

privations of another strike. Owners of mines in China have become decidedly uneasy.

The fact that Chinese laborers have advanced beyond the stage of looking at their problems from a personal angle to definite class-consciousness is shown by the deputation to Peking and the excellent solidarity displayed in sympathy strikes. While the Seamen's Union was defying the entire government in Hong-kong, unions in Canton and Shanghai were collecting assessments for the strikers. When one considers how literally the average Chinese applies the maxim about charity beginning at home the significance of these contributions is apparent.

Floods of literature from Russia, translated into Chinese, have had their part in the industrial education of the laborer. Much of it has been distributed and explained by a large group of radical college students, for the high percentage of illiteracy prevents the average Chinese workman from being reached directly by the printed page. It is astonishing, nevertheless, how well-informed many of them are. M. T. Tchou, an investigator of Chinese industrial problems, reported that even unskilled workers in remote cities questioned him eagerly about the action of the Washington Conference on the eight-hour day.

Employers are meeting the advancing tide of the labor movement in various ways. A few, like the owners of the *Shanghai Commercial Press*, have organized extensive welfare work, including free medical attention, the maintenance of a social club, primary schools for employees' children, a saving department, and evening classes in English and other subjects. The same firm grants a liberal maternity allowance, gives rice subsidies during periods of high prices, assists in paying funeral expenses, grants one day's extra pay a month to those whose attendance records are perfect, pays a yearly bonus in proportion to each person's service, and grants pensions to those who have been in the firm's employ a suitably long period. C. C. Nieh, cotton magnate of Shanghai, is another example of an employer who takes almost paternalistic care of his workers.

The greater number of employers, however, have been frightened by the labor movement into forming counter-organizations. Practically every Chinese city now has its chamber of commerce, an association which stands as fervently for the open shop as ever did its counterparts in the United States. Gone are the days when all workers and employers held memberships in the same guilds, took part in the same idol processions, and knew no strikes except those called to express political dissatisfaction. The guilds that remain are social in character, conservative in tone, and of ever-dwindling importance. The workers' center of gravity has shifted to the labor union.

Just what trend the labor movement will take in the future is, to employers, a subject of uneasy conjecture. One branch of it, typified by the Mutual Aid Society of Canton, is avowedly red. It comes out definitely for Marxism, devotes itself to propaganda by means of lectures and a daily newspaper, and looks forward to a revolution. The Mutual Aid Society claims the loyalty of forty-six unions and a membership of 50,000. A far larger proportion of the unions, however, have faith in the value of petitioning governments and in other comparatively peaceful means of adjustment. Just what their attitude will be if they weary eventually of the pigeon-holes is yet another question.

Many foreigners in China scoff at even the remotest possibility of an industrial upheaval. China, they point out, is an agricultural rather than an industrial country. Its factories are concentrated only in a few cities, and the workers are sadly handicapped by the almost universal illiteracy.

This is all quite true, of course. But the same, it happened, was true of Russia.

In the International Relations Section for March 28
The Next Five Years of the Red Army
By Leon Trotsky

"Criminal Syndicalism" in Japan

SEVERAL times the Japanese Government has attempted to pass bills specifically aimed at the destruction of "dangerous thought" and all manifestations of radicalism. In April, 1922, such a measure, opposed by practically the entire Japanese press, was defeated in the Diet. This constituted an amazing victory for public opinion; but the Government, undismayed, has prepared a new bill "for the control of extreme social movements," which it plans to introduce at the first possible moment. We print below two interesting documents, published by the Workers and Socialists Joint Committee of Japan, showing that this measure will not pass without opposition and some degree of publicity for its objectionable features.

MANIFESTO

The bureaucratic Government of Japan, now conscious of its impending downfall, seems to be determined to suppress all freedom of thought, of speech, and of assembly, and thus to maintain itself a little longer.

With such an object in view, it is going to introduce in the coming Diet the so-called "bill for the control of extreme social movements."

We, the Workers and Socialists Joint Committee of Japan, consider the passage of such a repressive act as the challenge of the reactionary Government to all kinds of progressive movements, particularly the proletarian movement for its own liberation.

We declare, therefore, that we accept the challenge, for we are ready to test our strength against the tottering old regime; and hereby we call upon all labor unions, professional unions, and all radical and liberal elements in Japan to unite in our grand effort to smash the last hope of the last autocratic tyranny on the earth.

May our coming fight be not only successful in itself, but also be the beginning of our last victorious struggle against the barbarous autocracy which is blocking our every step toward the liberation of the toiling masses!

The Workers and Socialists Joint Committee of Japan
N. SATO, Chairman

APPEAL

Comrades, fellow-workers, and friends in other lands:

The autocratic Government of Japan will introduce the so-called "bill for the control of extreme social movements" in the coming Diet, which will open in January.

