to master the whole world, but which does not as yet possess many colonies. It is not at all accidental that the strike among the imperialist powers is now sharper in the Pacific. The problem of supremacy on the Pacific becomes now an indispensable condition of world supremacy. The strike for the re-division of the Asiatic Colonies and semi-colonies and especially the re-division of the Chinese territory is the central problem of world politics of the International Bourgeoisie at the present moment.

Japan, the only imperialist power in the Far East, having its bases of exploitation in the East, in China, Manchuria, Korea, Formosa, etc., participates in that strife. That is why the antagonism between Japan and England on the one hand, and America on the other, the antagonism known as the Pacific question, arose.

2. The enormous increase of armaments, the wonderful achievements and application of new military technique, the mechanization of armies, the application of chemistry, the building of military airplanes, battleships, mass militarization of the population, general military mobilization, the prattle about the outlawry of war, reduction of armaments, etc.,—all that proves the systematic preparations for the coming war. The Social-Democrats voting for military budgets, advocating peace in industry and class collaboration, help to accelerate the preparation for war.

In connection with the occupation of Nicaragua American Imperialism put forth a project of a new canal to seize the predominance on the Pacific. The House of Representatives and the Senate approved the plan of building a number of new cruisers. The British imperialists erected a naval base in Singapore, and Japan, too, having already its naval bases in the Pacific, cannot but accelerate the military preparations in China. And the competition in building the navy among those three countries is the best indication that there begins an active preparation of war in this area.

3. Consequently, the antagonism among the imperialist countries for a re-division of the colonies is not to be doubted. The powers make use of the various Generals' cliques in order to retain control over their spheres of influence and to struggle against each other to capture new ones.

The present war among the generals is nothing but the expression of the genuine

antagonism among the imperialist countries. The extent of that antagonism can best be shown by figures of Japanese, British and American investments in China. They are as follows:

Japan .....	\$2,500,000,000
Britain .....	1,500,000,000
U. S. A. ....	200,000,000

The weak point of American Imperialism in China lies in the fact that their investments in industry are rather small as compared with those of Japan or Britain.

The object of the American policy in China at present is the continuation of the "Open Door" policy. However, this policy inevitably clashes with the policy of Japan in China, especially in Manchuria, where their interests coincide. Yet the U. S. A. and Japan are the chief competitors on the Pacific. And the secret treaty between Japan and Great Britain, in spite of the presence of the antagonism between them, has been effected for the purpose of resisting American capitalism, the Chinese Revolution and the USSR.

4. What is the attitude of Japanese Imperialism and Reformism in the given situation?

The characteristic features of the present situation of Japanese Imperialism are, first, the want of interior markets and the aggressive "positive" foreign policy aiming at the capture of new markets, secondly, the feverish preparation for war. The prolonged financial stringency especially the crisis of 1927, and the Chinese Revolution, made the position of the Japanese Imperialists still more difficult. The contradictions between the rising productive forces and the situation of the market, the shortage of domestic resources, the critical conditions in rural economy, the rapid tempo of systematic accumulations and concentration of capital, the further strengthening of the trend towards state capitalism, all these processes could not but bring about a depression which affected the petty bourgeoisie and caused an enormous rise in the army of unemployed. The highly developed trusts, syndicates and cartels force

the peasants and workers to buy their merchandise at high prices, which results in the reduction of the purchasing capacity of the peasants and workers, and in the excessive lowering of their standard of living. The burden of military budgets falls upon the shoulders of the broad masses. Capitalist rationalization has as its effect the prolongation of the working day and the lowering of wages. Thus the working class becomes an object of merciless exploitation from both sides. Hence the rapid revolutionization of the workers and peasants.

The Japanese Communist Party, which is carrying on the correct policy in leading the revolutionary movement in Japan, is fighting the White Terror. On March 15th, 1928, the ruling classes ordered the arrest of the leading Communists. This is of great historical significance since the Japanese revolutionary organizations were dissolved. This also included the section of the RILU, the Kyogikai. At the same time the Government revised the law of public peace including in it a statute which threatens the revolutionary fighters with perpetual arrest and various punishments including execution. In spite of the strenuous counter-attack and the energetic fight by the Left Wing, the Right and Left Social-Democrats are not only not fighting against this evil, but are trying their best to distract the masses from the correct Leninist policy of class struggle, and in many cases, in order to achieve some successes, they are using the White Terror against the revolutionary labor movement. Notwithstanding this treacherous action of the Social-Democrats of all colors, the revolutionary workers reorganized their trade unions and are very energetically working for their consolidation.

The mainstay of reaction, Japanese imperialism, is working hand in hand with the Social-Democrats for the preparation of war and for greater exploitation of the masses not only within their own country but also on an international scale; the visit to Japan of Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labor Bureau, was arranged by the reactionary Social-Democrats of the Far

East, by order of the Japanese imperialists for the purpose of organizing the Pan-Asiatic Conference of Trade Unions to counteract the activities of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, which is the leading organ of the revolutionary trade unions in East. What will be the real function of the Pan-Asiatic Conference? The answer to this question can be found in the rules and program of this "organization," the imperialists are intensifying their work in the Far East in preparation for war and the destruction of the revolutionary movement; they are mobilizing all their forces including the Social-Democrats.

5. The military preparation of Japanese Imperialism at the present moment can be illustrated with the following figures:

Military Budgets	1923-24	1927	1928
(in millions)	187	229	235

Thus the military budget of 1928 represents 27.8% of the entire budget. The reasons are clear: while participating in navy building competition with Britain, the U. S. A. and Japan, the latter cannot afford of lesser activities. And Japan, accordingly, plans to build 90 new warships in 1931-1938 with a yearly allotment of Y180,000,000 for that purpose.

As for the application of chemistry for military purposes, the figures of enormous expenses for importations of fertilizers in 1927, amounting to Y157,072,816, of which the greater portion goes for military purposes, speak clearly for themselves.

The application of electricity is a well-established practice especially for airplanes and warships.

The mechanization of the army is characterized by the presence of 40 tanks and 1,230 units of air fleet. It must be pointed out that all military materials are being produced either directly in the state enterprises or under State control.

The Japanese imperialist hold the maneuvers of anti-craft defence force and navy with the participation of a great number of airplanes, etc.

Having taken into consideration the lessons of the world war in the matter of

not only military technique, but also in the problem of mobilizing of all forces of the country, the Japanese Government introduced in 1928 the law concerning the mobilization of industries and districts of the country to serve the needs of general mobilization. The general mobilization was practised several times, and that of Summer 1928 carried out on a big scale. It took place in a central industrial region which is to play a very important role in the future war. To assure the success of this mobilization not only the gendarmerie and patriotic bodies were attracted, but the students and juvenile and women's organizations, not to mention the various officials and private organizations of the country. In fact, there was no difference between this and any real mobilization. The very law on mobilization copied from Paul Boncour's plan includes the military training throughout the whole country. For that purpose the 2,000 military officers formally discharged from the army after the Washington Treaty are at present working in civic organizations in the capacity of military instructors for the militarization of the populace. For the purposes of fostering the patriotic feelings numerous movie theatres are used.

All these systematic activities in preparation of war have as their aim not only the preparedness for war but also to carry on among the imperialists counter-revolutionary war against the oppressed peoples and the USSR.

6. What vexes the imperialists and Social-Democrats most is the fact that the Soviet Union assist every revolutionary movement. Now the rapid rise of Socialist production in the Soviet Union cannot but bring about the further accentuation of the antagonism between the Soviet and imperialist countries; in other words the sharpening of the antagonism between the revolutionary movement and the counter-revolutionary movement in the world. The imperialists and Social-Democrats, however, are unanimous in their hatred towards the USSR, and the Anglo-French and Anglo-Japanese Pacts, as well as the projects for a Pan-Asiatic Conference, are the best proof of this.

The anti-Soviet movement in Japan has greatly intensified in the Spring of 1928 in connection with the mass arrests of the Communists. The building of five railways in China and the menacing events on the CERYS show most clearly that the Japanese imperialists are preparing a counter-revolutionary war, and more than that—at the present moment Japan has reinforced her special troops in China from 4 to 6 batallions. The same was done in Korea. What is that if not the strengthening of the frontiers against the USSR? It is worth while also to remember the tactics of the Japanese imperialists in the matter of fisheries, i. e., in the matter of concession profits. There can be no more insolent tactic than that of the Japanese imperialists. Thus we see that the Japanese imperialists are carrying out intensive preparations for war, they are carrying out an aggressive home and foreign policy.

7. Now what should be the tactics of the Japanese revolutionary trade unions? It must not be forgotten that the Japanese workers and peasants have not experienced any defeat in war, nor have they experienced the ordeal of the World War. It is, therefore, necessary for the trade union workers to carry on an energetic struggle against militarism, chauvinism, as well as a merciless war against reformism which helps the ruling classes in their warlike preparations.

