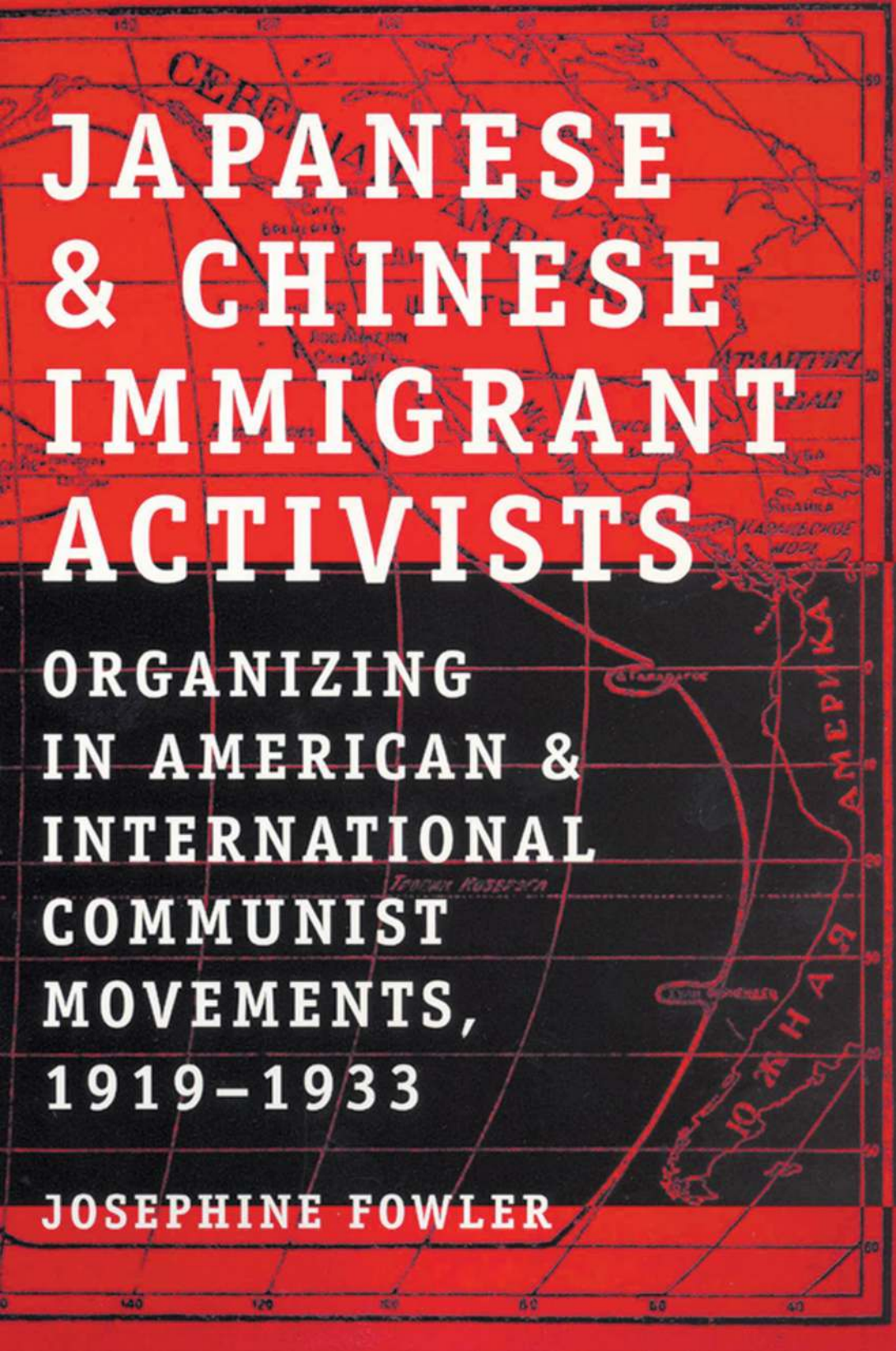

JAPANESE & CHINESE IMMIGRANT ACTIVISTS

ORGANIZING IN AMERICAN & INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS, 1919–1933

JOSEPHINE FOWLER

Japanese and Chinese Immigrant Activists

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Manufactured in the United States of America

For my mother,
Nevi Unti Fowler,
and my late father,
Joseph William Fowler

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

ACRONYMS

ADNJ	Archive of the District of New Jersey, U.S. District Court, Newark, NJ
AAAIL	All-American Anti-Imperialist League
AACAI	Chinese Anti-Imperialist Alliance of America
ACWP	Grand Alliance to Support Chinese Workers and Peasants Revolution
AFL	American Federation of Labor
AWIL	Agricultural Workers Industrial League
AWIU	Agricultural Workers Industrial Union
CAWIU	Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union
CC	Central Committee
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CEC	Central Executive Committee
CI	Archive of Communist International
CPGB	British Communist Party
CPSU	Communist Party of Soviet Union
CPUSA	Communist Party of the United States of America
CY	Chinese Youth
DEC	District Executive Committee
DEL	District Executive Committee
DO	District Organizer
EBP	Earl Browder Papers
ECCI	Executive Committee of Communist International
ECCP	European Branch of the Chinese Communist Party
FEB	Far Eastern Bureau
FWIU	Food Workers Industrial Union
HOC	Hands Off China
HTTK	Hu Tang Te Kan
IFTU	International Federation of Trade Unions
ILD	International Labor Defense
ILS	International Lenin School
IPC	International Propaganda Committees
ISH	International Seamen and Harbor Workers

ITS	International Trade Union Secretariats
JCG	Japanese Communist Group
JCP	Japanese Communist Party
JWA	Japanese Workers Association
KGYP	Karl G. Yoneda Papers
KIM	Communist Youth International
KMT	Kuomintang
KPL	German Communist Party
KSP	Russian State Archives of Social and Political History, Moscow
KUNMZ	Communist University of National Minorities of the West
KUTK	Communist University of Toilers of China
KUTV	Communist University of the Toilers of the East
LAC	Local Boat Action Committee
LAI	Anti-Imperialist League Papers
MRP	International Workers Aid
MUPR	International Red Aid
MWIU	Marine Workers International Union
MWL	Marine Workers League
MWPL	Marine Workers Progressive League
Narkomindel	Peoples Commissariat of Foreign Affairs
NBAC	National Boat Action Committee
NCD	National Language Department
NKVD	People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs
NLB	National Language Bureau
NUMCS	National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards Records
OMS	International Communication
PPTUS	Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference
PPW	Pan Pacific Worker
RCP	Russian Communist Party
RGASPI	Russian State Archive of Social and Political History
RILU	Red International of Labor Unions, Profintern
RSMP	Records of Shanghai Municipal Police
SASYS	Students' Society for Advancement of Sun Yat-Senism in America
SFCSA	San Francisco Chinese Student Association
SFLC	San Francisco Labor Council
SSTPP	Society for Study of the Three Principles of the People
TOST	Pan-Pacific Secretariat of Transport Workers
TUEL	Trade Union Educational League
TUUL	Trade Union Unity League
UTK	University of the Toilers of China
WCP	Workers Communist Party
WEB	West European Bureau

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Japanese and Chinese Immigrant Activists

Introduction

In a letter dated 5 January 1928, and signed in his capacity as editor of the Japanese-language paper *Kaikyusen* (Class War), Japanese immigrant Communist Kenmotsu Sadaichi (aliases Sasaki and Vasiliev) wrote to veteran Japanese Communist Katayama Sen in Moscow. After noting that when Katayama's last letter "arrived here, the contents were gone, so it was just an envelope," he reflected on the past year. "Those of us gathering here in SF [San Francisco] are making nothing but mistakes and blunders. But even though we make mistakes, we are steadily rising up and continuing the fight." Signing off, "Until the next letter," he gave as the paper's return address that of the headquarters of District 13 (which centered on California) of the Workers (Communist) Party of America.[1]

Barely three weeks before Kenmotsu penned his reply and "on the way home" from Brussels to Moscow, Katayama wrote another letter, dropping it in the mail in Berlin. In this letter to the editor of *The Pan-Pacific Worker* (*PPW*), Katayama reported that he had been attending a meeting of the General Council of the League Against Imperialism (LAI), held in Brussels from 9 to 11 December 1927. The *PPW* was the official organ of the recently established Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (PPTUS), which was in turn an organ of the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU, also known as the Profintern) and whose offices were initially located in Hankow, China. The aims of this new body were broad and ambitious: "To promote a joint struggle against the dangers of war between the Pacific powers" and to safeguard the Chinese revolution; "to aid all oppressed peoples of the Pacific to free themselves from the yoke of Imperialism" and "to eliminate all racial and national prejudices"; "to organize and carry out joint actions of the exploited classes and oppressed peoples against the oppressing powers"; and finally to build alliances among the trade unions of the pan-Pacific countries and unify these "with the labor movement of the whole world."[2] Katayama proceeded to describe in glowing terms the

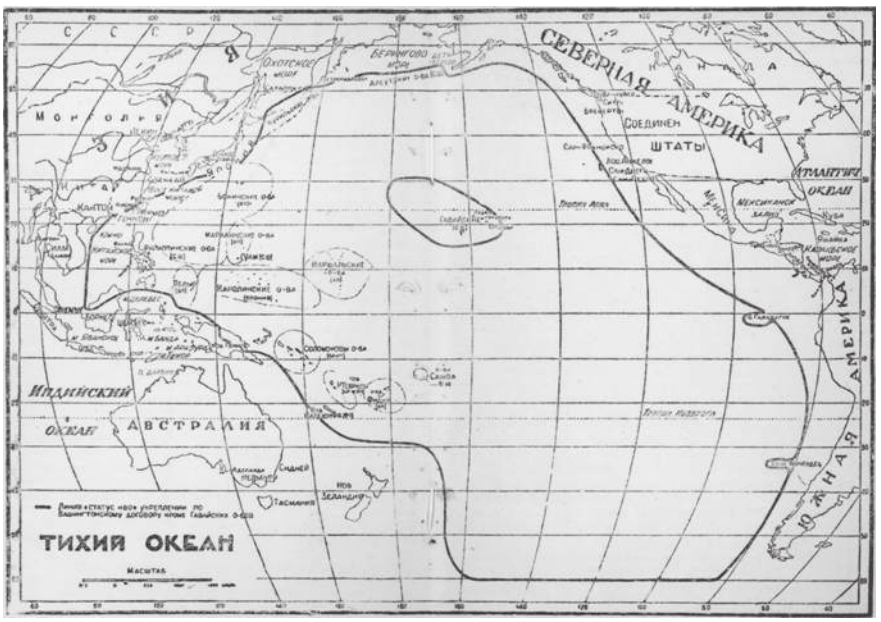


FIGURE 1 Map of the Pacific Ocean from Asia to North America, titled, "*Tikhii' Okean* [Pacific Ocean]," from Anatolii' Iakovlevich Kantorovich (pseud., N. Terent'ev; also known as Lev Nikolaevich Ivanov). From *Bor'ba za Tikhii' Okean, L. Ivanov, Voennomorskie sily imperialisticheskikh derzhav na Tikhom okeane* [Conflict on the Other Side of the Pacific Ocean, L. Ivanov. Naval Strength of Imperialistic Powers on the Pacific Ocean] Institut Morovogo Khoziai'stva I Mirovoi' Politiki, Kolonial'nyi' Sektor [Institute of World Economics and World Politics, Colonial sector]. Moskva: Partii'noe izdatel'stvo, 1932 [Moscow: Party publication, 1932].

proceedings of both the founding Congress of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence, also held in Brussels in February of that same year, and the meeting of the General Council.[3] At the founding meeting in February, both Japanese and Chinese delegations were among those from around the world. They included representatives of the Central Executive Committee of the Nationalist Party (also known as the Kuomintang, KMT), the European center of the KMT, KMT sections in Paris, Lyon, Belgium, Germany, England and Holland, a union of Chinese workers in France, and a delegate from Zhongshan Xuehui (Students' Society for the Advancement of Sun Yat-Senism in America, SASYS), who represented the Chinese in America.[4]

For its part, toward the beginning of 1927 the leadership of District 2 (which centered on New York) of the American party had cooperated with the KMT in organizing a public meeting in Cooper Union in New York City "on the subject 'Hands Off' China." In addition, it had started "building a Hands Off China Committee, with the Kuomintang comrades taking the initiative in this work."[5]

In the meantime, David Seizo Ogino, Secretary-Organizer of the Japanese Workers Association of New York, wrote a letter in March to Katayama introducing him to American Party and KMT member Sui Peng in anticipation of Peng's visit to Moscow. Ogino noted that Peng "has been in contact with our Japanese comrades here and has been cooperating with us in anti-imperialist work and other activities."[6] That same month, in San Francisco three Chinese activists in leadership positions in the KMT in America who were simultaneously committed to "the Chinese movement" and "Communists but in name" wrote to the head of the American party to express their belief "that there is great hope both for the advancement of Communism and the strengthening of the Kuomintang in America, if the two parties can cooperate wisely and tactifully [sic]."[7] I would note, that all these activities preceded Chiang Kai-shek's bloody anti-Communist coup in China in April 1927.

Here is a glimpse of the migratory, multilingual, and transnational history that I am studying. The sites are many: some are grouped in one city, but others are separated from one another by a continent or both a continent and an ocean; yet near and far travel across land and sea and/or letter, cable, and telegram connected them. Historical moments touched upon are likewise many and variously scaled, some as catastrophic and world shattering as the bloody coup launched by Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists in Shanghai in April 1927. Others were more localized but nonetheless reverberated across space and time. For example, following the blow to Japanese activists on the West Coast of Kenmotsu's deportation from the United States and voluntary departure for the Soviet Union in December 1931, Kenmotsu was sent to the port city of Vladivostok on the other side of the Pacific from his former residence. There he worked, in his words, "as the manager of the Japanese Section of the International Seamen's Club up to the 15th April 1936, and as an instructor of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat of the International of Seamen and Harbour Workers [TOS IMPR] for a while."[8] Sympathetic Japanese seamen, who frequented the Seaman's Club (Interclub), then participated in the circulation of ideas and communication across the Pacific. The reverberations, however, did not end there. The above statement was part of an autobiographical account that Kenmotsu wrote at the beginning of Joseph Stalin's Great Terror of 1936–1938 to which Kenmotsu and up to eighty other Japanese would ultimately fall victim.[9]

For too long left-wing and Communist Chinese and Japanese immigrants have been absent from the landscape of the history of the American Communist movement and in Chinese and Japanese American history. Asian Communism has been treated strictly as a phenomenon in the nonwestern world in the historiography of both American and international Communism. On one level, then, this book is a work of recovery of hitherto "lost" histories. At the same time, on an analytical level I am positioning this book at the intersection of several interdisciplinary fields and engaging with a number of critical questions.

First, there is the vexing question of autonomy. Was the Communist International (Comintern) by the end of the 1920s a monolithic structure under the absolute control of Stalin? And as such, were the national parties simply instruments of the Soviet state? More specifically, what was the nature of the relationship of the American party and of Chinese and Japanese immigrant members in particular to the Comintern and the Soviet party? In addition, I ask how longstanding ideas in Russia and the United States about so-called Orientals and the Orient shaped the institutional structures and day-to-day operations of the American and international Communist movements as these related to and operated on the ground in the Russian Far East (which from 1926 to 1938 formed an official province known as the Dalkrai),[10] the Western Pacific, and the United States.

This leads me directly to the other key set of questions with which I am grappling. These concern the practice of proletarian internationalism and its relationship to racial and national identity, gender, nationalism, and migration, and the related more theoretical question of the relationship among the concepts of space, race, gender, and nation. More than any other aspect of the project, this terrain stands at the intersection of various bodies of scholarship with which my work is in conversation, including global labor history/labor geography, Asian American Studies, and American and international Communist history. It is also in exploring this aspect of my study that I first understood the importance of space and geographical scale.

Practicing Global Labor History/Labor Geography as an Asian Americanist

I begin with the insight developed by theorists of space and geographers: just as social relations are socially constructed so do societies produce space, and further organized space in turn shapes social relations. It follows that the "making of history" cannot be divorced from the "making of geography." Space, time, and being are bound together in a "socio-spatial dialectic."[11] Theorist Henri Lefebvre explains, "Space and the political organization of space express social relationships but also react back upon them."[12]

Second, I am drawing on geographers' conceptualizations of the role played by space in the workings of capitalism. Drawing on David Harvey's work and in particular his idea that capitalism needs a "spatial fix" to resolve its inherent contradictions,[13] Neil Smith zeroes in on the issue of geographical scale in the production of the uneven development of capitalism. He argues, "Uneven development is the systematic geographical expression of the contradictions inherent in the very constitution and structure of capital."[14] Moreover, scale is produced through the geographical negotiation of capital's twin but contradictory needs for immobility and mobility in the landscape. Smith's initial conceptualization of geographical scale heavily favored the power of capital, but

in a recent essay focusing on antigentrification struggles on New York's Lower East Side scale instead arises out of political struggle and thereby can become a tool of either repression or liberation. Here, Smith's typology of scales extends in hierarchical order from the "body, home, community, urban, region, [and] nation" all the way to the global. Yet, these very spatial divisions as a social process are neither complete nor frozen in time. Nor are actions and experiences necessarily confined to a single scale. In fact, social actors may possibly use the very production of geographical scale to "jump scales" and thereby "dissolve spatial boundaries that are largely imposed from above."[15]

Meanwhile, geographer Doreen Massey turned her attention to conceptualizations of place and the "politics" of the social-spatial dialectic. If the view of space as stasis was problematic, so, too, was the understanding of place as bounded, singular, and fixed. Rather than being seen as "settled, coherent worlds of their own,"[16] places are themselves "meeting place[s], the location of the intersections of particular bundles of activity spaces, of connections and interrelations, of influences and movements."[17] Crucially, given that "space is by its very nature full of power and symbolism, a complex web of relations of domination and subordination, of solidarity and cooperation," these networks of social relations are governed by "a kind of 'power-geometry.'"[18]

The relationship between space and place brings me to Harvey's "simple rule: that those who command space can always control the politics of place even though, and this is a vital corollary, it takes control of some place to command space in the first instance."[19] Evidence for such a dictum is seen in the fact that one key constituent element of the relationship between labor and capital has long been a struggle over the power to command space. In relation to my own work, Harvey's "rule" proves useful in thinking about the difficulties encountered by Japanese and Chinese activists in their struggles to command space, whether inside the United States or overseas, from a place dominated by exclusionary politics and marked by racial divides and in which they were defined in the immigrant generation as "aliens ineligible to citizenship."

More recently, others have also turned to the theorization of geographical scale. Most interesting in terms of my study is Kevin R. Cox's conceptualization of what he terms "spaces of dependence" and "spaces of engagement": the former are "defined by those more-or-less localized social relations upon which we depend" and cannot be found elsewhere, and the latter are "the space[s] in which the politics of securing a space of dependence unfolds." By critiquing what he argues is a tendency for scale to be "characterized in areal terms" such that scale is seen as delimiting bounded spaces and "jumping scales" is a "unidirectional" movement "upwards" from one space in the hierarchy to another, Cox proposes that a "more appropriate metaphor for the spatiality of scale . . . is that of the network." Spaces are never firmly closed, and the production of scale is more accurately understood as emerging contingently out of the process by which agents seek to develop networks that lie beyond those

encompassed by spaces of dependence and hence that are connected to spaces of engagement. From this perspective, "jumping scales" becomes the process whereby agents construct networks of associations that enable them to shift from spaces of dependence to spaces of engagement.[20]

At the same time, there emerged what practitioners describe as the field of "labor geography."[21] Geographers had hitherto focused on how capital creates "spatial fixes," and labor geographers examine "how workers' lives were spatially structured and how workers attempt to create what we might call 'labor's spatial fix' as they seek to secure their economic and political goals."[22] In his work on California agricultural workers' "geography of resistance," Don Mitchell cogently describes the position of labor within the hierarchical and contested geography of capitalism. Applying Marx's insight into the making of history to the understanding of labor geography, Mitchell concludes: "To rephrase a now hackneyed truism, labor makes its own geographies, but not under conditions of its own choosing . . . As long as labor continues to take hold of geographies and continually seeks to transform them in the name of a justice that, while sensitive to 'the local,' is also universal in outlook, the geography of capitalism will always be contested."[23] Yet, both Japanese and Chinese immigrant Communists sought to transform their respective geographies in the name of a justice that was shaped not only by "universal" values of internationalism but also by particular nationalist sentiments and at least in the beginning a range of political traditions.

Indeed, more than nationalism and political heterogeneity is missing from the above picture. Ideologies of race and gender and the historical processes of racialization and gendering must also be integrated into the story of labor geography.[24] This brings me back to the "socio-spatial dialectic," but now I focus on the social dimension. I am following the lead of historians who have responded to the twin challenges to include nonwhite and female workers in their narratives and to view labor's story through the lens of race and gender. Here, race is not solely defined by the black-white binary, and the processes of racialization and engendering are seen as changing over time and varying across geographic locations.[25]

In addition, I position my work in the context of the newly reinvigorated field of global labor history. Beginning in the 1990s, discussion in scholarly and popular venues about the purportedly new phenomenon of globalization veritably exploded. At the same time, historians of the United States took up the challenge to rethink the national narrative by adopting a transnational rather than national perspective and examining the myriad of ways in which people interacted with other people and ideas across national borders.[26] When it comes to labor history, this effort was long overdue because in "the deepest sense" write Michael Hanagan and Marcel van der Linden, "labor history has always been global history."[27] Moreover, scholars rooted in the fields of migration and immigration history have led the way.[28] For instance, immigration

historians Donna R. Gabaccia, Franca Iacovetta, and Fraser M. Ottanelli initiated the pioneering and ongoing "Italians Everywhere" project. By examining the migrations of Italian laborers around the globe and over the course of two centuries, this work shows the long history of globalization and, in their words, "how profoundly—and usually also how 'nationally'—every multiethnic nation-state understood relations among ethnicity, race or color, class, and gender."[29]

Historian Robin D. G. Kelley astutely notes at the beginning of his contribution to *The Journal of American History*'s special issue on "The Nation and Beyond," "Black studies, Chicano/a studies, and Asian American studies were diasporic from their inception, a direct outgrowth of the social movements from the late 1960s and early 1970s that gave birth to those programs."[30] Several developments that I have introduced also emerged in the field of Asian American Studies, to which I now turn.

One line of tension within the field of Asian American Studies stems from what is commonly referred to as the "transnational turn" or what Sau-ling C. Wong identifies as a shift from a "domestic" to a "diasporic perspective."[31] Underlying the debate is the historically fraught relationship between Asian Studies and Asian American Studies.[32] In his book, *Chinatown, N.Y.*, Peter Kwong develops the notion of a "national approach" to the study of American Chinatowns, which "assumes that there will be a close correspondence between a group's treatment in this country and the international standing of the group's homeland."[33] Along similar lines, Sucheng Chan calls for greater attention to "the emigration end of the story" and to "the international political context in which the migrations occurred." Emigration could, in fact, be a political strategy.[34] More recently, other scholars of Asian American history have begun to bridge the divide by adopting a transnational perspective that recognizes the transpacific and flexible migrant networks and allegiances as well as the social, economic, and political ties binding families and communities across vast distances and years of separation and the connections between conditions in sending and receiving countries.[35]

Like these other scholars, I, too, focus on the connections between social and political developments in sending and receiving countries and the international political context. However, my transnational perspective encompasses both transpacific and transatlantic arenas, as well the interiors of North America, Europe, the Soviet Union, and China and Japan. Chinese and Japanese immigrant Communists initiated and sustained networks and the flow of people, communications, and ideas across both oceans and these many lands.[36] Moreover, they, too, benefited from the existence of an institutional fabric that might be compared to Adam McKeown's "dense institutional complexes" but that was quite distinct insofar as it constituted a part of the highly complex, multiply scaled, multilingual, official, and unofficial apparatus of the international Communist movement.[37] At the same time, even as

I focus on transnational practices, I keep in mind the continuing and often repressive reality of the state. Erika Lee rightly cautions, scholars' "emphasis on the transnational rather than the national . . . has obscured the impact of the American nation-state and the exclusion laws in particular in structuring and circumscribing transnational migration, networks, and identities. Transnational interpretations of twentieth-century migration cannot merely replace national ones."[38]

In addition, I turn to scholarship on the history of Asian America that is grounded within the context of the history of American imperial expansion. For instance, in her study of Filipinos in pre-World War II Seattle Dorothy Fujita-Rony conceptualizes the U.S. West as part of an expanding transpacific empire involving not only trade but also the movement of peoples and ideas back and forth between the "colonial metropole of Seattle" and the colonized Philippines as well as other countries in Asia.[39] At the same time, building on Eiichiro Azuma's recent study of Japanese America, *Between Two Empires*, I position the histories of Japanese and Chinese immigrant Communists within the multiple contexts of the expanding U.S., Japanese, and Russian empires.

The question of empire leads me directly to the subject of Orientalism. In his pioneering book *Orientalism*, Edward W. Said was the first to develop a critique of the systems of knowledge developed by Western European academic elites by which the "Orient" was constituted and introduced to Europe and against which European civilization was defined; these systems were put in service of colonial conquest, occupation, and administration.[40] More recently, however, scholars of Asian America have focused on the particular history of American Orientalism, revealing the ways in which ideas about "Orientals" and the "Orient" helped to define whiteness in America and to define and exercise control over the lives of Asian Americans.[41] In his book *Orientals*, Robert G. Lee examines intersections of race, gender, class, and nationality. Of special relevance to my study is his analysis of the figure of the Chinese "coolie." Originating in the 1870s and 1880s during the period of formation of the white working class, Lee shows that the image of the "coolie" not only effectively excluded Chinese from the working class as "a racial Other unfit for white work or white wives" but also shored up the status of the white working class against the very real threat of proletarianization. Upholding the ideal of artisan labor, the white labor movement racialized common labor as "coolie labor" to be performed by only the "coolie" or the "nigger."[42]

In her work, *Immigrant Acts*, Lisa Lowe also grapples with historical racial formations of Asian Americans by focusing in particular on the "contradictions of Asian immigration," that is, the ways in which Asians have been simultaneously placed "within the U.S. nation-state, its workplaces, and its markets, yet linguistically, culturally, and racially marked as 'foreign' and 'outside' the national polity." Moreover, legal regulations both racialized and gendered Asian Americans. Crucially, she argues, the very "universals" put forward in

the national political sphere generated Asian Americans' critical "immigrant acts": "The racialization of Asian Americans in relation to the state locates Asian American culture as a site for the emergence of another kind of political subject, one who has a historically 'alien-ated' relation to the category of citizenship."[43] In the case of Chinese and Japanese immigrant Communists, this "alien-ness" provided the ground for their resistance and gendered transnational activism. At the same time, it is important to recognize that there were very real risks and costs involved in such resistance to the nation-state.

