

No. 37
June-July
1930
Price 25c

001329

The Pan-Pacific Monthly

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Official Organ
of the
Pan-Pacific Trade Union
Secretariat



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WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
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WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

太平洋工會秘書廳

The Pan-Pacific Monthly

Official Organ of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat

Head Office: Shanghai, China

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

Cable Address: "Panpamon"



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

CONTENTS

THE FIFTH CONGRESS APPROACHES, by A. Losovsky	3
AMSTERDAM AGAIN	8
INDIA AND THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL, by V. Chattopadhyaya	11
THE INDIAN REVOLUTION AND THE NATIONALIST LEADERS by V. Chattopadhyaya	15
EAST AFRICANS IN REVOLT	17
"SAMOA FOR SAMOA," by G. Kilpatrick	21
THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN CHINA	23
REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNIONS IN CHINA	25
THE PARTISAN MOVEMENT IN CHINA, by A. Iwin	28
CHINA'S WOMEN WORKERS NO LONGER SUBMISSIVE	30
CLASS AGAINST CLASS IN THE JAPANESE MOVEMENT, by Hayama	32
THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF NEGRO WORKERS by James W. Ford	36
THE "WHITE AUSTRALIA" PRINCIPLE, by E. Borzhenskya	39
UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE IN THE U.S.S.R. ...	42
AMERICAN FARM WORKERS BATTLE, by Harrison George	45
BOOK REVIEW	47

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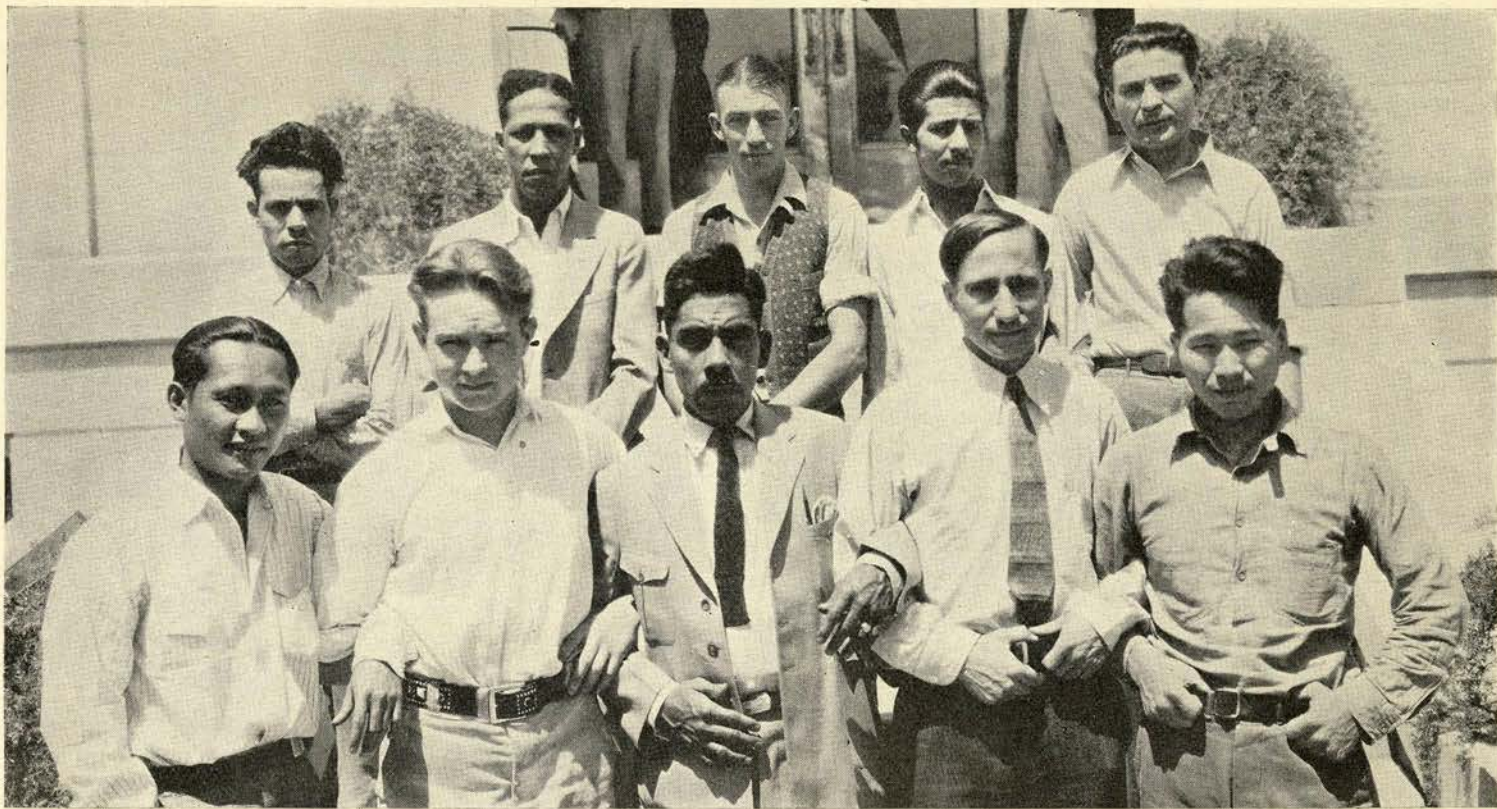
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The Imperial Valley prisoners (See story on page 45). Front row, left to right: Danny Roxas, Oscar Erickson, Braulio Orosco, Carl Sklar, Tetsuiji Hariuchi; (Second row, left to right): F. Funes, Eduardo Herrera, Lawrence Emery, Emilio Alonzo and Frank Spector.

The Fifth Congress Approaches

By A. LOSOVSKY

The following article by Comrade Losovsky of the Soviet Trade Unions and General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions, is of interest to the entire world working class, reviewing the international movement since the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress of March, 1928, in developing the problems facing the Fifth Congress which, due to convene in July, has been postponed till August 15. Of particular interest to the Pan-Pacific trade unionists will be the remarks concerning their own movements, though the whole article and the Congress it deals with are of great importance to all workers.—EDITOR.

THE Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress will be opened on the day of the anniversary of the R.I.L.U. This does not mean that the Congress is especially being convened merely for the purpose of celebrating the Anniversary, or in order to carry out an international manifestation on the event of the 10th birthday of the R.I.L.U. This Congress will be of a militant character, for a whole number of extremely important and urgent problems concerning the international revolutionary labor movement will have to be solved by it.

The task of the Fifth Congress is to go ahead of the Fourth Congress. To go ahead from the point of view of idealistic-political closing up of the ranks of the followers of the Red International of Labor Unions; to go ahead from the point of view of consolidating the revolutionary forces; to go ahead along the road of struggling against opportunism in theory and practice; to go ahead from the point of view of forms and methods for leading the economic battles of the working class; to strain all efforts in order that this Congress becomes a serious event in the life of the labor movement throughout the whole world.

THE MOST IMPORTANT POINT — QUESTIONS OF STRIKE STRATEGY

What was the Fourth Congress? This Congress served as the turning point in the history of the development of the revolutionary labor movement; it was convened on the eve of the upsurge in the labor movement, and

the greatest merit of the Fourth Congress consists in the fact that it was able to grasp the most important link and bring forward as the central task for the whole revolutionary labor movement, for all Communist Parties, for the revolutionary unions and Trade Union Oppositions the problem of independent leadership in economic battles.

The bringing up of the question of the whole revolutionary Trade Union movement making a determined turn towards the economic struggle, brought forth some political differentiation in the ranks of the Comintern and R.I.L.U. The questions of independent leadership of economic battles and the new tactic to be applied in the international labor movement gave rise to some opposition tendencies, which within a short space of time came to be beyond the brink of the real international Communist movement. Already this stresses the fact that this turn was effected in proper time.

And today, examining the stage passed and the struggle still ahead with regard to this question in the different countries, it must be said with all conviction, that this turn served to wrest our revolutionary labor movement out from the opportunist mire and forewarned the danger of overlooking the vast revolutionary upsurge among the toiling masses, the danger of continuing to merely talk of revolutionary tactics, without, however, carrying these revolutionary tactics out in actual life.

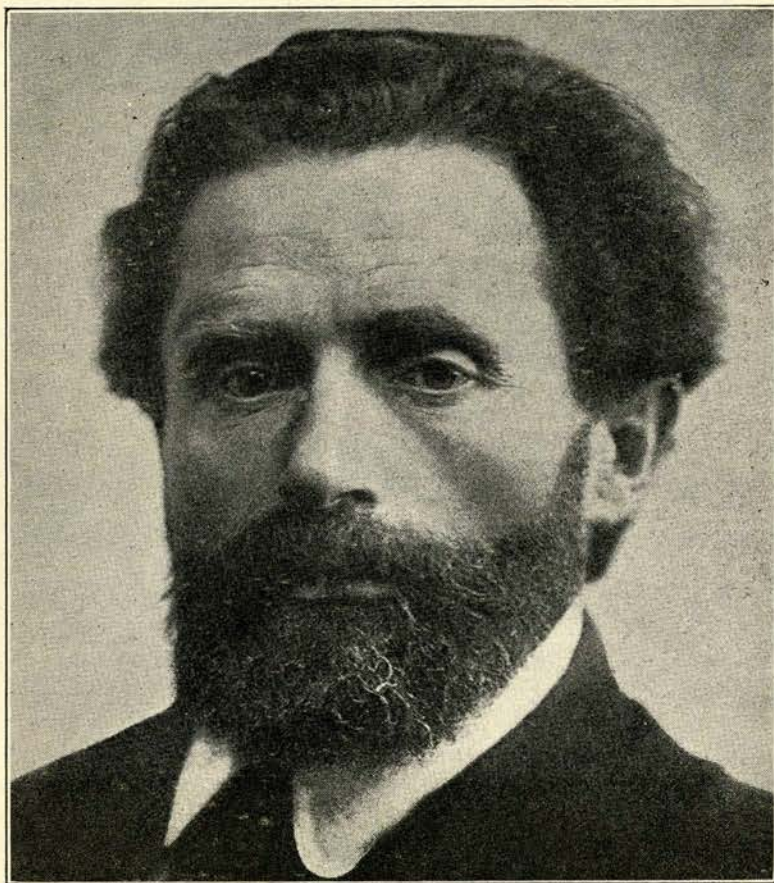
It must be stressed here that within the

ranks of the Communist International the question of the economic struggle is often neglected, and the significance of the economic struggle for the Communist Party and for the winning over of the majority of the working class is often insufficiently understood. Strikes often pass off without the Party considering it necessary to take the

the Communist Party, while the Party itself, mind you, should busy itself only with questions of "high" politics.

FOR A LENIN POLICY

With regard to this question, as well as many others, it would be advisable for all Parties to take some lessons from the Bolshe-



A. LOSOVSKY

General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions

lead of them. Many of these Parties respond when it is already too late. In some of the countries they satisfy themselves merely with devoting several brief notes in the press concerning the economic struggle, considering this to be absolutely sufficient; in other countries, it is considered to be sufficient to have this work carried out by the T.U. Branch of

the Communist Party, which, even during the Czarist times paid utmost attention to questions of the economic struggle.

I want to cite here an extremely instructive resolution, written by Lenin, in February, 1907, concerning the question of "The Sharpening of the Mass Economic Needs and the Economic Struggle." In contradistinc-

tion to many other resolutions, this resolution takes up only one-half of a page, which by no means, however, belittles its significance.

This occurred in February, 1907, during the time when the reaction intensified, the offensive action of the bourgeoisie against the workers increased, together with a whole series of lockouts, strikes, when the crisis became more acute, and when the Bolshevik Conference, held in Leningrad, in February, in connection with preparations for the Fifth Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party Congress, accepted the following resolution proposed by Lenin:

"Taking into consideration that:

1. A whole number of facts bear witness to the extreme sharpening of the economic needs of the proletariat and its economic struggles;

2. According to all signs, these different manifestations of the economic struggle are concentrating in such a way, which makes it possible to expect united mass economic action, which will draw into participation a much wider strata of the proletariat than hitherto;

3. The whole history of the Russian revolution proves that all powerful upsurges in the revolutionary movement arose only on the basis of similar mass economic movements.

"In view of this the Conference is of the opinion that:

1. It is essential for all Party organizations to give their utmost attention to this factor;

2. It is essential to concentrate the maximum amount of Party forces on economic agitation amongst the wide masses;

3. It is essential to consider precisely this economic movement as the basic source and principal factor giving rise to the ever-extending revolutionary crisis in Russia." ("The Proletariat," No. 14, March 4, 1907).

Doesn't this resolution sound as if it holds good also today, and doesn't this short resolution, consisting altogether of 30 lines, answer many questions relating to our present

policy from the point of view of leadership of the economic movement?

During the course of the last two years the decisions of the Comintern and all the decisions of the R.I.L.U. bear evidence to the fact that we have sufficiently mastered the Leninist policy. If this was true already at that time, at the beginning of 1907, to what degree is such a policy true during the present stage, when in consequence of capitalist rationalization, the immense crisis, impoverishment of the masses in the economic struggle, taking place in different forms, came to be the chief driving force, or it might be said, the principal symptom of that powerful upsurge which is taking place, if not to the same degree, however, is taking place right before us in all countries.

During the Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. the central question was that of the leadership of economic battles. Questions of tactics for economic battles and of strike strategy occupied during the course of this period the primary place in the activities of the Comintern and R.I.L.U. The concentration of attention of the leading organs of the world revolutionary labor movement on these questions bear witness to the fact that this is that very important link of which the international Communist movement must take hold in order to move forward.

Precisely owing to this, we convened the special Conference on Strike Strategy and Tactics in Strassburg, at the beginning of January, 1929. Precisely on account of this, the economic fights which took place during the course of this period were subject to detailed analysis by the Comintern and R.I.L.U. and the respective Parties, revolutionary unions and Trade Union Oppositions were given detailed instructions concerning the future forms and methods for the struggle.

In order to complete the brief characteristic of the past period, it is essential to note that, thanks to the direct organizational and political work carried out by the R.I.L.U., it was possible to set up the Latin-American Confederation of Trade Unions, embracing the trade unions of 16 Latin-American countries. It was possible to rivet the attention of the most advanced elements of these countries on

the preparation, organization and leadership of the economic struggles. It was also possible to extend the political influence and organizational activities of the Pan-Pacific T.U. Secretariat.

THE DEVELOPING UPSURGE

The Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress will take place in conditions of the developing forward surge of the labor movement. With regard to the upsurge, the Trotskyites and Right opportunists have, as is well known, their special stand. They are of the opinion that the upsurge has been "invented" in Moscow, especially for the purpose of spiting Brandler, Trotsky & Co.

No one issue of the Opposition papers in France of the "Verite," "La Lutte de Classes," "La Revolution Proletarienne," or the "Opposition Bulletin" issued by Trotsky; no issue of the Lovestone paper in the U.S.A., or the organ of the Rights in Sweden, and the papers of the German Rights and so-called "Lefts," which should not attack precisely the basic line of the Comintern regarding the upsurge which has now started, although this upsurge is today an indisputable fact, and it is rather difficult to argue against facts. A characteristic peculiarity of the present stage in the development of the international labor movement consists in the upsurge being evidenced everywhere, though not alike in all countries.

Here are two examples, which emphasize the correctness of the line taken by the Comintern and R.I.L.U. in connection with this question. In telegrams received from Australia, we see that the miners have set up two self-defense corps. These self-defense corps are called in the bourgeois press "the Red Army." One of the corps consists, according to the papers, of 400 persons, and the other of 350. However, also another figure is named,—2,000 members of the self-defense corps. Some of the bourgeois papers speak of two armies, numbering 8,000 and 6,000 persons.

Hence, without the aid of the Communist Party, the workers themselves in Australia—in New South Wales—are organizing, under

the leadership of some of the soldiers, former soldiers in the imperialist war, self-defense corps. And for what purpose? In order to struggle against the "Labor" Government. Facts of a partisan war in such a far-off country like Australia, bear witness to a great deal.

Here is another fact, already from another angle, speaking of the correctness of our policy in Germany. The Opportunist Ewert sent a declaration to the C.C. of the German C.P., in which he completely recognizes his mistakes and incorrect policy: both in connection with the question on the general line of the Party and on the T.U. question, with regard to his stand toward the factory committee elections, concerning the question of the upward surge, etc.