Again, our struggle against the menace of war must not be an abstract affair. It should be closely connected with the daily economic struggle for the interests of the working class and for the defense of the trade unions and other revolutionary organizations against the attacks of the ruling classes, for only such skilful struggle would render it possible to draw in, notwithstanding all kinds of reformist efforts, the broad organized as well as unorganized masses of workers.

In our daily agitation and propaganda activities we should now and then explain to the masses that the capitalist offensive on the working class peasantry, the offensive of the reaction against the trade unions, aim at the retention of the present capitalist yoke.

Now, we should continually expose the es-

sence of capitalist rationalization as an indispensable condition of preparation for war, the essence of the idea of industrial peace and class collaboration, the many talks on the company unions emanating from the reformist leaders from Sodomei, Kaiji Kiodokai (an arbitration body for marine transport), and the leaders of the "Japanese Seamen's Union," as well as on the Pan-Asiatic Conference. We must remember that similar talks aim only at depriving the workers of their only weapon in struggle, the class struggle. At the same time it is necessary to explain that the bourgeoisie deprives the workers of the most elementary liberties, such as the right of meetings, press and organization in order to be able in case of war to mobilize the whole working class without any delay. It is absolutely necessary to closely connect the daily struggle of the workers with the struggle against the war menace. We should adopt the tactics of the united front, we should organize committees of action against the war, the issuing of shop paper and the carrying on of propaganda and agitation work. This kind of activity should also be carried on in close contact with the trade unions.

In that connection the drawing in of new masses of workers into the reformist unions and the driving out of their leaders is of great importance. We should always point out that it is only the trade unions standing on the basis of the class struggle that are capable of being the instrument of revolutionary class struggle. And the revolutionary unions and militant minorities should always keep contact with the workers mobilized in the army, leaving to them the right of being members, so that these workers might be the backbone of the revolutionary activity.

We should also point out to the workers in the language clear to them, the effects which the increase of armament, the rise of the military budget, etc., have on the interests of the workers. Besides that we should support the struggle for reducing the term of service as well as fight for other important privileges for the soldiers. It is necessary to expose the nature of the aggressive policy of Japanese Imperialism in a more energetic way than

it was done until now. Concurrently with that it is absolutely necessary to expose the role of the opportunists as the lackeys of Imperialism.

The struggle against the war attacks on the USSR is at present of utmost importance. We must put forth the slogan: "The defense of the Soviet Union, the only fatherland of the international proletariat." At the same time the struggle against Fascism should not be neglected.

Now one of the most important tasks is the winning of the working women and youth. These elements in Japan are organized now only to a small extent, and the drawing of them in the revolutionary trade unions is our immediate task. The work for organizing the youth and women must be connected with the struggle against the war menace.

Generally speaking the Japanese workers are in need of international education. Without that it is impossible to carry on the struggle against chauvinism amongst the workers and for fraternization on the fronts.

The PPTUS being the centre of the revolutionary movement in the Pacific Basin must play a specially important role in the anti-war struggle under the slogan "Wage War Against War." But this transformation of an imperialist war into a civil war requires careful and steady preparations, and can be achieved only as a result of incessant daily struggle of the workers.

In realizing these tasks we follow the teachings of Lenin unlike the reformists of the West who preach class collaboration. And it is only this fact that determines to what extent we can drive out the reformists and guide the economic struggles of the proletarian.

8. We should pay special attention to the following important branches of industry:

(a) To the transport workers who in case of war should detain the transportation of military materials. For that purpose it is necessary to organize transport workers into a single industrial union, to create special vigilance committees on the railways, in the ports, on the ships, etc., to watch the move-

ment of troops and the transportation of munitions. In all principal ports there should be organized port committees.

(b) The same work must be done amongst the workers engaged in the aviation industry.

(c) To the chemical workers who are to play one of the most important roles in the next war it is necessary to explain the essence of the imperialist war and, besides, to organize special committees to conduct activities against the transportation of the chemical plants into military and, finally, the chemical workers should closely connect themselves with the transport workers in order to detain the transportation of chemicals.

(d) In the metal industry it is necessary to organize committees of action against the production of military munitions.

(e) As coal and other ores are to play an especially important role in the coming war, the work among the miners is of great importance. We should do all in our power to draw the miners into the struggle against the war menace.

(f) The struggle against the imperialist war is closely connected with the struggle for the liberation of the colonial countries. Therefore, it is necessary to establish and consolidate the relations with the workers and peasantry of the colonies, striving for the united front.

(g) Under the present circumstances we deem it necessary to put forth for Japan the following slogans:

1. Down with Imperialist War!
2. Defend the USSR!
3. Defend the Chinese Revolution!
4. Long live the Emancipation of the Colonies!
5. The immediate withdrawal of troops from China!
6. Struggle Against War Budgets!
7. The Self-Defense of the Workers and Peasantry!
8. Down with the Social-Democrats!

In case of the actual declaration of a war, we should get ready to turn the imperialist war into a civil war for the overthrow of Imperialism and for the establishment of the Soviet Power in the whole world.

## Comrade Losovsky's Concluding Speech

*At the Vladivostok Conference of the P.P.T.U.S.*

COMRADES!

The full unanimity shown by all the delegates concerning the fundamental questions of our reports does not require a long concluding speech; if nevertheless I am going to take the word, I do it firstly to summarize and secondly to deal with several questions that have been touched upon by the delegates in the discussion on my report.

We do not feel any doubt whatever that the struggle in the Pacific Ocean forms at present the central problem of the world politics. Many years ago one of the most important leaders of American imperialism, the former President of the United States of America, Theodore Roosevelt, said that the Atlantic era of history had come to an end, and that a new one—the Pacific era of history was beginning. This was said expressly to mark the fact that the centre of world politics and world economy was being shifted from Europe on to the most important country in the Pacific—to the United States of America. If this sentences seemed to be grossly exaggerated before the war, it is without doubt to be considered as very real at present when the United States, by using the extreme weakness of the capitalist countries after the war, attained the position of the financial, industrial and economic lead of the world, at present when we experience a whole number of post-war conflicts, of post-war crisis of capitalism, and the extremely strained competition between England and the United States, and the United States and Japan.

### ENGLAND AND AMERICA

I have said already that the struggle in the Pacific Ocean and for the Pacific Ocean is the struggle for world supremacy; he who is watching attentively present-day politics of England and the United States of America, he who is watching the different actions of McDonald that are intended as flattery

to the United States, while England is at the same time making every effort to get ready for the decisive struggle with her competitor, he who is aware of the ever-changing conflicts among all the big imperialist powers—will have to acknowledge that the struggle for world supremacy between the former world power—England—and the present leading power of the world—the United States of America—is finding its clearest expression here in the Far East, in the particular and specific conditions reigning in the Pacific Ocean.

Our conference must come to a decision on a question that was only perfunctorily dealt with here; we must decide which will be the relations of colonial working masses to imperialism, how they will fight imperialism that is oppressing the respective colonial country; in other words, we must decide which will be the relations of the Philippine workers and peasants to Japanese imperialism and those of the workers and peasants to American imperialism, etc. I am asking this question because we find in the imperialist press many articles on the conditions of the working class and the peasantry of those colonies that the respective imperialist power should like to wrench from the grasp of the competing imperialist powers. Preparatory work is doubtlessly being carried out in order to draw the sympathy of the working classes and peasants to the side of the imperialist power, that is posing as a competitor of the present oppressor. Is not the Japanese imperialism, making propaganda for the liberation of the Philippines from American imperialism? Is not the imperialism of the United States of America ready at any moment to free Korea from Japanese imperialism, is not to put it shortly, anyone of the competitors giving expression to this wish of liberating the slaves of the others? This is one of the machinations that was used widely during the imperialist war when the

former allies were shedding tears and using very much ink and paper to describe the terrible lot of the nations oppressed by Austria; at the same time the allies were entirely forgetting the lot of their own colonies: in Africa, in India, etc.