Where does this leave the historian who seeks to write about Asian immigration to places in the West and the East from a "nonimperial perspective"? In a wide-ranging essay, anthropologist Fernando Coronil explores the question of how to challenge the constructions of Orientalism and Occidentalism—the latter defined as Orientalism's "condition of possibility, its dark side (as in a mirror)"—with the aim of developing "nonimperial geohistorical categories." He argues that the task confronting scholars is to shift the focus from Orientalism to Occidentalism, thereby turning attention away from the ways in which the West misrepresents the Orient and toward "the conceptions of the West animating these representations." This shift makes evident that the origins of representations of the Orient and the Occident lie in a history of "asymmetrical relations of power" that are "underwritten by global capitalism" and of western dominance the world over.[44]

Tony Ballantyne's recent *Orientalism and Race* offers an exciting model to those seeking to write "nonimperial" histories. Ballantyne rejects both "nation-based colonial histories and metropolitan-focused imperial history." He also challenges the notion that Europe and European culture were unaffected by the "cultural and intellectual transformations enacted by colonialism." Instead, he adopts "a mobile approach" that enables him to trace the movement of the idea of Aryanism as it traveled through imperial networks of circulation and systems of intellectual and cultural exchange across metropole and colonies as well as between colonies. In so doing, Ballantyne emphasizes the interplay and interdependence of the local, national, and imperial, "the transmission of ideas, ideologies and identities across space and time," and, perhaps most important, the understanding that "the structure of empire was constantly reworked and remade." Here, the web replaces the wheel as the "organizing analytical metaphor," and a singular empire is seen "as a complex agglomeration of overlapping webs," or more simply as "webs of empire."[45]

Following Ballantyne's lead, I employ a "mobile" approach to trace the multidirectional movements of activists, information, and ideology outward from Moscow as the center toward the periphery and among regional nodal points located in Europe, the United States, and on either side of the Pacific.[46] In addition, at the individual level and in relation to the leading Chinese and Japanese organizers, I draw upon L. Eve Armentrout Ma's concept of "peripatetic organizers," whom she describes as "usually men of high social standing

with some prior experience in political movements or political agitation" and "invariably either eloquent speakers or eloquent writers."[47] Thus, I explore both the connections among international, national, and local spheres of activity and the ways in which communication and exchange operated both through and at cross-purposes to the institutions of national and international Communism.

Reenvisioning American and International Communist History from a Transnational and Nonimperial Perspective

At the risk of oversimplification, I summarize the historiography of the field of American Communism. "The Old Left" has been and remains a controversial subject in U.S. history. The first generation of scholars of the Old Left, many of them former Communists, viewed the American Communist experience as a story of increasing Soviet manipulation in which the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA) functioned as an arm of international conspiracy. The individual party member was a tool of the Soviet system and therefore, by definition, a traitor to American democracy. This approach has become known as the anti-Communist tradition of scholarship.[48] Any critique of such an interpretation was largely confined to testimonial literature written by less bitter veterans of the Left.[49]

Beginning in the late 1970s, influenced by the idea of history "from the bottom up," a younger generation of "revisionist" scholars sought to reconstruct the history of American Communism from the perspective of the rank-and-file. Fundamental to this new work was an emphasis on rank-and-file agency and autonomy. Rejecting earlier portrayals of American Communists as either party hacks or fellow-traveling dupes, these scholars focused on the struggles within both the Party and the national as well as neighborhood campaigns. In their view, although the CPUSA was dogmatically Stalinist in terms of formal adherence to policy, official dictates were of far less importance for the local practice of workers in the movement. Furthermore, autonomy at the local level was sometimes seen as predicated on poor and/or irregular communication with the center. As shown by Kelley in his book on Alabama Communists, this as well as the Party's general inability to direct the work of people of color created space for autonomy. This approach has become known as the anti-anti-Communist tradition of scholarship.[50] Important to this scholarship was the "discovery" of oral history. Recognizing the rich historical opportunities of such fieldwork, the new historians of the Left turned to a wide range of communities as well as labor and social organizations to collect the life stories of the "ordinary" radicals of earlier generations.[51]

More recently, the field has continued to expand, not only including the full range of actors but also regarding the scope of the inquiry.[52] For instance, in his work on the involvement of Caribbean migrants in the radical

movements in the United States during the first three decades of the twentieth century, Winston James broadens what constitutes the American field. The scope of his study encompasses not only the Caribbean "diaspora in the United States" but also the region of the Hispanic and non-Hispanic Caribbean. From this examination of the broader region James arrives at one of his most striking conclusions: "it is not only possible but probable that the commitment to radicalism amongst Caribbeans in New York was not at all evenly spread, *regardless* of provenance, as we are led to believe. Indeed, there is strong evidence indicating correlation between island provenance and different political responses in America."[53]

Similarly, the first studies of Asian immigrant radicalism chart an equally dramatic re-visioning of the history of radicalism in the United States. At the forefront of this research is the work of two historians, Him Mark Lai and Yuji Ichioka. Lai is the first to recover the history of the Chinese Marxist Left in America, while Ichioka is the first to illuminate the history of Japanese immigrant (Issei) socialists and anarchists at the turn of the century in the San Francisco Bay Area and Fresno. This scholarship confirms the truth of Ichioka's and Lai's dictum: to understand either the Japanese American or Chinese American Left, scholars must broaden their research horizons and move beyond national boundaries to look at historical developments within both the international Communist movement and the immigrants' homelands.

Another event of enormous importance regarding scholarly development on American Communism, as well as other national parties and the international Communist movement more generally, was the collapse of the Soviet Union, which led to the opening of the Comintern archives in Moscow. Scholars of American and international Communism were almost overnight provided with a wealth of new evidence to shed light on both the operations within and the directives issued from the center as well as the activities at national and local levels in all the countries hosting national parties. I discuss the impact on the field of Comintern scholarship when I focus on the structure of the Comintern in chapter 3. It is ironic in some ways that opening the archives has allowed consolidation of the two opposing traditions of scholarship, in particular with the resurgence of studies in the anti-Communist tradition documenting Soviet influence over and Soviet-directed espionage activities within the ranks of the American party.[54] At the same time, an effort to forge a multidimensional approach has significantly emerged. Such an approach seeks to ground the experiences of party activists within local and national contexts; the approach simultaneously recognizes national sections' relationships to the Comintern and the Soviet party as well as to the international Communist movement and the impact of changes in the Comintern program and practices.[55]

Drawing on multilingual historical sources in the Comintern archives as well as various archives in the United States, this book combines

bottom-up and top-down approaches with Ballantyne's "mobile approach." I offer a needed corrective to both the predominantly national and eurocentric models employed by scholars of American Communist history and metropolitan-focused histories of international communism.

My work challenges us to look at party membership and activism as a complex set of relationships within and among various sites—including Moscow and in this case cities in the United States, the Americas, Europe, China, Japan, and the Russian Far East—and at various geographical scales. I also address the related, but largely unexplored, questions of the relationships: of Chinese immigrant Communists to the international Communist and Chinese nationalist movements as well as to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP); of Issei Communists to the international Communist and Japanese nationalist movements as well as to the Japanese Communist Party (JCP); of Japanese and Chinese immigrant Communists to Communist-led unions and to the larger American labor movement; and of Japanese and Chinese immigrant Communists to Japanese and Chinese immigrant communities, respectively, in the United States.

Writing about "Lost" History

These questions raise another issue, namely, the existence of gaps, or silences, in the historical record. In fact, much of the history of left-wing and Communist Chinese and Japanese immigrants' activism remains hidden and difficult to uncover but not entirely lost—so I learned throughout the course of my research. For example, just when I was about to conclude that my search through pages and pages of microfilmed bulletins issued by the Women's Department in District 13 was altogether futile or misdirected, I came upon a brief article, "THE CHINESE WOMEN WORKERS IN THE NEEDLE TRADES," signed "Chinese Needle Worker-S. F."[56] This history is hidden in the United States and throughout the world. In my many conversations with international scholars of Communist history, the first response to my topic is typically one of surprise; surprise and confusion is also prevalent among archivists in the Comintern archives. Upon my arrival in Moscow, I learned that archivists were unaware that some Japanese and Chinese Communist immigrants to the United States had first (and in some instances only) joined the American national section, CPUSA, and those individual files were therefore archived as such.

A related issue is the language problem. Much of Chinese and Japanese immigrant Communists' correspondence, minutes of meetings, and reports exist only in translation in English or in one or more of the three other main languages used by the Comintern, that is, Russian, French, and German. I have no trouble reading and translating Russian- and French-language materials, and I can figure out enough of the German to know if I should request a copy of a document to be translated later. I also made copies of Chinese- and Japanese-language documents whose file descriptions or margin notes in Russian or

English indicated that they would be of interest to my project. And I have benefited from the generous assistance of a number of Chinese- and Japanese-language translators.

Given the fact that much of this history remains buried and that a large portion of the archival record consists of translations of the original documents, one cannot therefore assume that the extant material represents a complete and undistorted account of the past. For example, whereas the reports produced by the secretaries of the Chinese and Japanese bureaus are carefully archived, the voices of dissenting members of the respective groups receive only scattered references. In addition, the use of grandiose and hyperbolic language is pervasive in many of the groups' official communications. Interpreting the evidence is crucial when the lines between recounting what happened in the past, exaggerating the present situation, and projecting events into a radically transformed future are so unclear.

Last, there is the matter of "haunting," what sociologist Avery Gordon describes as "ghostly matters," that is, "ghosts and gaps, seething absences, and muted presences."[57] These "ghosts and gaps" confronted me regularly. Kenmotsu's English-language version of his "Autobiography," for example, traced his life story from his background in Japan and social position upon arrival in the United States to his ideological trajectory prior to joining the Party followed by the character of his Party membership,[58] all without either using the first person pronoun or naming any people with whom he worked or referring to any experiences or events that occurred between September 1932 and April 15, 1936.[59] In the Chinese Buro's membership tables from February 1929 the column "Expelled" includes the lone figure six for the period August 1928 to February 1929.[60] I have refused to accept as final the silencing of this oppressed past.[61] I endeavored to write about these and other Communist activists as active subjects in their own and other people's lives, and when the sources permit I consider "the subjective dimension of the experience."[62]

Finally, a word about periodization is apposite. I am organizing my narrative into two periods: the first covers the early- to mid-twenties, and the second is commonly understood in Comintern historiography as the Third Period.[63] The concept referred to the last stage in what was theorized as a three-phase development of capitalism during the post-World War I period. The Third Period was marked by increasingly sharp contradictions in capitalism that would in theory bring about a revolutionary upsurge among workers and the growing strength of Communist Parties around the world. Although Nikolai Bukharin first articulated the term at the seventh plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International (ECCI) held in November–December 1926, the Sixth Comintern Congress, held from July 17 to September 1, 1928, adopted an ultraleft antisocial democratic platform, including the policy of "class against class," the tactic of noncooperation with all reformists and direct confrontation between labor and capital.[64] However, to construct a narrative that is

responsive both to historical changes occurring in China and Japan as well as the United States and to policy shifts dictated by the Comintern, I begin with the year 1927.[65] The year marked an important moment in the development of the Communist and labor movements in China and Japan. Regarding the other boundary, at the Seventh Congress, held from July 25 to August 21, 1935, the Comintern officially ratified the break with Third Period policies and called for the establishment of a broad united front, called the Popular Front, of communist and social-democratic forces on a national as well as international scale in the fight against fascism. However, because the years 1933 to 1935 offered a period of transition at both the highest levels of the Comintern and the course of Japanese and Chinese immigrant Communist activism, I largely focus on developments through the end of 1934.[66]

I have organized my book into three parts. Part I presents an overview of the larger historical background, including the relationship between Asia and China and Japan in particular and the Comintern, and the history of Chinese and Japanese immigrant workers' encounter with racial anxiety and organized labor in the United States (chapter 1). In chapter 2 I turn to the origins and early years of left-wing and Communist Japanese and Chinese immigrant activism.

In Part II, I adopt a top-down and metropolitan-centered approach to the entire period by examining several elements: first, the formal institutions and structures of the international Communist movement in the capital of Moscow, in particular as they relate to the activism of Japanese and Chinese immigrant Communists (chapter 3); and second, the emergence of the pan-Pacific international movement as it spread across and organized around regional nodal points located in Shanghai, Vladivostok, Berlin, and San Francisco (chapter 4). By international Communist movement, I understand both the institutions of international Communism and the movements and activities of individual Communists who sought to advance the cause of international Communism through their activities as Communist functionaries.

In Part III, I trace the individual trajectories and individual as well as collective activism of left-wing and Communist Chinese and Japanese immigrants from 1927 until the beginning of 1934 within both the international (chapter 5) and American Communist movements; chapters 6 and 7 focus on the Chinese, and chapter 8 discusses the Japanese. More specifically, I examine the transpacific and global networks of activity, communication, and influence in which the respective groups of activists participated. In addition, I pay attention to the question of geographical scale and to the ways in which both organizations and individual actions shaped and were shaped by the making of geography across the multiply scaled and hierarchical landscape of global capitalism.

PART I

Origins and Beginnings

1

Historical Background

Asia and the Comintern

By 1920 revolution in Europe had not materialized as predicted, but mass demonstrations against Japanese imperialism and European imperialism had taken place in Korea and China in the spring of 1919; thus, the Bolsheviks began to look toward the east for support from revolutionary movements in Asia. The Second Congress of the Comintern, held from 19 July to 7 August 1920 in Petrograd and Moscow, appointed a special Commission on the National and Colonial Questions whose task was to draft a report on the subject. The very fact that the Comintern had begun to address these questions—a development that preceded the convening of the First Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku in September 1920—was significant. There were indications of problems, however, from the start. First, at the Second Congress only twenty-five "Easterners" attended (out of a total of two hundred and eighteen delegates), and only five of the thirty-seven reports focused on Asia.[1] Second, in a sign of later and continuing problems in anti-imperialist and pan-Pacific organizing efforts, there was a "lack of trained interpreters" at the multilingual gathering, and immediately preceding the congress at Baku, a delegate from the British Socialist Party "warned that most British workers would regard an anti-imperialist uprising in India as an act of treason."[2]

The Commission produced two sets of theses authored respectively by Lenin and the Indian Communist Manabendra Nath Roy (also known as M. N. Roy). A chief concern was whether communists should collaborate with the bourgeoisie in colonial and dependent countries. Lenin argued, "The Communist International must be ready to establish temporary relationships and even alliances with the bourgeois democracy of the colonies and backward countries."[3] In his "Supplementary Theses," Roy challenged Lenin's contention: "Two distinct movements which grow farther apart every day are to be

found in the dependent countries. One is the bourgeois-democratic nationalist movement, with a program of political independence under the bourgeois order. The other is the mass struggle of the poor and ignorant peasants and workers for their liberation from various forms of exploitation."[4] Acknowledging that communist revolution was not possible in any of these countries in the immediate future, Roy nonetheless contended, "from the outset, the leadership is in the hands of a communist vanguard." Roy's other main point of disagreement with Lenin centered on his claim that communist revolution in the West depended upon the prior success of communist revolution in the East.[5]

In the end, the Congress approved a final draft of the "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" that generally reflected Lenin's views, except a few amendments in line with Roy's theses.[6] Throughout the 1920s and 1930s the Comintern upheld a "united front strategy," which projected an alliance between the peasants of national liberation movements in the East and workers in advanced capitalist countries in the West. The underlying strategy was straightforward: the leaders believed that the former would ultimately sever ties linking the economies of Western imperialist nations with the colonized countries of the East and thereby provoke economic crises and incite socialist revolutions in the Western nations.[7]

There were many problems with the Comintern strategy. First, the Bolsheviks tended to refurbish Marx's and Engels's standard analyses of precapitalist societies in developing their prescriptions for colonial and semicolonial countries, without considering the specific histories of the various countries that fell into these categories.[8] Second, as Germaine A. Hoston points out, Lenin's own prescription was fraught with internal contradictions." Lenin officially sanctioned the nationalistic aspirations of the bourgeoisie in these societies, but he simultaneously declared that nationalism must be subordinated consistently to proletarian internationalism. Third, the Comintern took an instrumentalist approach to the movements of national liberation in Asia, which became evident at the Third Comintern Congress in 1921 when their concerns were relegated to the last session of the gathering. During the interval between the two congresses, the Soviets had signed the Anglo-Soviet trade agreement as well as treaties with Persia and Turkey, all of which made them adverse to the use of propaganda that might offend or threaten the relationships with any one of the three governments.[9] As Edward Hallett Carr comments, "Revolution among the peoples of Asia, it seemed clear, had never been regarded by Comintern as an end in itself.[10]

Chinese Communism and the Comintern

Whether Marxism-Leninism and the October Revolution were the primary factors involved in Chinese intellectuals' decision to establish a Chinese commu-

nist party in July 1921 is the subject of debate. For a long time, leading scholars took the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 as their starting point and assigned causal power to the "messianic message" of Marxism-Leninism.[11] More recent scholarship, however, has complicated this story; for example, Arik Dirlik showed that Marxism-Leninism was only one of many ideologies competing for attention in the years from 1917 to 1920, and anarchism in particular held greater sway. At the same time, Dirlik asserts, the formation of the CCP was "a direct product of Comintern intervention," and "Chinese Marxism, such as it was in the twenties, was wholly derivative of Bolshevism."[12] Although there is continuing disagreement over what motivated Chinese intellectuals to embrace Marxism-Leninism, scholars generally agree that many of the leading Chinese Communists expressed continuing disagreement and a lack of cooperation with the Comintern's "bloc-within" policy during the entire United Front period of 1923 to 1927. The "bloc-within" policy required all CCP members not only to cooperate with but also to join the KMT.[13]

This activity culminates in the pivotal year of 1927. When on 13 April 1927 Chiang Kai-shek launched a bloody coup against the Communists, both the "bloc within" policy and the relationship between the Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution were thrown into crisis. Immediately prior to the coup, the Bolsheviks had launched bold new ventures in the region. In January, the International Workers Delegation arrived in China on a mission "to bring to the Chinese workers and peasants encouragement and assurance of support from the workers of the world,"[14] which culminated in the convening of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference in Hankow in May and the formation of the PPTUS.[15] Ignoring all pleas by the Comintern leadership and the delegation in Hankow,[16] Chiang Kai-shek proclaimed the triumph of the national government in Nanking. In response, the Communists turned to Wuhan, the seat of the Left KMT. However, as the peasants in the central provinces of Hunan and Hupeh began to strike out on their own, chasing out landlords and taking over the land, the Left KMT moved from issuing complaints about the "excesses" of the peasants to forcible repression. And on 15 July, the Left followed in the footsteps of the Right KMT; the Left expelled Communists from the Party and the army and murdered and imprisoned militants of the labor and peasant movements. The split in China also ended cooperative relations between the Chinese Left and the KMT in America.[17]

Although the tragic events of 1927 are the subject of continuing investigation, consensus is growing that what happened cannot simply be ascribed to Stalin's intervention. As S. A. Smith concludes, neither the charge of "right opportunism" nor the claim that the Comintern's policy errors were responsible for crushing the revolution in April 1927 holds water. Rather, "the brute reality was that a national revolution based on workers and peasants, capable of proceeding in a socialist direction, could not have succeeded in 1927 because the balance of military and political forces was overwhelmingly against it."[18]

Japanese Communism and the Comintern

It is now accepted that while the Comintern played a crucial role in establishing the JCP in July 1922, in the early years the membership of the JCP was fairly "heterogeneous," including both notable older Socialists and younger Marxists and "overseas and 'domestic' elements." The group of Issei radicals that gathered around Katayama in New York City in 1918 was one of the important overseas elements. According to Robert A. Scalapino, the "certain degree of freedom" enjoyed by the JCP during this period, accompanied by an increasing "flexibility with respect to doctrine and practice," was the result of ideological heterogeneity and immaturity of members in terms of their growth as "true Marxist-Leninists" and ignorance among Soviet and Comintern authorities regarding the situation in Japan. Also, "at this stage the movement was predominantly an intellectual one, springing out of the innumerable study groups and the general radical ferment in Japanese university, literary, and journalist circles."[19]

For Scalapino, there followed "continuous and extensive Soviet control over party leadership and basic policy at least after 1924."[20] For Sandra Wilson, the shift came in 1927 when, as the threat of Japanese imperialism began to loom larger and appeared to menace the very existence of both the Soviet state and the Chinese revolution, the Comintern began to intensify its demands upon Japanese Communists to heed its advice and follow its directives. In July the Comintern issued its first set of "Theses on Japan." Authored by Nikolai Bukharin, as head of the Comintern's special committee on Japan, the theses argued that the continued existence of "feudal remnants" in Japan's society necessitated a two-stage revolution. The JCP's adoption of the theses in November of that year thereupon triggered the exit of the dissident Rono-ha faction led by former JCP leaders Yamakawa Hitoshi and Inomata Tsunao and the beginning of what would become a decade-long struggle between the Koza-ha, or JCP, and Rono-ha. At the center of the debate lay, in Hoston's words, "the fundamental choice . . . between accepting or rejecting a Soviet Marxist interpretation of Japan's backwardness and its prospects for revolution, in adopting or repudiating Leninist modes of organization and the authority of the Comintern." Wilson, echoing this interpretation, observes that after the dissident members were expelled, the core members of the JCP were "by definition" loyal to the Comintern.[21]

At the same time, this "Second JCP" was caught in a double bind. Given the increasing level of persecution to which known and suspected Communists were subjected by the Japanese state in the late 1920s, its very existence depended on Comintern support in the form of funds and a base of operations outside the repressive environment of Japan. As Wilson remarks, "In all probability the party would not have survived even until the early 1930s without this support—unless it had been a very different sort of party, able to appeal to a broader constituency, less exclusive and perhaps willing to present itself as compatible with Japanese nationalism. So long as the JCP followed the

Comintern line, however, it is unlikely that it could have survived without practical Comintern support."[22] This raises the issue of nationalism. In their scholarship, Wilson, Scalapino, and Hoston make clear that the JCP's inability either to utilize the doctrine of nationalism or to make any connections with the nationalist movement was a key factor contributing to the party's ongoing and profound weakness and its eventual collapse. Placed in the hands of their conservative opponents, nationalism became a deadly weapon used with great effectiveness against the Communists. In effect, as Scalapino points out, the Japanese Communists were placed in the paradoxical position of being "forced to be internationalists in the purest Marxist terms," owing to their lack of any base in Japanese society and yet ensuring that their practice of proletarian internationalism was "equated with Soviet national interests." As a result, they became "fervent Soviet Nationalists."[23]

Conflict over the "national question" stemmed not simply from the hierarchical structure of the Comintern and the Soviet-dominated orientation of the Bolshevik leaders' rearticulations of the national question but also from the very nature of what was commonly accepted as the Marxian schema of historical change.[24] Hoston captures well the dilemma:

> Somehow, Asian Marxists had to accommodate their aspirations for their own societies to Marx's and Engels's historical schema, which echoed Hegel's *Philosophy of History* in seeing the maturation of humankind in the movement of consciousness from East to West. This could not be simply a negative accommodation, however, if nationalist sentiment was to be affirmed . . . The issue was no longer simply one of the determination of national borders to conform to the aspirations of minority peoples in the collapsing empires of nineteenth-century. It was one of the affirmation of the very being of these peoples and the value of their own experiences to the universal truths that were to be encompassed by Marxism as a universal doctrine.[25]

It is not surprising that, as the international Communist movement turned its attention to the rise of social liberation movements in colonial and semicolonial countries in Asia during the 1920s, the question of the role to be played by nationalist movements both in these countries and in relation to the international revolutionary movement drew increased attention and provoked intense controversy. Both Japanese and Chinese immigrant Communists in the United States were involved in the debate and struggle.