What does this mean? It means that the upsurge has even been recognized by the most backward elements. At one time the bourgeois and social-democratic press, having heard of the capitulation of Bukharine, Rikov and Tomsy, wrote that the latter were "compelled" to capitulate by means of threats, in view of the fact that there is "terror" reigning in the U.S.S.R., that there is a Dictatorship here.

But what forces the opportunists to capitulate in Germany? Why, over there there is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie! It is clear, they capitulate because facts go against them. The meaningless and slanderous explanations of the Right opportunists to the effect that our Rights and conciliators capitulated "because of fear," tell nothing. But, on the other hand, the fact of capitulation of the conciliators in Germany proves clearly and vividly that the correct line of the Communist International compels those who do not desire to break with the revolutionary labor movement, at least today to come out frankly and honestly admitting their mistakes. I believe that this fact, taken from altogether a different view, also bears witness to the upsurge and relentless class struggle.

AGENDA OF THE FIFTH CONGRESS

The Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress, as I said above, is confronted with the task of, on the

one hand, summing up the past battles, and, on the other, to point out forms and methods for the future struggle.

The agenda of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress is not very extensive; (1) Report of Executive Bureau and Tasks of the International Revolutionary Labor Movement; co-reports by the International Women Workers' T.U. Committee, the R.I.L.U. Youth Secretariat, and the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. (2) Struggle Against Danger of New Imperialist Wars. (3) Role of the Trade Unions in the Socialist Construction of the U.S.S.R. (4) Tasks of the Trade Unions in the Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries. (5) Problem of Cadres in the Revolutionary Labor Movement. (6) Elections.

It seems as if the agenda is "short." In actual fact, however, it embraces a vast number of questions, it embraces all political and organizational problems of the world revolutionary T.U. movement; the results of the work carried out by our T.U. organizations from the point of view of self-criticism; results of the development of the labor movement; our victories and defeats from the point of view of taking the lead in the economic battles; forms and methods for winning over the majority of the working class; experience in solving the problems of the united front from below at the enterprises; the questions regarding the organization and activities of the factory committees, revolutionary T.U. delegates; the problem of the mass political strike, of organizing Red trade unions; the work of the revolutionary Oppositions, methods and forms for organization.

We will have to pay particular attention to the different manifestations of the Right deviation and conciliation in practice which have been evidenced within our ranks, inasmuch as the Right deviation and conciliation in theory and practice, during the course of these last two years were sharply resisted by us. Then follows our work in the colonial countries, the question of activities of the U.S. S.R. trade unions in the field of the Socialist reconstruction of the U.S.S.R. national economy, forms and methods for organizing the

unemployed, work in countries with an illegal T.U. movement, combination of the illegal, legal and semi-legal forms and methods of struggle, the problem of cadres—in a word, the joining up of all political and organizational problems confronting the world T.U. movement—such are the questions embraced by the agenda of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress.

DISPUTABLE QUESTIONS

There are a number of disputable questions which, of course, should be decided upon by the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress:

1. Is it necessary to preserve in such countries like Germany, England, Poland, etc., the slogan "Workers, line up in the reformist trade unions"?
2. How is it necessary to organize T.U. Oppositions in such countries like Germany, England, Austria; are the present organizational forms of the T.U. Oppositions sufficient in conditions of the ever-increasing class struggles and the provocational actions of the Social-Fascists?
3. How should the unorganized be organized in those countries where there are no revolutionary trade unions: should the unorganized workers be called upon to line up in the reformist trade unions, should they be joined up with the T.U. Oppositions, and if so, on what basis?
4. Has the question of setting up new trade unions in such countries like, for example, Germany become ripe. If so, how should this be accomplished?
5. What is Social-Fascism, and to what degree have the reformist trade unions been fascistized?
6. Should the slogan be used of "winning over the reformist trade unions," or should this slogan be dialectically taken off and instead to issue another slogan: "To win over the members of the reformist trade unions," which means, of course, to continue to work inside the reformist trade unions?

I have only enumerated those basic questions which will be subject to preliminary detailed analysis by us.

However, the principal thing in preparing for the Fifth Congress is to lead these preparations out of the premises of the central or-

gans, to make these preparations widespread among the masses, to make it the common knowledge of the workers that the Fifth Congress is approaching, and that the questions on the agenda of the Congress be really widely discussed at the workers' mass meetings.



Amsterdam Again!

ACCORDING to the publications of the "International Federation of Trade Unions," a decision has again been made to send their social fascist agents to the Far East. The IFTU, backed by the imperial press, "attaches great importance to this mission in view of the progress made by Communists," the word Communist, of course, being an incorrect substitute, deliberately inserted, for the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. We do not desire to infer our disagreement with Communist policy, but obviously our organization being an international trade union body, nine-tenths of our membership are not Communists, although some of our affiliated bodies are led by members of Communist Parties.

However, both the admission of our progress by the imperialists and their agency, the IFTU, and the intelligence, tendered us freely, indicating another assault is being prepared upon our membership, are heartily welcome. For if there are any two groups of corrupt people being utilized as imperialist props, who should really know, it is the chair-warmers of the Amsterdam International and the journalistic prostitutes and editors of the capitalist press. Therefore we reciprocate with a hearty "thank you" and proceed to warn the masses of the East, and to prepare them for future action.

We hardly need refer to the many times we have told that the social fascists of Geneva, Amsterdam and London were the prime

movers in trying to split the PPTUS, and their attempts to simultaneously isolate the Asiatic workers into their fake "labor conference," were it not for the fact that confirmation of our full charges is now admitted by the Amsterdamers. The "Die Hard" editor of the British *North China Daily News* of April 23rd, also "admirably" gloats over this fact and says:

"Great hopes are felt by the IFTU that the Asiatic Labor Conference already planned by Japan will restore the balance and bring a better understanding. No date is mentioned for this conference nor for the coming of the trade union delegation."

Yes, not only have the traitors now boldly admitted they place "great hopes" in their splitting venture, but apparently they also still place great hopes on their ability to fool the organized Eastern workers by their persistent lying inferences. They would have the workers believe that Bunji Suzuki, Joshi, Chamanlal and company are acting independently from Geneva, Amsterdam and London.

But their "great hopes" are already shattered. The All India Trade Union Congress gave the correct answer at Nagpur to these imperialist spies who are trying to do indirectly through the Asiatic Labor Conference what the imperialist agents failed to do directly after a year's effort; and the same kind

of a reply was flung into the teeth of Suzuki and his colleagues both on political and industrial fields in Japan.

The Asiatic workers already recognize the imperialist trap now set by Asiatic traiters is still this same trap well baited with imperialistic rotten meat, even though it is camouflaged with an "Asiatic" label. The bait smells just as rotten and is just as dangerous as it was in the days when Ramsay MacDonald — who is now slaughtering the workers throughout India — sent Purcell and Halls-worth to India to draw the organized Indian workers into Amsterdam, or when Albert Thomas made his anti-working class reconnaissance throughout the Far East two years ago. The organized workers will therefore prepare to drum out of the Asiatic labor movement everyone who has the slightest desire to defend those who emulate their European prototypes, like Suzuki, Chamanlal and company.

Lest anyone should be off their guard, let them recapitulate the maneuvers and see how consistent their treacherous endeavors are: (1) individual right wing officials and European reformists visited the Far East but were so outspokenly imperialist they returned without results; (2) then much demagogic propaganda was indulged in, mixed with some crocodile tears from hypocritical types as the Labor imperialist, Mr. George Lansbury; (3) "left wing" phrase-mongers were then sent to try to trap the Asiatic workers, but they also failed; (4) then they resorted to the double-edged sword — they got Asiatic traitors to combine their actions with Europeans and after some preliminary work, sent Albert Thomas of the imperialist International Labor Office, to review the ground and in conjunction with counter-revolutionary and Government officials, to prepare the offensive; (5) then the propaganda campaign for the Asiatic Labor Conference was intensified, but the little progress Amsterdam registered has now been reversed by the action of the Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Malayan and Philippine workers; (6) a fake conference of imperialist agents will possibly be held and lay the basis for the next stage; (7) the proposed delegation of the IFTU, which we

connect with another decision made by the IFTU Executive Committee on January 27 to draw up "a program of general principles to be followed" and that "Subsidies be granted to organizations in countries where they (Amsterdam and imperialist spies) are hampered by political conditions and the attitude of the Communists." (*Industrial and Labor Review*, February 24th, 1930.)

So now is it not clear that the imperialists will subsidize Asiatic spies for disrupting and splitting the Asiatic trade unions through the Amsterdam International? Of course it is! But it is one thing to know paid spies and disrupters exist and another to identify them. This can only be done by understanding their purpose. The official statement of the IFTU says:

"Workers must keep a clear distinction between trade union and political action."

Then the statement goes on:

"There is no doubt it will be one of the most important of the future tasks of the IFTU *to forge some link between the activities especially marked out for Asia and the work of the IFTU.*"

The Amsterdam social fascist bureaucrats could not have stated it more plainly. At least sufficient of the "cat is out of the bag" to leave no doubt about its identity. This link, if it can be realized, is the Asiatic Labor Conference. Through it the Asiatic trade unions are to be emasculated and are to be made ineffective instruments by drawing their political sting. To quote their official document once more:

"The success of the activities (of the PPTUS) in the Far East is due to the preponderance they give, even in trade unionism, to political interests (the national independence movements, etc.)."

How closely related these remarks and the actions of the IFTU are to those of their political leader, Albert Thomas, Secretary

General of the imperialist ILO, can be judged by an extract from the latter's report of his visit to the Far East, published in the *Manchester Guardian*:

"To the *nationalist movements* Western civilization (imperialism) opposes its organizing capacity, its systematic methods, its technical progress." (Including of course, gunboats, bayonets, machine guns, etc.).

He then indicates the understandings he had arrived at with Suzuki, Joshi, Chamanlal, the Kuomintang cliques and other Asiatic traitors: "There is a movement in favor of *Pan-Asiatic understandings*. Such understandings are not aimed against Europe (imperialism) . . . but to some minds they are more attractive and appear to hold out a promise of more tangible and immediate results than the activities of Geneva institutions." (Included in the "Geneva institutions" are the Labor and Socialist International and the IFTU). Now we can see the yellow cord that binds these imperialist spies together.

Since time immemorial the exploiters of labor have endeavored to circumscribe the activities of the workers and peasants. The antecedents of the present brutal imperialist exploiters of today tortured, imprisoned, and put to death large masses of militant trade unionists who dared to organize in defiance of anti-combination acts and laws prohibiting the right of the workers to assembly and organization. But the power of the proletarian in Western countries broke down the capitalist barriers created against them.

Now the Western workers are organizing themselves in defiance of all such brutal ex-

ecutioners as MacDonald, Chiang Kai-shek, etc. So the imperialists continue a principle offensive against trade unionism by trying to confine all activities of the Asiatic unions within the narrow limits of petty economic demands, as of course they always have done. Their agents in the ILO, the LSI and IFTU and those who now try to "forge" the new "link" — the Asiatic "labor conference" — now openly admit they have been assigned to this treacherous task.

The imperialists are well aware there is little fear if the workers and peasants limit the scope of action to protesting only against the weight of their imperialist chains instead of delivering smashing blows to free themselves entirely, for freedom of oppressed peoples can only come by developing their struggles for complete national independence under the hegemony of the workers and peasants, and for the final struggle for a Workers' and Peasants' dictatorship.

Therefore the PPTUS once more warns the workers of the Pacific area, especially the Asiatic workers, that the purpose of the proposed mission of the IFTU delegation to the East is to prevent the development of the Asiatic trade union movement, to maintain imperialist domination in the East by preventing the development of the agrarian revolution, the struggle for complete independence and a Workers' and Peasants' Government. In short, they are out to stop the development of the workers' struggle for power, to perpetuate imperialist domination, to maintain colonial slavery in the East by aiding the executioners of the militant workers as in China, Annam, India, etc. The militant workers must prepare to give them the kick-out wherever they appear in the Far East.

India and the Second International

"We have complete confidence in the MacDonald government"

By V. CHATTOPADHYAYA

THE great imperialist war rendered at least one service to the working class and to the colonial peoples. It ruthlessly tore off the mask that had been worn for decades by the social democrats and clearly revealed the fact that beneath the strong language and revolutionary phraseology which they adopted at their International Congresses they were steadily drifting towards becoming the supporters and administrators of the interests of the imperialist States.

The culmination has now been reached by the leaders of the Second International at the session of the Executive held in Berlin on May 11-12, and the resolution passed on India and the so-called appeal to the workers of Russia have shown them up even to their own rank-and-file once for all as the lackeys of the imperialist exploiters and the agents and abettors of imperialist war.

In order to understand their gradual transformation from social democratic phraseology to social imperialist action, it is necessary to go back to the treatment of the Colonial question by the leaders of the Second International during the last forty years.

There are three distinct periods observable in this development. The resolutions passed by the Second International at its Congresses before the war, although often couched in militant language were merely of an academic character and did not bind its members to any definite action for the liberation of the colonial people. As far back as 1891 the social democrat, H. M. Hyndman, took up the Indian question at the Socialist Congress where he and an Indian called Sanyal, denounced in unmeasured terms the British exploitation of India.

Hyndman wrote and published innumerable articles against British rule, denouncing it as a system of brigandage, and he always advised Indians to throw their imperialist exploiters out bag and baggage. But the same

anti-imperialist Socialist Hyndman became one of the principal advocates of a big British Navy a few years before the outbreak of the World War.

At the Socialist Congress at Paris (September 23-27, 1900) the Dutchman Van Kol introduced a resolution on the colonial question which received the full support of the English delegation consisting of Hyndman, Quelch and Curran. It will be noted here that what Van Kol denounced was a capitalist colonial policy, the thesis was being developed that there was such a thing possible as a socialist colonial policy with a civilizing mission.

We see the beginnings of this development at the session of the International Socialist Congress held on August 17, 1904, at Amsterdam, where there was a special resolution which ended by inviting the workers of Great Britain to compel their government to abandon its infamous and dishonorable colonial system, and to grant to India an autonomous government under British supremacy.

The next development with regard to the colonial question took place at the international congress at Stuttgart (August 18 to 25, 1907) where Ramsay MacDonald played an important part in the discussion on the possibilities of a civilizing colonial policy under a Socialist regime. The English delegation including Ramsay MacDonald presented the following resolution with regard to the British rule in India:

"Considering that it is in accordance with the ideal of a true social order that no people should be subjected to a despotic or tyrannical form of government, the Congress expresses its conviction that the maintenance of British rule in India is a real misfortune for India and is opposed in the highest degree to the best interests of that country, and it declares

it to be the duty of all friends of freedom in the whole world to advance the movement which has for its aim the liberation of the inhabitants of the unhappy land constituting one-fifth of the human race."

But this resolution on India was not voted upon because it had not been previously presented to the International Bureau. The President, however, declared that the tendency of this resolution was accepted both by the Bureau and by the Congress.

But the same Ramsay MacDonald voted at Stuttgart for the resolution on the colonial question which had been submitted by the majority of the Colonial Question which began thus:

"This Congress declares that the value or necessity of colonies in general — especially for the working class—has been strongly exaggerated. But it does not reject in principle and for all time every colonial policy, as this may have a civilizing influence under a socialist regime."

The resolution which was defended by MacDonald was ultimately rejected by 127 votes to 108 in favor of the final resolution adopted, which runs thus:

"The Congress declares that capitalist colonial policy in its innermost essence of necessity leads to the enslavement of the colonized areas. The civilizing mission which capitalist society professes serves only as a cover for the thirst for exploitation and for conquest. Only a Socialist society will first offer all nations the possibility of full cultural development."

Both MacDonald and Vandervelde, the future imperialist ministers, voted ultimately for the final resolution, but the policy they represented has now been carried into practice in the Second International.

That was the first period of the L. S. I. The second period began with the outbreak of the war when each Socialist Party hastened to the rescue of its own imperialist bourgeois

sie and led the workers to slaughter by millions. Each Socialist Party demanded the liberation of the colonial countries under the rule of the enemy but suppressed the liberation movements of the colonial countries exploited by its own imperialist bourgeoisie.