#### ALL IMPERIALISMS ARE "WORSE"

We shall, doubtlessly, notice among certain individuals of the bourgeoisie, and even among the leaders of the working masses, the intention to ally themselves with foreign imperialism against their own in the approaching struggle. During the last war, for example, the so-called Czecho-slovak "socialists" allied themselves with French imperialism in their fight against the oppression of Austria. The Polish socialists, with Pilsudsky as leader, were aided by French imperialism in their fight against the Germans, etc. It is one of the most important moves in the game the imperialists are playing to make use of the workers of the given oppressed colonial country and to incite them to the struggle against their oppressors. But, at the end of the war, one imperialism will be substituted by another one, the place of the old boss will be taken by a new one: thus the workers will be only a plaything in the hands of the imperialists; every worker, especially those of the Far East, must fully recognize this. The American bourgeoisie is, at the present time, endeavouring to "liberate" China from the yoke of Japanese and British imperialism, etc. But this is done in order to veil the intention of getting a still firmer grip in China. This game will acquire grand dimensions as soon as war breaks out. Then the French will be afire to liberate the countries that are oppressed, say by the British, if the war will be between the French and the British. The Japanese will make efforts to liberate those oppressed by the Americans. This game will have to be unveiled before the war. Workers will have to answer: "Both are worse," if asked "which imperialism is better?" This reminds me of a witticism told by Heinrich Heine, the well-known German poet. When asked which he would prefer, to have his arm cut off or his leg—he answered, that he would

prefer to get some milk-soup: he wanted to say that he would prefer to keep both arms and legs. We, the workers, will have to give the following answer when asked which imperialism is better, which we should support: "All of them are worse than anything." Every proletarian will have to stick to the line of conduct, every worker who is siding with the principles of class-struggle will give this answer. We might be asked: "Does there not exist some difference between American and Japanese imperialism?" We might be asked: "Is the slogan 'America to the Americans', not a better one than 'Asia to the Asiatics?'" And we shall answer that both these slogans are dictated by one and the same kind of imperialist appetite. "America for the Americans" means really that North and South America should belong to the ruling classes of the U.S.A.; "Asia to the Asiatics" means really that the whole of Asia should belong to the ruling classes of Japan. This must be clear to everybody. We must never permit ourselves to be led astray into the wrong path of external conflicts that are taking place among the imperialist powers, that are very often veiled by many beautiful and liberty-loving slogans and phrases.

#### JAPAN AND AMERICA

I want to remind you of certain facts: You know that the origin of the conflict between America and Japan lies as far back as before the war, and that after the war it was continued by the controversy on the right of Japanese to emigrate to America, and on their right of taking their nationalization papers in America and buying land, etc. Much ink and many tears were spilled by the Japanese press on this question. There is no doubt that this aggressive act of the Americans against the Japanese is purely imperialistic, that it is the act of racial oppression. But if the Japanese bourgeoisie is making so much noise about it, one might ask them: "And what about the Koreans whom the Japanese are oppressing; what about the right of the Chinese, whom the Japanese are ruthlessly exploiting?" All this pathos, that is highly paid for, is really worth

nothing and we must not permit ourselves to be deceived. Two powerful enemies are struggling for supremacy, and either of them is taking a number of preparatory measures for the struggle against the other. We are against imperialism, and therefore, we must unveil the inhuman racial policy of Japan as well as that of America. We cannot make any distinction, they are principally the same.

It is interesting to see, how this question, besides other questions, is being treated by the leaders of the American workers movement. The leaders of the American Federation of Labor instituted a special organization that they call the Pan American Federation of Labor. This federation is also based upon the so-called workers' Monroe doctrine. This is to say that there exist two Monroe doctrines—one for the workers and another one not for the workers. One of the leaders of the American Trade Union movement defined the Workers' Monroe doctrine by saying that no European workers' organization, and no workers' organization from any of the other continents should have any influence on the territory of whole America. This is almost the meaning of the non-workers' Monroe doctrine. While the shameless leaders of the American labor movement are putting up the idea of a Pan-American Union, their Japanese counterpart are putting up the Pan-Asiatic Workers' Union. It is hard to say which of them is the better—the Pan American or the Pan Asiatic Union. We, the revolutionary workers, must judge them as we are judging imperialism itself. If we are asked which of these organizations is the better one, we shall answer both of them are worse than anything. We have already answered this question in our way. While the Americans were creating the Pan American Federation of Labor, we assisted the workers' movement of Latin America in creating the Latin American Federation of Labor. Thus the Pan American Federation lost the whole of Latin America. The Pan American Federation, moreover, has lost all its significance, as the Canadian Trade Union movement is only partly linked with it.

We, on the other hand, did not wait for the creation of the Pan Asiatic Federation,

by the reformists, but brought into life the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, thus tearing from the reformists' grip the Korean, Philippine and a part of the Japanese Trade Unions and killing the Pan Asiatic Federation before it was born.

#### REFORMIST ADVOCATES OF IMPERIALISM

This is the proper proletarian answer to the diverse imperialist attempts at forming the workers' movement according to race distinctions and the rules of imperialist practise. All imperialist plans of this kind shall be answered by us by practical measures taken according to the principles of class struggle, and we must act in the same way in the future. This means that we must unite the workers' movements all along the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, irrespective of racial distinctions, territorial differences, etc., into one, undivided movement. We have, in the course of our work, very often met with attempts of the imperialists and their ideologic hirelings to make use of the chauvinist position of the leaders of the workers' movements of countries that are their enemies. I shall cite a striking and exotic example. There lives in Japan a Japanese doctor, Yoshitomi, who wrote a very thick book in French, with the title "Japanese-American conflicts and the problem on the Pacific Ocean." This doctor is writing many, many pages about the harm the Americans did to the Japanese, and especially underlines the chauvinist position of the American Federation of Labor. This defendant of the interests of Japanese imperialism, writing about the action of the Council of the Californian Trade Unions against Japanese immigration intends apparently to touch some special chord in the breast of his readers and writes concerning the American Federation of Labor the following: "The American Federation of Labor, which is refraining from aiding the common cause of social justice, which is setting itself apart from the workers of other nationalities by making race distinctions, has, according to the point of view of social interests and peace among nations, no right to exist. If it takes up a position opposite to that of the Japanese by not wanting to have

anything to do with a colored race, it stamps itself as an enemy to internationalism, the ideal of the workers' movements and the peasants if it denies the principle that concerns all races, the Japanese included, then we must call its policy imperialistic and militarist. If the Federation opposes Japanese immigration, we cannot find any distinction between the Federation and capitalism that is oppressing the weak and exploiting the toiling masses." The dear doctor writes like a socialist writer, and not like the advocate of Japanese capitalism. He is talking of social justice. He, of course, drew the peasantry into the dispute; he is talking about everything and at the same time accusing his associates of acting against the interests of the proletariat. In this respect he is essentially right, of course.

It is very interesting to note that a bourgeois writer, in order to touch some sentimental chord in the breast of his readers, quite correctly characterized the shameless agents of capital that are the leaders of the Trade Unions of the United States of America. But the point is that in quite correctly characterizing the official leaders of the American Trade Union Movement, he entirely forgot their Japanese colleagues, who have the same convictions as regards Japanese imperialism.

The point is that Bunji Suzuki and any leader of the American Federation of Labor are as alike as twin brothers; they are politically speaking in the same camp. This accusation, signed by the enemy of American chauvinism, would be of value to us, if it would accuse the Japanese reformists together with the American ones. All these tirades lose their value, because it is onesidedly directed against the American enemies of Japanese imperialism, and can, of course, have no influence at all on the judgment of class conscious proletarians. Thus we see that sometimes a very just and correct characterization, owing to its partiality, acquires a specific imperialistic shade. This is the reason why we, who are working on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, must be very attentive in our discrimination of the methods employed by one imperialist power in its struggle against

another one; this is the reason why every one of us must make it his task to kick the servants of imperialism and their bosses, who are taking part in the workers' movements out of the movement altogether, irrespective of their race or nationality. Only if we do this we shall be acting in the interests of the working class.

#### VARIOUS STAGES OF TRADE UNIONISM

The workers' movements on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean differ widely from each other. The countries on the Pacific Coast are not in an equal degree related with capitalism, and their industrial development is different. Many colonies and semi-colonies are intended by the capitalists as sources of raw materials and therefore the capitalists themselves do not suffer them to develop industrially.

These differences of the level of the various movements, the different grades of political consciousness of the various working classes, the difference of their experiences and the hardiness in fighting against the capitalists—all these facts must be taken into consideration by our organization. We must pay the most attention to those countries the working class of which is the least developed, the workers of which are living in worst conditions.

What was said by comrade Sidin concerning the workers movement in Indonesia, and by comrade Hercllet concerning Indi-China, was quite correct. It is true that these two countries are not to be compared with each other, because the workers' movement of Indonesia is much older than the other one, the word "old" means that the movement began at least ten years ago. This workers' movement has its origin in the tremendous development of the plantations, in the use of capitalist methods of developing the sugar and rubber plantations; at the same time we have no well-formed workers' movement in Indo-China because the organizations there were often annihilated by the capitalists immediately after they had come into life. Taking into consideration that Indo-China will, without doubt, play a very important part in the struggle in the Pacific Ocean, and that

it has been the base of the French imperialism for many years. We must consider the question of how to create our own base in Indo-China, how to penetrate there; we must agree upon the forms our assistance to the workers' masses of Indo-China will take and the lines along which the workers' movement of this country will be developed. The capitalist development of this country is making great progress because it is becoming one of the richest regions as far as rubber plantations are concerned. Indo-China is, shortly, the most important base of French imperialism in the Pacific Ocean.