Russian Views of Asia and Asian Peoples

These accounts raise several other issues of relevance to the history that I am examining. First, there is the question of Russia's historically ambiguous status

as a country that was, in Fyodor Dostoevsky's words, both "in Europe" and "in Asia."[26] There were several reasons for this perception. One was the understanding of Russia's historical development as "straddling a proletarian revolution in the cities of European Russia and an agrarian peasants' revolution in its countryside."[27] Another was the immense size of the territory in central and northeast Asia conquered by successive Tsarist rulers and inherited from Imperial Russia by the Communist regime. Last, was the belief expressed first by representatives of the Imperial regime and then proclaimed by Soviet leaders that, in the words of G. V. Chicherin, the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, "the future of Russia was in Asia."[28]

Yet, both before and after the Russian Revolution most Russian leaders held a colonialist view of the lands to their east.[29] As John J. Stephan comments, "Within the Center's conception of the eastern periphery as a colony lurked the specter of a vast, untamed, and unpredictable frontier."[30] Moreover, Soviet policy toward Asian peoples was deeply contradictory and evidenced growing xenophobia over the course of the 1920s. Even as the Soviet state set about promoting national consciousness among its many ethnic minorities, establishing tens of thousands of national territories, and creating what one historian has called "the world's first Affirmative Action Empire," Asian peoples living in the Soviet Far East were accorded only secondary status within the new central frameworks of the state. They also continued to be regarded with suspicion as "Japanese" spies. With the shock of forced collectivization in the late 1920s came an increase in ethnic tensions, growing security concerns, and a surge of anti-Korean and anti-Chinese popular violence; this precipitated the massive exodus of Chinese and Koreans. Ultimately, the culmination of Soviet xenophobia, occurring as it did during the onset of the Great Terror, was the expulsion of 200,000 Koreans from the Soviet Far East and their forced deportation across the continent to Central Asia. In addition, as Wada Haruki concludes his account, "In 1937 and 1938 Korean Communist activists were arrested and shot as Japanese spies."[31]

When it came to the Center's view of countries to the east, Hoston suggests, "the overall Russian predisposition to see Japan as backward even in comparison with prerevolutionary Russia may be a manifestation of 'Orientalism,' in which the East is treated as a great, undifferentiated, backward mass."[32] In fact, from the time of the First Comintern Congress up through the 1930s, all the Comintern leaders, including Lenin, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Trotsky, and Stalin, applied categories derived from European, or even more narrowly Russian experience, to their analyses of social realities in non-European countries. As a result, the leaders were unable to come to terms with the complexities of class forces and specific histories of the various countries lumped into the single category of "colonial and semi-colonial,"[33] and they failed to construct a coherent policy in relation to either industrialized and noncolonized Japan or semicolonial China.[34] There is also evidence that non-Asian Comintern leaders

and Party functionaries perceived Asian peoples as alien, childlike, and in possession of "peculiar" cultures.[35]

Chinese and Japanese Immigrant Workers, Racial Anxiety, and Organized Labor

Turning to the U.S. context, it is nonetheless important to keep in mind developments in the global arena: European and U.S. expansionism into East Asia and the Pacific Basin grew and spawned fierce competition among the various powers for overseas territories; Japan built a nation-state and emerged as a capitalist industrializing economy and imperialist power in Asia for whom the practice of imperial expansionism was imperative for both its formation as a modern nation-state and its national security; and international labor migrations increased across the Pacific.[36] These migrations were fueled by conditions of poverty and social and political turmoil in home countries, the momentum of the migratory flows, and the insatiable demand on the West Coast for cheap labor to extract the land's bounty in mines, forests, fields, and rivers. In addition, at the center of the story of Asian immigration to the United States was the long and violent history of anti-Asian hostility and discrimination in which white workingmen figured so prominently.[37]

Chinese Immigrant Workers Come to America

The first sizable group of Chinese arrived in Hawaii in 1852 as contract laborers to work in the sugar plantations there. In that same year more than twenty thousand Chinese workers came to California through the port of San Francisco, drawn by the news of the discovery of gold; and over the course of the next decade, between two thousand and nine thousand arrived annually in California. During this period, 90 percent of the Chinese migrants were adult males, and most were Cantonese-speaking villagers from Guangdong's Pearl River delta. These were a people who had long been exposed to foreign and in particular Western influences and who had also experienced growing social and political dislocations as a result of Western incursions, domestic uprisings, and frequent floods.[38] Americans in turn had first learned about China and the Chinese in the latter part of the eighteenth century through the spread of an Orientalist discourse by traders, diplomats, and missionaries. Thus, right from the beginning sharp distinctions were drawn between non-Chinese and the exotic and presumed dangerous "Oriental."[39]

In the early 1850s, the surface mines were exhausted, and small independent miners were forced out of business; these miners turned their resentment and anger on the Chinese, which gave rise to the first surge of violence against Chinese, anti-Chinese agitation among communities, and efforts by the state to stop "this tide of Asiatic immigration." Moreover, rhetoric toward and treatment of Chinese migrants soon drew upon and paralleled treatment of African

Americans, where both groups were seen as degraded labor and their respective migrations to California "as illegitimate intrusions."[40] In this regard, it is important to recognize that, contrary to the common allegation that the Chinese were imported as servile "coolie" labor, the majority came voluntarily on the "credit-ticket" system. Under this system, once the debt had been paid off, the worker was on his own, free to find whatever work he could.[41]

The next wave of Chinese came to California in response to recruiting efforts of the Central Pacific Railroad Company owners, who sought Chinese workers to build the western section of the first transcontinental railroad. In the early 1870s, in the midst of rapid population growth the United States slid into another economic depression; the Chinese were increasingly blamed for both the economic slump and the labor problems suffered by white workers. Although initially the West Coast did not experience the full severity of the 1873 national economic collapse, the influx of more and more unemployed workers followed by a drought in 1876 sent California into a severe depression. During this period, after many of the almost 10,000 discharged Chinese railroad workers had made their way on foot back to California, they found work as agricultural laborers in the expanding industry of commercial agriculture and as tenant farmers in California and the Pacific Northwest. Others were recruited through labor contractors to work as miners in the frontier states, where, even as they contributed to the "making of the frontier," they were subject to racist discrimination and violent persecution. They also obtained jobs as workers in the canned-salmon industry in the Pacific Northwest.[42]

In San Francisco, whose population had increased by 30 percent, thousands of Chinese immigrants turned to work as house servants, laundry operatives, restaurant workers, and in sweatshops and small factories that specialized in the manufacturing of shoes, clothing, cigars, brooms, and other items. In the cigar industry, where the emergence of the national market brought California cigar manufacturers into competition with East Coast producers, cigar makers turned to lower-paid Chinese labor, and 91 percent of the cigar makers were now Chinese. As a result, both the service and manufacturing industries had become "battlefields." White workers launched boycotts against Chinese-made goods and urged white San Franciscans to support "white" over "coolie" labor.[43]

The Chinese question, however, was never simply a matter of economics. Alexander Saxton demonstrates that while the "anti-Chinese impulse" was economic in origin, white workers' responses to Chinese workers were shaped by previously formed ideological constructions of Indians and blacks. In addition, from the beginning the anti-Chinese cause served as an organizing tool. Facing a labor force that was divided by ethnicity and status—skilled and unskilled workers and the employed and the jobless—white labor groups such as Denis Kearney's Workingmen's Party of California (founded in 1877)

used the anti-Chinese issue to construct hierarchies of racial exclusion, forge coalitions with the Democratic party and other groups prominent in California politics, and strengthen the position of white craftsmen on the West Coast in general and in San Francisco in particular.[44] White skilled labor groups such as the San Francisco cigar makers union also deployed the rhetoric of disease in their campaigns against Chinese-manufactured goods and protests against Chinese labor, thereby making it appear that not only the system of white labor production but the health of the home, race, and nation were at stake.[45]

Nor did the issue long remain confined to the arena of California labor and politics. Although initially the small numbers of Chinese immigrants living in port cities on the East Coast were not seen as posing a threat, in 1870 the Chinese question erupted when first Calvin Sampson and then Captain James Harvey recruited to their respective factories through Chinese contract labor companies Chinese Californian workers. These events set off a firestorm of protests led by unions and local politicians that soon reverberated on the national stage and culminated in passage by the U.S. congress first of the Page Law in 1875 and then of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882.[46] While the former represented the first step at the federal level to regulate immigration by denying entry to Asian contract labor (all foreign contract labor to be outlawed in 1885), "women for the purposes of prostitution," and felons, the latter was the country's first law (to be renewed in 1892 and 1902 and then made indefinite in 1904) excluding a class of immigrants solely on the basis of race, nationality, and class. Moreover, as Erika Lee notes, the Exclusion Act "provided a powerful framework to be used to racialize other threatening, excludable, and undesirable aliens."[47] When it came to the arena of organized labor, the mobilization against the Chinese in California not only "nationalized union politics" but also "gave racial dress to union interest"; in fact, such exclusion marked the beginning of powerful trade-union nativism.[48]

During the years surrounding passage of the first exclusion act, anti-Chinese racism took even more violent form, and by the 1880s what had once been scattered attacks took on a more organized form: the Chinese were barred from white workingmen's associations and unions, forced out of jobs and communities by organized mobs, and driven out of many sectors of economic enterprise. From the beginning the Chinese not only fought back against racist violence but also regularly turned to the courts to oppose boycotts and challenge discriminatory laws; both individuals and communities were severely affected by the racial persecution and discrimination, beginning "with medical inspection at Angel Island."[49] Among the consequences was the dramatic decline in the Chinese population in the United States and a severe imbalance in the sex ratio in Chinatowns through the first decades of the twentieth century. At the same time, Sucheng Chan reminds us "within the general racial antagonism there emerged differential degrees of discrimination according to class." Because the exclusion laws distinguished between merchants and

laborers, the wives and daughters of merchants were discriminated against less severely than were working-class Chinese women, thereby making it more possible for their families to reproduce and establish themselves socially than was true for the latter.[50]

During the early years of the twentieth century, San Francisco was home to the country's largest Chinese community, which was trapped in a labor market rigidly stratified by race and gender. As Judy Yung describes, "most Chinese could find work only in the bottom tier. Chinese men worked chiefly as laborers, servants, factory workers in cigar and garment shops, laundrymen, and small merchants, while Chinese women, handicapped further by gender, worked primarily in garment and food-processing factories for low piece-rate wages."[51] Laundering was of special significance because it became the occupation that enabled Chinese to migrate east and gain a foothold in towns and cities in the Midwest, notably Chicago, and on the East Coast.[52] In New York, where Chinese were "latecomers," Xinyang Wang explains, "The only economic niches left for the Chinese, a small minority, were laundries and restaurants."[53]

Chinese were hired for one other important form of labor—as seamen. According to Robert Schwendinger, "Chinese were the major labor force that made possible the extraordinary history of transpacific voyages."[54] Nor was this the last chapter of the story. Through World War II many Chinese continued to be an important part of the labor force in both the transpacific and transatlantic trades, with New York City becoming home to many Chinese seamen. Moreover, as noted by Peter Kwong, "Chinese seamen had a long history of militancy and a high level of class consciousness."[55]

At the same time, the opposition by white organized maritime labor to the hiring of Chinese workers was among the most virulent and long-standing of any sector of organized labor. The formation first of the short-lived Seamen's Protective Union in 1878 and then of the Seamen's Protective Association in 1880 grew directly out of the surge of anti-Chinese agitation in San Francisco in the 1870s.[56] Although by 1893–1894 organized labor was no longer playing a prominent role in anti-Chinese agitation, one group of its constituents was as vocal as ever. The Preamble to the original 1901 Constitution of the Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Association of the Pacific Coast "concluded to form a Union for the purpose of replacing the Chinese and Japanese now on the Coast by American citizens or by those who are eligible to citizenship and who are competent to fill their respective positions."[57] In this same vein, the by-laws stated that among the duties of "each Union man" was "to shun all places where Chinese, Japanese or scab labor is employed and which are antagonistic to the interests of organized labor."[58] Lest one think these rules were short-lived, the membership book of one member whose first entry was dated 1928 and the last 1938 included word for word the Preamble, Constitution, and By-laws from 1901.[59]

Japanese Immigrant Workers Come to America

By the turn of the twentieth century, the Japanese were lumped together with the Chinese as an undifferentiated "Yellow Peril." Although Japanese immigrants were first recruited in 1885 to work on sugar plantations in Hawaii, and those who emigrated, or remigrated from Hawaii, to the mainland beginning in the mid-1890s were used to fill the labor vacuum in the agricultural economy caused by Chinese exclusion, they were soon subject to anti-Japanese agitation by anti-Chinese advocates. The threat was a familiar one, so the 4 May 1892 issue of the San Francisco *Bulletin* proclaimed: "The Japs: Another Rising Tide of Immigration."[60]

Japanese immigration is commonly divided into two periods, the first spanning the years 1885 to 1907 and the second 1908 to 1924, when the National Origins Act closed the doors to Japanese immigration. The context for the first wave of departures from Japan was the Meiji government's institution of a system of land taxation in 1873 to finance industrialization followed by the imposition in 1881 of drastic deflationary measures; together these developments resulted in widespread impoverishment of small family farmers, peasant uprisings, and the government's lifting of its ban on labor emigration. From 1885 to 1904, under the direction of the government Hawaiian sugar plantation owners recruited from several prefectures in southwestern Japan male "government-contract emigrants" for work on three-year contracts. The favorable reports of these first laborers led in turn to the departure of "private-contract emigrants" from 1894 to 1899. Like many immigrants from Europe, both groups intended to migrate only temporarily and held the dream of returning home again, a practice known as *dekasegi*.[61] At the same time, there were also flows of labor emigration to the continental United States, first, from 1895 up to August 1900, when in response to anti-Japanese agitation on the West Coast the Japanese Foreign Ministry prohibited emigration of laborers to the mainland, and second, from 1901 to 1907–1908, when the Gentlemen's Agreement between Tokyo and Washington, D.C., ended labor emigration entirely. According to Eiichiro Azuma, between 1895 and 1908 the "typical emigrant . . . originated from a better-off rural household, and he preferred to go to the continental United States without his wife." Along with these "entrepreneurial laborers," totaling more than 130,000, came the approximately 38,000 Japanese contract laborers who remigrated from Hawaii to the mainland between 1902 and 1907. For both emigrants and remigrants, the attraction was the higher wages to be earned on the mainland.[62]

The Japanese government no longer looked favorably upon the emigration of Japanese laborers and sought to exercise strict control. It feared that the presence of uneducated laborers and "undesirables" in the United States would strengthen the position of those in the West who portrayed Japan as an uncivilized nation and who likened the Japanese to the Chinese, thereby threatening the diplomatic affairs of the state. Indeed, in its drive to become a

nation-state equal to other nation-states in the modern world, Japan embarked on a national project to prevent further emigration of laborers and transform "Sinified" *dekasegi* laborers into "civilized" Japanese. "Ironically," Azuma comments, "both diplomats and the immigrant elite agreed with the exclusionists on the key point that the 'inferior' quality of Japanese laborers and prostitutes paralleled the excluded Chinese."[63] It is also ironic that during his years as a Christian socialist from the 1890s through 1907, and after a twelve-year sojourn in the United States where he worked long hours at menial-labor jobs to support his studies, Katayama embraced Japan's ideology of striving and success as part of the nation's expansion and called himself "first and foremost a patriotic citizen." In this vein, he harshly criticized agricultural emigrants whose behavior jeopardized Japan's drive to become a "civilized nation."[64]

Another aspect of Katayama's story is not unique. From the mid-1880s through the 1890s and after and with the approval of the Japanese government, thousands of mostly indigent Japanese students known as "school-boys" came to America to learn English and acquire some body of knowledge and/or skill that would enable them to pursue a career in Japan. Many traveled to America with dreams of individual success, but few, even among those who came from the newly forming middle class, ever attained their goals. Whether they settled in San Francisco or in the less virulently hostile environment of New York City, most were unable to escape menial jobs and became one of "the army of domestic servants." These last words were written around the turn of the century by a young Japanese student emigrant who first landed in Victoria, British Columbia, and who "served as a house boy, launderer, cabin boy, kitchen helper, dishwasher, butler, and waiter in boardinghouses, homes, mansions, and yachts" in cities across the country before ending up in the small and geographically scattered community of Japanese in New York.[65]

At the same time, emigrants were bold and creative in the strategies they developed for evading Tokyo's policies, with "many farmers pos[ing] as 'businessmen,' 'merchants' or even 'industrialists'" in their passport applications, and others entering the United States via Mexico or Canada. In addition, during this period a longstanding practice of resisting military conscription took the form of emigration to the United States, by which means young men could defer and even avoid the draft altogether by staying overseas until older than thirty-two, the age of eligibility.[66]

Although the bilateral Gentlemen's Agreement cut off entry of male laborers, immigrants discovered that they could send for brides and younger relatives. As a result, during the first two decades of the twentieth century thousands of Japanese women arrived as wives, thereby encouraging the shift toward permanent settlement and ensuring that the family became the "key social institution" in immigrant society. For their part, the newly arrived women faced the harsh reality of life in America, beginning with the "ordeal" encountered at the immigration station. Although some joined husbands in

urban areas, the majority went into rural areas, either to labor camps operated by their husbands or to farms where their husbands worked as share or cash tenants. In fact, while many Issei became part of the class of "small-scale settler-entrepreneurs and agriculturists," thousands of others remained laborers whose material lives reflected their continuing position as a source of cheap, expendable labor.[67]

Even as the amount of land in California under Japanese cultivation increased dramatically in the first decade of the twentieth century, white landowners with the assistance of state governments sought to ensure that Japanese would remain locked into modes of land tenure, such as cash tenancy, that required their dependency on propertied whites. These efforts culminated in California enacting first the 1913 Alien Land Law and then the more severe 1920 Alien Land Law, which barred transfer or leasing of land to Japanese nationals and prohibited noncitizens from acquiring title to land in the names of their American-born children or via corporations. Although Japanese immigrants mounted challenges to the law, these efforts ended in defeat.[68] While recognizing the psychological dimension of the defeat, some scholars emphasize that Japanese farmers figured out methods by which to lessen the impact of the law; in any case by 1920 many Issei had already acquired the title to land in the names of their children.[69] Yet, Ichioka points out that "extreme variations from one community to another" existed in terms of ability to set up "alternative methods of farming." Moreover, as Azuma shows, these laws "effectively arrested the expansion of independent Japanese farming." As a result, "institutionalized racism in agriculture circumscribed the Japanese vision of social existence within the narrow bounds characterized by dependency."[70]

Meanwhile, in newly developing ethnic enclaves in towns and cities in California and the Pacific Northwest Japanese entrepreneurs ran small businesses such as laundries, bathhouses, restaurants, and boardinghouses or obtained work as domestic servants. In addition to the aforementioned "school-boys," Japanese domestics included those who worked for a daily wage while living in Japanese-operated boardinghouses and those who worked in restaurants or were employed by Japanese companies. According to Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Each community had at least one combination bathhouse-poolhall-employment agency at which the men congregated." Typically, there also were hotels and boardinghouses, restaurants, groceries, laundries, ethnic churches, Japanese-language schools, and other business and service establishments catering to Japanese clientele. Unlike the Chinese, very few Japanese immigrants sought to obtain work in manufacturing. Sizable Japanese communities developed in San Francisco, Seattle, and Los Angeles. By 1929 Los Angeles not only had the largest population, estimated at thirty thousand, but the city was also home to the two major agricultural associations in which Japanese were involved—the Ninth Street Market (also known as the Los Angeles City Market) and the Seventh Street Market.[71]

From the time Japanese laborers first entered the labor market on the West Coast of the United States in the 1890s until the first half of the 1930s, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) was the dominant force in the union movement, and its policy was racial exclusion. David Montgomery recounts that in response to the efforts of many Japanese agricultural laborers to join the AFL in 1903, the Los Angeles Labor Council considered welcoming them. However, the idea was immediately killed by the AFL's executive council. In addition, what had begun as opposition to the entry of Chinese into the United States easily slid into opposition to the entry of Japanese and other Asian immigrants. This did not mean, however, that Japanese immigrants were either ignorant about modern labor practices and trade unionism or uninterested in labor organizing and efforts to improve their working lives. Indeed, although employers in the 1890s initially welcomed Japanese farmworkers "as ideal surrogates for the increasingly ephemeral Chinese," by the turn of the century the same employers were lamenting the loss of Chinese labor and decrying the Japanese as "a tricky and cunning lot, who break contracts and become quite independent."[72]

2

Study Groups, the Oriental Branch, and "Hands Off China" Demonstrations

Issei Radicals' and Left-wing Chinese Students' Activism, 1919–1926

The "Twenty-One Conditions," which were ratified at the Second Comintern Congress, signaled the beginning of the process that would culminate in the "universalisation of Bolshevism." The conditions stated among other things that every organization seeking admission to the International must adhere to the principle of democratic centralism, on the basis of "iron discipline, and accept that "All decisions by congresses of the Communist International as well as by its Executive Committee are binding on all parties belonging to the Communist International."[1] At the same time, as noted by Edward Hallett Carr, the mid-1920s was a time "when international relations were still in the period of relative détente inaugurated in 1921, and when united front policies interpreted in the broadest sense were still popular in Moscow."[2] Moreover, the theory did not always match the reality on the ground because of either "national inclinations"[3] or party leaders at the district and subdistrict levels and/or rank-and-file members who were unable to carry out directives issued from above.

For Chinese and Japanese immigrant activists, language barriers, an insecure legal status, and sharp racial divides further complicated the already difficult nature of acting within a hierarchical and yet far-flung and politically vulnerable system. This is not to speak of differences with party leaderships over what was for both groups the not merely theoretical but in fact deeply personal matter of the national question. Whereas the American Party leadership characterized immigrant nationalism as "a somewhat narrow moral bond with their fellow workers in the country on the other side of the Ocean,"[4] for Chinese and Japanese immigrant activists, like other immigrant groups in the United States, nationalism was an expansive and multidimensional bond of kinship, cultural affinity, and political commitments that united male and female workers as well as like-minded compatriots wherever they might be in an "imagined community."[5] Given this understanding, it is important both to

consider the social composition and structure of the Party and to examine the pre- and early post-emigration expressions of radicalism of left-wing Japanese and Chinese immigrant activists.

Social Composition and Structure of Workers (Communist) Party of America

By 1925, what was then called the Workers Party of America (WPA) included an English section and eighteen foreign-language federations, of which the largest in order of size were, "the Finnish, Jewish, South Slavic, Russian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian and Hungarian." The very predominance of immigrants from Eastern Europe meant that the membership largely belonged to the working class and was based in basic industry.[6] At its Fourth Convention, held in August 1925, the renamed Workers (Communist) Party, [W(C)P], formally initiated the process of Bolshevization. The Party sought to reorganize along more centralized lines and to root it in the "American" working class.[7] The language federations were to be abolished and the basic unit of the Party was to become either the "shop nucleus" or the "street nucleus." The leaders hoped that "Bolshevization would take such a Communist and force him to 'turn his face to the factory'—the key site of capitalist society—where he would be made to fraternize with other Communists, and, hopefully, even with fellow workers who were not Communists and did not belong to any ethnic group."[8] In the process, so the theory went, the immigrant Communist would himself be turned into an American.

Struggles over the reconciliation of ethnic self-identity to the values of internationalism and to the pressures of the Americanization process continued among many immigrant groups of Communists, just as in society as a whole, through the 1920s and into the 1930s.[9] Three years after the reorganization had been initiated, one Comrade Paterson decried the "survival of the Language federations in our Party," manifested by the printing in foreign-language papers of such headlines as "Italian Section of Workers Party makes strides," which implied that "we have an Italian CP in America!! [*sic*]" when there should be "*a united American party* [emphasis in original]."[10]

Open acknowledgment of failure did not signal, however, that the Party was ready to abandon its effort. In July 1929, the Language Department instructed all District Organizers (DOs) and Language Bureaus of the Central Committee (CC): "This impossible continuation of language isolation must be broken down now once and for all." The solution was simple: "Every District Committee should immediately reorganize their Language Bureaus, from now on to consist only of three members." And the projected benefits were great: "This reorganization will contribute to speedier liquidation of all remnants of federationalism [*sic*], bring the [Language] Bureaus closer to the Party . . . At the same time, it will provide for a more efficient fight against reformism and opportunism, against all social democratic tendencies manifesting themselves

abundantly in the language organizations."[11] On a theoretical level that Bolshevization spelled Stalinization is confirmed in such a re-envisioning of the party.

Although in November, the Language Department hailed "the liquidation of language federations" as "a great step forward in the direction of unification of its forces, in the direction of Americanization," it acknowledged that "the immigrate [*sic*] workers still feel a somewhat narrow moral bond with their fellow workers in the country on the other side of the Ocean." Such a bond "leads in the best instances to an active internationalism . . . but in most instances it keeps up a sort of narrow nationalism, hindering Americanization." However, according to the press release, there were further signs of positive change: "Nevertheless, due mainly to the immigration restrictions as stated above [the National Origins Act of 1924], the immigrated masses are becoming stabilized and more firmly united with the native workers."[12]

At a time of harsh immigration restrictions directed not only against all Asian immigrants but also against southern and eastern European immigrants, who were deemed to belong to "inferior" races and to be dangerously radical, of mounting pressures on the foreign-born to assimilate, and of reinforced barriers separating nonwhite races from those races deemed eligible to become members of the newly reconsolidated "white" American race, it is ironic that the American party leadership echoed the calls of American xenophobes and reformers and in some ways embraced the new racial regime.[13] However, as startling as the above statement appears, it does not stand in isolation; rather, it reflects the pronouncements issued by the Comintern, repeated by the American Party, and summed up in the refrain that the Party must become an "American" party. Furthermore, the Party's readiness and strenuous desire to Americanize its membership grew out of its twin efforts to refute the common charge "that it was imported into this country" and therefore alien to the American environment and to reach out to and mobilize support among the white working class.[14]

Yet, rhetoric aside, throughout the 1920s the Party drew most of its support from among largely male immigrant workers. In 1921, however, entry into the Party began to reflect, as noted by Edward Johanningsmeier, a "new cadre [that] was predominantly syndicalist in background and orientation" But this new leadership "remained unrepresentative of the Communist Party's membership as a whole."[15] Between 1922 and 1930, the percentage of native-born Americans serving on CCs ranged from a low of 36.6 percent in 1929 to a high of 58.3 percent in 1923, while the membership as a whole was overwhelmingly composed of immigrants.[16] The number of female party members remained very small throughout the decade.[17] This raises the issue of geographical distribution of party membership and possible regional variations. Before addressing these issues, however, understanding the official structure of the Party is essential.

At the top of the Party was the national office, which was located until the end of 1926 in Chicago and then on January 24, 1927, was moved to New York.[18] This seat of the Central Executive Committee (CEC, renamed Central Committee in 1929) included the Polburo (Political Bureau, also known as Political Committee), the Orgburo (Organization Bureau), and the Secretariat. In descending order of authority came the district, the subdistrict, the section or local (consisting of street and shop units in a given area), and the unit or nucleus (including both the street and shop units). The work of the Party, however, was generally supervised by various departments (including among others the Agitation and Propaganda [Agitprop], Women's, Negro, and Anti-Imperialist Departments), which were also organized at the national, district, section, and unit levels and observed the same hierarchy of authority. Finally, members of fractions carried out the tasks themselves. In general, fractions consisted of small groups of party members working within nonparty "mass" (also known as "front") organizations such as fraternal and cultural organizations and branches of the International Labor Defense (ILD) and the United States Section of the Anti-Imperialist League (also known as the All-America Anti-Imperialist League, American Section—AAAIL).[19] In most instances "the foreign-language members with a special interest in foreign-language work were organized into 'sections' or 'bureaus,'"[20] but in the case of Chinese and Japanese members both the activists and other party members used interchangeably the terms, *fraction*, *bureau* (or *buro*), and *section* to refer to the Chinese and Japanese members' structures at the national and local levels.

When it came to distributing party membership, the largest numbers were concentrated in the urban centers of the Northeast and industrial Midwest. According to the official figures released at the third national convention of the Party in April 1923, 50 percent of the membership was located in the Northeast, approximately 30 percent in the Midwest, and only 5 percent on the Pacific Coast.[21] Pacific Coast meant District 13, which for all practical purposes referred to California but technically also included Arizona and Nevada. In addition, according to Los Angeles City Secretary William Schneiderman, at this time there were "more transient members here than almost anywhere else in the country, due to tourists, unemployment, etc."[22] However, the social composition of the West Coast did not diverge that far from the Northeast. As late as 1929, District 13 was "at least 50 percent Jews, 10 percent Finns," and 70 percent or more foreign-born.[23]

The situation was similar in District 12, which covered the states of Washington and Oregon and whose district office was located in Seattle. Upon his arrival in the district office in late August 1924, DO Norman H. Tallentire discovered that membership in the various locals, small at the outset, was now in rapid decline, due to "internal wrangling" and low morale. In his report covering his eight-month tenure from September 1, 1924, to May 1, 1925, Tallentire called attention to an "important development." Apparently, "just a couple of

days before I left Seattle Moises J. Acuna, president of the Philippine Workers Federal Labor Union, who has arrived on the Pacific Coast to organize among the large colonies of Filipino workers has requested our assistance in this work and we expect to recruit into the Party quite a number of these workers who are among the most exploited sections of Labor on the Pacific coast." There is neither further mention of the overture in later records nor any evidence of a wave of Filipinos entering the Party. Rather, the groups who were active during the twenties included the Finnish, South Slavic, Caucasian, and English Branches.[24]

The distribution of Chinese and Japanese activists reflected the settlement patterns of their respective immigrant communities. Thus, Chinese activists were concentrated in San Francisco, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia, and Japanese activists in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and New York. However, in both cases, through the mid-1920s, the numbers ranged from a handful to a dozen at most in the various cities. There is no record of any activists being present in Seattle at this time.