When the war was over the social democrats began to reconstruct the International as an adjunct to the organization of imperialist bandits known as the League of Nations. It is these socialists that helped British imperialism to seize the Arabian countries and East and Southwest Africa, Samoa and New Guinea, French imperialism to exploit Syria and Cameroon and Japanese imperialism to add the Pacific islands to their possessions. Not only that, they helped all the imperialists to put down by force of arms the rising movements of revolt in the already existing colonies.

It was Varenne, the French Social Democrat, who initiated and perfected the regime of terror and oppression in Indo-China. It is the Dutch social democrats that have helped the imperialist Government of Holland to suppress with brutality the risings of the Indonesian people in 1925-1926. Vieming, the Dutch social democrat, laid down the policy of his party in a pamphlet which has been sold through the party apparatus and in which it is declared "that Indonesians are not yet ripe for self-government and that when the Socialist Party comes in power it will have to accept the colonial legacy." The social democrats of Belgium are themselves engaged in colonial exploitation in the Congo through plantations and other companies whose profits, squeezed out of the blood and sweat of Negro slaves, find their way into the coffers of the Party.

But there is no country in which social imperialism has taken up "the colonial legacy," to use the phrase of Mr. Vieming, with such gusto as Great Britain. Under no Conservative imperialist government have there been more hangings and shootings, more frequent use of bombing planes, machine guns and tanks, more drastic suppression of the freedom of speech, press and assembly, more political prisoners in jail, more corruption of working class leaders than un-

der the government of Ramsay MacDonald and the British Labor Party which is the main pillar of the Second International.

Whereas in 1925, when the Moroccans were fighting heroically against the French imperialist invaders, the International Socialist Congress held in Marseilles in that year dispersed without having said a word on the colonial question, the social imperialists find that they can no longer ignore the tremendous movements of national revolt against imperialism that are now taking place in all the colonial countries.

In the draft resolution of the Colonial Commission of the L. S. I. at its session of June 2 and 3, 1928, which was adopted with a few changes at the Brussels Congress of the L. S. I. held on August 5 to 12, 1928, the word imperialism is nowhere used at all. And the whole treatment of the colonial question is based upon the assumption of the civilizing mission of capitalism in the colonial countries. So the L. S. I. at the Brussels Congress declared that it supported "the endeavors of the Indian people to attain full self-government," but carefully avoided the word independence.

But even though the Brussels Resolution did not go beyond self-government for India, which reflected at that time the maneuvers of Ramsay MacDonald in opposition, the voice of Ramsay MacDonald in power is heard in the resolution on India which has just been passed in Berlin by the leaders of the social imperialist International. The resolution runs thus:

"The Executive recalls the Resolution of the Brussels Congress of the L. S. I. which recognizes the rights of the peoples of India to self-determination.

"It is convinced that through negotiations between the British Labor Government and the representatives of all sections of the Indian population that right can be exercised under the safest and most effective conditions.

"It is confident that the British Labor Government will make these negotiations possible, that in order to facilitate them it will consider an amnesty for

political prisoners as soon as possible and that it will conduct the negotiations in such a manner that they will lead as early as possible to full responsible self-government."

There is not a single word of condemnation of the regime of terror that is being carried on by the MacDonald Government in India. The policy is now receiving the support of all the parties of the social imperialist International. These social imperialists declare that they recognize the right of self-determination for India and they call upon the so-called "Labor Government" to enter into negotiations.

But they do not ask that the imperialist troops shall be withdrawn in order to allow the right of self-determination to be exercised. There is not the least doubt that negotiations conducted at the mouth of British guns will allow the right of self-determination to be exercised "under the safest and most effective conditions"—for British imperialism.

It is further worth noting that the resolution speaks not of the Indian people but of the Indian "peoples," and thereby deliberately repeats one of those expressions that had been created by imperialism to produce the impression of the diversity that exists with regard to race, religion, language, etc. in India, and therefore to justify the benevolent rule of Great Britain that brings peace and unity to this heterogeneous mass.

Let it be noted also that the proposed negotiations of the Labor Government are to be conducted with the "representatives of all sections of the Indian people." This is another way of speaking about the notorious Round Table Conference, which is being talked about for the last ten months and which has been definitely called to London for the 20th of October.

But with whom will the negotiations be conducted at that Conference? With the princes, the landlords, the industrial and the commercial bourgeoisie, with the national reformist bourgeois leaders and with those labor reformists that have been working as the tools of the Labor Party and the General

Council in order to destroy the working class movement in India.

But the people of India is not only demanding but actively fighting for full national independence, and the L. S. I. has openly declared itself on the side of the enemies of freedom. The resolution deserves to be circulated widely among the masses of India and particularly among the working class in order to expose once for all those Indian leaders like Shiva Rao, Joshi, Chamanlal, Bakhale, etc., who are calling upon the Indian workers to place their faith in and cooperate with these European betrayers of the working class and the colonial peoples.

It ought to be noted that in all these maneuvers the MacDonald Government is receiving very valuable support from the Independent Labor Party (I. L. P.) whose political secretary, Fenner Brockway, is a member of the Executive of the L. S. I. While in the L. S. I. Executive Brockway is a party to this shameful resolution on India, in the I. L. P. he and his colleagues assure the bourgeois leaders of India that the I. L. P.

stands for India's independence. A letter to that effect was recently sent by Maxton, Brockway, and other I. L. P. men to Gandhi. But while Gandhi and Brockway use the word independence, they both mean a place for India *within the Empire which they have coated with sugar and called the Commonwealth.*

It is perfectly clear from the attitude that is being taken up towards the Indian revolution by all political parties in Europe from the extreme nationalists to the social democrats that there is a united front of the imperialist powers against the colonial countries; that they are most anxious that British imperialism should not be weakened in India and that this anti-Indian feeling so clearly expressed in the L. S. I. resolution, is only a part of the offensive against the only anti-imperialist State in the world, the Soviet Union. But the maneuvers of these lackeys of imperialism will be frustrated by the masses whom they try to deceive and they will be swept off the earth along with those in whose interests they are doing the dirty work.

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The Indian Revolution and the Nationalist Leaders

By V. CHATTOPADHYAYA

AT a secret meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, of whose three hundred members over one hundred already are in prison, it was resolved to stiffen the struggle against British imperialism by resorting to the non-payment of taxes and by intensifying the boycott of British goods. And the Congress Committee in the provinces and villages are carrying out the mandate of their Executive to the best of their ability.

Meanwhile the great Congress leaders can in no way be regarded as sincere. They have taken up the slogan of independence outwardly, because otherwise they would have lost their hold on the masses immediately and because they were astute enough to realize that it is only with the help of the revolutionary mass movement that they can obtain acceptable concessions from British imperialism.

For the purposes of the bourgeois leaders, the Congress movement was divided into two parts. The Civil Disobedience campaign was to be under the dictatorial guidance of Gandhi, who was empowered to nominate his successors in the leadership, while the Congress itself was under the leadership of its President, now Pandit Motilal Nehru.

This division of labor has proved to be very wise and convenient. Jawaharlal Nehru is in prison for the trivial offense of having violated the salt laws, and his father Motilal, who has succeeded him, has maintained a somewhat suspicious silence during the whole campaign.

The more one studies the Indian political situation the more one is forced to the conclusion that the Congress leaders are anxious to enter into negotiations with the government as soon as possible. This is not at all surprising. Not only did they never intend

to participate in a really revolutionary mass movement, but they never even wanted independence or believed that it was more desirable than a "responsible" place within the British Empire. It is instructive in this respect to recall the recent history of the chief Congress leaders.

Above all, Gandhi himself. His famous letter to his "dear friend," the Viceroy, left no doubt as to his definition of the word independence. That was on the eve of launching his salt campaign. But that his view has never changed is proved by his own articles in his paper *Young India*, in which in the issue of April 24th, i. e. 18 days after he had begun his campaign for "independence," Gandhi stated:

"The present campaign is not designed to establish independence, but to arm the people to establish Swaraj."

His successor, the old Abbas Tyabji, was a political nonentity who never declared himself for independence, and since he too was given the usual Congress term of imprisonment of six months, the leadership has fallen to Mrs. Sarajini Naidu. This fact alone suffices to show the political standard of the Congress leaders. When the Labor Congress passed the resolution on independence, she and Dr. Ansari declared that they considered that resolution to be against the interests of the "country."

Mrs. Naidu, however, is a mere puppet who is placed in charge of the theatrical side of the campaign, while the wiser and cleverer heads are keeping their hands free for negotiations with the imperialist government. Among the most important Congress leaders who are in touch with the Viceroy

through the back door are Motilal Nehru, Patel and Mohammed Ali.

The way in which these negotiations are managed is shown by the history of the notorious Delhi Manifesto of last November which was signed not only by Motilal Nehru and Gandhi, but also by the advocate of independence, Jawaharlal Nehru.

Writing immediately after the Delhi meeting at which the Manifesto was issued, the *Tribune* of Lahore pointed out the role played by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the agent of Lord Irwin. Sapru was "receiving frequent communications from the Viceroy" during the Delhi meeting, and he influenced Motilal Nehru and Gandhi, who in their turn brought pressure to bear on Jawaharlal.

The same Tej Bahadur Sapru has been continually at work again not only to bring about the All-Parties' Conference which met at Bombay on May 16th, but to act as a go-between between Motilal and Lord Irwin. Motilal has never concealed his opinion that he prefers dominion status to independence, nor does anyone suppose that the astute lawyer does not realize the real danger of the mass movement to his class.

A number of "distinguished" Indians are expected in London early in June, the date of their arrival almost coinciding with the publication of the first volume of the Simon Commission's report. Among these Indians is also Pandit Motilal Nehru. The *Mahratta* of Poona, a nationalist weekly, writes in its issue of April 27th:

"Pandit Motilal's projected visit to England is the topic of much banter, not altogether good-natured, in the press. With Pandit Nehru in London, there is no knowing what turn Indian politics and the Gandhi campaign may take. Last time Pandit was there, he was far from revolutionary in his political outlook."

"As for Patel, who is the friend and actual representative of Gandhi, there can be no doubt whatsoever as to his real aims. When he remained in the Legislative Assembly in disobedience of the Congress mandate, when

he then suddenly resigned from the position of speaker of the Assembly, when he addressed his letters to the Viceroy and began his boycott of foreign cloth — he had but one object in view, and that was to enhance his own popularity and importance in order to make it easier to betray the movement.

In his second letter to the Viceroy, Patel says:

"It is true that the Congress has now adopted complete independence as its object, but I am not without hope, if with any further delay India is offered complete responsible government within the British Commonwealth of Nations, she would be prepared to accept it, and perhaps such responsible government is more to her advantage than isolated independence."

And the Mohammedan elements that were the allies of Gandhi a few years ago, are now openly against independence. Their leader and spokesman, Mohammed Ali, wired to the Viceroy a couple of days before Gandhi's arrest, advising the government to come to terms with Gandhi. He has now asked permission to visit Gandhi in prison and there is no doubt that he will persuade Gandhi also to come to terms with the Viceroy. This Mohammed Ali, who is actively working for Muslim participation in the coming negotiations, is at the same time clamoring for independence for the Arabian countries!

All these Congress leaders will take part in some form in the Round Table Conference which has been called to London on October 20th. The "Liberals" and the princes will also be there, together with the Right Honorable Srinivasa Sastri, the lackey who has done the dirtiest work for British imperialism in South Africa.

But special attention should be paid by the British working class to the Labor leaders who are also coming to London in June to betray the Indian workers and their splendid struggle for independence: N. M. Joshi, the man who broke up the Indian Trade Union movement and accepted a position on the im-

perialist Whitley Commission set up by the Labor Government; Shiva Rao, the notorious theosophist-reformist, who has exercised so disastrous an influence on the labor movement in Madras, and S. C. Joshi, the secretary of the G.I.P. Railway Employees' Union, who betrayed the splendid railway strike.

The presence in Europe of these three enemies of the working class, at the same time as the political representatives of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, is a clear proof

that a betrayal of the Indian revolution is being planned.

The British labor traitors are delighted that an Indian Labor Committee has been formed in London by Purcell to "look after" their Indian colleagues, while they jointly devise schemes for selling the Indian workers to MacDonald's masters. The British workers must frustrate their plans by paralyzing the MacDonald government and giving more active support to the Indian workers and peasants in their struggle.



East Africans in Revolt

Of recent months the dispatches from Kenya, British East Africa, in spite of the careful censorship, have revealed a great and growing revolt of the black workers against their imperialist oppressors. There have been, as usual, alarmed ejaculations by the British governor about "Moscow agents" and "Communist agitators." It is well, therefore, to examine the detailed and intensely interesting story of the Kenya revolt of eight years ago, because upon that revolt the present movement arose. The following describes that movement most vividly.—EDITOR.

MOST workers conceive of Kenya as a place where white settlers go to start farms, on which they grow coffee, sisal, wheat and maize, etc.

It must be clearly understood that all the land in Kenya is owned by the natives, having been acquired by them by hereditary right from time immemorial. In spite of this fact, the British Government has assumed that all land in Kenya comes under their direct control (under Crown Lands Ordinance) for disposal according to their discretion and, of course preferably to white settlers.

In consequence of this attitude of the Government, the former native owners of land in Kenya find themselves deprived of the land to which they had hitherto held all traditional rights and title. In short, they are robbed.

The native of Kenya, in fact, all Africans—whether they have come into contact with European civilization or not—prefer to live as their forebears have done, namely, in their villages, which are more or less self-supporting. Their wants are few and their economic requirements are simple and easily supplied, in as much as they can grow their own food and rear their own cattle and sheep. This preference for a simple life is beyond the comprehension of the majority of Europeans, accustomed as they are to the more complex form of life in the West.

"SUPERIORITY" FALSEHOOD

What is not understood often leads to misconception, with the result that the white settlers think the mentality of the Africans is on a much lower level than their own. This

engendered the false and pernicious idea of the superiority of the white man over the black.

The British Government stepped in—Kenya was declared a Protectorate (later Colony) and all ownership of land was ignored as though it had never existed and the Government assumed the sole control. The white settlers were granted land concessions, the Government then imposed a system of taxation which the native found an additional burden. He had been deprived of his land; he had now no source of income. He could neither grow his food supply nor rear his cattle or sheep independently, with the result that he was forced to go and work for the white settlers to get money to pay the Government tax.

This iniquitous state of affairs led to the formation of the East African Association, to fight against these oppressive measures. At this time, the white settlers decided to reduce the wages of the native laborers.

Wages were about twelve shillings a month and the poll tax was twelve shillings a year, and the hut tax was also twelve shillings a year. Each grown-up man has to pay the poll tax, and if a man is responsible for more than one hut, or has old people who are not able to work, dependent on him, he has to work several months each year only to pay taxes.

The Government in 1920 raised the taxes from twelve to sixteen shillings each, and at the same time the settlers tried to lower the wages, so that the position was very bad for the Africans. And so a few of them met together and formed the East African Association.

At first, it went very slowly, owing to the fact that most of its members were in Government employ. The first Chairman was in a high position in the Government service, and was forced by the Government to resign from the Chairmanship of the Association; and then the people elected Harry Thuku.

Thuku was elected at a great meeting at Dagoretti, where all the chiefs and headmen and many thousands of the people authorized him to organize to defend the interests of the

African people. Thuku was also in the Government service, and the Government tried to force him to resign from the Association, but Thuku refused, and resigned instead from the Government service, and gave his whole time to the Association.

GIRLS FREE FOR WHITES

Besides the taxes and the low wages, the British District Commissioners would send an order to the chiefs, that they must provide a certain number of girls to "work" for each white settler, and thus the African girls were forced to leave their villages and be at the mercy of the whites.

Harry Thuku organized the agitation all over the country, and everywhere he had great meetings of the people. The biggest meeting was held at Nairobi. There were over twenty thousand at that meeting.

Thuku organized his meetings like this: he called his committee together and made arrangements. Then each member of the committee went out and told the most important man in a village and he would pass it on to all his people, and also send a messenger to the next village, and so the news of the meeting was passed from village to village, until within a few hours the whole district knew of it, and the people came pouring into the place arranged.