#### A COMMON PROGRAM

Is it possible to ally the working masses of the countries on the Pacific coast under one slogan and common tasks, if there exist such variety of social-economic conditions among the different countries united by the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, if social relations are different, if up-to-date capitalist methods are existing side by side with feudal and medieval forms not only in different countries, but even in one country, as for instance, in China? I believe that it is possible, and that we must do it. It is the common task of the workers all along the coasts of the Pacific Ocean to stubbornly and persistently struggle against the oppression of the colonies, *i.e.*, to struggle against imperialism, for the liberty of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, irrespective of their cultural level and the development of their workers' movements. This struggle unites all the workers of these countries and will be made much easier for every one of us, if we succeed in linking up the activities of the backward workers' movement with the vanguard of the workers' movements, *i.e.*, the movements in the old imperialist countries.

It is not by chance that we find among the members of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat not only workers from the countries oppressed by imperialism, but also representatives of the workers' movement in the freest country of the world—the U.S.S.R.—and representatives of the workers' movements in the imperialist countries, as the United States of America, England, France and Japan. Thus, the

struggle against imperialism and for the emancipation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries constitutes the most important problem and elementary condition, that the workers' movements on the Pacific, the vanguards of the workers' movements in the imperialist countries and the working class of the U.S.S.R. must fulfil. This task unites the vanguard of the workers of the world, it unites all honest and class-conscious revolutionaries. Only the most corrupted and shameless among the leaders of the workers' movements in the imperialist countries will be able to behave as the General Council of the British Trade Unions behaved concerning the strikers in Bombay, as the Japanese reformists are treating the workers of Canton, or the American reformists are treating the workers movement for the emancipation of Latin America, from the yoke of American imperialism.

Comrades, this is not all yet. We are obliged to fulfil one more, extremely important task that will unify the workers' movements irrespective of their level and their political and organizational development: the problem that will unite the workers' movements of the colonial and semi-colonial countries—is the problem of the standard of life of the working class. If a Shanghai docker is earning from 15 to 20 times less than one in San Francisco, or if a textile worker or textile woman worker is earning ten times less than the same class of worker in, say, Manchester, the problem of wages for both the worker in the colonies and the worker in the home country is growing much more serious by the following reason. The ruling classes in their hunt for biggest possible profits are always trying to use cheapest labor they can get held of. The mad competition in the world markets forces them to use labor of almost slavish cheapness in order to defeat their competitors. But slave-labor in Shanghai and cheap labor in Manchester means the lowering of the standard of life in Manchester. Only the shameless leaders of reformism, who are closely connected with the interests of capital, who think that capitalism will last forever, do not and will not understand the connection between conditions

of labor in the colonies and semi-colonies that are almost bordering on slavery, and the great offensive conducted in the capitalist countries against the living standards of the workers.

#### UNITY WITH COLONIAL WORKERS

There are only two ways open to us: either we shall succeed in raising the standard of life in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, or their low standards will inevitably drag down the standard of life of the workers in the old capitalist countries. This is the problem. Every class-conscious worker in the colonies and the semi-colonies as well as every class-conscious worker in the capitalist countries will have to understand these internal dynamics of class relations very well in the same way as he understands why water rises to the same level in two vessels that are connected with each other.

The third question that has to be answered and will unite the workers' movements in the Pacific countries is the question of how to annihilate the remnants of feudalism and the middle ages, in short, all the obstacles to the progress of these countries. Backwardness begins in economics and goes on into politics, finding its reflection in social relations. The annihilation of feudal and medieval remnants, and the successful agrarian revolution in all colonial countries are common tasks for the workers' movements in the colonies and semi-colonies, for the workers' movements along the Pacific coast.

It is evident, comrades, that we are in the possession of a very sound foundation for the unity of the workers' movements in the Pacific countries, if these workers' movements are confronted with the three important tasks: firstly, the common struggle against imperialism; secondly, the struggle for the raising of the standard of life of the working classes, which includes not only the struggle for higher wages, but also socialist legislation, the seven-hour working day, etc., and, thirdly, the struggle for the annihilation of feudalism.

Only these unions are strong and hardy and will survive that are based upon firm ground: doubtlessly, the above-cited three

points are the solid ground upon which the workers' movements of the colonial and semi-colonial countries are standing.

#### PERSPECTIVES IN THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES

What are the prospects of the development of the workers' movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries? The colonial world shows many varying traits, but, it is no longer the same it was before the war. Even the most conservative, the most ancient country in the world—China—has begun to move, and has been moving in a way that made itself felt all over the world. It is one of the peculiarities of militarism that those numerous masses of humanity that for many, many years had been crushed by the tremendous power of imperialism, that had been crushed by the iron heel of imperialist exploitation, that those millions of humanity awoke. As soon as millions and millions of men begin to move in China, other millions are beginning to move in India; then we can say that a new era of human history has begun. The world war brought to the Allies defeat in spite of their fictitious victory. The world war undermined not only the power of the greatest power in the world, the financial and industrial ruler—England; it did much more: it woke up tremendous numbers of humanity, and what is going on at the present time in the colonies and semi-colonies is a terrible flood, the waves of which it will be impossible to confine within the former shores. This tremendous movement of the masses weakens imperialism, and weakens the powers that are trying to crush the workers' movements in the capitalist countries. Up till now our weakness consisted of the different workers' movements taking place at different times. While the workers were rising in England, Germany was quiet. While mass strikes were going on in France, stillness reigned in the other countries. While the colonies were going through their revolutions nothing happened in the capitalist countries.

This disharmony is the fundamental weakness of the international workers' movement. The present moment must be characterized by the fact that the revolutionary workers'

movements are rising in all the countries at the same time: it is finding its expression in the general strike in Poland, in the strike in the Ruhr, the mass strike in Bombay, then again it moves to Shanghai: the waves of the workers' movements are flooding one centre after the other. Another characteristic trait of the present day workers' movements is that they are taking place in shorter intervals of time; they are divided by great distances of space, but are almost simultaneous. The last demonstrations on the first of August for the defense of the U.S.S.R. and against war took place all over the world on one day; the bloody attacks that took place in a whole number of the capitalist countries, the executions that took place in China, all these events unite the forces of the workers' masses, they bring their different stages of development to a common level and all the springs are united into a big stream, and all these streams are united in the tremendous flood of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries, into the tremendous revolutionary flood in the colonial and semi-colonial lands.

It is the task of our organization that forms a part of the international workers' movement and strives for uniting the workers of the Pacific coast, to be at the head of this movement and to make this movement an international one; we must feel the pulse of the masses and not struggle behind, we must be at the head of these masses that are spread over a vast region, and unite them, we must link their movements with the movements in the foremost countries and with the Soviet Union. Only by setting before ourselves the task of uniting these movements, of internationalizing them, of raising them to a higher level, of linking the movement of the workers on the Pacific Ocean to the older movements in the capitalist countries, only by changing small conflicts into big ones, by changing economic strikes into political ones, by stepping from strike to revolt—from revolt to civil war, only then, I say, shall we elevate the working classes and the peasantry to a higher political level, make those historical tasks a reality, that are set before the union that bears the famous name: the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

# Tasks of Organization Facing Pacific Trade Unions

*Resolution Adopted by P.P.T.U.S. on Comrade Johnston's Report at the Vladivostok Conference*

1. It devolves upon the revolutionary trade union movement both of the East and West to do away with the great gulf between its ideological influence over the working masses and the extent to which it has consolidated that influence through organization. In the Orient this work is made considerably more complicated because of the youngness of the movement and the exceptionally onerous conditions created by the white terrorism raging in practically every part of the East. In the result, the importance of the question of organization in the Eastern Trade Union movement arises in its full stature. The organizational structure of the unions should be sufficiently broad to admit of roping in as large a number of the masses as possible. It must be democratic in order to enable self-criticism to develop and promote the initiative of the rank and file members. At the same time it must be sufficiently centralized to render it possible to provide the best possible guidance to the masses in their class struggle. It follows, then, that the fundamental principle of organization lies in democratic centralism, and the most suitable form of organization in keeping with the present stage of capitalist development and the intensivity of the class struggle is the industrial union built up on the principle of One Union for Each Industry.

2. The practical application of the principle of democratic centralism for the Trade Union movement of the different countries depends on the specific setting in each given country. It will be found, for instance, that the Left Trade Union movement in Japan, in India, and on the Philippines ought to adhere to the principle that all Trade

Union executive bodies, officials, and so on be elected, while in China, where white terrorism is raging today and the revolutionary trade unions are illegal and driven underground, it becomes inevitably necessary to combine the principle of indirect elections with the vestment of powers from above. None the less, it is desirable that the All-China Federation of Trade Unions should as far as possible also apply in practice this principle of election and gradually give up the system of appointment from above. It must be borne in mind that the systematic application of such appointments hampers the establishment of close connections between the directing bodies of the Trade Union organizations and the mass of the rank and file, undermines confidence in the leading organs, and handicaps the growth of the independent activities of the masses, the development of self-criticism and the more intensive activity of the rank and file membership, as well as the growth of militant mass trade unions.