In theory, according to the system of "democratic centralism," whatever the distance between district and national offices, between subdistrict and local and district or national offices, or between neighborhood and shop and subdistrict, district, or national offices, the hierarchy of authority was supposed to function without deviation or interruption.[25] In reality, however, patterns of communication and lines of authority were far more variable, unpredictable, and fractured. A perpetual lack of funds and shortage of recruits to carry out overly ambitious goals accompanied the problem of factionalism. By the mid-1920s the Party was torn apart at all levels by fierce and disabling factional infighting; not only did personalities vie for power, but also differences surfaced over the direction of party programs and policies.[26]

In addition, geographical distance removed some districts from the heavy hand of the centers of power on the East Coast. In this regard, the first place that comes to mind is California. Indeed, to call attention to California's autonomy is to repeat a truism of American Communist historiography. Although testimonies abound from the 1930s,[27] Ralph E. Shaffer argues that during the early years the district lived up to this reputation. "Californian communism in the early 1920s was an independent-minded, fairly autonomous movement which determined its course without dictation from the outside." According to Shaffer, this autonomy stemmed in part from "the remoteness of the state from national headquarters" and the consequent lack of much "direct supervision"; geographical distance was in turn responsible for the relatively minor role California played in forming the Party or developing the national movement. Local leaders who did become important players at the national level migrated from the West to the East Coast.[28]

Distance was not the only factor at work, however. In her study of labor organizer and founding American party member Ella Reeve Bloor, Kathleen A.

Brown examines why by the late 1930s "there were more women in leadership in California than in any other state Party." According to Brown, the California branch of the Party was unusual in "that its strength lay in 'front' organizations, not in the Party itself." Moreover, Bloor nurtured this strength. "In building the Party through fronts, such as labor and worker defense organizations, Bloor was continuing her pre-World War I Socialist Party emphasis on coalition politics, education, and integrating women into her radical work."[29] Alternatively, Daniel Geary reminds us that the California left of the 1930s arose from "the political environment of California, which had a long history of repressing dissident political expression." Throughout the 1920s and 1930s much of the left's energy and resources was expended in fighting against both legal (such as the Criminal Syndicalism Act of 1919, anti-picketing laws, and the violent actions of Los Angeles police Captain William Hynes's Red Squad) and extralegal forms of repression.[30]

In the case of Japanese and Chinese immigrant activists, California was not as clearly exceptional. First, through the mid-1920s the numbers of left-wing and Communist Japanese and Chinese activists, and of women activists in particular, remained very small in all areas of the country. Second, language barriers were formidable everywhere at all times. Though some Japanese and Chinese activists could speak and write in English, few if any English speakers understood Japanese or Chinese. Third, though racial discrimination and persecution were more severe on the West Coast than in the Midwest and on the East Coast with significantly less residential segregation in cities on the East Coast, Chinese and Japanese immigrants were everywhere largely restricted to their respective communities' ethnic economies or to service jobs such as laundry and domestic work. As a result, except in isolated instances the process of Bolshevization did not result in Japanese and Chinese party members' becoming members of ethnically mixed street and shop nuclei.[31] That is, Chinese and Japanese activists could not readily join ethnically mixed nuclei or participate in the mass and especially labor organizations that other Communists joined.

Early Years of Issei Left-wing and Communist Activism in the United States

In 1919, left-wing Issei in New York City formed, under the direction of Katayama Sen, the Japanese Socialist Group in America.[32] This was not, however, the first expression of Issei socialism in the United States. Rather, Yuji Ichioka reports, "By the beginning of 1904, there were two socialist groups, akin to discussion-study societies, one located in San Francisco and the other in Oakland, which were influenced by the arrival of certain socialist leaders from Japan." The origins of Issei socialism lay in the emergence of the modern labor and socialist movements and development of anarchist and socialist thought

in Japan at the turn of the century.[33] As indications of the future role to be played by the United States and the kind of transpacific circulation of ideas and influence that became so important in the activism of Issei communists, Japanese socialists and anarchists found refuge from government repression in Japan and were able to voice their dissent—in spite of the fact that their destinations were shaped by racial exclusion and discrimination. Also, the United States was the place where the labor movement in Japan "had immediate roots." The group Shokko Giyukai (Friends of Labor) was first formed under the influence of the AFL in San Francisco in 1890 before being reconstituted in Japan as the Rodo Kumiai Kiseikai (Society for the Promotion of Trade Unions) following the return migration of its Issei founders, and the first labor publication in Japan, *Rodo Sekai* (*Labor World*), was launched in 1897 under the editorship of Katayama, who had returned from the United States in 1895.[34] Thus, when Issei radicals gathered around Katayama to discuss socialist ideas, they were continuing patterns of transpacific activism and thought.

Two aspects of Katayama's early experience in the United States also merit attention because these likewise figured prominently in the lives of Issei communists. First, racism and discrimination were real. On his last visit to the United States in 1914, following passage of the first Alien Land Law, "he discovered that to be a Japanese in California was in many ways no different from being a socialist in Japan"—this, at a time when he was fleeing persecution in Japan in the wake of the High Treason Affair of 1910–1911. Although "Katayama refused to share in the resentment of his countrymen" and believed "that the Japanese authorities were deliberately magnifying the issue so as to raise a scare of war between the United States and Japan," in general he and other left-wing Issei coupled mistrust of the Japanese government with vocal criticism of America as, in Katayama's words, "the country of the race prejudices and racial hatred."[35] The other salient aspects of his experiences were harassment and intimidation by Japanese consular officials along with lack of interest, hostility, and even fear on the part of Japanese immigrants. Ichioka notes that in San Francisco where he lived in 1915 "Japanese immigrants shunned Katayama as a dangerous man" who "was linked indirectly with Kotoku Shusui."[36]

However, when Katayama and his daughter arrived in New York in the fall of 1916 at the invitation of an old socialist acquaintance, S. J. Rutgers, who opened his home in Brooklyn to them and for whom Katayama in return served as cook, he encountered something different. As Katayama recalled, "Just this time New York became a lively centre of the socialist movement," with the presence of Leon Trotsky, Nikolai Bukharin, V. Volodarsky, and Madame Kollontai, as well as Louis Boudin, Louis Fraina, and other "left socialists." Following Rutgers's departure for Russia in the spring of 1918 Katayama was forced to work at "irregular jobs as cook in private homes and local restaurants"; the change proved transformative. His new apartment on West 56th Street in Manhattan was small but located in the same neighborhood as other Japanese

immigrants who shared rooming houses, cooperative dining halls, and clubs. "From the ranks of these socially uprooted and intellectually restive Japanese," Kublin recounts, "Katayama slowly constructed a small but hard core of personally devoted followers, more or less committed to the advancement of socialism and revolution."[37]

Several key points are important in thinking about the early years of activism among Issei radicals who entered the American Communist and international Communist movements. First, senior revolutionary Katayama achieved commanding influence by stretching across vast geographical distances and extending from the details of travel plans to envisioning the future of Communism among Japanese in the United States. This influence coexisted with a high degree of ideological heterogeneity; for example, in Los Angeles such divergence stemmed from the prior existence of political and intellectual heterogeneity within the Okinawan community. Okinawans remained prominent among Issei Communists in California. Second, the strong orientation toward the international Communist movement in general and the revolutionary movement in Japan in particular consciously linked the interests of Japanese immigrant workers with the interests of workers in Japan. As Katayama commented in one of his letters to Issei Communists in America: "Whenever Japanese comrades awaken and do some propaganda work the Japanese in America and Hawai [*sic*] are eager to listen to the movement, so I am sure that as the Japanese labor and socialist movement grow the Japanese in America will [be] ready to listen to the voice of the communists."[38] Given this orientation toward "activist travel" of organizers and ideas, it is perhaps not surprising to discover that Japanese immigrants' activism was also sharply gendered male.[39] Third, the activists were isolated in relation to both their immigrant communities and the American Party. At the same time, they engaged in efforts to demonstrate solidarity with both "Orientals" overseas and Chinese workers in the United States.

"The old man" and his "boys" form the Japanese Socialist Group in America

In 1918, amidst the clutter of radical publications, "Katayama's boys" gathered at his apartment in New York. Scalapino gives a lively description of the scene. They came singly or in small groups; Watanabe Haruo, future engineer and industrialist, who studied chemistry, industrial management, and socialism; Takahashi Kamekichi, who, with only a primary school education was able to enter Waseda and graduate at the head of his class; and Taguchi Unzo, an international citizen, who, along with Yoshihara Taro, attended the 3rd Congress of the Comintern.

There were other participants: Maniwa Suekichi, a former sailor who had jumped ship to try the life of a cowboy in the western United States; upon

finding this much less romantic than he had supposed, he drifted to New York and into the socialist movement; Kondo Eizo, salesman, student, and amateur promoter of Japanese-American cultural relations, who initially brought tidings of the new Communist movement back to Japan; Ishigaki Eitaro, a young artist with anarchist leanings, who labored with Katayama over the revision of the Socialist leader's autobiography; Suzuki Mosaburo, a young journalist, who embarked on a long career as a left-wing Socialist leader; and Inomata Tsunao, a bright young economist trained at Waseda and the University of Wisconsin, who became a noted Waseda professor and leader in the Rono school of Japanese Marxism. "The inner circle around Katayama," Scalapino adds, "seems to have been composed of Taguchi, Watanabe, Maniwa, and Ishigaki."[40] At the same time, the leading spokespersons for the group were Katayama, Taguchi, and Nonaka Seichi.[41]

As eager as they were to discuss politics, the young socialists were chiefly concerned with support for the emerging labor and socialist movements in their homeland. In 1912, trade union leader Suzuki Bunji had successfully established what was "the first stable organization of wage laborers in Japan," Yuaikai (Friendly Society), to be renamed the Dai Nihon Rodo Sodomei (Greater Japan General Federation of Labor) (also known as Sodomei) in 1919.[42] Back in New York, the activists focused on developing three-way lines of communication among the leadership of the Comintern, their compatriots in Japan, and themselves. Watanabe recalled that they translated into Japanese and sent to Japan "important literature" about the Comintern's activities and also translated into English and sent to Moscow via the Comintern's Amsterdam bureau materials about the Japanese socialist and labor movements. In return, writes Scalapino, they "received Socialist literature from home."[43] In addition, not satisfied with communication by mail alone, the group took steps to establish face-to-face contact with socialists in Japan. In May 1919, Kondo left New York for Japan with the task of contacting socialists and persuading them to form a Japanese communist party.[44]

The reference to the Comintern raises the question of when the Japanese Socialist Group in America was transformed into a communist group. Reminiscing from his home in Moscow, Katayama folded the socialist into the communist stage such that the latter became the only remembered movement: "In the Autumn of 1918 we have started communist movement among the Japanese in New York, but Comrade Kondo was to return Japan and there to start Communist movement." However, after recording Kondo's departure in the spring of 1919 he wrote," In the Autumn of that year (1920 [changed to 1919 by red pencil]) I and Comrade Taguchi started the Japanese Communist Group in New York . . . having a weekly studies [*sic*] of Communism and the first book we studied was Comrade Lenin's 'The State and Revolution.'" Undoubtedly due at least in part to the passage of time, the confusion may also have stemmed from the triumph of the communist over the socialist movement—and nowhere

more so than in the minds of his intended readership, "my Russian Comrades, under whose warmest hospitality and protection I am spending my old age, and have been enjoying myself in the Workers and Peasant Republic."[45] In any case, by April 1921 the Japanese Communist Group in America (also known as J.G. or JCG) had replaced its socialist predecessor.[46]

"We must make America our school of Communism and send out our graduates to Japan to preach the gospel of Communism"

Although Katayama fled New York around the beginning of 1920 in the wake of a "big raid" and arrests of Communists, the group survived his departure and leadership passed into the hands of Inomata.[47] For his part, Katayama kept in close touch by mail, first from Mexico and after December 1921 from the Hotel Lux in Moscow. He also continued to direct the work of the JCG. For example, four months after his arrival in Mexico he wrote to his old friend Nonaka Masayuki, in Los Angeles,[48] to advise him on immediate and future plans.

> Now as to your going home I should advice [*sic*] you stop it for the time being, because you can not [*sic*] do anything in Japan under the present condition. I have been trying to establish a printing shop in New York. I am sure this time I shall succeed it. And I wish you go there work for us Because [*sic*] we need a strong man like you. I believe work must be done in the States for Japan, because it is absolutely impossible to do it in Japan. So you should stay in the states [*sic*] a while work for Japan. The free press is not a thing in Japan we must do our best to supply with the strait [*sic*] sort of literatures for Japan from this country. See Yamakawa and others cannot write what they want to write! They must satisfy with with [*sic*] a chain of rings which mean nothing. We must make America our school of Communism and send out our graduates to Japan to preach the gospel of Communism.[49]

That America should become "our school of Communism" whose already gendered male "graduates" would return to Japan to "preach" Communism until "time comes for deicisive [*sic*] action" was a recurrent theme in Katayama's correspondence.[50] It also anticipated and helped to lay the ground for the emergence toward the end of that decade of pan-Pacific trade union and communist organizing efforts in which Issei Communists in America played a leading role. Just as PPTUS organizers from waterfronts in the United States later recognized the potential for reaching across the Pacific and making contact with Japanese workers in Japan, so Katayama envisioned taking "control of some place" in America in order "to command space" in Japan.

A month later, in a letter to Taguchi and Yoshihara in Moscow, who were there for the Third Comintern Congress, Katayama replayed the same message, with the additional comment that, in spite of their relatively small numbers,

the Japanese in America were "better workers and more class conscious than those workers at home generally." Taguchi and Yoshihara felt compelled to tell the Comintern leadership that "money and more support from the Main Office" was needed to extend the J.G. "all over the country and Hawai [*sic*]," and produce "a weekly in Japanese language and many pamphlets . . . so that we can effectively make propaganda among our own countrymen," first "here in America than [*sic*] at home."[51]

Katayama believed that recognizing the "strategic" importance of the "America organization" was to accept the burden of history as revealed by the successful Russian revolution. In a letter to leading Issei activists "Sada [Inomata], Sasaki [Suzuki] and Shima [Maniwa]," he affirmed that just as "the leaders in Russia to-day are all the former exiles," so would "those who are abroad to-day" end up "tak[ing] the rein of the political power." Although Katayama acknowledged that the three were correct in thinking that Shanghai in China and Chita near the borders of China and Mongolia were better sites from which to conduct "propaganda at home," he nonetheless maintained, "it would be rather difficult to recruit leaders there." Therefore, it was "very very necessary for you to look after the future of J.G." Moreover, he asserted, "I do not believe any special difficulty in the work, for so far we did not know the method of work and time was not arrived, hereafter it will not be much difficult because there are forces working behind the movement."[52]

This was neither the first nor the last occasion on which Katayama offered an overly optimistic and self-aggrandizing view of the "future of J.G." and the part that he and Issei radicals played in instigating revolutionary change in Japan. For instance, in his earlier letter to Nonaka he had ordered, "We must get at once some 250 comrades among Japanese so that we can establish our own bureau. Please work for it."[53] Equally striking in his correspondence from this period is his close and passionate involvement in the activities of the activists, wherever they might be at a particular moment in time. In this instance, he devoted most of his letter to spelling out plans for them. Maniwa was "to start to make your preparations and find a chance to get a position on a steamer to Reval" en route to Moscow to attend the first Congress of the Toilers of the Far East in January 1922 before going at Taguchi's urging "to Irkutsk to study and work there for the Far Eastern Bureau";[54] Inomata should go "home" at once to Japan—though on the way he had "better step in at Los Angeles" to pick up Comrade Nonaka and "take him to Japan" if the latter "will not come to N.Y. or go to M.[oscow]." Once in Japan, Inomata was encouraged to "do [a] great deal of work from his Professorial chair" at Waseda University in preparation for work in China and to facilitate communication between activists overseas and those in Japan; Katayama reminded him, "You see how we feel lost when we can not get any reliable news from home." Suzuki was to leave as soon as possible for the Congress in Moscow, for which he should retain in his head "as much as possible the present labor and social conditions of Japan and

America so that you can tell there." Beyond the Congress, he should remember that his "mission [was] a very important one" and as a journalist he was armed with "unlimitted [*sic*] amunitions [*sic*] and gun balls to sent [*sic*] home to wake the masses and scare the enemy and eventually crush the enemy." Finally, Katayama instructed all three, "One of the preparations that you should at once start is the study of German, which language you must learn." Apparently, Inomata could assist "easily on this."[55]

According to George M. Beckmann and Okubo Genji, although Katayama was designated Asian representative to the Comintern, "his defects were apparent to the Comintern leaders: he was no help as a theorist and, being out of touch with the Japanese scene, he was hardly useful as a source of information." They conclude, "His position in the Comintern proved to be largely a symbolic one."[56] Yet, Katayama's position was far from purely symbolic. From the time of his initial involvement in the founding of the American Party up to his death in Moscow, he made strenuous efforts to use his rank in the Comintern hierarchy as well as his status as a veteran Japanese Communist to promote and obtain support (including monetary subsidies) for the work of Japanese activists from the Communist leaderships in New York and Moscow. He aimed to assist individual activists in America, elsewhere overseas, and Japan and to develop means to communicate with and sustain the JCP.

For instance, in May 1922 he wrote to Comrade Sasarov of the Far Eastern Section of the Comintern concerning "the matter of communication and connection between Japanese Party and the Comintern." Recognizing the fact that "direct communication between Japan and Moscow at the present moment seems almost impossible," he suggested "it would be very advisable to place a trusted Japanese Comrade at Shang Hai [*sic*]." Indeed, in the event that "there will be no Comintern representative at Shang Hai [*sic*] the Japanese C.P. will have difficulties in getting in touch with the Comintern owing to a fact that most of the Japanese comrades can not [*sic*] speak foreign language." In addition, "we must print some literature there in Shanghai, otherwise, it will be very difficult and almost impossible to put out any substantial books in the Japanese in Japan."[57]

For their part, the JCG activists sought to convey to the Comintern leadership the importance of their position in relation to the revolutionary movement in Japan. In April 1921 they wrote to the ECCI, "By means of sending and translating the propaganda literature and contributing articles as well as of personal communication and delegation, we have tried our utmost to influence the Japanese leaders, to guide them toward the only road to the true victory of the Japanese Proletariat." Now, at this historical moment when conditions in Japan "all go to convince the mass of workers of the rottenness of the Capitalist regime," there must be no delay in advancing the revolutionary movement. However, given the fact that the movement in Japan was "young and vital" but "led by a group" that was "relatively inexperienced and few in number" and

the Japanese government's "machinery of suppression" was "most efficiently organized," they "must of necessity rely on the moral as well as material support of the World Communist force, the Communist International." More to the point, they asserted, "We have served them as the only channel through which they have been informed of the World Communist Movement . . . Two members of our Group are on their way home with our instruction to act as the guiding force in organizing the Japanese section of CI. With this important task accomplished, as it will undoubtedly be, we shall have achieved the end which we have held in view for the past three years."[58]

The authors acknowledged that much "remains to be done by our Group." Their sphere of activity must extend from the mainland of America and Hawaii to Japan. More specifically, they "must from time to time" send to Japan some of their experienced members "to provide the movement with fresh vigor and intelligence," keep those in Japan "informed of the constant development of the Communist ideas and tactics as well as of the general progress of the World Movement," and send publications and documents in English "to Japan because it is the most familiar foreign language to our Japanese comrades." Moreover, they were uniquely qualified. Not only were they "in a position to tell how and what to send, and to send them without delay," but they could also treat local and overseas readerships as essentially one: "We must have an organ periodical which is to be smuggled into Japan and at the same time circulated among the Japanese workers in America." Their aims were twofold and complementary: they must educate and recruit Issei workers in California and Hawaii into their Group and "continue our work in aiding and guiding the Japanese movement until it stands on its own feet."[59] In simultaneously building networks at both the local and the international scales yet honoring the shared linguistic, kinship, cultural, and class if not ideological bonds, they could thereby hope to reach beyond "spaces of dependence" to "spaces of engagement."[60]

Organizational Growth with Dissension and Entry into the Party, 1922–1925

From the second half of 1922 up through 1925, with the assistance of one or another leading organizer who traveled to their communities, small groups of activists put much energy at the local level into attracting new recruits to the JCG and setting up Japanese workers' organizations. Although everywhere their efforts were plagued by financial difficulties, fluctuations in membership, and ideological dissension, by 1925 they had formed an Oriental Branch of the Downtown Section 1 of District 2 in New York and branches of the Nihonjin Rodo Kyokai (Japanese Workers Association JWA) in New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. The official Program of the Nihonjin Rodo Kyokai declared that in seeking to realize the main goal of "destroy[ing] this capitalistic

society," they had decided to "establish one organization of all Japanese workers put together." To this end, they also sought "the cooperation of other anti-capitalistic groups such as the labor union, the labor society, the socialist group, the communist group, the anarchists group, the 'Sanjikarizum' and the 'Anako Sanjikarizum.' " Finally, they declared, "Neither our group nor our purpose can exist without having the support and cooperation of general workers."[61] In effect, this approach matched the united front "from below" tactics encouraged by the Fifth Enlarged ECCI Plenum, held in Moscow from March 21 to April 6, 1925.[62] It also meshed well with the program of the Party-led Trade Union Educational League (TUEL), which advocated a policy of militancy within mainstream trade unions and called for organizing the unorganized and forming an independent labor party.[63]

As head of the JCG in New York in 1922, Inoue Yojiro communicated regularly by mail with Katayama and those who worked closely with him in Moscow. By his own account he was responsible for directing the JCG and relaying to Katayama whatever information and "stories" he'd received about the whereabouts and activities of Japanese activists who at any one time might be in Russia, Japan, Shanghai, at the branch in Chita, or in the United States. Of particular concern was who was doing what in Japan—for example, "Inomata has done nothing other than submit articles to scholarly journals—and who was "red," "white," or "yellow." In addition, he sent to Katayama whatever English- and Japanese-language publications (including books, magazines, and articles) and money were requested. On at least one occasion he also sent money to Katayama's daughters Yasuko and Chiyo in Japan. For all this he received "a little pay, but it is not enough not to worry about food." Because the "comrades in America are in financially difficult situation," it was "impossible to have a paid JCG organizer."[64]

The lack of a paid organizer was not the single or even the most pressing problem, however. The number of members increased steadily from the original five in June to considerably more by mid-November, but the group enjoyed little "unity." According to Inoue, the parties at fault were Iwasaki, Kozu, and Yada (alias) who were "engaging in a kind of sabotaging act" by not attending meetings. More important, the three comrades were "quite ignorant about" and showed no interest in learning "third international tactics and tenets." On top of this, Kozu in particular was "insisting" on his point of view and "threatening other members." As a former "mounted bandit in Manchuria and a reckless rascal," he was "too much for the party to handle . . . When he is angry, he becomes violent. For example, he threw into a waste basket part of the thesis for the second and third congresses, which everyone worked hard to produce; he destroyed the mimeograph machine . . . he threatened that he would steal confidential documents and throw other members into prison." At the same time, Kita was "working dedicatedly and has some understanding of communism."[65] Whatever the merits of one or another individual's position,

it is clear that, like the JCP, the JCG in the early 1920s was ideologically heterogeneous and not blindly obedient to the Comintern. Thus, points of view and positions were far from fixed; for instance, Ishigaki commented three years later, "Although Yada is a glib talker and good at currying favor with people, he does a decent job unless he resorts to violence."[66]

In spite of the dissension and lack of financial support from either the American party or Comintern—in fact, most members who worked at low-wage jobs such as domestic and restaurant work sent money to Moscow and Japan—the JCG persevered. Less than a year after Nishimura Yoshio's move to New York from Utah in the fall of 1922,[67] the group organized the New York Nihonjin Rodo Kyokai (New York JWA), which thereupon launched publication of *Rodo No Chikara* (*Power of Labor*) with Nishimura "as its editor."[68] In 1924 they formed an Oriental Branch of District 2, with Columbia University student Kawashima as its head.[69] The membership, of "about 10,"[70] included Nishimura, [Genichi] Kito,[71] Yada, Yamabe Kiyoshi, Ishigaki Eitaro, Yano,[72] and during his year's stay in the United States Nikaido Umekichi.[73] Just as Katayama's "boys" had once met at his apartment in mid-Manhattan, so these single men gathered in the West Village where they used Ishigaki's apartment on Horatio Street as their branch office and Miss Hazel Abrams's residence on Perry Street as their mailing address.[74] At the same time, in 1925 the branch demonstrated an interest in organizing Chinese workers and forming a Chinese branch of the Party in New York. For now, its members participated in a Sun Yat-sen memorial meeting.