AGITATION EVERYWHERE

All the people followed Thuku and saw that what he said was right, and he became very popular. He carried on agitation everywhere against the forced labor of girls and also against the taxes, and he sent telegrams to British members of Parliament. As a result of his agitation, the Government had to abolish the forced labor of girls, and to reduce the poll and hut taxes again from sixteen shillings to twelve. Therefore, Thuku was still more popular, and the girls and young men made songs about him and sang them in the villages.

Thuku wanted to go on and build up the organization to fight against the other grievances of the Africans; but, of course, the British Government was now very frighten-

ed of him, and they decided to stop his agitation. They wanted to arrest him, but he had not done anything illegal, and it was dangerous for them to touch him, because all the people followed him. So they invented a trick.

The Government prepared a document, saying that the people did not want Thuku, and that he was a bad man. The head official went around to all the chiefs and headmen, and informed them that if they did not sign this document they would lose their positions. He told them also that Thuku was trying to take away their positions and become king of the people.

And so, many chiefs and headmen signed the document, although many could neither read nor write and did not know exactly what was in it. Then the document was sent to the Governor, and he issued a warrant for the arrest of Thuku. Thuku was arrested on March 15, 1922, and taken to the police headquarters in Nairobi. The same night the office of the Association was raided by the police, and all the records and documents were seized—except those which the committee had already removed. The committee of the Association at once sent out messengers, and the news spread quickly all over the country.

News was sent out, too, in the same way, that in the morning nobody should commence work. The people began to come in to Nairobi from all sides, and a great crowd waited all night outside the police headquarters. And all night people were coming in.

When the white masters awoke in the morning, all over the country they could find no one to work. They shouted, "Boy! Bring me my horse!" but there was no answer. The white ladies called "Boy! Bring me my tea!" but there was no boy and no tea. All the servants and chauffeurs and everyone had gone to get Harry Thuku out of prison.

WOULD NOT GO AWAY

When the white men got to their business houses and offices, there were no clerks there, and no African did any work for the whites that day. The Committee of the Association sent round to say that if anyone worked for the whites he was no African, and the people

were all determined not to work if Thuku was kept in prison.

By ten o'clock in the morning the crowd had grown enormously, and a deputation was sent to tell the Governor that they would not go away unless Thuku was released. The Governor was not there, he had gone to another town, and the Deputy Governor told the deputation to tell the crowd to go away and then they would have a conference.

All the officials were excited and would not give any reply, and only told them to send the people away. Of course, this was only to get the people to go so that the Government could take off Thuku to some other place. The people understood that it was only a trick, and so they decided to remain until Thuku was released.

WOMEN SHOT DOWN

In the meantime, inside the police headquarters, the police had been standing round inside the wall, which was six to seven feet high; the police are always armed there. The Government also prepared soldiers and machine guns and armored cars. At about midday, the police started firing on the crowd.

I was in the crowd myself and saw men, women and children killed, and many others lying in agony. It was a most terrible massacre of people who were quite unarmed and defenseless, and the people of Kenya will not forget it.

The police headquarters are in the middle of the town, in a great square, and this square was packed with people. By the morning more than a hundred thousand were there, and they were coming in from the country all the time. Therefore, when the shooting began, very large numbers were shot down, although the people only tried to get away. The official report said that twenty-five were killed, but this is absurd.

HUNDREDS DEAD

McGregor Ross, who was in Kenya at the time, said in his letter, published by the Manchester Guardian, on March 20, 1929, that 150 were killed, and this is certainly not an exaggeration. A very much larger number must have died from their wounds,

for their friends took them away and were afraid to report when they died, because they would themselves have been arrested for taking part.

When the police had started firing, the military were brought quickly into the streets with machine guns and armored cars, and they paraded the streets all day and night in order to terrorize the people.

Even after the shooting, the crowd came back, and again the Government had to use a trick. The police drove a car through the streets towards the station guarded by police and they said that Thuku was inside. The people followed it, and then Thuku was really driven in another car to another station about 25 miles away, and he was taken to a distant place, called Kismayu.

The same day, the military paraded the African quarters chasing the people that were found talking in groups. The following week a number of people were arrested, and most of them had sentences imposed, ranging from 2 years, 1 year, 6 months and 3 months; and many who were not arrested had fines for having been on strike—they were fined 4 shillings a month, to be reduced out of their wages for a period of six months.

ARRESTS AND FINES

After the arrest of Thuku the members of the East African Association were scattered, and those that remained in the organization had to meet secretly. But the chiefs were encouraged by the British Government to form an organization for themselves, which would do all that the British Government wanted.

When it was known who had signed the document telling the Governor that the people did not want Thuku, they became very unpopular, and the girls and boys invented songs containing the names of these chiefs, and condemning their action. These

songs spread all over the country and became famous, and the young people would sing them continually. The chiefs got very angry and decided that anyone found singing these songs would be arrested or fined.

In the meantime, the East African Association—Thuku's organization—had been working, but still secretly and had not been able to hold their meetings openly; and in 1925 it was decided to change the name to the Kikuyu Central Association, so that people could join this organization without fear of arrest. The new association is working openly, has several thousand members, and publishes a paper. The members are not the chiefs, but the working people.

The chiefs' organization is quite separate; it must be remembered that the chiefs hold their positions from the Government; and as no man can serve two masters, the chiefs cannot serve the British Government and, at the same time, fight against it in the interests of their own people.

The Kikuyu Central Association has sent several petitions for the release of Thuku and two others who were deported at the same time as Thuku. The petitions demanded that he should be released or tried in a court of law. But all the petitions have failed, and Thuku still remains without trial, and he has been kept under detention *for over seven years*. No one is allowed permission to visit Thuku.

Neither the "Labor" Government of 1924 nor the present "Labor" Government have listened to the demand of the Africans to release Thuku. That is because they want to prevent the Africans developing their organization. But the Kikuyu Central Association is carrying on its work. The struggle is very difficult for Africans, and they are looking to British workers to help them against the white employers and their Government.

“Samoa for Samoa”

By G. KILPATRICK

WITH a determination which is magnificent when one considers the forces arrayed against them, the Samoan people are carrying on their struggle against British-New Zealand imperialism.

Their national political organization, the Mau, still stands intact notwithstanding the policy of extermination carried out by the New Zealand Administration during the weeks following Christmas of last year.

When asked what the Mau is, the Samoans simply say: “The Mau is Samoa.” It is that organization thrown up on the basis of their primitive communal relationships to give centralized expression to their struggle against imperialism, and for the restoration of certain privileges and customs that have been taken from them.

Far from being cowed by the insensate fury of the New Zealand Administration, the Samoans have to date defeated the main mission of New Zealand’s expeditionary force, viz., to liquidate the Mau.

OPPRESSION INTENSIFIED

The open and naked use of force having failed to repress the Mau, the Administration is intensifying its policy of fining and jailing. Recently four Samoan chiefs were brought before the Court at Apia and sentenced to seventeen months on each of two charges. The charges were (1) for threatening to kill a witness in a case involving the Mau; and (2) for “conspiring to defeat the course of justice” (i.e., imperialism).

On the first charge it was alleged against the chiefs that they had sent a letter to a witness threatening to kill him if he gave evidence. Parts of the letter are couched in the following terms:

“If by any words which you may say in the Court case detrimental to the honor and sacredness of the Mau of Western Samoa or the country—

“It will be upon you, together with any

others who may do the above-mentioned things, the punishment from the largest portion of Western Samoa—that is, put an end to your lives; this is in conjunction with the previous punishment now still in existence. You are both no longer recognized as Samoans, because you both, together with others who have been treated likewise, are the people who have betrayed the country.

“And another matter, you are both to realize this thing: The arm of Samoa is very long, thus enabling it to put its hands on both of you, regardless wherever you may be in refuge in any corner of the world.”

The special attention that “justice” is paying to the chiefs is a definite attempt to behead the Mau. The fact that chiefs lead the Mau is not necessarily evidence of “bourgeois” differentiation within the Mau, but is the necessary and logical outcome of the primitive nature of Samoan society.

The fact that the above letter was sent by the Mau chiefs to Samoan witnesses against the Mau, brings us to another aspect of imperialist policy: that of the old, old method of “divide and conquer.”

When imperialism fastens on any country it seeks for allies and tools within that country, and Samoa, small and all as it is, has supplied its quota. In this instance, they have come to light in the planting and trading elements and timid, degenerate scab elements (called “loyalists” by the Administration) amongst the Samoans themselves.

PETTY TRADERS WITHDRAW

In the early stages of the Mau the trading and planting element were united with the Samoans in the struggle. But here again Samoa reproduced—in miniature—the distinctions which have become a classical feature of the national struggles of India, China and Egypt, etc.

When the activities of the Mau threatened to disrupt trade and so threaten their petty-

bourgeois interests, these elements put the brake on and ultimately withdrew. The imperialists also brought pressure to bear through the restriction of credits, etc. With the withdrawal of the bourgeois elements the movement of the Mau crystallized to a certain extent. The movement became less confused and nebulous—it fell back upon its native strength and adopted the slogan: "Samoa Mo Samoa."

There is no doubt that following the December massacre and the man-hunt for the Mau men in the Samoan bush that followed, the Samoans will be much surer of their aims and the necessity for struggle along certain lines than they were.

The man-hunt instituted by the Administration with the help of seaplane, sailors and native "loyalist" beaters, was practically futile. The Samoans simply played ring-ring-a-rosy with the searchers and lived meanwhile on the food provided by nature in tropical abundance. While the Mau men were in the bush, the imperialists bravely made war on their women and children by night raids and similar scare tactics.

These tactics evoked a spirited protest from the women of Samoa, and ultimately led to the imprisonment of Mr. T. B. Slipper who signed a letter on their behalf. As Mau legal adviser, Mr. Slipper sent certain communications to the Administration protesting against the treatment meted out to the women and children. For this "crime" he was fined 150 pounds and sentenced to three months in jail. Subsequently, 1,200 Samoan women petitioned to take the "blame" and the "punishment."

During the course of the war on Samoa the imperialists have suppressed freedom of speech and assembly and have declared certain areas "infected." The suppression of the "Samoa Guardian" and the deportation of its editor caused a great outburst of protest. Not to be outdone, certain elements at the head of the Mau with the help of friends, established a paper in Auckland, New Zealand.—"The N.Z. Samoa Guardian"—and have published it each week for upwards of two years.

PSEUDO SUPPORTERS

As their struggle develops and intensifies the Samoans will find that they have friends and "friends." They have found this to be the case in respect to the planting and trading elements in Samoa itself. In the days to come they will find it to be true in the Labor Movement of New Zealand, from which at the present juncture they are obtaining a certain amount of moral support.

Considering British-New Zealand imperialism as one (which they are), we come across one of those paradoxical contradictions typical of international reformism. In the heart of the Empire a Labor Party, kept in office by Liberals, carries on a policy of bloody repression in India, Egypt, and Palestine. In New Zealand a Liberal Government does the same with regard to Samoa and is kept in office by the Labor Party. *Yet this same Labor Party "protests" against the repressive policy in Samoa and keeps in office the Government responsible for it!*

This situation provides conclusive objective proof that the colonial policy of reformist Labor Parties is one of active support of imperialism in the exploitation and oppression of the colonial peoples.

"LABOR" IMPERIALISTS

The differences are differences of words only. When, in the years to come, the turn of the political wheel lands the Labor Party of New Zealand on the Treasury benches, the Samoan people will find that imperialist oppression is the same whether handed out by Tories, Liberals, or Labor.

The specific importance of Samoa is not great. The Samoan people do not live around an all-important "ditch" as do the Egyptians, or live as the down-trodden millions of China do—on vast natural resources. They are, to a great extent, isolated from the main stream of the world's social and national emancipatory movements.

Yet in spite of their isolation the Samoans have to a considerable extent confounded the imperialist machinations of a "great" Power. They have done this almost entirely on the basis of their own poor resources, allied to

their native shrewdness and solidarity. They can only hope for success in the future to the extent that they realize that their struggle is an integral part of the world-wide struggle against imperialism, and to the extent that the working-class movement of the outside world helps them to realize this and moves

forward with them in the common fight against imperialism.

(Note: "Mau in Samoan means at once an opinion and something firm, settled, immovable.")

For a splendid analysis of present-day Samoan society readers are advised to get the March issue of the English "Labour Monthly."



The Class Struggle in China

LABOR unrest in China is assuming greater proportions as each week passes. It not only takes the form of strikes, sabotage, etc., but has developed into armed conflicts in many centers. There are, as we have previously pointed out in the "F. E. B.," large areas in China under a Soviet administration. These areas are controlled by workers and peasants councils protected by the workers' Red Guards or definite Red armies, whose arms were either captured from reactionary troops or obtained by large numbers of soldiers voluntarily joining the workers' struggle.

The agrarian revolution is chiefly in these districts and wherever land is confiscated, without compensation of course, it is distributed among the needy peasantry. However, the power of native bourgeois and imperialist reaction is not entirely broken in these areas, for the reactionary forces often return and periodically give battle, sometimes forcing the Red armies to relinquish their position, after which they always express their vengeance in a reign of white terror.

But this does not materially alter the situation under conditions existing in China. The fact is that much of Northern Kwangtung, Southwest Fukien, parts of Hunan, Kiangsi, and much of Hupeh are definitely under control of the Red Armies and the

partisans, and the Soviets are gradually extending with a corresponding strengthening of the Red Armies.

On May 30, at a point which is not publicly announced, these Soviet districts sent their delegates to the first Soviet Conference in China. This conference was supported by the All-China Federation of Labor which will be represented, and is in the nature of a preparatory conference to adopt measures to enable a Soviet Congress to be announced later.

The conference received reports as to the extent and character of areas under control of the Soviets, the possibilities of extending them, the strength of the resources at the disposal of these Soviet districts, and the Red Armies, the character of the district local government, and the composition of the Soviets, the methods of enforcing the agrarian revolution, the state of organization of farm laborers, peasantry and the workers in the towns under Soviet control, etc.

The railwaymen's, seamen's, arsenal and textile workers' unions from places outside the Soviet areas were represented, for the purpose of coordinating not only the Soviet areas, but also those areas with the workers' and peasants' movement outside Soviet control.

To some extent the workers' movement

in the town has not been so active as the peasantry, but this is primarily due to the white terror that exists. Not only are the workers confronted with the armies of Chinese militarists, but they are also faced with foreign battleships, bombing planes, machine guns and bayonets belonging to all the great imperialist powers. Therefore the subjective factor is the main reason for this unequal development as between the activity of the countryside compared to that of the workers' movement. But this does not mean the workers are behind the peasantry in revolutionary ideology and outlook.

There are many subjective factors to consider: the peasantry have more favorable conditions for action. The latter also suffer more directly from militarist levies and the insufferable burdens of taxation, almost too numerous to describe. They also feel a little more directly their common interests. There is also another factor: some workers, to some extent, are still divided by feudal instincts and their minds gravitate to the village from where they came and to where they hope to return, rather than to class interests.

This cannot be ignored in accounting for the unequal movement. But these same workers would have no hesitation in joining in armed battles if they were situated in native villages but they hesitate in the towns because of a lack of a common bond.

But notwithstanding all the subjective factors, the economic conditions and political situation are such that a distinctly revolutionary situation is rapidly developing in the cities, drawing even these backward workers into action, and is expressed in the increasingly large numbers of strikes taking place in many large centers. Many of these strikes immediately develop into political strikes and armed conflicts are beginning to take place. But this activity in China cannot be separated from the general activity in the Pacific or Asiatic countries.

Because of the developing revolutionary situation which is bound to extend, the PPTUS calls upon the workers of all countries to give every possible assistance to the Chinese workers and peasants. The main task is to generally coordinate the struggles

of the oppressed peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The Indians are being slaughtered by the MacDonald administration throughout India, in Arabia, Africa, etc.

The British, French, American, and Japanese imperialists are all jointly participating in the slaughter of the Chinese workers with the aid of the Kuomintang; the French have put to death workers and peasants in Annam recently; the murderous Japanese rule in Korea is only maintained by armed force which takes its death toll almost every week; preparations are made every day to commence another reign of terror in the Philippines, while in Malaya and Dutch Indies the British and Dutch cooperate closely together to maintain the bloody rule only too familiar to need stressing here.