The work of the Left Trade Unions and their relations both with the rank and file mass of the membership and the superior centers must be built up on democratic foundations. Simultaneously, the Left Trade Unions must strictly adhere to the principle of centralization in their activities. As will be understood, it is essential to have centralized leadership based on the activity of the rank and file of the masses. This in turn renders it necessary to maintain firm proletarian discipline in relations between local organizations and the national directing center.

In those reformist trade unions where the trade union bureaucrats have created a cen-

tralized machinery from above over the mass of the rank and file membership (e. g. the Kuomintang trade unions in China, the Rodo-Sodomei and other reformist trade unions in Japan, and elsewhere), it is up to the P. P. T. U. S. supporters in these organizations to fight for working class democracy, for decentralization. The Left Wing inside the reformist unions must take steps to mobilize the rank and file masses for the struggle on behalf of freedom of criticism, for the direct election of all officials, organizers, delegates, committee members, etc., and also endeavor to establish actual and effective control by the rank and file of the membership over elections into the trade unions. The Trade Union Left Wing must steadily work to get the leadership of the trade unions to pass more and more to rank and file members. The activity of the rank and file masses must find expression in their participation in thoroughly representative strike committees elected from their own midst by the workers, and also in factory and works committees, and by this means building up a counter-weight against the reformist Jacks-in-office.

3. From the viewpoint of reorganization the weakest aspect of the Left Trade Union movement in the East consists in that: (a) in most cases the revolutionary trade unions are small, scattered organizations functioning mainly in small factories or workshops (as is the case in Japan and China), while the majority of the large-scale plants remain unorganized and where there are organizations in these plants they are under yellow influence (Japan); (b) the revolutionary trade unions have poor contact between themselves and are *not lined up in really representative industrial unions*; (c) the Left Wing wields very little influence and does not possess its own organizations in the key industries (Japan, China); (d) the work of organizing the unorganized is being neglected, this especially applying to the case of the women, the youth, the land laborers and to the plantation workers; (e) the campaign to recruit new members for the revolutionary trade unions is not being conducted with sufficient energy which

in the upshot leads to a crass disproportion between the ideological influence wielded by the Left Wing and its organizational strength; (f) there is no close contact between the leading bodies of the Left trade unions and the masses (in this respect the Girni Kamgar Union in Bombay is a rare exception); (g) the work of organizing the revolutionary elements inside the reformist unions is not being done as well as it should be (Japan, China, Indonesia); (h) preparations for and the co-ordination of strikes are inadequate and not intensive enough; (i) the directing "cadres" of the Left Trade Union movement are not nearly strong enough numerically and the scope of the mass activities of the Left Trade Unions is not satisfactory; (k) there is no regular contact with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (barring China and the Philippines), and between the different countries affiliated.

4. With a view to getting rid of the defects mentioned in the previous paragraph the Left Trade Union movement of the Far East countries must, first and foremost, put forth every effort to consolidate its influence in the key industries and in the transport services, as well as to extend the membership of the Left Wing unions and transform them into mass industrial unions. In the first place, it is essential that experienced organizers should set to work in large-scale plants and in transport, on the plantations, and so on, for the purpose of establishing direct contact with the masses. On establishing contact with the progressive elements of the given plant, these organizers should form trade union groups, each such group to include all advanced and revolutionary-minded workers irrespective of whether they are members of the reformist trade unions or not organized at all. The group shall formulate and popularize the immediate demands of the workers, and in the event of a favorable response coming from the broad working masses, it shall declare strikes, steps being taken to arrange elections of thoroughly representative strike committees. No wavering elements or representatives of the yellow trade union democracy (?) bureaucracy ought to be

admitted to these strike committees. Strike committees ought to be elected irrespective of whether there are trade union organizations or factory committees in the given plant or not.

5. For the purpose of building up and consolidating the revolutionary trade unions, mainly in the key industries and large-scale plants, it is essential to devote particular attention to the work of setting up factory and shop committees as permanently functioning organs for carrying on the day-to-day struggle for the vital immediate interests of the workers. As rallying points in the daily struggle of the workers for their immediate needs, the factory committees are to promote the induction of the workers into the class struggle. At the same time they represent the best primary schools for educating the unorganized masses and are the most suitable means for building up the united front from below. Concurrently, they serve as a broad foundation for the revolutionary trade unions and clear the ground for the development of industrial unionism. With revolutionary leadership the factory committees form a most effectual weapon in fighting reformism and class collaboration. Again, in the event of a revolutionary situation arising, they are bound to be transferred into an important factor in the work of realizing workers' control.

The strike movement now developing in India, Japan and other countries opens up splendid possibilities for the creation of factory committees. Upon the conclusion of strikes the strike committees should be made use of as a base for building up factory committees. In their activities the strike and factory committees should look for backing and support to really representative delegate meetings convened from individual plants or groups of plants. Such delegate meetings ought to be a broad avenue of representation for the workers and serve as one of the best forms of enabling the strike and factory committees to keep in touch with the masses, especially when it comes to settling questions of vital interest to the workers. As an institution the delegate meetings constitute a means

for training new "cadres" and drawing forth the initiative and activity of the masses.

In China, where white terrorism is raging, it would be more advisable at the outset to convene delegate conferences in the different plants. The delegates in these plants must fight for the open existence of the factory committees and open up the way for their formation. The factory committees should include all workers in the given plant, both unorganized and organized.

The factory committees must not be looked upon as bodies capable of replacing the trade unions, nor can the factory committees take the place of the strike committees. The latter must be elected by all workers in the given plant during the dispute concerned and must be regarded as temporary bodies. Interrelations between the strike and factory committees must lie along the line of mutual support, mainly in carrying on the fight for the seven-hour working day, against wage cuts, rationalization and the dismissal of workers blacklisted by the police, and in favor of better conditions all round for the working class, for unemployment benefit being given those out of work, and to endorse the struggle for the right to strike, etc.

In Japan the revolutionary trade unions must carry on a real fight against the sham factory committees usually set up on a joint basis out of workers, nominated by the police, and representatives of the employers. The Kyogikai must continue to put every effort into developing the network of genuine proletarian factory committees and linking up the existing factory committees under centralized leadership.

It is essential to utilize every political and organizational possibility, however slight, to build up workers' representation at the point of production, any name being adopted for such representation—vigilance committees, wage defense committees, commissions to promote the improvement of working conditions, etc. The title is not important, the main thing being that whatever body is set up should be elected by all the men and women workers and be genuinely representative of all those employed in the given plant.

6. The organization of the unorganized is the primary and immediate task of all trade unions affiliated to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. It is therefore necessary to make every possible effort towards this goal. The drive to organize the unorganized must be carried on systematically and with a real punch behind it. The central objective in this campaign must be to recruit new members for the existing revolutionary trade unions and set up revolutionary unions where the working masses are concentrated—in industrial enterprises, transport, plantations and on the farms. At the same time the revolutionary unions must set up special commissions of their own to recruit and organize the women and the youth.

In those countries where the Trade Union movement is divided the unorganized workers must be recruited direct into the revolutionary unions. In these countries the Left Wing must not conduct any campaigns whatever to recruit members for the reformist and yellow unions. All organizational campaigns must be closely linked up with the everyday struggle of the workers. At times of mass action (strikes, demonstrations, etc.), organizational activities must be carried on with particular energy.

7. The policy of the united front and the struggle for trade union unity must be carried on entirely from below, at the point of production, in strict accordance with a clear-cut working class programme, a whole-hearted fight being simultaneously put up against reformism and class collaboration. Proposals regarding the united front and trade union unity must always be submitted to the masses, to the rank and file members of the reformist unions, in order thus to realize the united front and trade union unity below. At the same time it is always essential to explain to the masses that the reformist leaders (the Rights and the Centrists so-called), and the trade union bureaucrats are paid agents of the bourgeoisie, and that they sabotage the workers' struggle and ought to have no place in the ranks of the trade unions.

8. The existence of Left Wing unions must on no account involve as a consequence

any repudiation on the part of the revolutionary elements of activities inside the reformist and yellow unions. On the contrary, the revolutionary elements must intensify their activities inside these bodies, steps being taken to mobilize the rank and file to fight the office holders and their treacherous and opportunist policies. Activities in the existing reformist unions should be continued and intensified, especially wherever these organizations are mass bodies (as, e. g., in the case of the Seven Big Unions of Shanghai and the reformist unions in India and Japan).

It is essential to state here that in this respect the work being done in China is still very poor. While carrying on active work to consolidate and develop Red trade unions, it is essential to pay particular attention to those yellow and Kuomintang trade unions containing any workers at all, however few. Activities in these unions are of outstanding importance and most essential. Actually, though, there is no clear-cut line on this point in China and the work there is not moving out of the rut. A drastic change requires to be made in this regard, and the step taken from words to work. Our goal must be at all costs to win the workers in these unions and to direct the whole of their day-to-day struggle by mobilizing the workers against the treacherous yellow Kuomintang venal bureaucracy. Only whole-hearted activities carried on wherever the masses are to be found will make it possible for the Red trade unions to enlarge the orbit of their influence and transform them into a decisive factor in the class struggle of the Chinese proletariat.