Meanwhile, in early 1924 Yada and Takahashi (alias) came to Los Angeles charged with the task of "organiz[ing] a Japanese section of the Communist Party on the West Coast"; they found the already established, socially oriented but nonsectarian Okinawan study group, Reimeikai ("New Dawn" Society) of which Teruya Chusei was president.[75] In fact, there existed a "radical political current within the Okinawan community in the 1920s" before the arrival of Japanese Communists from New York. Along with Reimeikai, the group had also established the "Owl" restaurant. As Ben Kobashigawa points out, the venture was "utopian" not "revolutionary" in orientation, "with the explicit aim of realizing a 'harmony of capital and labor,'" and the group that grew to thirty members ranged from the "Christian-socialist type, Yabe Kenen" and the "Christian, Uyema Seijuro" to the "anarchistic Matayoshi Jun." For Yada and Takahashi, one attraction may have been the fact that such "a combined workers' restaurant and backroom meeting place" would have made the work of establishing ties with the members that much easier and more pleasant.[76] Left-wing activists Kenmotsu Sadaichi and Horiuchi Tetsuji recalled that in the spring of 1924 they cooperated with Yada and Yamaguchi Einosuke "to transform" Reimeikai into the Rafu Nihonjin Rodo Kyokai (Los Angeles JWA). Upon arrival in the United States Kenmotsu, a graduate of Waseda University, first worked as a domestic and agricultural laborer in the Bay Area and then

at a grocery store in Los Angeles, while Horiuchi who came from a farming family had gone "to America as a sailor" but then turned to farming and auto mechanics.[77] What they failed to mention, however, was that the change was not entirely well received. Kobashigawa recounts, "The Reimeikai fell apart when the communist faction insisted on the necessity of forming a mass organization and departed to start one"[78]—the Kaikyusensha (Class Struggle Society).[79]

In spite of the evident discord generated by the demise of the Reimeikai, once established the Los Angeles JWA sought to appeal to a broad constituency of workers. Among those active in 1925–1926 were, Hakomori Heydo, Yada, Horiuchi, Yamaguchi and Oki, Nakamura Koki, Ohata Koichi, Fukunaga Yokei, Shima Seiei, Teruya, Yamashiro Jiro, and Yanai.[80] For the most part, with the exception of a few students, members worked as gardeners, farmhands, domestics, and day workers. Even Waseda University graduate Kenmotsu now did domestic and agricultural work.[81] Just as radicalism had first sprung up in the Okinawan community, so many member Okinawans had been mistreated

FIGURE 2 Original members of the Reimeikai (1921). Front row from right: Kamenoshin Nakasone, Kozo Tamaki, Zentei Oshiro, Tokugoro Ishimine, Seijuro Uyema, and Hiko Tamaki; Middle row from right: ___, Ohata, Kenden Yabe, Seikyo Toguchi, ___ Taira, unknown, Seishin Toguchi, and Shosei Miyagi; Back row from right: Yamata Goya, Shinsei Kochi, Chusei Teruya, and ___ Yonabaru. In 1923 some members of the group pooled their farm savings from the summer season and established the "Owl" Restaurant on Fifth Street in Los Angeles, where they are presently gathered. Courtesy of Dick J. Kobashigawa.

by the Japanese government back home and therefore understood the meaning of exploitation and ethnic discrimination more clearly than other Japanese.[82] Also, like those in New York, at least "one or two" Party members spoke at Party-sponsored "Hands Off China mass meetings" held in the fall of 1925.[83]

Around the same time, Horiuchi, Yada, and Kenmotsu launched the monthly paper *Kaikyusen* (*Class Struggle* or *Class War*),[84] with Kenmotsu as editor. The paper was discontinued in Los Angeles after he had gone to San Francisco in mid-1925 to "distribute" it there,[85] Kenmotsu reissued it with "Hoko Hideo Ikeda, an Issei farm worker, newspaperman, and former leader in the 1920 Hawaiian sugar plantation strike."[86] Once settled in San Francisco, he also helped to form the Soko Nihonjin Rodo Kyokai (San Francisco JWA).[87] In addition, first Horiuchi and then Kenmotsu went to Chicago to work among the Japanese in that city. Toward the beginning of 1926, AAAIL Secretary Manuel Gomez (real name Charles Shipman) reported to Los Angeles City Secretary William Schneiderman that Horiuchi had "already done some excellent work in the brief space of time that he has been in these parts." "He has organized a Japanese club for the study of social problems with regular meetings at which between 20 or 30 attend. I spoke at one of them and was well impressed by the way in which Horiuchi had managed to take hold of the situation and secure a following here." He noted, "that Comrade Kenmoto [*sic*] is also coming here within a couple of months."[88]

Once on the road, Kenmotsu's efforts extended to New York, where in 1926 he took "the Summer Training Course of the Party school" and in the fall "organized the Japanese Branch" of the ILD.[89] That same fall, another experienced Issei activist, who like Kenmotsu was fluent in Japanese and English, arrived. Ogino Seizo graduated that spring from the University of Kansas with a B.A. in sociology, and over the summer he worked at the Armour meatpacking plant and founded the Hands Off China Alliance in Kansas City; then Seizo, former member of the Young Socialist League and current member of the Young Workers League (YWL, also known as the Young Communist League, YCL), joined the Party and moved to New York. Before the year was out, he had helped to form the Party's Japanese Section, of which he became secretary.[90]

Although in 1925 the Oriental Branch in New York already had "about thirty members," of which "about seven" were active and the New York JWA included "about 75 people," the Oriental Branch continued to have difficulty functioning as a group, and the JWA was beset by ideological conflicts. In October 1925, Ishigaki lamented to Katayama that things were "far from lively . . . the only thing that is more developed since you were last here is the number of members. Everyone has a big head and there is no one with proper party training. They are heated about insisting that their own individual interpretation is above [communist] ideology . . . and it is difficult to unite them to discuss issues." He commented, "One of the reasons that Japanese comrades do not accept those returning from America is that they consciously or unconsciously

try to become head [of the group or party]." The following October, Ishigaki reiterated his belief "that those who can return to Japan and truly work are only a few." Valid or not, the perception challenged Katayama's and other Japanese activists' plans for reentering and assuming a leadership role in Japan. Ishigaki declared, "3 or 4 people are planning to enter Russia, but I'm against it."[91]

At the same time, apart from Gomez, the party leadership on the West and East coasts interacted little with Japanese members. For example, when in 1924 General Secretary Charles E. Ruthenberg inquired of District 2 DO Charles Krumbein whether the newly formed Oriental Branch was following the correct line, Krumbein replied: "I understand that most of them do understand our principles and program." He also noted, "You will get the information you want much sooner if you communicate with the branch directly."[92] Yet, seven months later Ruthenberg only knew that "we have an oriental branch in New York" and again turned to Krumbein to contact "some one there" to translate a copy of a Japanese magazine.[93] He had received the magazine from Emanuel Levin, organizer of the Los Angeles Local, who instead of communicating directly with Japanese members in his area whom he believed were "quite an active and studious group," had turned to Ruthenberg on the other side of the country to find "a Japanese comrade who can translate it to make sure that our local comrades are taking the correct stand."[94] In fact, with the exception of interactions in connection with the Hands Off China campaign, this pattern defined the nature of relations between Japanese immigrant Communists and all levels of the American Party during the early to mid-1920s.

Encountering "a certain prejudice among the Japanese comrades against the comrades returning from America"

Activism at the local scale within immigrant communities did not preclude activism at the international scale within the larger community of Japanese radicals both inside and outside Japan. Fukunaga recalled that in 1926 he and other JWA members "collected $350"; they then published two thousand copies of *The Communist Manifesto*, "translated into Japanese," and sent these "to the left-wing organisations in Japan."[95] The activists also sought to extend their support to Japanese and other "Oriental" students in Moscow. In May 1925, the Oriental Branch in New York "officially transmit[ted]" to the CEC of the American Party a request from Oriental students at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (also known as Eastern University, KUTV) who "badly needed English books and pamphlets published in this country and wanted them placed in the University Library." In doing so, he emphasized the Oriental Branch's solidarity with these students and the importance of their education to the "higher learning of Communism among Orientals and in International Communist Movement."[96] The next fall, members of the Japanese Labor Union in New York sent "about ten Japanese books to Japanese

comrades in Russia using the money we earned through the bitter labor of washing dishes."[97]

Meanwhile, toward the end of 1925 Kawashima went one step further and "applied for a transfer to Russia." Although District 2 General Secretary William Weinstone urged Ruthenberg to "[p]lease issue his transfer,"[98] Jay Lovestone, organizational secretary of the Party, hesitated "because of notice came from Moscow last winter requesting that all comrades in the foreign countries outside of Russia must fight against capitalism in their own country." Kawashima responded that his situation, and that of all Japanese in the United States, was a "Special Case." Unlike Katayama, he claimed, "We all know that the Japanese comrade [*sic*] in this country can not [*sic*] fight efficiently for the movement in the Orient and we need farther stimulus and aids to China and Japan. For this reason, the Oriental branch of W. P. as a connecting link between Russia and Japan recommend and instruct me to go over to Russia and do my best under the direct instruction from C. I." In fact, he followed in the footsteps of other "branch members [who] have gone to Russia . . . placed under the order of Comrade Katayama. And some of them have gone back to Japan for actual work, some of them are in Eastern University." Nor was he acting simply on his own behalf. The group "would not ask you very much unreasonable favor to me. Not only I, but all Oriental branch member [*sic*] are waiting for the credential coming to plan for my departure."[99]

Around the beginning of June 1926, after a brief stay in the Liverpool jail, Kawashima arrived in Moscow with books from other Issei in hand;[100] he also brought "a mandate from the American party." Yet, upon arrival he was cast into a kind of limbo. Writing from Suuk Su,[101] Katayama informed M. N. Roy that there was some question as to whether or not Kawashima had been admitted to KUTV. Of equal concern, "the Japanese [student] *kruzhok* [group] at its meeting has decided that comrade K. should go back Japan and now he could not find work either, I hear." Echoing Ishigaki's earlier comment, he added, "There seems that their [*sic*] exists a certain prejudice among the Japanese comrades against the comrades returning from America and in fact some of them turned out bad but there are good ones too." He did not mention that in the same letter Ishigaki had recommended Kawashima's admission to KUTV but with the reservation that since he "studied economics at Columbia . . . his future somewhat gloomy." Also Katayama remarked that Kawashima's "intelligence is mediocre."[102] In fact, Katayama's own position was contradictory: he appealed to Roy to "kindly look after" Kawashima" and stated "Comrade K. should be admitted to the University"; he simultaneously, however, disavowed any personal ties ("But I never met him only . . . Comrade Ishigaki—wrote me he is good comrade. I did not encourage him to come here in my answer to Comrade Ishigaki.")[103]

Omura responded, "As far as the Oriental colleges, the decision is not ours" or the Japanese kruzhok's but rather the rector of the Sun Yat-sen

University Karl Radek's,[104] who should "reply in 2–3 days." Katayama, considering the issue of "prejudice," had already "raised the question of the so-called Comradely Relation' and [he] exposed the Japanese students' conceit and lack of political sense. That problem is already resolved." Katayama also discussed whether or not Kawashima would turn "out bad": "Right now we believe that any of Kawashima's shortcomings will disappear during the war, and he will grow . . . It won't be a matter of him not seeing the reality of the war [the battle in Japan] and just saying 'I've come from America, so I'm revolting.'" Still, demonstrating some concern for his present well-being, Katayama thought "it might be good for Kawashima if I went to Moscow to observe for 1 to 2 months. It wouldn't be a matter of us doing it with prejudice."[105]

A month later, first independently and then jointly with Katayama, Omura wrote to Kenmotsu on behalf of Kawashima. Although Kawashima had "made up his mind to go back to Japan," he remained in limbo, living in the KUTV "dormitory" and "supported financially by the poor students and others." Thus far, he had "got only a temporary job of translation at the Profintern." Hoping "to let him visit factories, barracks etc and to see Russian workers [*sic*] life in Moskow [*sic*] for two or three weeks," they were requesting "financial support for him." What was needed was "money for his foods for three weeks," that is, "2 roubles a day—three weeks 42 roubles . . . This is a very urgent need. Please arrange the matter as quitly [*sic*] as possible."[106] Three weeks later Katayama informed Kenmotsu that Kawashima "wants money for his suit of cloth with a shirt and underwears [*sic*] to go home," for which he should "provide him with the necessary fund . . . a sum of seventy-five roubles (75.00)."[107]

Kawashima's case underscores two points. First, the American Party, and its Japanese members in particular, were considered ultimately responsible for the welfare of Japanese who came to Moscow from the United States, unless and until these individuals transferred membership to the JCP or another national section. Second, gendered bonds of comradeship that united Japanese Communist compatriots across lines of space, time, and sectional identity were sometimes contradicted by sharp tensions between those who were active from bases inside Japan and those who built the movement from within communities in the United States. At the same time, lessening these very tensions was the belief among Issei Communists that their ultimate duty lay in advancing the Communist movement in Japan.

Early Years of Left-wing Chinese Immigrant Activism in the United States

In 1920, a group of Qinghua (Tsing Hua) University students, under the leadership of Shi Huang, formed Weizhen Xuehui (Truth only learned society) whose aims, according to Him Mark Lai, were to pursue truth and the improvement of society, learn about the lives of the masses, and abide by a set of moral precepts.

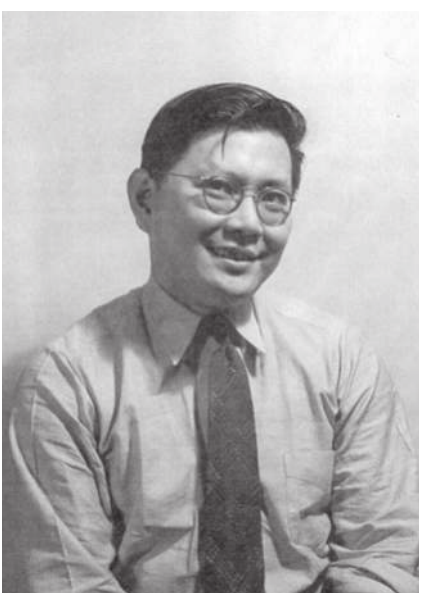
Three years later in the spring of 1923, and again under Shi's leadership, eight students "formed Chaotao, a secret policy-making core group within Weizhen Xuehu,"; their objective "was to effect national salvation through political action" by taking inspiration from "the revolutionary spirit of Sun Yat-sen and V. I. Lenin." The following summer, Shi and group member Xu Yongying (also known as Hsu Yung-Ying and Y. Y. Hsu) met with CCP founder Li Dachao and Sun Yat-sen, after which they imparted to the other group members what they had learned from the two senior revolutionaries. That fall, Shi and fellow Chaotao member Ji Chaoding (also known as Chi Ch'ao-ting, or C. T. Chi) left for the United States. Once there, Shi entered Stanford University, while Chi traveled east and enrolled at the University of Chicago. However, within less than a year of commencing their studies occurred the May Thirtieth Massacre in Shanghai,[108] which led to the outbreak of the Shenggang (Guangzhou-Hong Kong) General Strike and sparked nationalist anti-imperialist protests in China and among Chinese overseas. By the following fall, all the remaining Chaotao members except Luo Zongtang had come to the United States to study. These included Xu, Zhang Youjiang (Zhang Yucang), Mei Ru'ao, Hu Dunyuan, and Luo Jingyi. Luo stood out not only because she was the only woman among the group but also because she was fluent in Cantonese, which would prove of great value to the activists in America. Under the direction of Shi they again gathered as a group in Berkeley and "unanimously resolved that while seeking an education in this country they would actively work to further the goals of the Chinese Revolution,"[109] and they would seek to "spread[ing] the ideas of communism and revolution among the Chinese workers and students" in America.[110]

Although the former Chaotao members stand out for their "steady ideological evolution from militant nationalists to Marxist revolutionaries," and their position as the first Chinese activists in the American Communist movement, they were not the first Chinese radicals to come to America with the goal of mobilizing support among Chinese overseas to give birth to a new China. Beginning in the 1890s, first Sun Yat-sen, and then the radical reformers K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao traveled to the Americas "seeking safety, allies, funds, and other kinds of support." In fact, Sun's party, Hsing-Chung hui (Revive China Society), and K'ang's party, Pao-huang hui (Chinese Empire Reform Association) were founded in Hawaii and Canada respectively. Moreover, unlike the experience of Japanese socialists and anarchists, "the Americas proved to be fertile ground for the political parties."[111]

This earlier history raises two other themes relevant to the story of left-wing and Communist Chinese immigrants. First, among Chinese in America influential political currents traveled from East to West. The route of disseminating radical ideas begins in the early twentieth century with Chinese intellectuals' and students' exposure to anarchist and socialist doctrines in Japan and Europe (Paris in particular), after which they joined political

movements calling for radical change in China. Following their return to China and the birth of the May Fourth Movement in the aftermath of World War I, these newly radicalized Chinese wrote articles for newspapers and radical and reform periodicals, those published both in China and in Hong Kong, Japan, and Paris. These publications in turn circulated among the Chinese abroad.[112] Although such organizations undoubtedly benefited from "global networks developed in Hong Kong" for dissemination of their publications and ideas,[113] left-wing and Communist Chinese immigrants turned to and, following the KMT-CCP split in 1927, increasingly relied upon channels of communication developed by the Comintern and the more intangible but also more personal and therefore more secure networks of Chinese Communists.

Second, just as these earlier political leaders and the other "peripatetic organizers" who came to America were typically "men of high social standing," so with the exception of young San Francisco Chinatown residents Chang Hen Tang (known as Benjamin J. Fee) and Xie Chuang (also known as Dea Chang, Dea Wood or Dea Woo, or Xavier Dea), the first cohort of left-wing Chinese immigrants to become active in the American Communist movement were students who therefore held an elite status in China and the United States. Fee, who had arrived in San Francisco in 1923 at age fourteen, was the son of an American-born interpreter, while Dea, who had arrived in 1923 at age



FIGURES 3A AND 3B Benjamin J. Fee (Chang Hen Ten), 3a. At age fourteen shortly after his arrival in San Francisco in 1923 to join his father, an American-born interpreter. Courtesy of Virginia Fee Dip. 3b. Benjamin J. Fee in his shirtsleeves, probably in his twenties. Courtesy of Virginia Fee Dip.

eighteen, had come to join his father, a local fruit store merchant. They were both recruited to the left through the channels opened up by Chaotao activists and in particular by Luo Jingyi in her organizing and teaching of Mandarin to Cantonese speakers in San Francisco's Chinatown.[114] While organizing Chinese immigrant workers, however, this elite status proved more of a problem than an asset. Thus, this cohort of activists found it much easier to engage in international activism via the printed word and peripatetic organizers than to communicate directly with and organize workers in Chinese communities within the United States.

The Party Makes Anti-imperialist Work "one of its basic activities"

After being "severely criticized" by the Comintern "for not carrying on a sufficiently energetic campaign against imperialism," at the beginning of 1925 the Party "for the first time made antiimperialist [*sic*] work one of its basic activities."[115] At its meeting on January 20, the newly formed "WP Sub-Committee on Pan American Anti-Imperialist Work" elected Gomez as secretary and proposed to work with trade unions, Communist parties, and other groups in Mexico, Latin America, and Central America. In April, Gomez was sent to Mexico "to represent the Workers Party at a convention of the Mexican Communist Party, and to help establish" the AAAIL (also known as the Liga Anti-Imperialista de las Americas). At that time, he was "named secretary at the United States section." In addition, either the gathering in Mexico or the American party leadership decided to locate the "executive committee, or secretariat, in Chicago." By August, the AAAIL also had "a special secretariat located in Mexico City," which oversaw publication of a "monthly Spanish language organ of the league . . . as well as special manifestoes, leaflets, etc." Finally, partially making good on its professed desire that the League eventually include sections throughout Latin America and in the Philippines, at its national convention in August the Party announced that a "regular section of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League has been formed in Cuba, with Julio Antonio Mella as secretary, and is extremely active, holding mass meetings, lectures, etc." According to Ruthenberg, by November not only had Gomez, "our Party connection with the Mexican C. P . . . taken the initiative in organizing" the AAAIL, but also he was "now acting as the secretary of it," that is, the AAAIL as a whole.[116]

Mexican Communists were bitter about the fact that the AAAIL headquarters was located in the United States and the League therefore appeared "as a 'Gringo'-directed proposition." Latin American activists charged that "this has actually discouraged self-activity in Latin America."[117] For its part, the American party leadership emphasized that, although the Party "was instrumental in establishing the League, the purpose of which is to unite the national liberation movements throughout the sphere of American imperialism . . . and to mobilize them for a joint struggle against Wall Street, under Communist

leadership," the various "sections are not Communist organizations, nor are they confined to workers."[118] AAAIL, therefore, decided that the American section should encourage a broad range of member groups to affiliate with the national organization, including "organizations of Filipinos, Latin-Americans, Chinese, etc. resident in this country (fraternal societies, patriotic leagues, cultural clubs, student groups, etc.)," from any locality; "organizations of "American Negroes," to be affiliated to local sections; "isolated Filipinos, Chinese, Mexicans, Cubans, etc." who should be brought together "into one group" to form local sections; and "Members at large," that is, "anyone interested in the work of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League and in agreement with its principles."[119]

That year, China moved to the top of the American party agenda. In May, the Party's research department began to include news about China in its monthly bulletin, "Diary of Events"; the first story reported on the May Thirtieth Massacre.[120] The following month, the Diary reported on the rapid spread overseas of the movement in defense of China's workers and in solidarity with the Chinese liberation movement. The series began with the news, "Lung-chi [*sic*] Lo,[121] president-elect of Chinese Students' Alliance in America, issues protest against landing of American marines at Shanghai and Tsingtao" and warns "that 'red' influence is bound to increase in China if Europe, America and Japan persist in their present efforts to silence dissenting voices of the workers by force." On the next page came an appeal from the Comintern, the Communist Youth International (KIM), and the Profintern, followed by more news from the United States: "About 300 Chinese students in New York City protest against shooting of their comrades in China and demand the end of foreign imposition there. Pledge financial support to Chinese strikers." The stand taken by the American Party "against invasion of China by foreign imperialists" and its appeal to "the workers of this country" to act in solidarity followed that appeal. Finally, amidst the news of other protests and expressions of solidarity overseas was a message sent by the "Unionist Guild of San Francisco, an organization of Chinese workers in America" to labor unions in China.[122] Although the Unionist Guild or Meizhou Gongyi Tongmeng Zonghui (Workers' League of America) was founded in 1919 by a small group of anarcho-syndicalists,[123] General Executive Secretary Alice Sum became active in both the American Party and the Women's Section of the KMT in America.[124]

The sudden explosion of news about China in the party press and its inflamed tone responded directly to bloody events in China and the protests these sparked around the world; the news was not simply a product of the writer's tendency to use "vicarious persuasion."[125] Instead, the news reflected the multidimensional nature of China solidarity work and its spread across space and time. Left-wing Chinese student and labor activists in the United States were staging local demonstrations and making statements of solidarity that were linked to both similar responses in other countries and ongoing

struggles in China. As a result, activism at the local scale was transposed to activism that reverberated at national and international scales, from east to west and west to east, with China as the touchstone and primary site of resistance and repression.

At the same time, in April the CEC began to make plans for "a special Anti-Imperialist Week," to run concurrently in the United States and Latin America from July 4 to July 12.[126] And in June the Party launched "an active campaign against the intervention of the American government against the strikers at Shanghai and the attack of American imperialism upon China." The CEC instructed DOs, City Central Committees (CCCs), and Party editors to publish a manifesto in all party papers, introduce resolutions into labor unions, notify the KMT of the Party's stand, and propose joint actions to the British Communist Party (CPGB). These authorities must in turn instruct the party organization "to organize protest mass meetings" and "wherever possible oriental speakers shall be invted [*sic*] to address these meetings." Finally, the CEC asked the YWL "to participate actively in this campaign and that it make a special effort to develop protests against the attack on Chinese students among Chinese and oriental students in America in particular, and other students in general."[127] For the first time, the national leadership was acknowledging both the ties connecting Chinese students to Chinese immigrant student activists in America and the ties that could potentially bind Chinese to other "oriental" students. The Party's interest in assigning a leading role to "oriental speakers" in a public campaign and Chinese speakers' presence at Party-led or joint KMT-Party sponsored events was not uncommon during the period of the KMT-CCP United Front.

By the time of the June bulletin, the starting date of the Anti-Imperialist Week had been moved from June 29 to July 4 so that the protest would coincide with "President Coolidge's call for nation-wide mobilization of military forces on July 4th."[128] In the weeks that followed, the CEC continued to develop plans for an Anti-Imperialist Week whose focus would encompass anti-imperialist struggles in Mexico, Central and Latin America, and the Philippines as well as in China. It invited KMT organizations in America to participate in joint demonstrations, called on Eugene Debs "to endorse the United Front on China and to exert his influence towards this end" on the Socialist Party, and gave a leadership role to the AAAIL At the close of the week, the CEC instructed all DOs and CCCs that "China and Mexico shall be made the central points," in particular "agitation in favor of a United Front."[129]

Meanwhile, in March at the instruction of the CEC the DEC in New York resolved to hold a Sun Yat-sen memorial meeting on April 10, to be arranged by the Political Committee. Yet, in spite of the presence of left-wing Chinese students in the city, DO Krumbein "got in touch with the Japanese comrades instructing them to get all the information they can in regard to getting the Kuomintang to participate." A week later, the Political Committee reported

that it had "received an invitation from the Kuo Min Tang (NY Branch . . .) through our Japanese branch that we send two English and one Japanese speakers to their mass meeting arranged to commemorate the death of Sun-Yat-Sen [*sic*], the meeting to take place on April 12th." The committee felt that the Party should try to do even better by attempting "to arrange a joint meeting." If the latter effort proved unsuccessful, however, the Party should "send our speakers to their meeting and arrange another memorial meeting under our own auspices on April 10th."[130] On March 28, party leader Earl Browder sent Krumbein a telegram announcing the good news that, "JOINT MEETING APRIL TWELFTH WITH KUOMINTANG SATISFACTORY." Still, he cautioned, "BUT YOU MUST ADVERTISE IT EXTENSIVELY AND GET OUT LARGE CROWD OF NATIONALITIES ESPECIALLY ENGLISH SPEAKING SEND ADVERTISING AND STORIES DAILY WORKER."[131] Whether local organizers acted upon the directive and took advantage of the opportunities for organizing New York's Chinese workers became the subject of fierce debate soon thereafter.

On April 13, immediately following the meetings on April 10 and 12, Krumbein had mixed news to report to the DEC. First, the Party-organized "mass meeting" held on April 10th "was not a success due to the bad weather." However, the memorial meeting organized by the KMT and at which "our speakers were present was a big success." He gave a lively description of events as they unfolded: "There was a big parade. Our oriental branch comrades had a big banner made with the hammer and sickle and the name of the Workers Party on it in the parade, which was later placed on the platform in the meeting hall. Photographs were taken of the parade with the banners. We secured good connections."[132] With no members of the Oriental Branch in attendance at this meeting, the DO's version was accepted without recorded criticism or doubts.

Four days later, however, Kawashima, secretary of the Oriental Branch, sent to the DEC a far more critical version in the form of a resolution that had been "passed unanimously" by the branch. First, he gave the background. At the DO's request, he had asked member Nishimura, "one of the first to advocate the organization of a Chinese branch of the WP in this city," to approach the KMT with the aim of arranging a joint Sun Yat-sen memorial meeting. Although the KMT had rejected the offer because preparations were completed, it had nonetheless invited "three of our speakers, one Japanese and two English, to address them." In addition, the branch had advised the DO that, "knowing the Oriental custom, the Kuomintang parade and mass meeting was expected to be a fine demonstration and a good chance to demonstrate for our Party"—not least because "the opportunity was ripe for an active campaign for the organization of the Chinese workers of this city." They "immediately started to work with spirited energy."