In view of the developing class struggle and to bring direct aid to the Chinese and the struggling masses in the colonies and semi-colonies, every trade union meeting and conference in the Pacific area should make decisions:

1. To broaden and deepen their influence among the masses by (a) formulating a practical program of action embodying immediate economic and political demands where this has not been done; (b) setting up committees of action based on, first the industries, secondly, coordinated into general action committees; (c) to strengthen the work in the reformist unions by forming militant groups and strengthening those that exist as the basis for building up militant class unions; (d) strengthen the existing militant trade unions by drawing into them the unorganized workers and by organizing new militant unions wherever it is politically expedient; (e) to create factory committees in every place of work where our groups or unions exist, these to be the basis for building militant class unions where none exist; (f) to create workers' picket corps to control mass meetings and demonstrations from violent attack; lead mass picketing during strikes, etc.

2. To strengthen the workers' press and endeavor to organize a systematic distribution of leaflets, programs of action, papers,

etc., and to make every effort to do this openly, but secretly where this is impossible.

3. As a preliminary to greater coordinative action against colonial oppression, a systematic campaign be commenced (this especially applies to workers of imperialist countries) against the murderous policy of the imperialist powers from which the workers and peasants suffer in all colonial countries, demanding the withdrawal of all imperialist armed forces, administrators, etc. which are holding in subjection the colonial peoples.

4. To especially assist the struggle of Indian and Chinese workers who are now go-

ing forward to open conflict with the imperialists and their native lackeys.

5. To prepare definite action as an answer to the IFTU delegation and its policy of giving subsidies to unprincipled Asiatics to disrupt the Asiatic labor unions and the PPTUS, and to publish these decisions, widely distribute in the factories, print in the workers' press, etc. This will produce the answer to the imperialist powers, their native lackeys and give direct assistance to the Chinese.

These constitute a means to call the workers and peasants to action. On with the work, without delay.



Revolutionary Trade Unions of China

THE All-China Federation of Trade Unions, embracing all revolutionary trade unions in China, was organized on May 1st, 1925, at the Second All-China Trade Union Congress. During the course of two years, from the middle of 1925 up to the middle of 1927, the Federation kept increasing its ranks, its membership going up from 500,000 in 1925 to 3,000,000 in 1927.

The Kuomintang, desirous of getting the support of the proletariat during the time of the Northern Expedition, was obliged to give a certain amount of freedom to the labor movement, and this, under the conditions of merciless and brutal exploitation experienced by the Chinese workers, furthered to a great degree its organizational growth.

The Communist Party of China was precisely that force which from the very outset crystalized organizationally the spontaneous movement of the Chinese workers for improving their labor and living conditions.

During the time of the Northern Expedi-

tion the trade unions, taking advantage of their legal position, lined up large numbers of the workers in their ranks, and came to be, under the leadership of the Communists, at the head of the developing revolutionary movement. The series of mass strikes and politically armed manifestations of that period (three uprisings in Shanghai in 1927, the seizure of the British concessions in Hankow and Kiukiang, etc.), proved completely the revolutionary spirit and fine militant character of the Chinese proletariat.

However, the rapid development of the labor movement and the threat of the oncoming agrarian revolution pushed the Kuomintang into the camp of the counter-revolution. The first step to be taken by the temporarily victorious bourgeoisie was to prohibit all worker-peasant organizations, those which in any way at all were revolutionary in character. And considering the fact that in reality there were no other organizations in existence at that time in China, consequently practically

all trade unions and peasant unions were closed down.

Owing to the cruel reign of terrorism which set in after the uprising, the revolutionary trade unions were compelled to reorganize themselves and go underground. The reaction did not limit itself to merely dissolving the trade union organizations; it started the mass extermination of the trade union leaders and active workers. The labor movement in a whole number of districts temporarily died out.

The transfer of the movement from a widespread legal organization to a state of illegality, along with the mass extermination of its active revolutionary workers, had a most severe effect on the organizational state of the revolutionary trade union movement.

The Fifth Congress of the All-China Trade Union Federation, held on November 7-12, 1929, in Shanghai, stressed the fact that by now the revolutionary unions have not yet succeeded in establishing a powerful organization. The scattered state of the trade unions in the different enterprises and branches of industry, their strict group character, their administrative attitude, method of appointments, absence of all trade union democracy, and in connection with this, isolation from the masses — such are the principal shortcomings of the Red trade unions.

The rather poor organization of the All-China Trade Union Federation to a great extent protracted the development of mass activities and the intensification of militant leadership in the different centers of the country. This explains the fact that in spite of the growing influence of the Red trade unions due largely to the sharpening economic conditions in China and the growth of the revolutionary mood among the masses, the number of members lined up in the trade unions is very small (according to report of the Executive of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions to the Red International of Labor Unions of January 7, 1930, there are 40,000 members). Besides, more than half of the membership is comprised of professional workers.

This shows clearly that the All-China Federation of Trade Unions has up till now con-

ducted its work along the line of least resistance, for it is much easier and less dangerous to work among professional workers than it is to work among industrial workers, the latter being strictly controlled by the factory administrations and Kuomintang authorities.

Bad organization also exercised its influence in the way of insufficient leadership of the battles of the workers by the revolutionary trade unions; the majority of the strikes as a rule broke out spontaneously and were carried on without sufficient revolutionary leadership.

Besides the above-mentioned shortcomings, a large drawback in the work of the revolutionary trade unions were the mistakes permitted in a whole number of localities in the struggle for winning over the masses from the yellow trade unions. Although the time of completely ignoring the yellow trade unions and not wishing to conduct any work in them is gradually coming to an end, however, the tactics for the struggle against the yellow unions are still not correct from many angles.

The whole struggle is generally limited to a fight against some of the individual yellow leaders, and against their treacherous actions. Time and again the fight between the Red and yellow active workers is only based on the desire to replace some one leader, while the character and content of the work in the trade union is not subject to any change even after the yellow union had been changed into a Red one.

In the experience of the revolutionary trade unions, cases can be registered when the toiling masses themselves drove out some of the yellow leaders, while the revolutionary active workers did not agree to take their place, fearing repressive measures on the part of the government, and thus renouncing the leading places to the Centrists, and also, the chief task is not being carried out sufficiently — work among the rank and file of the yellow unions.

Thus it happens that the ever-extending labor movement grows out beyond the framework of the revolutionary trade unions and the toiling masses in many districts come to the fore, leaving the leaders of the Red trade unions to drag along at the tail end.

Closely bound up with the struggle against the yellow leaders is the question of setting up factory committees. During the space of two years, although the necessity for organizing factory committees was stressed, only some insignificant work was accomplished. Time and again the comrades inside the Federation and even the Executive of the Federation, under different pretenses, would come forward against the organization of factory committees; these evidently failed to realize the significance of the factory committee as a tool for winning over the wide proletarian masses to our cause. The Fifth Congress of the All-China Trade Union Federation put an end to all waverings with regard to this question, and stressed the necessity of organizing factory committees at all enterprises, like bodies elected by the workers themselves.

The sharpening of the economic crisis and the capitalist rationalization processes introduced into a whole number of industries gave rise to a rapid growth of unemployment, with the simultaneous growth of female and child labor. In accordance with this the work among the unemployed, the women workers and juniors comes to be of great significance.

However, the revolutionary trade unions did very little in this direction. Only in Shang-

hai the revolutionary active workers are carrying on some sort of work among the unemployed. Only in several of the larger cities, in Shanghai and Hongkong, have women's and children's section at some of the enterprises been set up. This work still lags behind the demands of actual life.

The Fifth Congress of the All-China Trade Union Federation adopted a resolution about this question for intensifying the work among the women workers and juniors, for organizing sections of women workers and juniors and of electing representatives of the women workers and young workers to all organs of the trade unions.

In spite of a great number of weaknesses and shortcomings, the revolutionary trade unions in China have carried out some fine work, particularly during the course of the past two years. A great deal has already been achieved tending to make the All-China Trade Union Federation a militant mass organization. The upsurge in the labor movement and the intensifying strike struggles give rise to favorable perspectives for the further development of the revolutionary trade union movement, for winning over and lining up the majority of the toiling masses.

The Partisan Movement in China

By A. IWIN

THE Red partisan movement in China assumes a more threatening character every day. It has already seized the whole of the Yangtse valley and the West river, has penetrated to the frontier of French Indo-China, is developing at a tremendously rapid rate in the province of Szechwan bordering on Tibet, is forcing its way through the province of Honan into the Yellow River valley, and having encircled the towns of Wuhan and Nanchang, is spreading eastward through the provinces of Anhwei and Chekiang to the chief industrial center of China; Shanghai, Nanking and Hanchow. The revolutionary village is attacking the chief strongholds of the Chinese reaction and is endeavoring at the same time to get into touch with the towns which are rapidly becoming revolutionary.

In the towns of Hankow and Wuchang (which with the town of Hanyang form the town of Wuhan), the influx of dignitaries and rich people who have fled from the surrounding districts to seek refuge in the town, has caused a serious housing crisis. A similar state of affairs prevails in the capital towns of other provinces and the great center of South and Central China, and to some extent also in North China.

Nevertheless, these dignitaries, in spite of all the discomfort and inconvenience, prefer to settle down in the capital town. But not in all of them. Nanchang for example, as we already mentioned, is encircled by the partisan movement and is even considered by the Kuomintang government of the province of Kiangsi to be endangered and the government is preparing to move to a safer place.

If even some of the provincial towns are regarded as so unsafe, what is to be said of the district towns? It suffices to reckon how many of these towns have been occupied only in the last two or three months by Red troops

in order to obtain a fairly impressive picture. Meanwhile, it must be remembered that the number of towns occupied by the partisans is far less than the number of districts occupied by them.

Every district town which is recaptured by the regular troops from the partisans represents a blockaded island. Many of them even represent fortresses besieged by the inhabitants of the surrounding villages.

The victors of yesterday are today in a very unenviable situation. This applies to dozens of district towns in the provinces of Kiangsi, Fukien, Kwantung, Kwangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, etc. in which the partisan movement is growing and spreading.

The result is an extremely interesting situation. Districts, regions, whole provinces, are without "dignitaries," "without authorities": Who, then, is administering the country?

Let us have a look at the latest reports:

"In many villages in the frontier districts of the provinces of Fukien and Kwantung Soviet authorities have been set up. In one place a small arsenal has commenced working. The Soviet authorities have opened a number of propagandist schools. Men and women peasants are joining the Party in crowds."

"Chu-teh's army has consolidated the Soviet Power in the West of the province of Fukien, where in spite of the blockade a Soviet government of West Fukien is functioning."

"The government troops have discovered in the Pailulan mountains, a local Soviet government, various Soviet institutions, schools and such like."

"The Soviet government has reorganized its troops and formed three new regiments. The staff of the Red Army is in Lunjank. In all the districts occu-

pied by the Red troops, the State and private schools have been converted into Leninist schools in which Communism is taught."

The above quotations suffice to show how, *in place of the all-powerful gentry, the feudal big landowners and usurers; in place of the district administration of the Kuomintang, village and district Soviets are springing up.* And this not in merely one province, but in the provinces of Kwangsi, Kwantung, Fukien, Honan, Hupeh, Szechwan, Anhwei, Kiangsi, Chekiang, and now also in Kiangsu.

Thus, in uninterrupted fights, revolutionary Soviet China is arising and growing. As we have already seen, this China, as regards its extent and population, is of incomparably greater importance than one might conclude judging merely from the number of district towns—even though their number is by no means small—over which the red flag of the Soviets now proudly waves.

II

A few weeks ago the Kumintang press in Honan thought it was able to triumph. Thanks to a vile denunciation, the Honan authorities were enabled to arrest and execute the well-known partisan leader E-kweih.

E-kweih, who was born in Honan, was three years ago the vice president of the Peasants' League in one of the district of Changsha. Later he organized a strong partisan detachment. Numerous punitive expeditions were fitted out and dispatched against him. A price of 2000 dollars was placed on his head. But all in vain.

A secret communication reached Changsha. E-kweih was staying incognito in the town of Nansiang for the purpose of working out with the representatives of Holun, who is operating in West Honan, and with the representatives of the Communist detachment in the Hupeh border district of Tsiangli-Shishwo a plan for a simultaneous offensive with the Kiangsi 5th army corps under the command of Pen Tehuas and the troops of Litchan in the South East of Hupeh.

"The arrest and execution of E-kweih,"

declared the Kuomintang press full of indignation, *"has not prevented the carrying out of the plan worked out."*

This is only one example of the *co-ordinated actions of the Red troops in several provinces*—in the given case of *Hupeh, Honan and Kiangsi.*

On the other hand, the imperialist press, especially the English, is repeatedly calling attention to the close contact maintained between the troops of the partisan armies operating in the provinces of Kiangsi, Fukien and Kwantung. Kiangsi thereby becomes a center, and the celebrated 4th corps of Chu-teh, which is transferring its headquarters from one province to the other, becomes the main connecting link and, to a certain extent, the leading organ of the partisan movement.

Thus we see that, besides a rapid territorial extension of the partisan movement, which is embracing one district after another and one province after another, there is ever closer co-ordination of the, until recently, isolated actions of the workers' and peasants' army.

The Congress of representatives of the Soviet districts of China, convened by the CP of China, will be a further step in this direction. In addition, the Congress is confronted with an even more difficult task, namely, to establish the closest fighting connection between the partisan actions, the partisan war and the actions of the industrial proletariat.

Powerful as the partisan movement is already at present, the counter-revolution, which stands under the protection of the imperialists in the industrial and trading centers, cannot be finally crushed with the forces of the partisans of the Chinese village and of the small district towns alone. Without being burst from within, without the revolt of the industrial proletariat, which must have the hegemony of the revolutionary movement not only in the towns but also in the village, the main stronghold of the counter-revolution cannot be captured.

III

The red partisan armies have defeated regular troops more than once. In its fight which has already lasted more than two years,

the 4th corps has disarmed more than one brigade. Even the bitterest enemies are compelled to pay tribute to the courage, the bravery and the strategy of the red partisans.

The improvised weapons, the primitive arsenals and the necessity to be very sparing with the munitions which have been obtained with so much difficulty,—all these circumstances render it extremely difficult for the red troops to carry on an open and prolonged fight. Therefore the partisans, although they have dozens of times captured various district towns, have so far not succeeded in holding a town for long in the fight against strong punitive expeditions.

On the other hand, however, the regular troops are succeeding less and less in maintaining control on the other side of the city walls. Seized by the Sovietizing process, villages, districts and whole provinces, literally bristle with the lances of the insurgent peasants. In addition to the big troops of Chuteh, Ho-Lun, etc., there are arising numerous small detachments which serve to fill the gaps in the big formations and whose activity is frequently confined to the border of a district or even only to a village area.

The Chinese counter-revolution still manages to maintain its position in the towns, but it has already lost power over thousands of villages. And these thousands of villages are continually increasing. Chiang Kai-shek may boast as much as he likes that he has sufficient divisions at his disposal in order, without running the risk of weakening the front against his enemies in the North, to "establish order" in the Yangtse valley. But he will no more succeed in doing this than he succeeded in 1928 in "settling Communism in three months."

It is true, Nanking has still numerous divisions at its disposal. But will it be able to rely upon these for long? Mutinies of the soldiers have for a long time been the order of the day. Desertions of soldiers from the regular armies over to the side of the red partisans are becoming more and more frequent. By means of energetic propaganda in the army, these desertions can assume a mass character, and in the coming insurrection of the industrial proletariat, this time supported by the red partisan army, can become the last thrust which will plunge the already doomed regime into the abyss.



China's Women Workers No Longer Submissive

THERE are 400,000,000 people in China today groaning under the heel of world imperialism and the warlords, who with their continual strife and warfare are exhausting and laying China waste.

The workers of China are being exploited to the bone but, if anything, the Chinese women are even worse off.

Rationalization of the factories and mills

with the employment of cheap female and juvenile labor is to be seen especially in the colonies and semi-colonies. It is these sections, the most defenseless and the most backward, of the working class, that are enslaved by the capitalists easiest of all, for they offer hardly any resistance and can very well displace male labor when rationalization is introduced.

Now that imperialist rationalization is being introduced on a tremendous scale in China, the aim being to increase exploitation and squeeze more profits out of the existing plants, we see how female and juvenile labor is steadily displacing male labor. It is difficult to say exactly how many women workers are employed in the industries in China, for there is no centralized statistical data available. However, according to estimates compiled after certain investigations it is believed that 60% of the industrial workers are women. (About 80% of the 500,000 workers in the cotton and silk industries are women workers.)