9. The revolutionary trade unions must also intensify their activities to fuse all small and dual unions into industrial unions standing on the platform of the class struggle. It is up to them to provide the rank and file of the working masses with a thorough and convincing explanation of the necessity of reorganizing the craft and territorial unions into industrial unions. Any tendencies making for mechanical reorganization must be got rid of. Certain positive results have accrued from the practice of the "committees to advocate industrial fusion" set up by the Kyogikai in China as preliminary bodies to

effect such fusion. It is essential also to work for the merging of different trade union organizations in any given branch of industry which at the present time are cut up along national lines, this applying to Japan, Singapore and the Philippines.

10. It is perfectly plain that without suitable educational activities and the organizational training of new bodies of active men, women and young workers, the revolutionary trade unions will never be able to cope with the tasks by which they are faced. For this reason it is most essential immediately to train and educate the more advanced workers for the purpose of promoting them to directing activities in the workers' class organizations. The best means of training such an active rank and file is to get the workers drawn directly into the daily activities of the trade unions. Yet it is also necessary to take steps to provide for a deeper and more systematic education of active trade unionists, and for this purpose a suitable network of trade union schools and study circles must be created. In addition, it is essential to arrange for regular reports, lectures and talks on current and outstanding issues of the trade union movement. The curriculums and syllabuses of these schools and study circles must be adopted to the different groups of workers and take into due consideration the general conditions governing the state of the trade union movement in the given country. |

11. Particularly at the present time, the financial question in the work of the unions acquires outstanding importance, especially in view of the fact that we are concentrating on the intensification of their organizational activities. Yet, as matters are, not nearly enough attention has been given so far to this work by our unions in the East.

In the first place, the unions must arrange for the regular collection of members' dues (monthly, fortnightly, weekly, or on what-

ever day the members are paid) special bodies of elected dues collectors being set up for this purpose. The funds coming to the union treasury must not go entirely on the upkeep of machinery and other organizational requirements, since every union—legal and illegal—must aim at accumulating certain funds. The strike or militant fund of the union coming first. In addition to the regular allocation of part of the receipts obtained in the form of members' dues, extra monies may be obtained for these funds by arranging levies, issuing special stamps, etc. Wherever police conditions permit, members' books must be introduced for those joining our unions. These membership books should cover a period of several years, as their annual withdrawal and re-issue renders it difficult to keep regular track of the membership.

12. The revolutionary trade unions must devote serious attention to the matter of establishing and intensifying international connections between themselves as well as with the center of the revolutionary trade union movement in the Far East—the P. P. T. U. S. To this end they should keep the P. P. T. U. S. regularly informed on the current situation in their respective countries, besides arranging that the workers in their own countries have current information concerning the battles of the workers elsewhere in the Pacific and throughout the world in their struggle against the bourgeoisie. International education for the working masses is one of the most important tasks lying upon all P. P. T. U. S. affiliated organizations. In this regard it is essential to carry on extensive and systematic propaganda against any and all attempts whatsoever on the part of the representatives of imperialism (the International Labor Office, the Pan-Asiatic Labor Conference, and like bodies), to get an organizational foothold in the countries bordering on the Pacific.

# The Organization of Agricultural Workers

*Resolution Adopted by the Vladivostok Conference of the P.P.T.U.S.*

THE countries bordering the Pacific Ocean are primarily agrarian lands. To this very day a considerable measure of fairly strong feudal relations have been preserved in the agricultural industry of these countries, though under the influence of foreign and native capital the old forms of tenure are being broken up and new forms, capitalist forms of landownership (plantation organization, large-scale farming and rich peasant holdings), are coming more to the fore, bringing with them large numbers of agricultural workers working for hire. In India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Korea and China the agricultural workers number tens of millions. In view of the numerical weakness of the industrial proletariat in these countries, the matter of organizing the rural proletariat acquires outstanding importance. Now, the peculiar features of colonial land tenure make for the tremendous concentration of labor power on small tracts of land, thus promoting the work of organizing the land laborers.

The vital interests of the revolutionary labor movement in the Pacific countries and the struggle against imperialism and colonial oppression render it imperative that the agricultural workers of these countries be immediately organized into independent class trade unions.

The agricultural workers' unions must rope in, first and foremost, the workers employed on capitalist plantations (tea, tobacco, sugar, rubber, rice, etc.), the workers on large estates and farms and the men employed in timber cutting and forest clearing. These workers must make up the fundamental section of the union, but around them there must be organized the many millions of feed laborers, day laborers and seasonal workers scattered up and down the rural districts on smaller rich peasant and other farm holdings.

The land and forest workers' unions should also organize those workers employed on rural plants of any given plantation in the primary treatment of agricultural raw materials, this being done in those cases where there are no independent unions for these men.

As they stand on the platform of the revolutionary class struggle, the land and forest workers' unions must be organs primarily to promote the development of the workers' economic struggles. Their fundamental immediate task is that of fighting to improve the material position and status of the land workers, raise their cultural level and widen their political horizons and class outlook, and thus draw them into the common revolutionary struggle of the whole working class against imperialism and capitalism. The main points in their program of demands must be: working hours to be reduced to 8 per day for adults and 6 per day for minors; annual paid holiday of 2 weeks; overtime at double rates; abolition of share-cropping (as in Japan); fixed wage—by the hour, day or month—to be paid in legal tender, the slogan being at the same time broadcast that real wages for the land and forest workers must be raised to the level of the average earnings of the industrial workers in the same district (in India, for instance, the wages of plantation workers might be raised to the level of the wages paid the textile workers); equal pay for equal work by women and men; fit housing accommodation to be provided; no dismissed worker to be evicted from his home until he has been provided with new living quarters; social insurance covering sickness, permanent incapacity, unemployment and old age, said insurance to be a charge on the employers and state; prohibition of night labor for women and of hired child labor; unrestricted right of combination and to strike; abolition of serf and semi-

serf conditions of labor, corporal punishment, fines, brutal treatment, and the abolition of slave laws like the "penal sanction" of Indonesia; the abrogation of anti-labor laws banning the workers' class organizations, strikes, press, etc.; struggle for the confiscation of all lands held by big landowners, the monasteries and the churches without compensation; and struggle against the money-lenders, militarists and imperialists (China and elsewhere).

Without active assistance from the organized industrial workers it will be extremely difficult for the rural workers themselves to build up their own organization capable of waging successful struggle against their exploiters and oppressors. It is therefore essential to set up special commissions under the auspices of the industrial workers' unions for the purpose of promoting the activities and organization of the land and forest workers. To this end use must be made primarily of those factory workers who are employed in the towns for only part of the year and spend the rest of the season in their native villages.

The struggle of the land and forest workers' unions must be prosecuted in close contact with the struggle of the poorer peasantry, the small holders, and their revolutionary organizations. There is much in common in the interests of the agricultural workers and the interests of the toiling peasantry—the poorer peasantry and small holders suffer equally with the agricultural workers from the exploitation to which they are subjected by the landowners, capitalists, employers and imperialists. To prevent, however, the proletarian character of the land and forest work-

ers' movement from being glossed over, and in order to build up a strong and reliable nucleus and secure for the rural proletariat the leading role in the developing agrarian revolution, the agricultural workers must be lined up in their own independent class trade union organization. The toiling peasantry and small farmers must be organized in separate peasant unions.

Organizational connections between the land and forest workers' unions and the militant peasant organizations may take the line (local conditions being taken into due consideration), of the formation of joint land laborer and peasant committees of action to co-ordinate the struggle against the landowners, money-lenders and imperialists and build up a joint block of the land workers and peasants.

As regards the reactionary peasant organizations under the leadership of the land owners and big farmers (and of the Kuomintang in China), the land workers' unions should fight for their break-up and so free from their influence those proletarian and poor peasant elements belonging to these bodies.

The work of organizing the agricultural proletariat of the Pacific countries in independent class trade unions is the work of the revolutionary T.U. movement of these countries. For this purpose a special commission should be set up under the T.U. centre of each country, this commission to be instructed to hammer out a concrete plan of work and outline those districts where activities are to be begun, and there set up local commissions to organize the land and forest workers.

## Trade Union Propaganda And Cultural Activities of the P.P.T.U.S.

*Adopted by the Secretariat of the P.P.T.U.S., Just After the Vladivostok Conference*

1. In view of the growth of the class trade union movement in the Pacific countries, with the intensification of the struggle against colonial and national oppression of the imperialist powers, against the capitalist offensive and rabid reaction, certain specific tasks must be kept in view in pressing forward our trade union agitational, propaganda and cultural activities. The varying economic and political conditions to be found in the countries embraced by the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, which include highly industrialized countries like Japan and Australia, and countries where industry is a source of profit for foreign capital (like India, Formosa and Philippines) and where the development of the revolutionary labor movement differs, making a special and individual approach to agitational and propaganda activities in each country imperative.