The members of the Oriental Branch now wished to "protest most vigorously against the following failures and neglect of duty on the part of the District Organizer." Their criticisms ran as follows:

1. He failed to prepare a Workers Party banner in English, as he promised to do many times, in spite of the fact that we reminded him of this daily.
2. He rejected our recommendation to send a special notice to the branches, asking the membership to participate in this demonstration, saying that it would be sufficient to announce it at the Sun Yat Sen [*sic*] memorial meeting . . . But it happened to rain that night, the audience was small . . . No inducement was given to the audience even at this meeting . . .
3. We state that, due to the above mentioned, the DO failed to take advantage of this great opportunity, failed to turn the Party out for mass demonstration, and failed to give us assistance in starting a real campaign for organizational work among the Chinese workers of this city . . .
4. The DO failed to send a good speaker who could carry the message of Communism and Leninism to this audience that packed the theatre to overflow. The speech delivered by Comrade Oliver Carlson . . . did not mention a word about Communism, Leninism, the Communist Internat onal [*sic*], Soviet Russia and their relation to the struggling masses of workers and peasants of the whole world.[133]

In response, the DEC instructed the DO to "send a reply to the Oriental branch based on the explanations he made here" and passed a motion to ask Comrade Carlson to attend "the DEC meeting to give substance of his speech made at the Kuo Min Tang Sun Yat-Sen Memorial Meeting."[134]

From the viewpoint of the Party, it had not wavered in its commitment to China solidarity work. Moreover, after encouraging the membership across the country to convene Hands Off China meetings, at its Fourth National Convention in August 1925 it heralded the success of its initiative. "These meetings were uniformly successful, roused our own members to the importance of anti-imperialist work . . . and helped us to establish contact with Chinese living in this country. As a result of our propaganda in the Party press and from platforms, we have established friendly relations with organizations of Chinese in almost all big cities of the country, especially with local organizations of the Kuomintang Party. Our speakers have been invited to address their meetings and they have furnished speakers for our meetings." Most important, "In a number of places, Chinese are applying for admission to our Party." Organizers were urged to capitalize on these beginnings and "create local sections" of the AAAIL, "with affiliations of Chinese, Filipinos, and Latin-Americans resident in this country."[135] Toward the end of October, Ruthenberg issued a formal directive to all Party units to this effect.[136]

From the point of view of Chinese and Japanese activists, however, the matter was not resolved. The Comintern strenuously and continually reminded comrades of the urgency of the struggle in Asia and the obvious part to be played by those of Chinese and Japanese nationality—which perspective played into long-standing Orientalist constructions of Chinese and

Japanese immigrants as alien to the American nation—the Party leadership, at the national, district, and local levels, continued to equate anti-imperialist campaigns with work with Chinese and Japanese and everywhere failed to pay attention to and build adequate support among the larger rank-and-file for either this or other issues and causes of special concern to Chinese and Japanese immigrant workers.

Left-wing Chinese Activists Approach and Join the W(C)P

Although no Chinese in District 2 seem to have joined the Party prior to 1926, there is evidence that toward the end of June 1925 three Chinese students in New York participated in "a conference called by the League for Industrial Democracy on the Chinese situation."[137] In addition, as early as the beginning of 1926 a group of left-wing Chinese activists in New York initiated efforts to become formally linked to the American Party. In mid-March 1927, Columbia University student Li Tao Hsuan (Li Daoxuan, aliases Toddy and H. Linson), who was a member of both the KMT and the W(C)P, wrote to Katayama that since "last year our Chinese comrades in this city had [*sic*] begun to organize a section of Communist Party."[138] Meanwhile, left-wing Chinese students in New York and the Midwest and the Unionist Guild in San Francisco were organizing Chinese students and workers. According to Lai, not long after radical students in San Francisco, led by former Chaotao members, formed SASYS (Students' Society for the Advancement of Sun Yat-Senism in America) in May 1926, "branches were formed in Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and Madison, Wisconsin." The five-member executive committee elected in September included Shi, Chi, and Zhang Youjiang. Actually, two years earlier in 1924 Xavier Dea, with the help of six or seven middle-school classmates in San Francisco's Chinatown, established Sanminzhuyi Yanjiushe (Society for the Study of the Three Principles of the People, SSTPP). In its aims, this group anticipated SASYS.[139]

Although there is no record of the Party being more advanced in Chicago than elsewhere in terms of recruiting Chinese members, in fact Gomez's personal efforts as secretary of the AAAIL may have predated the Party's earliest contacts in other cities. In his memoir he writes, "I haunted Chicago's Chinatown (the Wentworth Avenue—Twenty-second Street area) . . . I acquired friends in Chicago's Chinatown . . . In Chicago we had a good group of sympathizers, including laundrymen, restaurant workers, and a few University of Chicago students."[140] In November 1925, Gomez reported a planned meeting of "Chicago Chinese students and Kuo Min Tang representatives with our local AAAIL committee next week," which he hoped would form the "basis of local Chinese branches of AAAIL." In the same communication, he proposed that one "L. P. Jin (Chinese)," along with "Cirilo Manat (Filipino) and Santiago Rivera (Porto Rican)" be added to the "present committee, thus forming a

central council for the AAAIL," consisting of himself and "[William] Dunne, Lovestone, [Max] Bedacht, Jin, Manat and Rivera."[141]

Chi (aliases Hansu Chan and Richard Doonping) was one of the first Chinese activists to join the Party. In his memoir, Gomez writes, "Chi was a discovery of mine, a University of Chicago student whom I originally recruited for Chinese nationalist work and then initiated into the Party. Chi was a scholar, a man of action, and a brilliant public speaker (in both English and Mandarin)."[142] Other sources corroborate that Chi first joined the AAAIL in 1925 and a year later the Party,[143] and he quickly gained a reputation as a leading and articulate spokesperson for the Chinese nationalist and anti-imperialist cause. By late 1925 and early 1926, Chi had begun to take a leading role on these matters within both Chinese and non-Chinese communities in Chicago, as well as in the larger Communist-led anti-imperialist movement that was developing at the national and international levels. For instance, at the local level he spoke before Chinese and non-Chinese groups and also helped to edit *Zhi-Cheng Qiao Sheng* (*Voice of Chicago Chinese*), the organ of the local movement that sought to defend China against imperialist aggression. In addition, on at least one occasion in mid-June 1927 he was summoned by the Party to San Francisco "REGARDING FILLING IMPORTANT DATES," that is, presumably to appear as a speaker on "important" occasions.[144] On the national level, at the Six-Day Convention of the American Negro Labor Congress, held October 25–30, 1925, in Chicago, Chi was an invited speaker, representing "the Chinese students of the University of Chicago, the Chinese Welfare Association, and, unofficially, the oppressed peoples of China." Apparently, his "description of the massacre of Chinese students by the British in Shanghai moved the listeners to impressive silence," and he was "bitter and radical in his attack against imperialism."[145] Finally, at the international level in 1926 Chi was chosen to represent both SASYS and AAAIL as a delegate to the founding congress of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence.[146]

In California, responding to the Party's launching in June 1925 of a national campaign in support of China's struggle against imperialist aggression, district and local organizers in San Francisco and Los Angeles began that month to issue appeals and organize Hands Off China meetings. In Los Angeles, organizers held "two Hands Off China mass meetings . . . in conjunction with Chinese, Japanese organizations and the Civil Liberties" and received nearly $150 in collections to send "to the Shanghai strikers." In addition, they "sent out 300 letters to all labor unions and other organizations with a resolution printed and sent to us by the Chinese Unionist Guild of San Francisco . . . and we will attempt to also get this passed at the Central Labor Council."[147] In San Francisco, organizers handed out a "leaflet issued by the group of Chinese workers in San Francisco" and "THOUSANDS OF FLIERS . . . ADVERTISING OUR MASS PROTEST MEETING" at which they would "HAVE TWO CHINESE SPEAKERS, ONE IN ENGLISH AND A JAPANESE SPEAKER" along with two English speakers.[148]

The following year, at a Party-sponsored anti-imperialist convention held in May–June 1926 in San Francisco, Shi and Xu made the acquaintance of Levin, who had assumed the position of District 13 DO in January and who convinced the two activists to join AAAIL.[149] The acquaintance led to a deepening relationship between Levin and left-wing Chinese activists, where Levin "would often attend the meetings organized by Shi Huang and help Shi and some others study the works of Karl Marx such as *The Communist Manifesto*, [and] *The ABCs of Communism*."[150] Levin's efforts were undoubtedly aided by the fact that, as noted later by Shi, Shih Tso, and Xu, "he has been in China for several years, which affords him an adequate Chinese background and an easy understanding of Chinese psychology."[151] Although neither Shi nor his fellow activists joined the Party until at the earliest April 1927, according to his biographers Yang Zuntao and Zhao Luqian, "From then on, Shi Huang established organizational relations with . . . and became more actively involved in revolutionary activities under the guidance of the Communist Party of America."[152]

Meanwhile, SASYS, whose membership was fairly small, joined forces with the left-wing faction of the KMT in attacking the right-wing faction and went so far as to print in the first issue of its publication *Geming* (*Revolution*) critiques of Chiang Kai-shek and of KMT affairs in America. The critiques provoked a strong reaction from the right-wing faction, and, as Lai comments, "before the year was out, SASYS had become embroiled in polemics with the San Francisco branch of the KMT and the party organ *Young China*, both controlled by right-wing conservatives."[153] Still, that fall Shi and Xu joined the San Francisco Committee of the KMT and quickly assumed leadership roles in the left-wing faction of the KMT.[154]

At the KMT's annual convention in January 1927, Shi, Xu, and other members of the left-wing faction were successful in forming a new Party organ *Kuo Min Yat Po* (*Chinese Nationalist Daily of America*) to replace *Young China*. In line with SASYS, the objectives of the new paper were to promote Sun Yat-Sen's three people's principles;[155] "to offer media support for the revolutionary government in Guangdong [Canton] and for the Northern Expedition"; and to challenge the influence of the right-wing faction of the Nationalist Party among overseas Chinese and Chinese students in America.[156] As officials inside the KMT in America, left-wing Chinese activists were thus in a position to tap institutional resources and garner popular support of the KMT at the local, national, and international scales and thereby reach beyond "spaces of dependence" to "spaces of engagement" toward furthering their revolutionary goals in China and "among Chinese workers and students" in America.

PART II

From the Top Down

3

"The Red Capital of the Great Bolshevik Republic"

Moscow was, in Katayama's words, "The Red Capital of the Great Bolshevik Republic."[1] From Moscow, directives, wisdom, and inspiration flowed outward to the national sections of the Comintern, while representatives of national communist parties in turn traveled to Moscow to attend congresses, receive theoretical and practical instruction at international schools of communism, and confer with cadres from around the world. This was the ideal according to which the "Great Bolshevik Republic" was to operate.

By adopting a top-down, metropolitan-focused approach, I describe the formal structure of the Comintern from the initiation of the process of Bolshevization at the Second Comintern Congress held in 1920 through the Third Period and discuss the vexing question of Stalinism and Soviet control over national sections. In addition, I examine Chinese and Japanese immigrant Communists' relationships to and experiences in Moscow. Then, in chapter 4 I adopt a "mobile approach" and trace the ways in which communication not only circulated between metropole and colony and between colonies but also was (more often than not) impeded, which lead to thwarted plans and constant maneuvering while implementing directives. In particular, I focus on the efforts of Communist functionaries who were responsible for advancing the Communist movement across Asia and the Pacific and who were posted in such regional nodal points as Shanghai, Vladivostok, Berlin, and San Francisco. By placing the two chapters side by side, my aim is twofold: to recognize the power exerted by the heads of the Soviet state and the centralized structure of the Comintern, and at the same time to show how the actual practice of advancing international communism, even when led by Communist functionaries, deviated from the model.

Structure of the Comintern

In theory, the highest governing body was the World Congress, which in turn was responsible for electing the ECCI. However, in practice the ECCI functioned as the commanding body of the Comintern. Moreover, right from the start the Russian Communist Party (RCP[b] or CPSU) was in a position to exercise greater control over the ECCI than any other national party because not only did it have five representatives rather than the one permitted to each of the next ten to thirteen major parties but also all World Congresses were held on its territory; moreover, it was the only Communist party that actually ruled a state. In addition, the Bolshevik leaders held the keys to the Soviet state treasury.[2]

The ECCI elected the leading organs, the Presidium, Orgburo, and Secretariat (known after 1927 as the Politsecretariat), which were responsible for making most personnel decisions.[3] At the same time, as Peter Huber shows, until 1929 the departments "formed the backbone of the Moscow apparatus," although beginning in 1928 on "the regional secretariats played an increasingly important role."[4] The former included the Organization, Agitprop,[5] International Communication (OMS), Information,[6] Administrative, Eastern,[7] Publishing, Translation, Women's,[8] Cooperatives, and Special departments,[9] and International Control Commission. The latter included the Central European, Balkan, Anglo-American, Scandinavian, Polish-Baltic, Romance, Latin-American, and Eastern (with Far Eastern, Middle Eastern, and Near Eastern sections) secretariats.[10] There were also "Permanent Bureaus," including the West European (WEB), South American, and Far Eastern (FEB) (set up in Shanghai in mid-June 1926) bureaus.[11] In addition, the ECCI supervised research workers and liaison officers who were termed "referents"; the editorial staff of *Inprecorr*, *Under the Banner of Marxism*, and *Communist International*; the national parties' representatives to the ECCI; and the several universities established in Moscow for the training of cadres, including KUTV, the Sun Yat-sen University of the Toilers of China (UTK), which was renamed in September 1928 the Communist University of the Toilers of China (KUTK), the Communist University of National Minorities of the West (KUNMZ), and the International Lenin School (ILS).[12] Last, a number of apparatuses either did not formally belong to or function with an unusual degree of independence from the ECCI; those included KIM, International Workers' Aid (MRP), International Red Aid (MOPR) of which the ILD was the American section, and the Profintern. The Profintern was represented overseas by four bureaus, including the Central European Bureau in Berlin, the British Bureau in London, the Latin Bureau in Paris, and the Far Eastern Bureau in Shanghai, all of which largely functioned as "semi-clandestine bodies." The PPTUS was supervised by but formally independent of the Profintern.[13]

Finally, two agencies of the Soviet state played important roles in matters relating to foreign policy and domestic and foreign cadres—the People's

Commissariat of Foreign Affairs (Narkomindel) and the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD). According to Kevin McDermott and Jeremy Agnew, from 1921 until the beginning of the Third Period, Soviet foreign policy followed "a dual track," which consisted of "diplomacy via Narkomindel, revolution via the Comintern." By the late 1920s, however, when trade with capitalist economies rather than world revolution was increasingly seen by the Bolshevik government as the best defense, Commissar of Foreign Affairs Georgii Chicherin went to great lengths to assure foreign governments that the activities of the Comintern had nothing to do with the business of the Soviet state. With the turn to the left in 1928 and in Chicherin's words, "the clamour about social fascism," relations between Narkomindel and the Comintern rapidly deteriorated.[14]

In treating the history of the NKVD, several issues must be addressed. First, many materials related to the operations of the NKVD (and its successor, the KGB) remain inaccessible to researchers. Second, even when access is obtained researchers must address the question of the "veracity" of documents produced by agencies whose business was the regular production of disinformation and outright falsifications. In addition, to date much Western literature on the Great Terror has paid little attention to what was happening in the Comintern outside Soviet institutions and society. This raises another issue: it is necessary, in McDermott and Agnew's words, "to distinguish between the periodic bureaucratic party purges and 'verification' campaigns which punctuated the internal life of the Russian party and the Comintern from the late 1920s onwards, and the mass terror of the years 1936–1938 when literally no one was safe."[15] Thus, the operation of the NKVD is not a primary focus of this book. However, I do examine the clandestine networks that existed between 1927 and the early 1930s in China (Shanghai in particular) and other countries in the Western Pacific, where the Communist Parties operated largely, if not entirely, underground and communists' activities were subject to severe repression.

Bolshevization, Stalinism, and the Question of Control

As a result of the process of Bolshevization, the Russian party undoubtedly wielded enormous influence over the Comintern. Far less certain, however, is whether the Russians' dominance translated into corresponding subservience by communist parties. First, it is important to distinguish "between passive acceptance and pro-active involvement."[16] Second, there is much debate about whether the Comintern by the early 1930s was a monolithic structure under the absolute control of Stalin. Some argue—most recently with substantial evidence drawn from the Comintern archives—that Stalin, either personally or through Vyesheslav M. Molotov, who had been installed by Stalin as head

of the Comintern following Nikolai I. Bukharin's removal in 1929, maintained strict control over the highly bureaucratized Comintern, and in particular over the ECCI and national party leaderships.[17] For a long time, British Comintern expert Edward Hallett Carr represented the opposing position. Carr argued that "Stalin, heavily engaged elsewhere, was not tempted to concern himself with the petty disputes of an institution he had always despised." Moreover, in spite of the national parties' commitment to the defense of the USSR and their acquiescence to Moscow's dictates regarding all changes in leadership, "yet, notwithstanding this apparently total subordination, the persistence of stubborn dissensions within the Comintern hierarchy in Moscow allowed and even encouraged the proliferation of similar dissensions within and between communist parties, and left these parties a certain conditional freedom to air their opinions."[18]

A growing number of scholars have entered the recent debate. Extrapolating from Huber's research, McDermott poses an intriguing question about how the Comintern functioned at the center: "it could be argued that the delegation of work by the Comintern leadership to departmental officials fostered a sort of power-shift in which effective decision-*implementation*, as opposed to decision-*making*, rested with behind-the-scenes bureaucrats . . . Were these people the real power-brokers in the Comintern?"[19] Turning from the center to the periphery, others have begun to examine both the relationship between the Comintern and national parties and the application and experience of the official line within local and national contexts.[20] Reflecting on the contributions to a recent collection that encompass analyses of sixteen communist parties' responses to the Third Period, editor Matthew Worley comments, "From this, one thing becomes abundantly clear: a Moscow-centric view is not by itself adequate." Although all the contributors "recognise the significance of Moscow, the USSR and Stalin in determining communist history, they also demonstrate how different people in different countries interpreted and applied the New Line in different ways amid different circumstances." These differences emerged most clearly from around 1930–1931, following "the initial overhaul of the 'right danger'" in 1928–1930.[21]

Within the U.S. context, in his study of Alabama communists Robin D. G. Kelley reveals that precisely during the Third Period the Party in Alabama attained its greatest strength among both rural and urban blacks. Although black radicals "relied primarily on evasive, cunning forms of resistance" and made every possible effort to avoid violent confrontation, they nonetheless responded positively to talk about an imminent world revolution and the idea of the Soviet Union with Stalin at its head. "The assurance of outside support, even if imagined, and the physical presence of collective organization, engendered a sense of power that lent itself to isolated acts of counteraggression or self-defense." At the same time, black Communists' "actions were informed by a culture of opposition with deep roots in history and community." This,

together with their isolation from the centers of Party power, enabled them to ignore and refashion the craziest Third Period dictates.[22]

Similarly, other historians have noted that Third Period tactics, in particular the strategy of dual unionism, led to greater participation of minorities in the American Communist movement. Instead of continuing to work within the AFL, which had a long history of excluding racial minorities and failing to organize the unorganized, the American party, at the direction of the Comintern, began to establish independent revolutionary unions and other organizing vehicles such as the Unemployed Councils of the USA. The new unions and councils, operating under the auspices of the Party's newly established industrial arm, the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL),[23] welcomed participation by nonwhite workers.[24]

Coming to Moscow

The main offices of the apparatuses of the Comintern and Profintern were located in Moscow. Therefore, Moscow served as permanent home to the heads of the Comintern and Profintern and their subordinates and as the site of both high- and lower-level and regular and extraordinary meetings—from the Comintern and Profintern Congresses, plenums of the ECCI, and meetings of regional secretariats to the First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East in 1922 and the Sixth National Congress of the CCP in 1928. Decisions on matters of policy, personnel, and finances all emanated from offices in Moscow. Representatives of the American Bureau neatly encapsulated this political reality; PPTUS used the term "Home Office" to refer to the PPTUS headquarters in Moscow.

In addition, party functionaries from around the world, students, and other visiting Communists temporarily resided in Moscow. Before doing so, however, they first had to make the long and often perilous journey to Russia; for example, Maniwa began his travel by German steamer as "an ordinary seaman at $5 a month" from New York to Batumi on the Black Sea and ended with his trip by train from Tiflis (or Tbilisi) to Moscow during the last leg of which he "begged bread from passengers to continue."[25] Once in Moscow, they immediately confronted the reality of a city that suffered from dire housing and food shortages, especially during the 1930s.[26] For the most part, students were housed in dormitories, and visiting Communists, with spouses and children, at the Hotel Lux at 36 Tverskaya Street in Moscow or the Hotel Bristol.[27] Former Communist seaman Richard Krebs remembered, "Often there were as many as twenty-five of us [Comintern workers] in a room six or eight yards square."[28]According to David Hornstein, space at the Lux was allocated "on the basis of hierarchical standing," and those who made it a permanent home were given wide latitude in terms of the use of their space. "The rooms of the veteran Japanese Communist Sen Katayama, for example, were widely remarked for their 'oriental splendor.'"[29]

Indeed, in some instances the Comintern demonstrated far less concern for the welfare of Japanese Communists—even when the individual could offer a valuable service to the Comintern. Like many Japanese who had received a university education,[30] JCP member Okanoue was proficient in German and could therefore translate into German "Japanese basic works . . . such as the 'Capitalistic development of Japan' and 'Economic history of Japan,'" none of which had been translated yet into any of the "four official languages of the Comintern [Russian, English, German, and French]." The Eastern Department, then headed by Fedor F. Raskolnikov ("Petrov"), complied with the request of Katayama and other Japanese in the city to call him to Moscow. However, Iosif Piatnitsky, treasurer of the ECCI, head of the organization department, and member of the Secretariat,[31] only agreed to "send a visa with a condition that he shall not stay in the Hotel Lux." On the day of his arrival on May 30, 1924, Katayama, Hazama Yukiyoshi (alias Yamada), and Tani Noboru wrote directly to Raskolnikov to explain the reason for their request.

> As you know we the Far Eastern country comrades are placed in a difficult position as perhaps all the Eastern country people on account of differences of languages, namely, and especially the far [*sic*] Eastern languages, Chinese, Korean and the Japanese, they do not correspond to any of four official languages of the Comintern: consequently we must work doubly write first in the Japanese and then translate it into one of those official languages, which work itself is very difficult task to us . . . For these important works [the Japanese basic works], Comrade Hanada [*sic*] is the most suited expert and is willing to write during his stay in Moscow . . . [however] he wants go back as soon as possible to take up the work in Japan. To accomplish the work we thought and decided to ask Comrade Okanoue to help us in the German translation . . . We ask you or through you the Comintern to provide a room in a decent manner in some reliable hotel at a reasonable price with a regular reduction for the Party or the Comintern work.[32]

It is not known how the matter was resolved. There is no question, however, that the three Japanese Communists had identified what continued to be a weakness in the Comintern's apparatus. As Sandra Wilson notes, "there seems to have been no one at the Far Eastern Bureau of the Comintern at the end of the 1920s who knew Japanese."[33] Similarly, speaking of KUTV Alexander Pantsov calls attention to "the lack of suitable material in Asian languages and above all in Chinese."[34]

At the same time, the Comintern created universities for the express purpose of educating activists from across Asia in Communist revolutionary theory and practice. The first to be established, in April 1921, was KUTV (known as Kutobe among Japanese students). Although originally designed to cater to Communist Party technical and business cadres from the so-called

Asiatic Soviet Union, beginning in 1923 the school broadened its scope beyond Soviet borders and included two sections, one Soviet and the other "foreign." They divided the latter into groups based on national origin. Among those admitted were students of more than sixty nationalities, women and men, and Party and non-Party members, although in the case of the Chinese the students were mainly members of the CCP (including those coming from Europe) and the Communist Youth League (CYL).[35] Both the Japanese and Chinese groups included Japanese and Chinese from the United States who, upon completion of their studies, pursued one of three routes—return to the United States, return to their respective homelands, or travel to the Russian Far East. According to former KUTV student Kazama Jokichi, "it was accepted that we [Japanese students] had to graduate quickly and return to Japan right away."[36]

Founded in the fall of 1925, UTK/KUTK was intended to exist alongside the Chinese section of the KUTV; its primary aim was to radicalize left-wing members of the KMT—that is, up to the KMT-CCP split when the KMT withdrew all its students.[37] Following UTK/KUTK's closing in fall 1930, the ILS became the institution charged with responsibility for educating Chinese revolutionary youth. Unlike KUTV and UTK/KUTK, however, the ILS admitted students from all the national parties, grouping them into sections on a national or linguistic basis. In addition, whereas KUTV and UTK/KUTK offered instruction at the secondary level, the latter aimed to provide a university-level curriculum. Moreover, ILS occupied an elite status among the Comintern schools.[38] In this regard, it is important to recognize that the level of education of students entering KUTV and UTK/KUTK varied widely from workers and peasants without an elementary education to university graduates, and, as Pantsov notes of the Chinese, "even the most educated had little knowledge of Marxist theory."[39]

A number of issues assume particular salience in the scholarship and personal memoirs of former Chinese and Japanese students of KUTV and UTK/KUTK. First, Russian was the language of instruction. Although interpreters were present at lectures and meetings, students were still required to learn the language. For most Chinese and Japanese students, this meant long hours of study because they were starting "from scratch, often without benefit of adequate texts or study aids."[40] Kazama recalled, "Japanese people usually skipped the recreational assemblies to study . . . we didn't have time to play. Day in and day out we were studying Russian."[41] Similarly, at UTK/KUTK "intensive study of the Russian language accounted for four hours a day, six days a week."[42] Furthermore, there was an inadequate amount of either interpreters or, as noted earlier, "suitable material" translated into Japanese and Chinese. To assist the Chinese, the schools began to enlist students who were proficient in Russian to translate the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin as well as key documents issued by the Comintern, and to lecture and prepare course summaries for other Chinese students.[43]

Second, all the schools' curricula emphasized Western history to the exclusion of non-Western histories and contemporary realities. As Pantsov notes, "KUTV only really started to grapple with the question of 'Easternizing' social and economic studies at the end of 1927." Up to 1935, sometimes only 10 percent of the subject matter covered in the general history course concerned "Eastern topics."[44] At least one group of Japanese students at KUTV voiced their dissatisfaction. In a "Declaration" dated August 17, 1925,[45] the Japanese Section (or Kruzhok) called for the "reform" of the "present condition" of KUTV. Their "motive" in doing so was a sense of "our great responsibility to enlarge more and more the meaning of the University that bears on the revolution in the Eastern countries: without which, we believe such fellow must ende [*sic*] merely a parasite of the Russian Proletarian class."[46] However, according to Kazama such criticism was kept to a minimum by keeping the students' days "filled with meetings: meetings of Japanese communists, foreign students, the entire student body, trade unions, free study groups—physical exercise, music and drama . . . In this way, the students were kept extremely busy and were protected from subversive ideas."[47]