The position of the women workers is very bad. They have to work the whole year round without hardly ever getting a single day's rest. An investigation carried out among 9,929 women workers in Tientsin elicited the following facts: 2,296 women workers never had a single day off; 1,170 women workers got one day off in every 14, while the others were given irregular days whenever the machines broke down or had to be cleaned. No payment is made for rest days.

The working day for the women workers in China ranges between 12 and 16 hours. Expectant mothers have to work 16 hours a day up to the moment of their confinement. Frequently, women give birth to their children right in the factory, and when this happens you see them wrapping a few rags around the baby, which they tie up on their backs or place in a basket near the machine, and continue to attend to their work.

There are no facilities in the factories to look after the children who are born and raised alongside the machines and are put to work when they have hardly reached 5 or 6 years of age. The sanitary conditions of the factories are appalling. In the textile mills the women work in the hot dank humid atmosphere, the shops being literally sealed up against the ingress of any fresh air.

At nights, the women workers and especially the girls, are seen standing sleeping at their machines. Although forced to work hard and long, the women workers receive a miserable wage of 10 to 12 Chinese dollars

a month, which means that they can only afford to buy rice soup twice a day and a portion of rice or beans and maize once a day. They rarely have an opportunity of eating meat.

There are no dinner intervals in the mills, the women workers being forced to eat their food while the machines are kept going. Women workers are fined on the slightest pretext, for late coming, for going to the lavatory and washing their hands without permission, or for talking or laughing during the work. In this way, the women workers sometimes lose as much as two-thirds of their wages.

The women workers suffer much at the hands of the foremen. They are beaten up, raped and even killed, which is a fate that befalls any who dares to protest against the ill-treatment meted out to the others. For example, during the 1926 strike at the silk spinning mills in Shanghai the women workers who had been elected to demand a wage increase for the women workers were killed. In the same town during a strike a group of women workers was killed. In the same town during a strike, a group of women workers were locked into the factory, the factory-yard being set on fire.

Usually having large families the women workers are compelled to live in little hovels. Some of the mills have dormitories which are rented out to the workers. The monthly rent for a small wretched room is 4 to 5 Chinese dollars. If any worker gets in arrears with his rent for two months, he is simply evicted without having an opportunity of getting his case examined.

Absolute penury and mal-nutrition compel the Chinese workers either to sell, kill, or give away their children to the factories to be exploited in turn. Usually, children start to work in the mills as soon as they reach 6 years of age. The children have to work 12 and 16 hours a day, that, just as hard as the adult workers. They are always ill-treated, and there are no statutory measures in China protecting female or juvenile labor.

The present growth of the political consciousness of the women workers has its roots in the extremely onerous economic conditions.

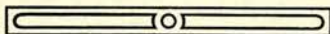
Every revolutionary outburst finds immediate sympathetic response among the women workers. The revolutionary women's movement of China has its own history. It reflects the development and the prospects of the Chinese Revolution. Ever since 1920, the women workers have been actually taking part in the strikes and the street fighting. The corrupt clique, who betrayed the interests of their own people, are now persecuting all the women militants who dared to voice their grievances and fight for their rights.

But the butchers apparently considered it too humanitarian to merely shoot down and execute revolutionary women workers. There were cases when women's heads, breasts and sexual organs were put on show in the streets.

But the Shanghai events of 1925 and 1926 marked a turning point in the history of the working class. The All-China Labor Federation is giving special attention to promote

activities among the women workers. Although we have no exact data on the number of women workers organized at the present time, there is every ground to believe that the Red Unions are successfully lining up ever larger sections of the women workers in their ranks. The women workers of China celebrated March 8 — International Women's Day—for the first time in 1924. The celebration of this day is becoming increasingly popular among ever large sections of the women workers.

The Red Unions of China must now make every effort to line up the women workers for the anti-imperialist front and the class struggle. The international working class movement and especially the women workers in the capitalist countries must organize an international campaign to support the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed women workers of the East.



Class Against Class in the Japanese Movement

By HAYAMA

IN recent years we more and more often find communications in the Japanese bourgeois press about peasant upheavals, which at times take on the form of agrarian conflicts against the landowners, and at times turn into actual peasant revolts both against the landowners and the State apparatus behind them. The bourgeois press does its utmost to minimize the significance of these occurrences; however, it is not always possible for them to conceal the alarm called forth by the revolutionary developments among the peasantry.

What, then, are the chief causes for the agrarian conflicts taking place in Japan, and what strata of the peasant masses is responsible for these upheavals?

According to data of 1928, there were in Japan more than one and one-half million peasant homes, i. e., twenty-three per cent of the total number, which had been completely deprived of their land and compelled to rent the same. Forty-six per cent of the total area is held by tenant-farmers. Nearly two and one-half million families, comprising thirty-nine per cent of all the peasant

families, own up to about one-half tío of land (one tío equals about 2.2 acres or 0.9 hectares).

Such a tiny strip of land is not even sufficient for the most unpretentious Japanese peasant to feed his family; and the owner of such a small plot is forced to rent some more land in order that he may not starve. These thirty-nine per cent families, which may be considered as poor peasants, own altogether 8.9 per cent of the total area under cultivation.

Thus, twenty-three per cent of the peasant families have no land of their own, and thirty-nine per cent possess tiny strips of land; all in all, sixty-two per cent of the peasant families are compelled to rent land.

Besides the above-mentioned landless and poor peasants there are in Japan other categories. According to the same data of 1926, 2,111,075 peasant families, or thirty-three per cent of the total number, own plots of land from three tío and more, and occupy 40.8 per cent of the total area under cultivation. Besides, 344,220 peasant farms — or four per cent of the total number, own plots from three to ten tío, or twenty-six per cent of the total area. And finally, 50,062 families, comprising one per cent of the village families, own ten tío and more, or 24.3 per cent of the total area under cultivation.

These three strata constitute the so-called middle class, "kulaks" and rich land owners. The middle-class peasants owning from one-half to three tío, naturally do not lease their land. They carry on their farming themselves, nor do they take any land on lease. The other two categories — the kulaks and rich landowners, comprising together five per cent of the total number of peasant families and owning fifty per cent of the total area under cultivation in Japan, are particularly those categories who give their land on lease.

And it is an interesting feature for Japan, that not only the rich landowners give their land on lease, but also the kulaks, who instead of cultivating their surplus area by means of hired labor, usually give their land on lease and exploit their tenants in the most brutal fashion.

Thus in the Japanese villages, not counting the thirty-three per cent of the middle-class farmers, owning 40.8 per cent of the total area under cultivation, and constituting the so-called neutral elements in the struggle for land — there are two hostile camps confronting each other: *on the one hand, the landless and poor farmers, or semi-tenants, who comprise sixty-two per cent of the total number of peasant homes and own 8.9 per cent of the total area under cultivation, and, on the other, the rich landowners and kulaks, owning fifty per cent of the total area under cultivation, despite the fact that they comprise only five per cent of the total number of peasant homes.*

The shortage of land in Japan and its high cost is the cause of the particularly high rents, squeezed out by the rich landowners and kulaks from their tenants. *Rent often reaches as high as sixty per cent of the total harvest.* The amount of rent to be paid is fixed by agreement, and the rich landowner has the right according to the law to demand full pay, no matter whether the harvest is poor, or even in case of no harvest at all. However, according to the old customs rent is lowered in case of poor harvest, or flood, hail or other natural causes. The amount to which this decrease is effected depends completely on the "good will" of the landowners. And this amount of "good will" is becoming smaller and smaller as the years go by.

In Japan, where rice cultivation dominates, rent is usually paid in kind — with rice. Only gardeners, vegetable-gardeners and those occupied in mulberry tree cultivation usually pay their rent in cash. Besides the rents which the tenants and semi-tenants are forced to pay, they have to pay very heavy taxes to the State in hard cash.

It is evident therefore, that under such circumstances they are in the full sense of the word compelled to lead a life of semi-starvation. Many of them are forced to leave their families and go to the towns for additional earnings, where they merely swell the unemployed armies, whose numbers have been going up with every year, particularly in 1929.

Quite often the landless and poor farmers,

unable to make ends meet and rid themselves of their debts and exorbitant rates of interest which they are obliged to pay to the usurers, owing to the large rents and taxes, are forced to sell their daughters into prostitution, or, what is no whit better, into long and almost payless years of slavery at the textile mills.

Under such conditions, is it to be wondered at that conflicts spring up between the tenants and landowners and that these conflicts often take on the form of revolts, passing from movements against the landowners into movements against the capitalist system as a whole. This becomes still more plausible, when we take into consideration that in Japan the landowners are closely linked up with the capitalists. The landowners invest their free capital in industrial shares, which pay even better than the land plots. Thus, the interests of the landowners and capitalists are closely interwoven.

The Japanese authorities, whether under the Conservative Party Suikai, or under the "Liberal" Party of Minseito, defend alike and very energetically the interests of both the capitalists and the rich landowners. The Japanese tenants and semi-tenants when coming forward against the landowners and kulaks, have to face the State apparatus, the police, the courts, etc., not to speak of the fascist bandit gangs, hired by the landowners for the struggle against the peasantry.

The agrarian conflicts today take on a mass character. According to the general assertions of the Japanese press, the hatred of the peasant tenants for the landowners has never before been as strong as it is today. The Japanese traditional ethics which dictated that the tenant's attitude toward the landowner must be like that of a son to his father, have long been forgotten! The times of such patriarchal relations, if they ever did exist in Japan, are gone for good, never to return.

Today, the peasant masses, when defending their interests, no more bow their heads before the landlords, but present their demands in an organized fashion and adopt revolutionary measures if these demands are not complied with. There were cases when the tenants, in answer to the rejection of

their demands, returned the land to the landowners demonstratively, hoping in this way to confound the landowner; however, the latter was only waiting for this: he took the land back immediately and mercilessly drove the tenant out.

After that, the tenants hoped for a long time that the court would come to their rescue. They started lawsuits, hired lawyers, and were under the illusion that the capitalist court would be "just" to them. At the present time, however, or during the last five or six years, the tenants have already rid themselves of all such illusions and have learned to have faith only in their own strength in the power of their organized forces. During recent years cases are not rare when the peasants of whole villages attack the estates of the landowners, demolish and burn their houses, beat up the landowners and their defenders.

There are also instances when the wives and daughters of the tenants in crowds of several hundred persons, march on the neighboring towns, break into the local municipalities and court houses, where they demand that their cases be re-examined. There were instances when the policemen and even police sergeants, who rendered help to the landowners, were thrown into the rivers and the lakes. The struggle is actually taking on a more and more fierce form, for the living conditions of the tenants are growing ever worse.

In connection with this, the character of the demands put forward by the tenants becomes quite clear. The primary demand is — *that rents be lowered*. Whereas, heretofore such demands were put forward chiefly because of the bad harvest as only a temporary demand, at the present time it is put forward irrespective of the harvest, and as a permanent issue. Another demand put up is to lengthen the term of the lease, and against the landowner taking back the land from the tenant.

Because of the shortage of land, the landowner always has the possibility of handing over his land to another tenant on more profitable conditions, or sell the land altogether; the new owner may drive the tenant from

the land. Either in one or the other case, the tenant is threatened with hunger and unemployment.

The landowner, of course, never does agree at once to satisfy the demands of the tenant. The latter in such a case refuses to pay his rent. The landowner, on his part, and with the help of the police, takes due measures. These measures are — not to permit the peasant on the field during the rice planting season, and seizure of the crops while still uncut. These methods with which the landowner fights the tenant, and which doom the latter to starvation — is the factor which calls forth those fierce battles mentioned above.

The Japanese authorities, of course, know quite well how dangerous the existing agrarian relations are for the whole capitalist system of Japan. For this reason they are making real Stolypian plans for turning part of the tenants into small-holders. When the Suikai Government was in power, it planned to distribute among the landless peasants small plots of land by buying up from the landowners one-fourth of all the land given on lease by them. Besides, the Government was supposed to lay out a large sum for this purpose, which the tenants would repay in the course of thirty-five years.

However, this scheme fell through, first of all, because in recent years, the Government has been experiencing great financial difficulties, and was not able to invest such a tremendous sum; and, secondly, the poor farmers, forced to pay up the enormous sum of four thousand yen per *tie*, naturally would not agree to take upon themselves such a burdensome yoke for scores of years. And the present Government Party Minseito, who hopes to carry out this plan by financing it at the expense of the savings banks, also has little chance for success. And even if such a plan were realizable the problem would not be solved, for a large number of poor farmers would remain landless all the same.

The most interesting part of these plans is that they do not aim so much at appeasing the class contradictions in the countryside, as much as they aim at giving the landowners

the opportunity to sell the land at high prices at the expense of the poor farmers and to invest this capital in industry. To give the landowners the opportunity to make additional profits at the expense of the poor tenants — such is the primary aim of these plans. However, these plans are drawn up without the boss — for the tenants will naturally never agree to such bondage for the advantage of the landowners.

Only by means of struggle will the tenants and semi-tenants be able to better their living conditions. The success of the struggle of the poor farmers against the landowners depends to a large degree upon their organization and on the revolutionary spirit in their organizations.

We regret to state that just like the labor movement in Japan, the peasant movement is extremely scattered and split, owing to political disagreements. In 1929 there were 4,115 tenants' unions, embracing 325,000 members.

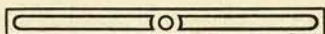
The landowners are also organized: in the same year they had 614 unions with a membership of 54,000. Besides, there were 1,060 mixed unions, of both tenants and landowners, with a membership of 147,000. The tenants' unions do not have any one center. On the contrary, they have several national centers, which are all hostile to one another.

One of these Japanese peasant centers — *Jan Nihon Homin Kumiai Domei* — is led by Right elements, who defend the policy of class peace and class collaboration. Another center of peasant unions, known by the name of *Zen Nihon Homin Kumiai*, which is more Left, is under the influence of the Centrists and "Left" social-democracy. In this latter union, however, the Communists have much influence, and owing to the pressure brought to bear by the masses the union is compelled to conduct a more revolutionary struggle than is desired by its Centrist leaders.

The Japanese authorities are responding to the farmers' struggle with repressions. These repressions, however, cannot stop the fight of the peasant masses, inasmuch as it

is called forth by their severe economic conditions. And conditions of the peasants will become even worse in the near future, in connection with the intensifying economic crisis in Japan.

A fresh wave of peasant conflicts and uprisings may be expected in Japan. For only a revolution, followed by nationalization of the land, can improve the conditions of the toiling peasantry of Japan.



The International Conference of Negro Workers

London, England, July 1st, 1930

By JAMES W. FORD

Telegraphic reports state that the MacDonalld "labor" government, true to its role as the bulwark of British imperialism, has prohibited the International Trade Union Conference of Negro Workers which is due to meet in London on July first. Comrade Ford, author of the following article and Chairman of the Provisional Committee, announces that in spite of this imperialist outrage, the Conference will be held.—EDITOR.

A GREAT International Trade Union Conference of Negro workers is scheduled to take place on July 1st, 1930, at London, England. This working class liberation movement initiated by Negro workers will be one of the most far-reaching and historic steps taken towards the struggles for the freedom of the Negro peoples.

The world war period let loose the force that is giving initiative to this movement. During this period upward of two millions of Negroes were brought from farm regions into the industries and industrial centers of the United States and there was set in motion the development of a huge Negro industrial proletariat, capable of assisting in the leadership of the whole Negro masses not only in the United States but in other parts of the world.

At the same time there was rapid growth in the number of native Negro workers in mining and other industries of the South, and the growth of native industrial workers in parts of Africa, and in the West Indies; as well as the growing movement of Negro peasant and agricultural workers.

The Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions really gave this coming Conference of Negro toilers its mighty background and historical significance. At the Fourth Congress of the RILU sharp attention was drawn to the significance of the Negro industrial proletariat and its possibilities in the leadership of the liberation movement of the Negro people; and also the question of the native toilers of South Africa was dealt with. An International Trade Union Committee of Negro workers

was set up to stimulate the class initiative of the Negro workers and to awaken the international proletariat to the importance of this powerful ally.