This repressive bill was brought forward by the Government in the last session of the Diet, was passed by the upper house in a revised form, but later was withdrawn in face of strong opposition in the lower house as well as from the progressive public at large.

Since then, however, the Government has been preparing with diligence for the passage of the bill in the coming Diet, by buying over the bourgeois newspaper editors, by terrifying the innocent members of the Diet with framed-up "Communist plots," etc.

The text of the new bill is kept in strict secrecy as yet, but we know this much, that it is essentially the same as the original but for certain provisos limiting the scope of its application, so that the public at large, particularly the liberal elements who opposed the bill before, will feel themselves safe and indifferent to its danger. But such is the customary bureaucratic trick, which every true observer of social movements knows.

The original bill is as follows:

"1. Persons who disturb or attempt to disturb the constitutional order by means of anarchistic or communistic propaganda, etc., shall be subject to hard labor or confinement of not more than seven years. Persons who advise others to commit

the above-stated crime, and also persons who accept the advice, shall be equally subject to the above-mentioned punishments.

"2. Persons who associate, assemble, or join in mass movement, with the object of performing or of inciting the crime mentioned in the first clause of paragraph 1, shall be subject to hard labor or confinement of not more than ten years.

"3. Persons who incite or attempt to incite others to change the fundamental social order by means of mob action, by force, by intimidation, or by any other illegal conduct, shall be subject to hard labor or confinement of not more than five years.

"4. Persons who furnish others with money or goods to let them commit the crimes enumerated in the three preceding paragraphs, or assist them in any other way, and persons who receive intentionally the above-mentioned money, goods, or any other assistance, shall be subject to the punishments severally stated in the preceding paragraphs.

"5. Persons who commit the crimes stated in the four preceding paragraphs, but who surrender themselves to the authorities before detection, shall be rewarded with commutation or remission.

"6. This act shall also be applicable to persons who commit the crimes stated in paragraphs 1 to 4, though outside the jurisdiction."

Comrades and friends, the appearance of such a tyrannical law will certainly be a menace to every progressive movement, though its originator insists that it is aimed at the "extremists" only. In Japan, where there is no jury system, and where trials are conducted in secrecy under the least pretext, who can tell whether such an elastic law be justly applied by the servants of autocracy? It is nothing but a bomb placed in the hands of the blind.

The present Japanese Government, which is bureaucratic, militaristic, and even feudalistic, as is well known to the world, regards all progressive popular movements, whether they be political, industrial, educational, or just literary, as inimical to its interests, and suppresses them relentlessly. It "shadows" all the known radicals and curtails their personal liberty and means of livelihood to make their lives unbearable. Its customs officers are instructed to bar all "red literature" from abroad. Its post offices have lists of the names of the "dangerous elements," and the private letters with those names on are opened or confiscated. Even telephone messages between radicals are not safe from tapping by the police agents. It sends provocators and spies into labor organizations and radical groups. It has its "Black Hundred" and is secretly inciting the lawless elements against Socialists and labor leaders. Only recently Comrade T. Sakai, a veteran of the Socialist movement in Japan, has been stabbed by one of them in his sick bed.

And yet the Government seems to feel uneasy before the rising tide of the mass awakening, and to have decided to resort to a coup d'etat in the hope of crushing the popular movement once and for all. The passage of the new repressive law is but a preparatory step to the coming coup d'etat. With the passage of the bill, the Government is looking for all the big "fish in one net." It is, in reality, a bold challenge of the reactionary Government to us, the Socialists and class-conscious workers of Japan.

We accept the challenge, for there is no way out for us but to fight all oppression to the finish. Meek submission means death to us and to our movement, and "we have nothing to lose but our chains" in fighting, anyway.

Then, we are conscious of not being solitary in our struggle. You, the Socialists and class-conscious workers in other countries, are fighting or have fought the very same fight, we know, and we are sure of your sympathy and cooperation in our coming battle. We know that when we fight against tyranny and oppression here in Japan we are simply holding a section of the great universal battle-front of the class war. Therefore, we know that your fight is ours and ours is yours.

With such an understanding we now call on you to come to our help, for our front is threatened. We want you (1) To pro-

test against the new repressive bill through your organs or whatever publications you consider proper; (2) to protest at the Japanese embassies, either sending written protests or in form of mass demonstrations; (3) to strike at the Japanese bourgeois and government interests in your localities, by boycotting Japanese goods, etc.

Such and similar expressions of the international solidarity of the toiling masses, if carried with firmness, will certainly make the tottering old regime in Japan totter still more, and will, perhaps, force it to retreat.

Down with oppression and tyranny!

On to the international proletarian victory!

The Workers and Socialists Joint Committee of Japan

N. SATO, Chairman

Tokio, December 18, 1922

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