When it came to the struggle waged between Stalinists and Trotskyists in the CPSU, the students were not thus protected. In fact, they were profoundly impacted not only through the "Stalinization" of the educational programs but also because the fierce ideological battles entered the schools and quickly upended students' and teachers' lives both inside and outside the classroom. Pantsov comments, "schools were plunged into a constant round of meetings and worked up into an atmosphere of hysteria."[48]

Finally, adjusting to life in a city whose shortages of housing, fuel, and food were widespread —and where the students received far better accommodations than ordinary Muscovites—and whose culture was alien to both Chinese and Japanese students was immensely difficult. Depending on the school to which they had been admitted, their accommodations consisted of a room in KUTV's dormitory for foreign students, a room in one of UTK/SUTK's several dormitories, or accommodations in the ILS's "school compound." Along with room and board, students received clothing, shoes, textbooks, and stationery. In addition, students at KUTV and UTK/SUTK received about ten rubles as pocket money, while those at the ILS not only received pocket money but also money for the support of spouses and children.[49]

At the same time, foreign students at KUTV were not entirely cut off from the company of visiting Communists. American Communist Peggy Dennis recalled that during the winter of 1931, when she and her husband Eugene Dennis and their infant son lived in the Lux, "To our room came also Gene's students at the Far Eastern University, young South Africans, Filipinos and Chinese who drank numerous glasses of hot tea as they debated the specific characteristics of the national liberation struggles back home and how the Comintern's resolution on this subject was to be applied."[50] Similarly,

Katayama received Japanese and Chinese students and visiting Communists.[51] As JCP member Yamamoto Masami recalled, after he and a number of other Japanese students arrived in Moscow in 1926 to attend KUTV, "he saw Katayama Sen" and "Katayama welcomed them warmly."[52] Moreover, reflecting his interest in other Asian peoples, Katayama also welcomed Communists from other Asian countries. It is likely that one such visitor was KMT and American party member Sui Peng, who came to the USSR from the United States en route to Shanghai in late March 1927. Because Peng had cooperated with Issei activists in New York "in anti-imperialist work and other activities," Ogino wrote in advance to Katayama requesting that he give Peng "assistance . . . during his stay in Soviet Russia."[53]

Isolation and Discrimination in the Red Capital

Yet, there was a central irony to visiting Communists' experience of Moscow as "second home." After delivering a paean to the city, Dennis comments, "Exhilarated at living in this international milieu, I was slow to realize that we were completely isolated from ordinary Soviet life . . . All of the comrades living there [the Lux] and working at the Comintern were divorced from Soviet life. We were living in Moscow, but were not a part of it."[54] Moreover, for Chinese and Japanese Communists anti-Asian racism added to the experience of isolation.[55] Reflecting on his time at UTK/SUTK in the mid-1920s, Sheng Yueh writes,

> The prejudice of the Russians against the Chinese had carried over from the days of Tsarist Russia. For example, we were often insulted on the streets when people asked us in Russian, "Friend, do you want salt?" . . . Only later did we find out that there was a legend to the effect that a Chinese was reported to have died in St. Petersburg in the summer. So that the body could be sent back to China for burial, a relative was supposed to have packed the body with salt to prevent it from decomposing. The customs officers who inspected the coffin at Vladivostok supposedly observed the salt-packed body and regarded it as a great joke. The story somehow spread all over Russia. Needless to say, whenever we were asked, "Do you want some salt," we became angry. And we were asked this question by all kinds of Russian people—adults, teenagers, once-prominent figures, and "new Soviet citizens."[56]

In spite of the fact that he himself participated in efforts to root out Trotskyists from the student body, Sheng singles out Trotsky as having shown rare sensitivity to the problem, which he attributes to Trotsky's "Jewish origin and the fact that he had suffered as a result of Russia's anti-Semitism." Nor was Sheng alone in this regard. At UTK/SUTK's opening ceremony in November 1925, "only Trotsky's speech won the students' admiration." Sheng explained:

"After pointing out the importance of the Chinese revolution," Trotsky declared, "From now on, any Russian, be he a comrade or a citizen, who greets a Chinese student with an air of contempt, shrugging his shoulders, is not entitled to be either a Russian Communist or a Soviet citizen.'"[57] According to Sheng, many Russians responded to news of what was happening in China. Immediately after reports of the initial victory of the Shanghai workers' armed revolt in support of the National Revolutionary Army in March 1927, their "status increased rapidly. When we walked into theatres, Russian girls clustered around us. They seemed to know that these future revolutionary figures would soon return to China to hold high positions."[58] Such a change of heart among the Russian public, however, was fleeting at best. During his "more than six years' stay in Russia," Sheng "traveled to every corner." He discovered "that the farther you went to the west or south—to the Ukraine and the Caucasus—the more friendly people were to us Chinese; the farther you went to the east, the less friendly. Particularly on the border areas between the two countries, contempt and prejudice deepened, perhaps because the two peoples had more frequent contact there than in Russia proper or in the west."[59] Communist organizers in these border areas were not immune to such prejudices (see chapter 4).

Indeed, the extent of the problem of anti-Asian prejudice even at the highest levels of the Comintern is evident in a proposal submitted in September 1928 by the Eastern Secretariat, with the approval of the Anglo-American and Latin-American secretariats, and the Organization Department, to Molotov, Bukharin, Alexandr I. Krinitsky, Piatnitsky, and the director of KUTV, concerning "the question of assignment of the 'special group' currently in KUTV to a special Communist University, i.e., a department for students from the *colonial countries of the world*." Of the four stated "reasons in favor of such an assignment," the fourth was telling: "A number of difficulties arising from the peculiarities of the culture and lifestyle of the foreigners / especially of the Japanese, Negroes, Indians, etc. / and leading to conflicts with the administration regarding domestic-administrative questions would be solved significantly more easily if the 'special groups' were assigned to a separate communist university."[60] One can only wonder how someone like Katayama, member of the Anglo-American Secretariat, or Sano Manabu, member of the Far Eastern section of the Eastern Secretariat, responded to the above statement. However that might be, as Asians they were a distinct minority of the staff of the three secretariats as constituted in September 1928.[61]

On the administrative, strategic, disciplinary, and symbolic levels, Moscow was the capital of the international Communist movement, with lines of communication and influence radiating outward across the continents and oceans of the world and Communists traveling across these same distances and often at great risk to the city. Yet, while the authority and perhaps even more the "power of the myth" of the Comintern's authority could and often did

hold sway over the minds and imaginations of cadres,[62] the central apparatus in Moscow could not exert tight control over how things actually unfolded, whether at the regional, national, or local levels. Indeed, the strategies and activities conducted by regionally based functionaries and their staffs were far less centralized and strictly regulated than a Moscow-centered cartography might imply.

4

Advancing Bolshevism from Moscow Outward and Back and Forth across the Pacific

German Communist Otto Braun recalls his years spent working as Comintern military adviser to the CCP in China and notes the varying levels of risk faced by non-Chinese versus Chinese Communists in Shanghai during the years 1932–1933: "the conditions under which we worked were hazardous. We non-Chinese, of course, could meet in relative safety, for we were furnished with 'clean' passports and lived in the International Settlement or the French Concession. We had only to exercise the necessary caution, mix exclusively with foreigners in public, occasionally visit a club, and otherwise behave as inconspicuously as possible."[1] Given the Chinese Communists' environment of "white terror"[2]—as well as the facts that few Russian-, German-, and English-speaking Party functionaries knew Chinese or any other Asian languages and that Soviets in China "were under strict orders to avoid social contacts with the Chinese"[3]—it is not surprising that extreme isolation was a constant feature of work among Communist functionaries in China. Ignorance about local conditions and a pervasive Orientalist mentality that construed travel to and residence in China as a form of exile to an exotic hinterland compounded the problem. Reinhart Kossler writes about the memoirs of Soviet advisers to China from 1923 to 1927: "advisers often evoke a striking sense of strangeness or 'exotism' of the country they came to assist." The accounts also discuss "'medieval' conditions where backwardness is meant to be conveyed"; moreover, in "analytic documents of the time, the same terminology and attitude prevailed."[4]

On the face of things, the situation in Vladivostok was very different. Because the port city was under Soviet control, Communists did not have to work entirely underground, and the city was famous for its mix of peoples and cultures.[5] Yet, from the viewpoint of the metropole and its agents, during a time of heightened tensions with rival powers when spies were everywhere in the city and nearby borderlands, Communist functionaries could not be

too guarded in their relations with Asian cadres, Japanese or not. Proximity to Japan and China did not translate into easier communication or travel between Vladivostok and these countries. As a result, Communist functionaries experienced many of the same problems as their counterparts in Shanghai.

At the same time, on the other side of the Pacific the staff of the American Bureau—PPTUS in San Francisco—spoke of a sense of isolation, frustration, and helplessness that in spirit was remarkably akin to that expressed by the staff in Shanghai. Although the level of repression did not compare to what existed in Shanghai, both the first bureau head Harrison George and his successor Eddy felt burdened by demands impossible to meet given the human and material resources available to them, frustrated by their inability to develop and sustain ties with either Chinese and Japanese immigrant workers within the United States or Chinese and Japanese seamen on ships that sailed into U.S. ports, and cut off from both the national and local leaderships of the American Party and the apparatus in Moscow.

In this chapter I examine the spread of pan-Pacific operations of the international Communist movement, both outward from Moscow toward the Dalkrai, China, Japan, and across the Pacific and Atlantic oceans and back and forth among the countries bordering the Pacific. In particular, I focus on the activities of Communist functionaries who were appointed to positions in the PPTUS following its formation in 1927 and stationed in cities that functioned as major regional nodal points in the pan-Pacific arena. These included the Pacific ports of Shanghai, Vladivostok, and San Francisco, and the inland but strategically located city of Berlin. When regarding intelligence activity, Shanghai held particular importance because it was home to the Comintern's FEB and the OMS in China. Although the FEB was responsible for overseeing the direction of Communist parties across Asia and also included a military section, the OMS acted as "the central relaying-point for the Comintern's money and communications in Shanghai" and handled all logistics related to the movement and accommodation of agents.[6]

Within this international and regionally organized web of operations, the smooth flow of communications, materials (including money and documents), and people was regularly obstructed by an array of accidental albeit likely events, including intervention by agents of rival imperial powers and/or private shipping companies, human and technical errors and mishaps, and occasionally fierce personal rivalries combined with bitter ideological conflicts. As a result, constant maneuvering on the ground, both within and beyond the interstices of a particular spatial location, was necessary, prior to, during, and after any transaction or change of place. Indeed, only through the efforts of multiple and variously placed actors, who were more or less capable by reason of race, gender, nationality, political allegiance, and history, and happenstance of building association networks that exceeded localized social relations to spaces that encompassed the regional, national, and international

scales, was activism rather than entrapment possible. With the exception of the auxiliary roles of "wife" and contact among women workers, activism was almost exclusively gendered male. It is likewise important to recognize that in some instances all movement and resistance were rendered impossible.[7]

Difficulties in Setting Up "An Apparatus for the PPTUS"

Following the convening of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference in May 1927, M. Apletin, Soviet member of the newly founded PPTUS, took charge of the "central secretarial and publishing work" from an office in Hankow. In October, after being "exiled to Moscow and then China in 1926 when Apletin left his wife for the party's confidential typist [Paddy Ayriss], who was expecting his child," CPGB member George Hardy,[8] "together with 'Paddy' who acted as a technical assistant," replaced the "old staff." Hardy's tenure, with Ayriss, ran through the headquarters' relocation to Shanghai in the wake of the Canton uprising in mid-December and up to the Second Plenum of the PPTUS held in early February 1928—when Earl Browder and Karlis Janson took over—and again from mid-February 1929 to the end of April 1930, when as a result of the police "laying bare some details about the former and present George" it was decided "it is best that he be evaporated from here."[9]

Writing to his supervisor Alexander in Moscow in November 1929,[10] Hardy laid bare the severe constraints under which they worked.

> My period at Hankow in 1[9]28 [*sic*] was one of almost absolute isolation, even from the Chinese, and I was forced to content myself with issuing manifestoes, trying to build up communications and getting out the 'PPW.' . . . Now since I have returned (for nearly one year), I, *with one technical worker, have carried on* absolutely *alone*, *as far as the work of the trade union movement is* concerned, as well as having to take my part in the work as a member of the Far Eastern Bureau of the CI. *I will only say that it has been a most strenuous period for me.* Not only have I have *been alone* but because of the fact I *have been unable to* develop *an apparatus for the PPTUS to efficiently carry on the work.*

The situation was especially dire for the Japanese. Not only was the "possibility of police interception of postal communications in Japan" omnipresent, which necessitated communicating briefly and "in code," but here he was "*alone and it is most difficult for Japanese comrades to come to Shanghai or even to exist here when they do arrive.*"[11]

Nor were these problems new. In March 1928, Browder told Alexander why the recent issue of the *PPW* was late: "It is very unfortunate that our technical connections are so round-about that delays like this are unavoidable, and accumulate. All the materials in this issue you have already received in manuscript."[12] And in June, Browder and Janson reported, "You may realize

the difficulty to be connected with Japan by this, that to reach us it takes 12 to 15 days, so much must one travel about before there can be any hopes to land safely in Shanghai."[13] In addition, language was a problem. "The weakest point of our activities," Alexander reminded Hardy in September 1929, "is that the 'Pan Pacific Worker' appears only in English, whilst it is needed most of all for the Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, Hindus, and others." Moreover, such weaknesses were far more than simply "technical" matters. In the same letter, Alexander identified the countries with which the PPTUS was "situated closest" to only in geographical terms: "As regards China, where the connections are closest, the position there cannot be considered at all what it should be . . . Japan, despite her geographical proximity, is still rather far from us. Profound movements are taking place there . . . Have you any really serious connections, do you succeed in assisting and helping our Japanese comrades, or are you cut off from Japan? . . . Things are still worse in Korea. This year there was quite a considerable strike movement in Korea; at the same time we are badly connected with this movement . . . You have good connections with the Philippines, and these connections must be reinforced, but on the other hand things are bad in Singapore, Formosa, and still worse in India and Indonesia. Can we be satisfied with such a position?"[14]

At the same time, the threat of persecution entailed isolation from local activists and movements in neighboring countries where forms of communication were risky, "round-about," and protracted if not entirely obstructed, involved a severe lack of personnel (in particular of staff fluent in Asian languages) or other resources, and imposed always uncertain delivery of funding to carry out an extremely ambitious agenda. In addition to the sum total of these largely external problems impeding the establishment of an apparatus for the PPTUS in Shanghai, fierce personal and partisan rivalries among leading staff members presented significant internal problems. In fact, shortly after Browder replaced Hardy as head of the PPTUS such conflicts severely undermined, if not paralyzed, the entire operation.

In hindsight, the arrangement by which Browder (known as Morris and Russell in China) was expected to cooperate with Janson (alias Charlie Stein)[15] in directing the work from the shared headquarters in Shanghai was bound to generate conflict, especially because Janson came to this assignment with considerable experience for the Profintern and Comintern in Japan and China, including in Shanghai.[16] By the beginning of December 1927, therefore, he was in a position to send Alexander detailed "notes" on the situation in the CCP and the Chinese trade unions, as well as the work of the PPTUS.[17] Janson also benefited from the assistance of his wife Annie.[18] Perhaps most important, he received "over $5000," of which "$1500" had to be paid to "the printing house" while the rest went toward meeting the costs of convening the Second Plenum of the PPTUS and sending delegates to the Fourth Profintern Congress that spring in Moscow.[19] In this regard, E. H. Carr comments, "The authority

of Yanson resting in his role as the dispenser of Comintern funds, channelled through the Far Eastern bureau of Comintern in Shanghai, was also doubtless enhanced."[20]

Although initially Browder reported, "We keep in the closest touch in all questions of policy and practical work and so far have had no trouble in arriving at common views,"[21] the situation rapidly deteriorated. Hardy claimed that during the period "E. B. was in charge . . . nothing was done except to publish the magazine [*PPW*], except for what Stein did in building up communications with Singapore and Japan, and giving direction to the Chinese strikes . . . You are also fully aware of the fact that E. B. was most of the time absent from headquarters at Shanghai, part time in the Philippines and then at the VI World Congress, as well as being engaged in a factional struggle [among the top ranks of the CPUSA][22] which extended to China."[23]

For his part, on the heels of the Third Plenum of the PPTUS, held October 27–28, 1928, in Shanghai, Janson informed Lozovsky that Browder had abruptly "dropped all work and left for Moscow, departing he categorically declined to give me the keys to the PPTUS post office box . . . Already in the spring it became clear that Earl does not want to provide for TOS [PPTUS] a collective leadership and wants to dismiss me." By Janson's own account, he challenged Browder's authority, such as when he refused to approve "his journey from Bombay to Australia . . . consider[ing] that Earl's participation in the Congress in Australia could strain relations with TOS and it is more expedient to organize by letter." More to the point perhaps, he commented, "in general Earl does not enjoy authority and popularity among the Chinese and Japanese comrades even Filipino comrades all turn more to me." In conclusion, Janson declared, "it is necessary for one of us to leave here. I am pointing out that I cannot concede the Chinese trade union leadership to Earl because it signified that I am subordinate to him."[24] The impasse was resolved at the end of January of the next year when "everybody had to take to their heels and flee" against the threat of a raid and immediate arrest by "police and intelligence services of the Chinese and other governments." Once in Moscow, "Stalin saved Browder's neck."[25]

"We Are Hanging As If By a Thread": The Odds against Conducting Pan-Pacific Work from Offices in Shanghai

In January 1928 head of the Profintern Solomon A. Lozovsky wrote his PPTUS "friends" in China: "I personally give great significance to this work." Six weeks later "at the very height of the [Fourth Profintern] congress he declared in another letter that among all the commissions at work "for us the most important, of course, are the Chinese and Japanese."[26] Moreover, the magnitude of the task more than equaled the weight of Lozovsky's endorsement. During the first year and a half, the PPTUS staff's duties included writing, editing,

publishing, and disseminating the *PPW*, which with No. 17 was issued "under a new cover, entitled the 'Far Eastern Monthly' "; beginning in April an "Australian edition" of the *PPW* began to appear "twice a month." In addition, the PPTUS staff gave advice and funds to the All-China Labor Federation (ACLF) with whose leaders it met weekly, convened conferences with representatives of the ACLF and delegations from Japan and the Philippines, organized the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference from August 15 to 20, 1929, in Vladivostok, issued manifestoes and press statements, ran a "Press Service" that sent out a "constant supply of information" to other countries, and formed connections with and supported Communists, trade union activists, and native workers in China, Japan, the Philippines, Korea, Indonesia, the Malay States, Formosa, and India. During the first half of 1928 the staff initiated "the systematic translation of important documents and articles into the principal languages of the Far East," after which the staff submitted a proposal to the secretariat of the Profintern to organize "a translation-publishing program in the Eastern languages—Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian, Tagalo [*sic*] etc."[27]

Yet, barely two months after the move to Shanghai the operations suffered an almost total collapse. "Esteemed Aleksandr," Janson wrote, "During the last period raids and arrests are happening everywhere. The party and trade union apparatus in Shanghai, Hankow and Changsha are completely smashed . . . We are organizationally shattered." To make matters worse, Janson knew that he might be held personally responsible for the debacle and thus errant in the Profintern's judgment. He therefore gave a detailed account of the situation, to which Browder assented in a separate letter.[28] First, the CCP "underestimates the trade union work," and at the recent trade union conference the delegates adopted a resolution advocating "armed insurrection" over his recommendation to focus on "organizational work and strike strategy." Nor did they have any "less difficulty with Japan" in trade union work. Janson also offered a thorough explanation about his inability to fulfill Alexander's request for a certain size trade union delegation: "Even if the situation with regard to the police were not so highly unfavorable, we would still not have enough money, because now, with no ships to take, every delegate costs 425 am. dollars. And secondly . . . through H. we could send only a group of ten . . . and thirdly, we could not because many in Shanghai / including 2 Japanese comrades / have been arrested. Here now are concentrated so many spies / Chinese, English, Japanese /, that we are hanging as if by a thread. This is why I hope that although you will criticize me severely, all the same you will not send me to hard labor, because I did everything possible, frankly I am worn out."[29]

Nor was such a turn of events an isolated occurrence: in May 1930 CPUSA member Philip Aronberg "came to take over something and found nothing,"[30] and about a year later beginning in April 1931 things again ground to a halt due to "a whole series of arrests which to a very large degree shattered our apparatus . . . have not ended as yet [June 9, 1931]," and the "absence of Leon

[head of the PPTUS Bureau from sometime during the first half of 1930][31] and the representative from FEB," leaving behind "the Chinese comrades Alice and myself [Edward]."[32] Moreover, the latest blow was truly devastating because it involved the arrest and defection of the head of the CCP's Red Brigade Gu Shunzhang whose revelations to the KMT led to days of arrests and raids that decimated the CCP in Shanghai and also fostered "a paranoia that was as damaging as the raids themselves."[33] Not a week later Yakov Rudnik (alias Hilaire Noulens), head of the OMS in Shanghai from March 1930, and his wife Tatyana Moiseenko were arrested, which temporarily forced the FEB to close and severed lines of communication between the Comintern and local Asian Communist parties.[34] Finally, the assault on Communists during this period was nearly lethal but for the "beginning of a policy of official collaboration" between the KMT and foreign police forces.[35] "Under such conditions," Hardy noted, "there was a limit to the period a foreigner could stay in China without putting the lives of Chinese fellow-workers in jeopardy."[36] In this regard, Lozovsky advised Stein, "The bulletin should not be clamorous."[37] In a separate letter, he warned, "You ought to take into consideration the objective conditions and restrain *the harshness in the style* . . . To take into consideration the militarists, the terror, the fact that the workers are sent by the hundreds and thousands to execution for printing any kind of leaflet, it is essential."[38] But, even while the CCP was riven by factionalism and nearly decimated by external suppression, "party leaders continued to make the organizing of labor the backbone of policy and to call for armed uprisings among workers and peasants."[39] The policy accorded well with the Comintern leadership's adoption of hard-line positions during the Third Period.

A single incident both captures this reality and raises the knotty question of racial prejudice. In May 1928 Browder and Janson reported, "Our printing arrangements have broken down entirely." By their initial account, blame rested with the Chinese workers: "The trouble came from the Chinese workers in the shop, who resigned in a body rather than continue to print what they thought endangered their necks. The crisis came after another print shop, suspected of having printed a 'red' leaflet, had its whole staff of seventeen workers taken out and shot. It seems impossible to resume printing at this time, although we may be able to soon, having some encouragement from the proprietor who 'wants the money.' We have not been able to find a new printing place." In his formal report on the PPTUS work since February, Browder rephrased his account in a way that demonstrated greater concern for the welfare of the Chinese workers, stating that they "lost" two issues of the *PPW* "due to the white terror, which by executing a whole print-shop staff so terrorized the printers that we could get nothing printed for three months."[40] More significant, however, PPTUS staff were evidently reluctant if not unwilling to work jointly with Asian rather than Western cadres in the Shanghai bureau's operations. In June 1930 and again about a month later, Leon warned by wire

and letter that, "until we get a real typist here (preferably an American typist) our work will be greatly hindered and we shall NOT be able to publish the Far Eastern [Bulletin]."[41]

To be sure, for some tasks it was difficult to find anyone, be she American or non-Western. Reporting on what was accomplished in 1928, Browder commented, "Undoubtedly the weakest point in our work is the lack of a sufficient number of workers qualified to function in more than one country, that is, to really be able to work outside their own immediate trade unions, on an international scale." More relevant perhaps, though presented by Browder as flowing "from this [weakest point]," was "the lack of interest still manifested by the left-wing movement in the imperialist countries, who do not sufficiently appreciate the importance of the Pan-Pacific movement, who neglect it, and who do not sufficiently try to understand it." Indeed, more than two years later, in a letter addressed to the Executive Buro of the Profintern, the PPTUS decried the fact that "the connections & inter-relations between these two sectors of our international revolutionary front have been lamentably neglected."[42]

In February 1930 Hardy spelled out for the leadership in Moscow precisely just what such neglect entailed, in particular, the severity of the binding constraints and penalties to be incurred by Chinese activists who sought to move from activism at the local scale within the national space to organizing at the regional scale in the pan-Pacific arena.

> The position is such that if I am arrested or removed at any time, most of the work stops. This is the risk you run as long as I remain alone. The next point: that of develpping [*sic*] our organisation by helping out affiliated organisations directly. To do this I must have a capable comrade to go to the various countries to give organisational advice, etc. and help them to build up their respective organisations. I can use Chinese comrades in limited cases only such as for Singapore, Indo-China, Siam, but they cannot be used for Japan, Formosa, Korea, Philippines, Sumatra, Java etc. In the last two places there are high fees to pay to enter, recommendations to get and guarantees to be given by some merchant livingthere [*sic*] . . . The USA immigration laws apply in the Philippines and the Japanese authorities also want guarantees . . . Preferably an Anglo-Saxon comrade should be sent for this job, or if this is not possible, at least one who can speak and write a good English. He must have a good appearance and pass for a salesman, etc . . . We do not want persons here which the different Parties are desirous of getting rid of themselves, but comrades who are develpping [*sic*] and have some experience, who can return home and make good use of their experiences here in their future work.

At the same time, fair-minded as the above account is, the report is nonetheless colored by suggestions of Western, or, to quote Hardy, "Anglo-Saxon,"

bias.[43] One wonders why his first concern was developing cadres for work back "home" rather than investing in the training of Chinese for work right "here."