2. The ways and means of running trade union agitational, propaganda and cultural activities must be adapted to the political and cultural level of the workers in the given country. Elementary forms of running activities (meetings, posters, gatherings) should gradually give way to more complicated forms (schools, clubs) to correspond with the general development of the trade union movement. This should always be kept in view. In those cases where the militant trade unions are forced to work illegally, like, for example, in China, every loophole must be used to run agitational, propaganda and cultural activities, turning to good account all legal possibilities, such as various cultural institutions (schools, libraries, courses, and even universities) to promote revolutionary trade union propaganda.

3. All our agitational propaganda and cultural educational work should be conducted from a working class standpoint. In running agitation and propaganda we should carefully note the actual conditions obtaining in the given country or at the given enterprise as well as the conditions of the struggle and be able to link up these activities with the general tasks confronting the revolutionary trade union movement. That is why it is vital that we popularize for the broad masses of men and women workers the true significance of the trade unions and their role in the general struggle against exploitation and capitalist oppression. Our chief attention must be given to explain and elucidate the tactics we must use during strikes in accordance with the Second Conference decisions. The experience already gained in this connection in countries where the trade union movement is more developed should therefore be noted. Ways and means of running agitational activities during strikes should be constantly improved so that they could be used and applied by the broadest circles of our active trade union workers. Meanwhile educational activities must be advanced to free the workers ideologically from religious superstitions, national and racial antagonisms, which are fostered by the bourgeoisie and their agents—the missionaries and reformists. It is therefore essential to educate the broad masses of the workers in an international spirit.

*Mass Forms of Agitation and Propaganda and Cultural Educational Activities.*

4. One of the chief tasks the class unions should keep in view is to arrange for class agitational activities and to cater to the cul-

tural needs of the working masses. All these activities should aim primarily at catering to the most backward sections of the working class and be adapted to the conditions of the struggle and development of the movement in the given countries. During strikes and during the maturing of strikes our agitation and propaganda should aim at explaining: (1) the forms and methods of organizing and guiding the strike movement, (2) the demands and slogans of the workers, (3) the necessity of drawing unorganized workers into the struggle and into the trade union movement, (4) the condition of the enterprise and the industry affected by the dispute, (5) the correlation of forces between labor and capital, (6) the true character of anti-labor laws, repressions, etc., (7) the fact that the present day struggle of the working class is offensive in character, (8) the strike movement and the position of the struggle in other countries, etc. Simultaneously, during strikes and lockouts, we should organize the education of the workers in an international spirit, and set up international connections.

5. In view of the fact that there are large numbers completely illiterate workers (India, China) the trade unions are also faced with the stupendous work of raising the cultural and political level of the working class. It is therefore important that all our agitational and cultural work be easily understood and readily grasped even by those workers who are unable to read. We should therefore recommend that striking posters and slogans be hung up in prominent places, mass meetings and demonstrations should be organized as well as the reading of papers and books, evenings of questions and answers as well as simple talks on all questions vitally affecting the interests of the working class.

6. Experience gained in several countries (like in China) shows distinctly that workers' clubs did some good work in furthering the activities of the class trade unions. In our trade union cultural activities we should therefore aim first of all at establishing workers' clubs, which should be organized not only if premises are available, but also by making use of the enterprises and the street,

in a word, wherever we can get a place for the men to gather. It is imperative that group and individual propaganda activities be organized among the workers in the enterprises and streets. Talks, flying meetings, distribution of literature and issuance of factory papers, etc., should all be arranged. Good use should be made of various slogans, posters, leaflets, factory and wall papers. Steps must also be taken at the same time to organize workers' sport organizations, this applying especially to Japan and China, where the ground has already been prepared, these organizations to be put in touch with the Red Sport International.

7. The carrying out of the tremendous tasks confronting the young revolutionary trade union movement of the Pacific countries depends in a large measure on a well-organized and regular trade union press service. The trade union papers published in Japan and China today are being suppressed and confiscated. Nevertheless, we should keep on publishing them. On the other hand, the existing trade union papers in India and the Philippines, cannot cope with the growing needs of the working class. Further, we must extend the practice of publishing daily bulletin sheets and leaflets, especially during economic and political events. In those localities where the workers speak in various vernacular languages, we must, from time to time, issue special sheets and leaflets in the native languages. We should remember that the trade union press must always be the mouthpiece and the organizer of the working class struggles.

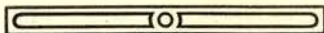
8. To guarantee the success of the political and cultural educational activities among the masses, a special trade union committee should be appointed for this work by the respective trade unions. This committee should be charged to make arrangements and carry out campaigns in the trade unions, guide cultural activities, work out measures of training active trade union workers, always taking into consideration the experience gained in this field in the given country. In order to draw in the large masses of workers to our agitational and propaganda work, in

order to make them interested in this work, special propagandists and organizers should be appointed for the various enterprises, mines and plantations. During strikes special propaganda committees must be organized under the strike committees or militant committees.

9. Collections should be made among the

workers to organize cultural and educational activities, to organize schools and to purchase literature, etc. In the independent cultural educational organizations and the workers' clubs, membership fees should be fixed in accordance with the decisions of the general meetings of the members.

September 1, 1929.



## Resolution on The Role of the Trade Unions and Socialist Construction

*Adopted at the Vladivostok Conference of the P.P.T.U.S.*

**H**AVING heard Comrade Avdeyeva's report on the part played by the trade unions in Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union, the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference notes with satisfaction the speedy tempo of the development of Socialist economy in the U.S.S.R., and the raising on this basis of the material and cultural level of the many millions of workers. The steady progress in all branches of economy, social and cultural life is the best proof that the working class — freed from land-owners, bourgeoisie, church, bourgeois science and yellow press, is fast approaching its aim of the real brotherhood of nations, real labor democracy created by the workers for their own interests. The workers along the coasts

of the Pacific Ocean are with untiring attention and deep sympathy watching the tremendous and creative work in the U.S.S.R. The workers' and peasants' masses and the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. may be assured that all the exploited classes and oppressed nations are on their side. The union between the working class of the country where Revolution was victorious, and the working class along the Pacific Coast is of utmost importance for the victorious struggle with Imperialism, for the national and social liberation of the working masses in the colonies and semi-colonies.

Our greetings to the Builders of Socialism  
in the Soviet Union!



## MacDonald's Prison Law in Palestine

By J. B.—*Jerusalem*

THE death sentences in Haifa, the maltreatment of children in Nablus, the mass arrests, mass trials, police persecutions and the military terror are—so it appears—only the modest prelude of the terrorist, reactionary regime, which the socialists of His Majesty intend to introduce in Palestine.

While the imperial commission appointed by him is trying to gull the public with an appearance of impartiality (whereby they are fully assisted by the treacherous "national" leaders of the Jews and Arabs), the MacDonald Government itself is proceeding to eradicate every revolutionary movement in the country and every new advance and before all, to render impossible for the future any movement for freedom. On October 25th there was decreed for Palestine a law which is an absolute prison law directed against the revolutionary labor movement. This law is to take the place of the Ottoman laws concerning high treason, insurrection, etc., which have obtained up to the present. It is, however, much more cruel and mean than the law of the Sultan.

Whereas, in the former laws it was chiefly national and religious agitation that the Turkish Government threatened to punish, in the present law the penalties are almost eliminated in that direction. There was only one of the bloodiest Jewish programs of recent history and a not less terrible slaughter of Arabs—every door has been left open for a repetition of such a blood-letting. But all the lightning of his legislation is directed by the Labor Colonial Minister against the anti-imperialists; anti-imperialistic propaganda ("preparation for revolution against the mandatory power in word or writing")—life-long imprisonment—inciting to civil war—the same penalty; agitation among the troops or police—imprisonment for life. And then "lesser" offences, offences against the "social

order": membership of an illegal party or organization which is not registered (the registration of the Red Aid, for instance, in fact even of workers' cultural clubs, has been refused (!) one to three years; agitation for the class struggle (!!)) three years; distribution of revolutionary proclamations — five years; insulting the British flag—three years; contributing to an "illegal" organization—six months (for instance, to the Red Aid). Neither Pilsudski nor Horthy would need to be ashamed of this law; but the fact, nevertheless, is that neither the Lloyd George nor the Baldwin Government—in spite of repeated demands from the Palestine police—dared to issue the prison law. This honor was reserved for the "great man" of Social Democracy.