Plans for the organization of this International Conference were laid at the Second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism held at Frankfurt, Germany, last July. There a special conference was held of the Negro delegates in attendance from the United States, South, East and West Africa and the West Indies, including fraternal representatives from the All-China Federation of Labor, the Indian National Congress, the TUUL (USA), the British Minority Movement and the C. T. G. U. of France. This preliminary conference was initiated by the Negro delegates from the USA.

A two day discussion was held on the position of and the conditions among the Negro toilers in various parts of the world. Finally a Provisional International Trade Union Committee was elected for the purpose of arranging and convening an International Trade Union Conference of Negro Toilers.

* * *

The rapidly growing economic crisis of world capitalism, expressed sharply in the recent Wall Street stock market crash in the USA, has accelerated imperialist exploitation and oppression of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, especially the black toiling masses. Faced with mass unemployment of millions of workers and the shortage of markets the bourgeoisie is turning more and more to colonial sectors in order to unload the burden of the crisis on to the backs of colonial toilers.

This was mainly the aim of the passing of the Colonial Development Bill last July by the British MacDonald "Labor" Government, "to carry on developments in Africa." The keen rivalries for markets between the imperialist countries and the efforts to lighten the burden of their crisis explains the ruthless exploitation and oppression of Negro toilers by the imperialists in Africa, the West

Indies and the Negro toilers in the USA by the American imperialists.

But continuous speed-up of the workers and the introduction of labor saving devices into industry produce bigger mass unemployment in the capitalist countries and even extends into colonial spheres like South Africa, at the same time the Negro toilers rise in revolt in conjunction with the upward development of the revolutionary proletarian movement.

The first great battle of Negro toilers in the rising tide of revolt on the "Dark" continent, was the great revolt in Equatorial Africa in 1928. This revolt had significant, organized and sustained features. It was the first time we find a revolt, of the numerous revolts against French imperialism in Central Africa, that was not confined to one place, but extended over the whole of the territory, comprised the total population of French Equatorial Africa, and that had such a long duration, lasting from November of 1928 to February of 1929.

Another important characteristic was that the fight was mainly against *forced recruitment*; the natives killed in a systematic manner all the chiefs of the recruitment troops. Thus the struggle took on a labor character. And at the same time we must say, although complete facts about this are not at hand at present, that this struggle had as its basis the embryo of an organized movement of native workers.

Another important factor was the war preparation of the French imperialists. In their haste to complete the Ocean-Congo railroad in order to tap the resources, such as copper (a war material) and the establishment of "The Black Army," which is to be concentrated in North Africa as well as around certain industrial centers in France, thousands of native workers were killed off like flies.

The first practical application of the use of "The Black Army" has already been seen during the strikes in northern France, at Gard, where 18,000 miners were on strike, white troops had fraternized with the strikers; the white artillery was replaced by the

black troops from Senagal and Equatorial Africa.

Although drowned in blood by overwhelming forces, this Equatorial Africa revolt is an historic land mark in the struggles of the Negro toilers.

In South Africa, too, we have had some important developments. In the first place, the native movement was in 1927 betrayed by the native reformist, Kadalie, who affiliated the Industrial and Commercial Union to the yellow Amsterdam International. In the meantime, the conditions of the workers were getting worse and they demanded militant leadership, which was not forthcoming from Kadalie. Then one, Ballinger, a white reformist of the Independent Labor Party, was sent out to South Africa. The need for struggle was growing but Kadalie and Ballinger were there to make the movement of the workers harmless. Thousands of the workers left the ICU. Under the influence of the Communist Party the Federation of Non-European Trade Unions was organized and affiliated to the RILU in 1929.

Immediately, militant struggles took place, many of them jointly of white and native workers. Recently these struggles have taken on a serious character for the imperialists. At Durban last summer, serious battles took place with the police in which several police were killed. Constantly increasing pressure on the workers, unemployment, wage cuts and long hours point to more fierce battles between the workers and the bourgeoisie.

In the USA, the Trade Union Unity League has taken up seriously the organization of the Negro workers, especially in the South. Already the Negro workers of the South are fast taking to the organization of the TUUL. Organizations are being formed of both white and Negro workers, racial barriers are being smashed by the holding of mass meetings of Negro and white workers in the south, in the hot-bed of American racial "jim-crowism" practices and segregation.

Thousands of Negro workers responded to the call of the TUUL on March Sixth to demonstrate against unemployment.

In America, too, the Negro toilers must

struggle against reformism of Negro leaders and the influence of the Negro petty bourgeoisie. Randolph, a Negro reformist, has betrayed an organization of Negro railway workers into the American Federation of Labor and has himself become a social-fascist. In Chicago recently, police and US Department of Justice agents were engaged by Randolph to guard a public meeting and to throw Negro workers out of the meeting who came in with militant programs of struggle. At the same time this phrase-monger made vicious attacks upon the Trade Union Unity League.

At an unemployment meeting of the Randolph clique, Negro left wing workers were thrown out by the police brought in for this purpose. At other meetings Randolph and his clique have engaged the police to arrest Negro and white left wing workers and prosecute them in the capitalist courts.

Everything is being done by these social-fascists and fascists to stem the radicalization of the masses in the South, Negro preachers and petty bourgeoisie have openly cooperated with the white fascist bosses in an attack on white and black organizers of the TUUL. At the same time the workers, beaten down under unemployment, mass dismissals, the agricultural crisis, are responding to the leadership of the RILU, to the story of the socialist construction in the USSR and the struggle against the preparations for war.

It will be under these conditions that the International Trade Union Conference of Negro Workers at London will respond to the need for organized action of Negro toilers. These bases of organization and struggle against the ideological influences inimical to the interests of the Negro masses will give the Conference a basis for tangible results to be achieved in the wide organization of Negro workers.

At the same time the Conference is faced with mobilizing the Negro toilers against the more vicious attacks of the imperialists and their social-democratic allies, such as the MacDonald "Labor" Party, who are shooting down Negro workers in all parts of the world.

American imperialism strangles the toiling

masses in Haiti, in Liberia, and in San Domingo, while British, French, and Belgian imperialists are grinding the life blood out of the millions of enslaved Negroes in Africa.

The colonial policy of the MacDonald "Labor" Party was demonstrated recently when the British troops shot down forty-three native women in Nigeria. In Gambia also the young trade union movement is faced with the most brutal persecution by the British colonial government; martial law has been carried out, trade union leaders arrested, and the entire labor movement threatened with being wiped out.

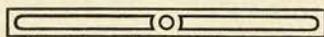
Everywhere the Negro toilers are making the greatest resistance to the imperialists, Jamaica and Haiti, in Trinidad, Barbados, Grenada, and British Guinea.

All of these struggles are being waged under great objective and subjective difficulties. On the one hand there is tremendous lack of conscious revolutionary leadership, and on the other hand, absolute isolation from

the more advanced and experienced revolutionary proletariat of Europe and America. Despite this, the very conditions under which the Negro people of the world live, drive them into the struggle and prepare them to play an ever increasing role in the international revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

The test of the European and American labor movements will be the measure of support and assistance they render the International Conference of Negro workers. The movement of the Negro toilers throughout the world derives a strong incentive from the existence of the Soviet Union, its progress towards socialist construction and its solution of practical problems of racial antagonisms left over from the Czarist regime. With this incentive the Negro toilers march forward to the same goal taken by the Russian workers and peasants in 1917.

Such are the historic tasks that face the International Conference of Negro Workers at London, England in July.



The "White Australia" Principle

By E. BORZHENSKAYA

"THE slogan of 'Workers of the World, Unite!' does not apply to Asiatics, Africans, and the yellow races."

This is how one of the points reads in the Constitution of the *Australian Workers' Union*, the Trade Union organization which is the chief prop of the Australian Labor Party.

The principle of "White Australia," "Australia for the Australians" (the whites, of course, as the white conquerors do not consider the original inhabitants of Australia, the Negroes, even to be people." As a result

of the inhuman treatment and their persecution by the white overlords, the native population in part has died out, and has partly been pushed into the internal desert regions of the country), has been firmly and undeviatingly supported by the reactionary officialdom of the Australian trade union movement and the Labor Party during the course of a number of long years.

This "principle" has been advocated with exceptional zeal during the last few years. The peculiar position of Australia, its rapid development as a raw material basis for Eng-

lish industry, created a certain deficiency in labor power in the country. This permitted the Australian trade unions to gain comparatively favorable working conditions. We should not forget, either, that the eight-hour working day was introduced in Australia before any other country.

These old victories have created the reputation for Australia of the "workers' paradise," and were political capital for the Australian trade unions and the Labor Party, which they still continue to exploit.

The principle of "White Australia," which drives at not admitting cheap colored labor into the country, was first put forward in the middle of last century when, in view of the discovery of gold, Chinese workers flooded the country in masses, forthwith under-cutting the price for working hands.

Since then, at each fluctuation in the economic position, at each increase in unemployment, and manifestation of dissatisfaction among the working class, the reactionary unions of Australia have put forward this slogan as one of the means whereby to distract the working class attention from the *true causes* of their worsened position.

The favorable position of Australia saw its decline during the last three-four years. Australia has been drawn into the general vortex of the world crisis. The restricted world output of coal, the fall of prices on wool—the chief article of Australian exports—the catastrophic fall in world prices for wheat, the competition of the stronger capitalist countries—all this has created very great difficulties for Australian industry and agriculture.

Unemployment has increased greatly, and the Australian working class has started to emerge from its state of apathy, in which it was maintained artificially by the reformist officials of the Australian labor movement. 1927-1929 was a period of intensified strike struggles

During this period such big movements took place, attracting the attention of the whole world, as the seamen's and waterside workers' strike, which paralyzed the whole of Australian shipping for several months, and disturbed her foreign trade; the eight month timber workers' strike, and finally the

New South Wales miners' strike, which lasted several months. This strike, unprecedented in stubbornness and the militancy of the masses, has already evoked before the alarmed Australian social-chauvinists the spectre of civil war.

A large breach was driven into the Australian stronghold of white chauvinism during these years, under the pressure of the awakened activity of the masses. The Australasian Council of Trade Unions (600,000 members), at its conference in Melbourne, adopted a resolution to affiliate to the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. Since then the Australasian Council of Trade Unions has participated in all the labors of the P.P. T.U.S., and the *Pan Pacific Worker*, published in Australia, the journal of the P. P. T.U.S., was the official organ of the Council.

OFFICIALS LEARN NO LESSON

The affiliation to the international revolutionary organization, however, did not alter the reactionary-chauvinist stand of the majority of the directing officialdom of the Australasian Council of Trade Unions. The very fact that the Council advocated arbitration in labor disputes and "industrial peace," goes to show that during its period of membership in the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, the Executive Committee of the Council forgot nothing and learned nothing. The growth of the strike movement in 1930, and the political character which the strikes began to acquire alarmed the social-chauvinists, and they attempted to isolate the Australian working class from the world revolutionary labor movement.

Artfully handling the unemployment figures, which in truth reached 13 per cent towards the end of 1929, an unprecedented level for Australia, the social-chauvinists once more put forward their old slogan of "White Australia" and raised a campaign in the press and parliament against "foreign influence," in "defense of the rights of the white workers," etc. Under the pressure of the unions and the Labor Party the Australian government lowered the immigration quota for 1929 by 50 per cent as compared with 1928.

The entire campaign of preparations for the congress of the Australian Council of Trade Unions in 1930 was held from the angle of this campaign, "against foreign influence." The results are to hand: the Trades Council of the State of Queensland at its conference passed a resolution demanding that the Australasian Trade Council leave the PPTUS, which is an organization "controlled by aliens."

THE A.C.T.U. CONGRESS

The social-chauvinists gained the victory. When the question was raised at the congress of ratifying the affiliation to the PPTUS, the whole of the heavy artillery of chauvinist argumentation was put into force.

"The PPTUS is a very doubtful organization; it is directly under the tutelage of Communist Russia and is being conducted in the interests of Russia's foreign policy."

"At the last PPTUS conference there were no delegates from either the British or the American labor organizations, but only from the Minority movements in these countries."

"The Pan-Pacific Secretariat opposes the five fundamental principles of the Australian labor movement: democracy, white Australia, the home rule, the ballot box, and the repudiation of war. (?!)"

"It is out to break down the 'White Australia' policy. . . ."

There were also simply enraged attacks:

"You have given power to a heterogenous mob of Asiatics and five white men . . ."

"You have ignored the great trade union movements of the world and affiliated with the 'rag-tag' and bob-tail of the genuine labor movements," declared Gibson, the secretary of the Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Association, who submitted a proposal at the congress for affiliation to the Amsterdam International, which was disallowed.

There were also "defenders" of the P. P. T. U. S., who tried to settle matters in their own way. Some naive trade union bureaucrats declared that they did not think that affiliation to the PPTUS, or to any other international organization endangered the "White Australia" policy. Others proposed to remain "subject to the Constitution of the

Pan-Pacific Secretariat being amended to provide that membership be open to all trade unions as such, irrespective of allegiance to particular theories of thesis."

As a result, the congress by a close vote of 80 against 75 votes, rejected the resolution moved by Comrade Garden, secretary of the New South Wales Trades and Labor Council, to ratify the affiliation to the PPTUS, and triumphantly declared their loyalty to the policy of "White Australia."

Scullin, the prime minister of the Australian "labor" government, on learning of this decision of the congress, expressed his gratification:

"Never at any time had he doubted that the industrial organizations were strong in their support of a "White Australia."

A DOUBTFUL VICTORY FOR THE "WHITE AUSTRALIA" POLICY

Despite this, however, the victory of the social-chauvinists can not be considered to be so very great; in spite of the careful preparations, in spite of the fact that the Congress was composed of trade union officials, the resolution to leave the PPTUS was carried by a majority of five votes only. Seventy-five delegates to the Congress realized that the low living standards of the colored workers constitute a direct threat to the high level of the Australian workers, and that in refusing to fight jointly with the Pan-Pacific Secretariat to raise the wages of the workers in the Pacific area, the Australian trade unions are putting the wages of the Australian workers under a direct threat.

Conditions are teaching the Australian working class bitter object lessons. They teach that no "White Australia" policy can save them from the headlong increase in unemployment and the employers' offensive. Without a shadow of doubt the Australian workers will soon realize who are the true defenders of their interests — the international militant organization, striving, on the basis of the solidarity of the workers of all nationalities, to raise the living standards of the workers in the Pacific, or the handful of trade union officials who snatch at the formula of white chauvinism.

Unemployment and Unemployment Insurance in the USSR

A NUMBER of articles criticizing the Soviet Social Insurance Scheme and in particular Unemployment Insurance, were published recently in the press of the reformist unions and the social-democratic parties. All of them without exception approach unemployment in Soviet Russia and Soviet Social Insurance from such a narrow angle as to deliberately avoid giving a general analysis of economic life in the U.S.S.R. and its prospects.

Without contrasting the economic situation in the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries, they simply compare the scale of unemployment relief, the extent of unemployment and the numbers receiving relief in the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist world. They deliberately conceal that no study worthy of the name can be made of Unemployment Insurance without taking into consideration the whole economic situation obtaining in the given country.

The great work of Socialist Construction, undertaken by the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. today, outlined in concrete terms in the Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction, has made tremendous strides forward, as a glance at the increased productive forces of the country will show.

The growth of the productive forces of a country can be best measured by the increase of the ranks of the proletariat, i.e., the increase of the numbers of workers drawn into gainful employment in the national economy. All over the country the number of workers employed in the national economy, and notably in industry, is increasing today.

Not only has the number of industrial workers already outstripped the pre-war figures, but this growth is continuing and will continue with the remarkable developments taking place in the economic life of the U.S.S.R.

In 1927, there were 8.6 million workers

employed in the various trades and manufactures, of whom 2.4 millions were employed in the "census"¹ industry, increasing to 9.8 million respectively by April 1, 1929.

No matter how regarded, unemployment in the U.S.S.R. differs from unemployment in the capitalist countries. In the capitalist world unemployment is one of the results of the break up of the capitalist system and points in particular to the inability of the bourgeoisie to surmount the general crisis of capitalism.

In these countries unemployment is the inevitable sequel of capitalist rationalization, growing depression and overproduction, resulting in enormous sections of the working class being thrown on the streets to swell the ranks of the unemployed. But in the U.S.S.R. the bulk of the unemployed consist of individuals who are seeking to gain a livelihood for the first time. Unemployment is the direct result of the rapid growth of the able bodied sections of the population and the overpopulation in the rural districts.

This will readily be seen from an analysis of the figures showing the composition of our unemployed. We find that of the total registered unemployed on August 1, 1929, of 1,298,000, 60% were unskilled workers (of whom 33% had never been in employment at any time), 18.2% were intellectual and professional workers, while only 16.3% were industrial workers.

During the economic year just ended there was a considerable decrease of unemployment in general. The outstanding feature of the past year was the fact that there was a sharp fall (16%) in the number of unemployed. Moreover, for the first time a general reduction of the number of unemployed has been seen during this year.

¹ All enterprises employing more than 20 workers come under the category of "Census" industry.

Should we contrast the number of unemployed registered on the labor exchanges on October 1, 1928, and on October 1, 1929, we observe that the general figures of unemployment fell from 1,364,600 on October 1, 1928, to 1,241,600 on October 1, 1929. In the R.S.F.S.R. unemployment fell by 19% during the past year.

The reduction in the size of the stationary groups also deserves attention. For example, there was a drop in the number of Soviet and commercial employees. Whereas in 1927-28 there was an increase of 37,000 unemployed in this category, 1928-29 registered a decrease of 73,000.

All branches of the economic life of the country developed so rapidly during the past year, that the control figures for 1929-30 provide for a ten per cent reduction in the absolute number of unemployed although according to the Five Year Plan a further increase of unemployment should have taken place during this year. According to the estimates of the R.S.F.S.R. People's Commissariat of Labor, unemployment in the towns will be reduced by 35 to 40% during 1930, thanks to the general development of industry.

Unemployment will be decreased during the current year, first of all, by the large numbers absorbed in the expanding building industry and the large-scale farms (since the influx into the towns will be substantially lessened) and, secondly, by the rapid development and mechanization of the socialized sector of agriculture which will absorb thousands of skilled workers, a demand that will be met in part by unemployed workers in the towns.

Foreign newspapers frequently express their doubts as to whether the labor exchanges keep track of all the unemployed in the U.S.S.R. Their fears can be best allayed by a glance at the results of an investigation into the composition of the unemployed, when about 30% of the unemployed did not re-register when notified, apparently because they were no longer unemployed.

The foregoing facts show the wide possibilities opened up for the development of the economic resources of the U.S.S.R. The

growth of the national economy and the reconstruction of agriculture on collective lines cannot fail to influence unemployment favorably. *In fact this has already happened.* All the workers will be absorbed by the national economy and in the very near future the U.S.S.R. will be confronted with the question of a *dearth of labor*.

It is these prospects of national economic development in the U.S.S.R. that distinguish the position of the labor market in the U.S.S.R. from that of the capitalist countries. We can look forward with confidence to the time when unemployment will be unknown in the U.S.S.R., where as in the capitalist countries the position of the unemployed will grow more and more hopeless since unemployment here is the inevitable result of the decay of capitalism.

Now with regard to *Unemployment Insurance*. Let it be said at once that at bottom the comparisons of the scales of relief in the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries (which is the favorite method of "drawing conclusions" used by the foreign press), are erroneous. Apart from financial assistance unemployed workers and employees in the U.S.S.R. enjoy many privileges which go a long way to improve their general material well-being.

For example, the unemployed pay hardly any rent at all (they have to pay 5½ kopeks per square meter, which according to the 1927 inquiry into the Budgets of Unemployed Workers comprised 1 rouble 7 kopeks (a little over 2s.) per month, i.e., an insignificant sum.

The unemployed are assisted in other ways too. The labor exchanges issue large numbers of dinner tickets which are sold to the unemployed at discounted prices.

Besides the money sum received from the Insurance Fund the unemployed in the U.S.S.R. also receive union benefits. According to the figures of the Moscow Provincial Trade Union Council, an unemployed worker was receiving in Moscow in 1928, 9 roubles 89 kopeks from the *union* besides 36 roubles 50 kopeks State Relief²

² This is the sum received by an unemployed skilled worker having 3 children.

When studying the position of the unemployed in Soviet Russia we should also bear in mind that in this country a large number of temporary jobs going all the time absorb large sections of the unemployed. By this means the labor exchanges are able to provide the unemployed with work from time to time, which goes a long way to raise their material conditions.

There is another method of unemployment relief work in the U.S.S.R. known as the Labor Collectives where workers are employed for definite periods, receiving wages at union rates, but remaining registered all the time as unemployed on the Labor Exchanges.

But these facts are glibly passed over by the foreign press, which prefers apparently to draw its tendentious conclusions by making unwarranted comparisons between the scales of relief. But even if we take these scales, we do not see any sharp cleavage between the size of relief granted in the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries.

In Soviet Russia the unemployed are divided into three categories (graded according to trade and former earnings), different scales of relief being fixed for these categories, size of relief varying for the different "industrial belts"—essentially an administrative division of the country. In Moscow, an unemployed worker on the first category with no dependents receives 27 roubles; second category 20 roubles; third category, 15.50 roubles.

The unemployed in Austria, for example, are divided into ten categories (graded according to former earnings), the highest category receiving the maximum sum of 24 roubles 20 kopeks, the lowest benefit for the same category being 19 roubles 20 kopeks. Thus, by comparing the scales of relief alone we see that an unemployed worker in Vienna is getting less benefit than any of the unemployed in Moscow on the second or third categories, not to speak of the first!

Now as regards the periods during which relief is granted. We find that the U.S.S.R. is leading the world in this respect. In Soviet Russia the unemployed receive relief during the course of 18 months.

In Austria the unemployed have the right

to receive the "normal dole" during the course of 30 weeks (approximately seven months). At the conclusion of which period they receive the so-called "crisis-benefit" for a period determined by the Industrial Commission (which administers the Unemployment Insurance Scheme in Austria). Thus, the law in Austria provides relief only during 30 weeks, after which period it is left wholly to the discretion of the Commission.

Should we add up the maximum sums allowed by the existing scales of relief in the U.S.S.R. and Austria for the different periods of eligibility for the receipt of such relief, we get the following interesting comparison. Whereas an unemployed worker on the first category having no dependents receives in Moscow 486 roubles, on the second category 360 roubles and the third category 279 roubles, in Vienna the unemployed on the highest—the tenth—category receive only 181.50 roubles.

Both in Austria and Germany the reformist press have made it a point to attack continually the limitations of unemployment relief for seasonal workers in Soviet Russia. But anyone familiar with conditions in the U.S.S.R. will readily recognize how warranted they are.

The overpopulation in the rural districts of the U.S.S.R., giving rise to a continual influx of "spare hands" into the towns, differs completely from the similar movement observed in the capitalist countries. In the capitalist world the landless section of the peasantry are forced to drift into the towns, are absorbed by industry and soon lose all touch with their former life in the villages.

But in the U.S.S.R. the peasants who come to the towns to seek a livelihood retain their plots of land for themselves and for their dependents. All the seasonal workers in the U.S.S.R. are connected in one way or the other with the peasant homesteads in the villages. Having worked throughout the summer months in the towns, the seasonal workers return to winter in the villages. Each one of them has his plot of land; their earnings in this way, are not their only source of income.

The position of the seasonal worker differs from the permanent worker in that his

wages for the season comprise this net income for the year, this being made possible by the higher rates paid for seasonal work. There is no reason therefore why the scales of unemployment relief should be alike for seasonal and permanent workers.

Seasonal workers receive unemployment relief during the season if they are living in the towns, and also "out of season," if they live in the towns the whole year round and are not connected with the peasantry. During the season, seasonal workers receive relief on the ordinary basis. After the conclusion of the season they are provided with relief for two months. Building workers living permanently in the towns receive relief on the ordinary basis throughout the building season, after which it is prolonged for no longer than 3 months.

Large assignments are made in the U.S. S.R. to help the unemployed. In fact the sums to be spent on unemployment relief are constantly increasing in the Social-Insurance Budget, funds to supply work for unemployed likewise being augmented. During the last period, large sums have been spent to train and retrain unemployed workers for

different professions. For example, a sum of 6.8 million roubles was spent to train workers for the building trades in 1929-30.

Altogether 69.4 million roubles were spent in unemployment relief in 1926-27, of which sum 7 million were expended on the organization of work for the unemployed. In 1927-28, 113.6 million roubles were spent on unemployment relief, 10.9 millions coming under labor assistance, while according to preliminary figures, unemployment relief in 1928-29 comprised 139.1 million roubles, of which 13 millions were spent on vocational relief work.

Extremely characteristic of the measures taken to regulate the Soviet Labor Market are the increased sums spent on the training and re-training of unemployed workers. The problem of training new cadres of skilled workers to meet the growing demands of the stupendous development of Socialist construction in this country, is having a direct bearing on the regulation of the labor market, and is pushing to the forefront the question of financial assistance, the organization of public works and especially vocational training and re-training of the unemployed.



American Farm Workers Battle

By HARRISON GEORGE

IT is well named—Imperial Valley—as the Valley has many aspects truly "imperial." Beginning with nature, it is hot as hell, literally, there where ten thousand workers toil in a sort of natural hot-house in southern California, to feed the American "upper class" with cantaloupes, melons, tomatoes and lettuce. The thermometer goes up to 130 degrees, Fahrenheit in the shade—and there is no shade!

"Imperial," too, in the Valley where on

great ranches, the workers from countries and peoples oppressed abroad by American imperialism, are massed in great slave camps; Mexican and Filipino workers, and even some slaves who are told that they are "free Americans." Besides, there are a few Hindu workers.

The bosses have their "Growers and Shippers Association," they have the government which acts openly as their armed private guard; they have the fascist American

Legion; they have also an organization to betray the Mexican workers—the “Mexican Mutual Aid Association,” bossed by the consuls of the fascist Mexican government.

Conditions are abominable, and what wages workers get they are robbed of by contractors. Strikes flared up in 1922 and 1928, but only when the Agricultural Workers Industrial League of the Trade Union Unity League, the revolutionary trade union center in the U.S.A. came onto the job, did a serious fight arise.

A spontaneous strike broke out in January, during the lettuce harvest, and when the T.U.U.L. entered the field every possible,

and some impossible, terror and trick was thrown against it. One hundred and five workers were jailed, crowded into filthy dungeons, 32 were charged with “criminal syndicalism” and held for monstrous bail — \$40,000 each.

Now, five, and among them some of the best fighters of California’s revolutionary movement, are sentenced after a farcical trial, to serve 42 years each in prison; two, to serve 28 years each. Bail is denied during appeal. The workers of the whole Pacific area, should make their voice heard, raising in every meeting and demonstration, the demand for release of these pioneer organizers of the farm proletariat of America.



MILITARIST WARS and REVOLUTION IN CHINA

By R. Doonping

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What EARL BROWDER, author of “Civil War in Nationalist China,” has to say about this pamphlet in the introduction to same:

For all who have an interest in the tremendous events now shaking China directly involving one-fourth of the entire human race, this booklet is an indispensable source of information and understanding. The Chinese Revolution, which shook the entire world of imperialism in 1925-27, is gathering its forces for a new upward swing which will have deeper and more lasting effects both upon the life of the Chinese masses and upon the rest of the world. In this booklet will be found the key to an understanding of the current events, and the forces behind them, in China, which are a prelude to a new period of revolutionary development.

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BOOK REVIEW

"SLAVERY" by Kathleen Simon-Hodder & Stoughten, Ltd., London. (With a preface by her husband, the Right Hon. Sir John Simon.)

IN one of his fables, the famous Aesop tells of a fox who mourns the fate of the orphaned fledgelings of the hedge-sparrow, but who nevertheless eats the same fledglings as soon as they fall out of their nest.

This fox comes to mind when reading the book written by the wife of the "Rt. Hon." Sir John Simon, the same Simon who was chairman of the Royal Commission, which drew up methods to strengthen the yoke of British imperialism over the toilers of India.

Kathleen Simon heard the cry of four or six million slaves, who are not "persons but mere property of other people" and decided that it was her duty to expose before the entire civilized world the slaveowners, who ruthlessly exploit the unfortunates who fall into their hands.

One would think that having taken upon herself such a task, the author should have given a true picture of the exploitation of labor in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, that she would have shown the position of the toilers, of the so-called "backward races," who languish under the yoke of their enslavers. And there is much to be told.

Let us take South Africa, for instance, which comes under the "civilized" government and over which flies the flag of the British Empire. In this country, legally, of course, there is no slavery, but is there the slightest difference between slavery and the system of contracted labor, under which the illiterate, ignorant native, who knows not a word of English, is forced to put the imprint of his finger upon a document, which is pompously called a labor contract?

The workers who "freely" contract such agreements are packed off to the place of work under convoy, and remain under guard in special "compounds" for the whole period

that they work in the mines or factories. This system, however, does not obtain in South Africa alone. In one or other form it is applied also by the Dutch, the French, the British and other imperialists in other parts of the world.

In some places, instead of the "contract" system, the system of working off "unpaid debts" is applied. This system, known under the name of "peonage" is one whereby the native, under one or other pretext is given a small amount of money, or sold goods on credit. The debtor according to the law, if unable to cover the debt with money, has to work for his creditor until he pays off the debt. The peculiar bookkeeping of the creditors, however, is such that the more the natives work for them the greater grows the debt, and frequently the parents enslave their children, all for the same purpose of paying off a debt. In fact, both the debtor and his descendants are turned into slaves for the creditors and their heirs.

The system of peonage is very widespread in the Latin American countries and in the Southern States of the United States of America, where millions of Negroes are held as virtual slaves.

There are also other means of forcing natives to work for the white capitalists, such methods are the heavy taxation, which force the natives to seek work from the whites under any conditions; legalized forced labor for several months annually, imprisonment for infringing specially instituted laws and then sending the prisoners to work for the white bosses—all these forms of servitude in fact are tantamount to slavery, as the natives are in the complete power of their masters, and for the slightest fault are subjected to cruel punishment, quite frequently, to death.

Of these, however, one finds nothing in Kathleen Simon's book.

She limited herself to such countries as Abyssinia, Liberia, China, Arabia, in a word the small fry, without once mentioning South

Africa or other British colonies, or the French colonies, nor the Southern States of the United States, nor many other territories under the flag of the big imperialist plunderers.

This book has been written not in defense of the slaves, but to strengthen the prestige of British imperialism.

Throughout the whole book runs the idea that the administration of the British Empire is a consistent fighter for the liberation of the slaves. Abyssinia described as the most crying example of slavery, whilst Soudan, which borders on Abyssinia, since it has come under British domination not only has practically wiped out the stain of slavery, but is becoming the promised land of the Abyssinian slaves, who, risking their lives, cross the frontiers in order to gain freedom.

Such a treating of the question is repeated with Sierra Leone. There is no slavery in the colony proper, which is under the direct management of the British Colonial Department, though it does partially obtain in the Protectorate as, English laws, you see, have no force. In two big native States of India, Burmah and Nepal great work is being carried on under the influence of Britain, to destroy the system of slavery. In China slavery is a well known fact, and only in Hongkong is a consistent struggle for its abolition being carried out by the British administration.

Kathleen Simon mentions Arabia and Li-

beria as other countries where slavery obtains, and of course, here too points out the need for interference by the civilized powers, and it goes without saying, first and foremost by Britain, in order to put an end to this evil. True, the author also dwells on other forms of servitude, such as peonage, forced labor, etc. However, she gives examples of the colonies of second rate nations such as Portugal, knowing full well that the moment U. S. A. or France is mentioned by a British author, counter accusations will hail right and left, and the cat will be let out of the bag.

"*Slavery*" has not as its object to mobilize the toiling masses for the struggle against servitude and oppression. Through its appeal to the League of Nations and the International Labor Office, it is an attempt to strengthen imperialism in the colonial countries and to disarm the revolutionary-emanipatory movement of the oppressed peoples.

No such manoeuvres, however, can weaken the growing indignation of the colonial slaves and semi-slaves. Together with the entire international proletariat they will intensify their struggle for the complete overthrow of the bloodthirsty dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, as only then will an end be made of all forms of slavery and exploitation of man by man.

By T. Reed.

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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;

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

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