The law is mentioned only in the press as the anti-Communist law, and as such it is naturally hailed with joy by the "humane," "pacifist" and "idealistic" Zionists. It is also coming into force immediately: mass raids by the police have commenced for the purpose of putting all those suspected of Communism under lock and key at once. Behind the prison walls, however, the conditions are such that a few weeks, not to speak of months and years, suffice to make imprisonment "life-long," i. e. completely to ruin the prisoners physically and morally.

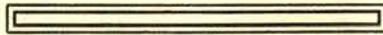
The mass hunger strike of political prisoners, which has broken out within the last few days, throws a vivid light on the conditions in MacDonald's prison infernos. The only answer which the prison administration could make to the request of the workers for humane treatment, political regime, abolition of disciplinary reprisals, was the carrying out of corporal punishment — the abolition of which was promised by the conservative Colonial Minister—on several political prisoners! Others were beaten until they bled by

the brutal warders and put in chains; after eight days of the hunger strike, the prison officials deprived them even of water in order to hasten their death.

MacDonald's barbarity of the Middle Ages, a reactionism more reactionary than that of the Die-Hards, is only equalled by the attitude of the local sections of the Social Fascists. For five days the chief Social-Democratic newspaper published no reports of the hunger strike, which had already been mentioned by the bourgeois press and even by the Fascist paper. When, finally—under the pressure of the indignation of the workers against this treachery in regard to the fight for the political regime, for which the Social Democrats took the responsibility a year ago—an article appeared but was shortly followed by a telegram of provocation against the Communists, designed to incite the workers once more. The Left Wing Poale Zion were even more interested than the police in

throttling the hunger strike, for they openly opposed every support of the strikers and spread the most poisonous calumnies against them.

After all this, there can be no doubt that the whole reaction, of course with MacDonald at its head, wishes to organize a new wave of such persecutions of the workers and the revolutionary-national movement in the country, designed to wipe out the movement as such and destroy its members. Precisely because the revolutionary wave is on the rise, because the radicalization of the masses is progressing, the sympathy for Communism growing in spite of the agitation against it, MacDonald's anti-Communist offensive will lead to very stubborn fights. The support of the revolutionary workers in England and the pressure brought to bear upon the lackeys and the bloodiest imperialism, may thereby prove to be the deciding factor.



## For the Struggle for Freedom of the Arab People

*From an Appeal of the League Against Imperialism*

THE events in Palestine go to prove the fact that the *Arab national question* constitutes today one of the most important items of world politics. Also the Arabs have the right to abolish the dismemberment of their countries and to form a united, strong, independent, perfectly free State, a great Arab national State, the form and fate of which are to be determined not by the exercise of force of imperialist foreigners but by the will and the interests of the toiling masses of the native Arab population, peasants, workers and bedouins.

The League Against Imperialism and for National Independence, impressed by the splendid demonstration strike on November 2nd in Palestine and in view of the powerful development of the national movement in all Arab countries, sends cordial greetings to all fighters for Arab National emancipation. It considers it necessary in connection with the struggle for Arab national emancipation, to express two ideas which arise from the general experience of the international struggle against imperialism.

The Arab people must not believe in the

hypocritical manoeuvres and the honeyed words which the British imperialists use every time their position is endangered, while at the same time employing bombs and machine guns (the fraudulent Treaty with Egypt, the investigation commission in Palestine, the play with Iraq, etc.) The Arabs must realize that the so-called "Labor Government" of MacDonald was purposely entrusted with government power in Great Britain in order to damp down the growing revolutionary indignation of the masses in the suppressed countries by means of deceit; to corrupt the leaders of the nationalist movements by means of hypocritical promises, and in this way to consolidate and extend the bases of imperialist exploitation.

The second experience of the international struggle against imperialism teaches that a people can conduct a successful struggle for national emancipation against the imperialist power only, if the leadership sets up a programme of social demands of the great majority of the nation, of the toilers, fights for it itself and places the organization of the national struggle not in the hands of a small group, a narrow circle of rich landowners or religiously influential and privileged individual persons, but in the hands of the broad masses of the toiling population. It is necessary that in every city, in every village, in every bedouin group there exist a fighting committee against imperialism and for national emancipation and unity. These committees which are to be composed of the most tried fellahin, workers and bedouins, shall make all decisions regarding the organization of the anti-imperialist struggle in their dis-

tricts. They shall also elect in every separate country a Central Arab national-revolutionary Committee, and these committees shall in turn elect for the whole area an "All-Arab National Revolutionary Council." Such an organization, built from below, is capable of mobilizing all the forces of the people in the struggle for national liberation. It is at the same time a guarantee that the struggle will not be ended before a real victory is achieved. Hence the creation of a broad, militant organization is the command of the hour.

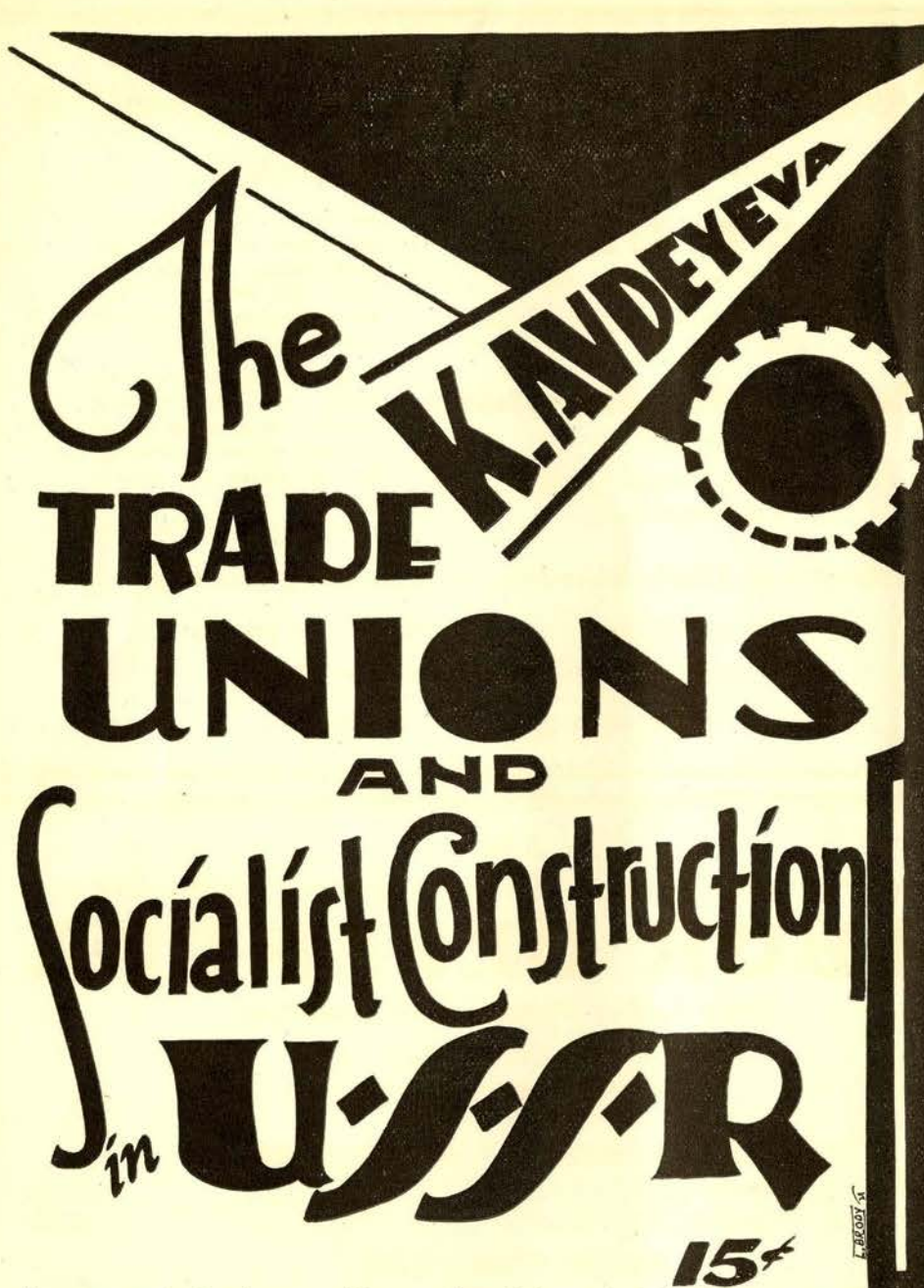
In the fight for this aim the Arab people can reckon upon the active support of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence. The Arab national movement has reached such a stage that it appears expedient to establish a close connection between it and the international organization, the League Against Imperialism. Form therefore in every country a section of the League Against Imperialism! Form in all important districts local branches of the League. Such local branches can also be formed in the big villages. Unite the sections of the various Arab countries in an "All-Arab Committee of the League Against Imperialism."

Long live the liberation struggle of the Arab People!

Down with the imperialists, down with the dismemberment of the Arab countries, the mandatory system and the Balfour Declaration!

Long live the Federative, really free and independent great Arab State!





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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.