The CCP held a favorable opinion of Hardy. In response to the news several months earlier that he was to be called back to the USSR, the CCP Central Politbureau wrote to the Profintern leadership to "insistently demand" that they postpone his departure until May 1, 1930, or later. Yet their reasons showed that they did not share Hardy's point of view regarding the purpose of sending foreign cadres to do work in China. They explained, "Com. Georg has stayed in China for a longer period, has understood more of conditions in China, and has rendered considerable help to our labour movement. At present when our work should be more intensified, it is of particul [*sic*] importance to have comrades who understand actual conditions here to guide work."[44]

This last insight was confirmed on a number of occasions by PPTUS staff themselves in their reports on the work in China. For example, in February 1928 Browder commented, "A very favorable influence upon our work has been exerted by the active collaboration in the Executive, since the Plenum, by Chinese and Japanese representatives. It is our opinion, drawn from this experience, that it is necessary not only in Plenum meetings, but in the interim work, that more representatives from other countries shall from time to time work for a month or two with the Executive Bureau."[45] In January 1931, on Moscow's orders, a Chinese cadre was appointed to the newly reorganized Executive Bureau of the PPTUS. Lozovsky directed that the bureau was to include one representative of the ACLF and one representative of the FEB, along with Yufei as chairman, Leon as secretary, and Kennedy as organization-secretary.[46] Two months later, even as he reiterated his threat regarding the need for "a special technical worker," Leon reported favorably on the new "division of work," by noting, "it helps us to pay more detailed attention to China."[47]

Thus, the leaderships in Moscow and Shanghai recognized that the PPTUS must form ties with local trade union activists and integrate into the highest levels of its operations Chinese, Japanese, and other "representatives" from countries across the region, if only to be able to produce and disseminate the *PPW* in the languages of the peoples for whom "it is needed most."[48] In this regard, the staff in Shanghai feared that with the contemplated "removal of the magazine" from China, the PPTUS "may lose its Oriental face."[49] This same staff, however, considered it essential that they receive Western-certified "technical" help whose allegiances were probably entirely extra-local and therefore more politically reliable. At the same time, the constant threat of repression, suffered unequally by Westerners and non-Westerners, dwarfed all other considerations.

Under these circumstances, one solution was to perfect the system of operation. In anticipation of the headquarters' relocation to Shanghai, at the beginning of December 1927 Janson laid out detailed plans to this effect. First, they would issue the *PPW* in Shanghai, but they would nonetheless have "to

remain underground, and on [account] of the organization of the printing house, etc. *to grease* the French police." "On a parallel front," they must create a "Research Institute of Industry and Agriculture" that would "not only gather information we need, but that could also serve as our *legal* apparatus for the congress and so on." Last, they must "create a covert apparatus for connecting with Chinese trade unions since the apparatus formed by the OMS ECCI *trade union meeting* does not function."[50] Alternatively, they could transfer the PPTUS base of operations to single or multiple sites outside China.

Vladivostok: So Near and Yet So Far

Vladivostok was the Soviets' gateway to the Pacific. No less important than its direct connection by railroad to the Soviet seat of power was the city's position in relation to East and Northeast Asia. Situated as it was immediately north of Korea, Northeast China (also known as Manchuria), directly across the East Sea (Sea of Japan) from Japan, and not far south of Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands, and Kamchatka, the port city was in an ideal location for disseminating Communist propaganda across Asia and recruiting Asian cadres. Moreover, the city and surrounding region included large numbers of Chinese and Koreans along with Russians and Ukrainians, as well as smaller numbers of Japanese and Latvians, a regular influx of foreign and above all Japanese seamen on Japanese ships that visited the port, and thousands of seasonal Japanese workers who converged on the nearby peninsula of Kamchatka and island of Sakhalin to work in the Japanese-dominated fishing and mining industries. The difficulty in creating a stable base of operations inside Japan added further to the strategic importance of Vladivostok. Finally, because of the mix of peoples and its sanctioned cultural autonomy during the 1920s and 1930s, the city was home to a rich cultural life with a "dozen languages echoed in local stores, banks, hotel lobbies, and brothels," Chinese and Korean theaters, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean newspapers, and Korean schools, clubs, libraries, publishing houses, and hospitals.[51]

At the meeting of the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference in Vladivostok the PPTUS called attention to the strategic role played by seamen in the pan-Pacific arena, an insight the leaderships of the Profintern and transport workers in Asia had long ago articulated and acted upon. By the end of 1923, "the main activity of the Port Bureau [in Vladivostok] expressed itself in the work of the International Seamens' [*sic*] Club [Interclub]."[52] Organized into Japanese, Chinese, and Korean sections, the Interclub offered a wide range of services, including language classes, social events, and publications in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean. For their part, recognizing "the great need of establishing a system of international connections of worker-correspondents in the countries of the Pacific," especially in light of the imperial powers' renewed interest in breaking such efforts, the delegates resolved, "to draw

in the seamen, who are travelling all over the world . . . At the same time we must organise groups of seamen themselves. The question of colored labor amongst seamen, and the problem of the general exploitation of seamen on board of capitalist ships had not been sufficiently enlightened."[53] At this very same moment, the delegates to the Second Conference of Transport Workers, who were also gathered in Vladivostok, decided "to establish a Pan-Pacific Secretariat of Transport Workers [TOST] with temporary residence in Vladivostok" whose first priority must be "the struggle against war and the danger of war, defense of the USSR."[54] TOST would become TOS IMPR following the formation of ISH (International Seamen and Harbor Workers) at a conference held on October 3, 1930, in Hamburg.

More concretely, from the time of its formation in December 1929 the Vladburo concentrated much of its energy on directing the activities of the Vladivostok Interclub. In December 1931, newly appointed chairman of the Vladburo Kennedy reminded Janson of this fact:[55] "As I already wrote to you the seamen must be considered one of our most important fields of work and I personly [*sic*] think the club has done some good work and is on the road to do better . . . We will give attention to this problem and I personly [*sic*] am to work with TOST on its day to day problems."[56] Both the physical proximity and close ties and the multiracial staffs enjoyed by the Vladburo, Port Bureau with Interclub, and TOST placed the work on a particularly advantageous footing. TOST was formed in August 1929: Finn Vaino Pukka, director of the Far Eastern Labor College in Vladivostok and newly appointed secretary of TOST; the Japanese member Takasaki; Chinese member Kichi from Shanghai, previously a Chinese instructor at the Interclub; and Saiki Shinzo (alias Kavata), editor of the Interclub's Japanese newspaper. When the Vladburo was formed four months later, Pukka, Kavata, and Takasaki "at 95 percent" came on board, along with Janson as chairman, the Russian members Loktev and Ivanov, the Korean member Kim Hoban, the Japanese members Hayasi and Terada who had long been working with the Interclub, and the Chinese members Uralov and Chap-lina (both aliases).[57]

The Vladburo at once initiated publication of "a series of popular brochures on trade union questions in each country" and Chinese, Japanese, and Korean editions of the *PPW*.[58] At the conference in August, the newly elected secretariat had resolved to begin publishing the *PPW* in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean "in Vladivostok once a month, and later on twice a month," although "publication of same shall be transferred" to Japan and Korea if and when possible. The "Chinese edition should continue publication in Vladivostok for the large block of Chinese workers living on Soviet territory."[59] By fall 1930 the ranks of the Vladburo and Vladivostok Interclub had been strengthened by the arrival of James Green to serve as Vladburo chairman, Gen. Hermann Nereiks (alias George Barker) as his assistant and head of the European Section of the Interclub, and leading JCP member Yamamoto Kenzo (alias Tanaka).

FIGURE 4 Cover of Japanese-language edition of the PPTUS publication, *The Pan-Pacific Worker*, vol. 1, no. 1/2 (February 1930). First issued in English in early 1928 by the PPTUS bureau in Shanghai, the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean editions were initiated following the simultaneous convening of the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference and Second Conference of Transport Workers in Vladivostok in August 1929, and establishment of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat of Transport Workers [TOST]. At the latter conference, the secretariat resolved that the newly formed Vladburo would be responsible for issuing first on a monthly basis and then bimonthly the Chinese-, Japanese-, and Korean- language editions of the *PPW*. The American Bureau—PPTUS took charge of the publication of the Japanese-language *Taiheiyo Rodosha* as a 32-page biweekly following Harrison George's appointment as head of the Bureau in early 1932.

Yamamoto immediately took charge of editing and producing the Japanese edition of the *PPW* as well as "brochures promised to Moscow," oversaw the production of TOST's newspapers, undertook to draft "a short report about the situation of Japanese seamen" (though his advanced tuberculosis and the lack of a translator did not allow its completion), and conducted "preparatory work for the establishment of connections" with Japan.[60]

In spite of all these assets the Vladburo grappled with many of the same problems that plagued the PPTUS office in Shanghai. Its staff complained repeatedly of chronic shortages of funds and personnel and resulting burnout and illness, of neglect and an underestimation of the importance of the work by officials in Moscow—especially when it came to the Interclub, which was headed by the Finnish cadre Lukander who knew neither "English, or German, or French, [and was] completely unfamiliar with the work among orientalists"—of myriad difficulties that stemmed from language differences, the lack of skilled translators, and "the illiteracy of Chinese workers,"[61] of the pervasive presence of Japanese spies, and of ongoing and seemingly insurmountable obstacles standing in the way of forming connections with Communists and trade union activists in Manchuria, China, Japan, and Korea. Thus, geographic proximity did not necessarily translate into greater ease of communication. Hardy's comment, "So near and yet so far," regarding the position of the PPTUS in Shanghai in relation to Japan, also applied to the Vladburo.[62] For example, Yamamoto appealed to the Profintern leadership in Moscow, "*Especially I beg you to remember about the fact that connections between Japan and Vladivostok are still weaker than between Moscow and Vladivostok up to today's* day (24/XII [1930])."[63] The same comments apply to ties between Vladivostok and Shanghai. In August, Leon and Aronberg in Shanghai lamented to their "friend" in Vladivostok, "Two months have already passed, and still we have heard nothing from you, nor have we received any material, magazines or any other literature. From this end we have sent several letters to you, through different channels, and we are still waiting for an answer." Not two months later, Leon repeated his complaint, this time spelling out "the two ways which are open to you: a) Berlin and b) present Harbin connections. I cannot understand why you have not sent on your publications and other materials, including personal letters *through Berlin* until now. It takes longer (from 4 to 5 weeks), but it is better than the *nothing* which you have sent me so far."[64]

Like their counterparts in Shanghai, functionaries in Vladivostok had to surmount the long distances and illegal nature of much of their work by communicating variously and creatively by cable, specially appointed couriers, through the post in the case of legal publications, or through a trusted cadre in the case of illegal and especially "secret" letters and information, and often via OMS station chief "Max" in Berlin.[65] To entrust a familiar cadre with mail or information by word of mouth had the added advantage of permitting both formal and informal modes of communication. For all these stratagems and

ingenuity, recurrent failure characterized the entire web of communication. As valuable as the port city was as a base from which to command space across the region and Pacific, its very location and openness made control beyond the local space and disengagement from the perilous web of social relations that crisscrossed the region difficult if not impossible.

At the same time, there was another problem whose origins were internal to the movement—the existence of Russian chauvinism. The case of Russian functionary Semen Borisovich Yurdzik illustrates the problem. From at least as early as 1928, Yurdzik was a member of the administrative department of the Profintern. In 1930, he was appointed to the Presidium of the Profintern. Around this same time if not earlier, he became chief of the OMS office of the Profintern, in which capacity he reported directly to Piatnitsky.[66] As noted by Peter Huber, from the beginning of the 1920s OMS was "responsible for forging passports, transporting documents and people, for the courier service and for transferring money to parties and those parts of the apparatus working abroad."[67] Yurdzik was thus responsible for managing the Vladburo's finances and overseeing much of its operations.

Yet, in spite of the fact that Yurdzik had once worked in Vladivostok and continued to develop relationships with Japanese, Chinese, and Korean cadres assigned to work in the area, he repeatedly and without expressed hesitation referred to the same as "eastern" or "pan-pacific children" or simply "your children." The fact that he could not understand Japanese, Chinese, or Korean and was thousands of miles from the scene did not cause him to hesitate in meting out punishment for wrongs committed. In April 1930 Yurdzik wrote to Janson, then chairman of the Vladburo:

> Our Yamagata brought a letter to the Secretariat that had been written in Russian, it's true, by hand—so that it could be retyped. It is a translation of a letter received from your children. But the document in itself makes a bad impression . . .
>
> Yes, Comrade Johnson, if they keep it up like this, we won't get far! It would be interesting to know who wrote this letter—Takeda or Kavata? Whoever it is, find out and tan his hide good and proper.

Moreover, even in the face of evidence to the contrary, he refused to reconsider his assumptions regarding the character of "eastern folks."

> We are very happy about the Japanese successes and hope that in the future things will go even better. All the same, it wouldn't hurt to take a few necessary precautions. In your letter you don't say a word about how tested those children you recruited are? Have they been with you for a long time? Who has direct contact with them? Do they go to the seamen's club? Do the crews know that they are party members? *And can they be trusted implicitly*? Surely you know that the eastern folks

> are—peculiar. Among them are many mercenaries. Take everything into account. I don't have to give you lessons!
>
> As far as the Korean delegates, one can only advise maximum caution. For there is a saying about Koreans: "every third one is a provocateur."[68]

Yurdzik was neither criticized nor disciplined for manifesting "Great Russian Chauvinism"; rather, his authority was extended to the American Bureau in San Francisco. This development is not surprising, given the prevailing attitude toward Asian peoples in Russia's "imperial borderlands." Especially following Japan's occupation of Manchuria in 1931 and increased tension with Japan, Soviet policy evidenced growing xenophobia. The state began to tighten border controls in the area, and in 1930 and 1931 it forcibly removed "several hundred—possibly thousand—Korean 'kulaks' to inhospitable lands much further north.[69] According to Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Vigilance—an attitude of watchful suspicion—was an important part of Communist mentalite." Also, Yurdzik's reference to Asian cadres as "children" reflected the paternalism practiced by many regional party officials in their dealings with "members of 'backward' ethnic groups."[70] Yet, Yurdzik's communication nonetheless raises questions about the role played by OMS in such an environment. Although one cannot assume that prior to the onset of the Great Terror individual cadres many miles from Moscow blindly followed orders from OMS,[71] much evidence indicates that by design and purpose OMS fostered a culture of suspicion, active mistrust, and betrayal, especially in relation to Asians. Yurdzik's repeated warnings not to trust Asian cadres and to both "check over neighbors, whether everything is going well and by the most detailed method inform us"[72] and "contact your neighbors and let them collect information about those with whom you work,"[73] give a sharp sense of the tenor of OMS's supervision.

From Center to Periphery and Back Again via "Uncle Max" in Berlin

Soviet surveillance requires a look at Berlin, home to the offices of OMS and the WEB. The latter was initially formed in late 1919 in Berlin under the direction of "Comrade Thomas" (Yakov S. Reich), who remained in this position until 1925. In 1921, Piatnitsky was appointed to head OMS, to which the WEB would henceforth be dependent; and following the Third Comintern Congress in 1921 Jakov Mirov-Abramov was sent as Piatnitsky's representative to OMS in Berlin where he was responsible for setting up the apparatus of OMS for all of Central Europe. In 1930 Mirov-Abramov returned to Moscow, while from 1929 to 1932 Solomon Vladimirovich Mikhelson-Manuilov (otherwise known as Max Ziese, "Uncle Max" or "Berlin Uncle") headed OMS's office in Berlin. From this position, Max handled transactions between Moscow and Party functionaries and other Comintern agents and organizers working overseas.[74] In the

meantime, in February 1928 the WEB was reestablished, and from 1929 until the closing of the office in Berlin in 1933 under Nazi pressure, Georgi Dimitrov headed the agency.[75]

There is little doubt that the city of Berlin, through the offices of OMS and the WEB, served as a key nodal point in the pan-Pacific web of operations extending outward from Moscow and back again and among nodal points across the periphery. According to Krebs, since 1929, Berlin "had become the field headquarters for the whole of the Communist International . . . It was decided to let all threads end in Berlin, and to retain only a single line of communication between Berlin and Moscow."[76] The authority of the WEB, in particular, spread far and wide, including across Asia,[77] while a large proportion (if not the bulk) of the mail and funds traveling between Moscow and points in the Dalkrai, the Western Pacific, and North and South America passed through the hands of OMS staff in Berlin.

Thus, at the same time, Berlin established itself as home to "some 5000 political refugees and students from various colonial countries in whom radical, and particularly communist, tendencies were clearly discernible."[78] In the case of the Japanese, at the end of 1926 a number of Japanese academics studying in Germany formed a reading circle called the "Anti-Imperialist group in Berlin" to discuss Marxist literature. Beginning in 1927, other young radical Japanese scholars, students at Berlin University, and artists and journalists began to join the group; and following the Japanese intervention into Manchuria in September 1931 they formed a political organization, Association of Revolutionary Asians, whose dual task was to support independence movements in Asia and to assist the Weimar democracy in its struggle against Hitler's growing power. While some members such as the leader Kunizaki Teido joined the German Communist Party (KPD) and worked closely with the JCP and Katayama, the membership as a whole spanned the ideological spectrum. It was not exclusively Japanese; rather, the group included a number of young Chinese Communists including Liao Chengzhi, who in 1928 had sailed from Shanghai to Germany and begun to organize Chinese seamen in Hamburg and other European ports,[79] at least one Korean, Lee Kang Kuk, and one Indian, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya.[80]

Starting Up PPTUS Work in the United States at a Time When the Lovestone-Comintern Battle Was "So Acute that Everything Else Is Being Forgotten"

Yet, in spite of its importance as the key nodal point in the web of lines of communication connecting Moscow to the rest of the world, Berlin did not serve as an alternate base of operations for the PPTUS. Instead, San Francisco was chosen as the home first to what "must be the organ of the labor movement of the Pacific," *The Pan-Pacific Monthly*, and two-and-a-half years later to

the PPTUS bureau on the North American side of the Pacific. Given its status as one of the most important ports in both the transpacific shipping trade and transpacific passenger steamship service during the 1920s and 1930s and its relatively close proximity to and/or ease of communication with the ports of San Pedro to the south, Seattle and Vancouver to the north, Honolulu to the west, and New York to the east, the city could serve as a vital base for organizing at the local, regional, national, and international scales. Furthermore, it was the logical choice for enlisting the Party's assistance because as the site of the District 13 headquarters it already functioned as the center of party organizing for the West Coast and Hawaii and the main point of contact with the national leadership in New York.

Before such a plan could be implemented, however, PPTUS leaders first needed to agree on the American party's position in relation to PPTUS operations within its jurisdiction. Held in 1928, the Fourth Congress of the Profintern declared in its "main thesis" that "extensive help must be given to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat by the workers of those countries (Britain, France, Japan, U.S.A.) whose bourgeoisie have possessions in the Pacific and hold in slavery hundreds of millions of the toilers in those colonial and semi-colonial countries."[81] An unpublished Profintern protocol from November 1921 stated, "On all bureaux established by the [Profintern], the Communist party of the same country shall have adequate representation with decisive vote. Where disagreement arises between the party and the bureau, the position of the party shall prevail, pending appeal to and decision by the [CEC of the Comintern]."[82] Around the same time, in a letter to William Z. Foster, the newly appointed special representative of the Profintern in the United States, the executive bureau of the Profintern instructed:

> The Special Representative shall be a person willing and capable of the closest co-operation with the C.E.C. of the C. P. of A., and he is hereby instructed to maintain such co-operation. He must understand that his work is not general Communist propaganda, but the special work of inaugurating and directing the development of the American section of the Red Trade Union International, and his activities must in no way conflict with or encroach upon the general party work and propaganda of the C. P. of A. Where disagreement arises between the Communist Party of America and the Special Representative of the Red Labor Union International, the position of the Party shall prevail, pending appeal to and decision by the Executive Committee of the Communist International.[83]

On a practical level, such a policy meant that the American party was empowered to block the development of the PPTUS in the United States, which it did in 1929 when it refused to release George from his position as an editor in the New York office of the *Daily Worker* "to take charge of publications" in San Francisco.[84]

In early January 1929 Browder first made the request to appoint George "for special work." At that time George was in China where, in his own words, he "was engaged on an international assignment of confidential nature."[85] Browder himself was in Moscow, from which he returned to New York on January 17 bearing a "letter of the RILU [Profintern]" from Lozovsky for the Polburo and the National Committee of the TUEL regarding the new "Profintern line" as it applied to the work of the TUEL (Trade Union Educational League) in the United States.[86] Seven months later, the TUEL was replaced by the TUUL (Trade Union Unity League), thereby formalizing in the trade union arena the Comintern's shift from a United Front to a more sectarian "class against class" line that called for separate "red unions." George's precise return to the United States is unclear, but soon thereafter Browder informed Lozovsky of the opposition both to his proposal that he work for the TUEL in New York and George for the PPTUS in San Francisco and to the new Profintern line.[87] In the latter regard, at the recent meeting of "the leading fraction of the American Transport Workers" "an organized group" had declared their intention to fight "for the removal of the leadership of our marine work on the basis of rejection of the line of forming a new union in the marine industry."[88] When it came to Browder's proposal, American Representative to the Profintern Harry W. Wicks relayed to Lozovsky the views of the CEC of the American Party. The secretariat had decided to appoint Browder "to an important position in the TUEL and other work, if that is in harmony with his Pan-pacific tasks." However, the Polburo refused to budge on George because "he is the only one remaining in the United States who can take care of Spanish translations," at a time of a "new sharp aggressive turn of American imperialism toward Latin-America."[89]

For his part, in early March George wrote Lozovsky that the factional battle pitting Lovestone against the Comintern was "so acute that everything else is being forgotten."[90] Although, as James R. Barrett points out, Lovestone's stance regarding America's exceptionalism was not entirely new and in fact "comparable ideas had been around for years," his advocacy of such a position in the late twenties—a time when the Comintern had shifted to the Third Period line—was explosive and spelled disaster for Lovestone.[91] A month later, in the midst of the turmoil, George was at last permitted to leave New York to start up publication of *The Pan-Pacific Monthly* in San Francisco,[92] but he was not relieved of his duties at the *Daily Worker*.[93] In fact, he later recounted, not until January 1932, "at the request of authorized comrades in New York [did] the CPUSA release[d] me for PPTUS work at San Francisco."[94]

Meanwhile, from its meeting place in Vladivostok the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference resolved that given *The Pan-Pacific Monthly*'s legal status the editor should consider it his "task to reach a self-paying basis within the next six months." The secretariat also resolved that the bureau in Shanghai should publish the *Far Eastern Bulletin* "at least once a month" and that its editors should send regularly "proper information materials" to the *PPW* in

Syndey and *The Pan-Pacific Monthly* in San Francisco.[95] Around the same time, Moscow sent a directive that the journal "must be published by a decreasing allocation and increasing subscription and finding other financial means. In America with its tremendous Pan-Pacific workers emigration it would not be so difficult to find financial means by way or [*sic*] organising subscriptions, meetings and so on. This besides financial will have a political effect popularising the Pan-Pacific Secretariat and Movement."[96] This was fine in the abstract, but its reality reflected a complete lack of understanding regarding the conditions of the "Pan-Pacific workers" in America, the difficulties involved in "popularising" the Communist-led and semiclandestine "Pan-Pacific Secretariat and Movement," and the absence of "other financial means."

Conducting the Pan-Pacific Work When "Our Japanese and Chinese Forces Here Are Very Limited."

From the time of George's arrival in San Francisco until the formation of the American Bureau in January 1932, Browder "together with" George were "following constantly everything on the Pacific" and issuing *The Pan-Pacific Monthly* "as often as we accumulate sufficient material." The latter was charged with "furnish[ing] all organisations affiliated to the PPTUS with regular information material and articles."[97] In addition, they handled domestic and "foreign circulation." Browder's own account to Alexander explained the uneven results of their efforts: not only was the journal "illegal in seven countries [Japan, China, Philippines, Australia, Indonesia, India, and Canada] now and whenever found is returned or destroyed," but also the "sale of the magazine in the United States is very poor . . . The fact that the Daily Worker and the various Party papers—27 in number,—regularly carry so much material on the East, especially on China and India, makes the Pan Pacific Monthly seem unnecessary for the general readers so that the only ones who buy it regularly are those especially studying the Pacific and the few hundred of the top leading cadres of the TUUL." Yet, he added in handwriting: "The Chinese and Japanese editions from Vladivostok are very well received by workers here." The juxtaposition of a detailed explanation followed by an afterthought hinted at not only the divide that existed between the "general readers" of Party papers and readers of Chinese- and Japanese-language Communist publications but also the Party's common neglect of the latter readers. Moreover, the leading sentence of his next paragraph indicated his main interest: "My own opinion is that we are securing the broadest general distribution to the Pacific countries that is possible under the present conditions and more than could be reached from any other country."[98]

For his part, George sought to reach out to Chinese activists—though in doing so he ran directly into the bitter factional battle that raged following the replacement in January 1929 of DO Emanuel Levin by Emil Gardos and

the Comintern-led purge of Lovestone and his supporters. Two days after his arrival, George complained to Browder that Gardos "thinks that my every action here is to be reviewed and supervised, approved or countermanded by him. It appears that some sort of a boycott has been laid against anyone whom Comrade Gardos thinks is under his orders, against entering the building at 1212 Market street." George's interest in entering the building was twofold: first, "as I must keep in close touch with the Chinese comrades who are to be found only through that building which houses the Workers Library and the old headquarters of the CP"; and second, because the "Chinese Fraction of the CP is arranging a memorial meeting for Comrade Sou Chao-jen on April 21," "to be held in the hall," and to which he had been "invited to speak."[99]

This is not to say that George disagreed with Browder's overall view of the PPTUS's task or that in these first years he challenged the direction dictated by their superiors in Moscow. At the same time, he did continue to try to involve Chinese and Japanese activists in the work. For example, upon returning to San Francisco around the beginning of 1932 he ran into "difficulty with the organization of the Bureau"; he took advantage of the fact that we "have at our disposal a Japanese comrade, who is considered politically prepared, from the technical side—also." This comrade was Yano Tsutomu (alias Takeda), "who came from across" and by October 1931 was secretary of District 13's Japanese Fraction.[100] However, bringing Yano on board did not solve the larger problem of recruiting Chinese and other Japanese cadres. George commented, "We have one-two [Chinese], who with regard to political qualifications could be suitable, but according to the knowledge of the Party, they are either lazy or undisciplined. Others are little developed in political relations, and all of them, without exception, very young and inexperienced."[101] Whether or not George shared the Party's interpretation,[102] by the time of the Bureau's fourth meeting on March 2, 1932, Yano and George had found a promising Chinese candidate Olden Lee.[103] By the next meeting on March 14, Lee had been approved, "thus completing the Bureau organization,"[104] and by the end of the month, the "first number of the Bureau's organ [in Japanese, was] due to come off press immediately."[105]

However, already in mid-February 1932 Alexander had prepared a set of instructions of which the first item flatly overturned these efforts by declaring that the Bureau should be composed of K. as chairman, John Pallo (alias Jones)—member of the Lettish Buro of the CC and editor of the Lettish paper—and Russian-born Ralph (real name Bauer).[106] In addition, item nine noted that "the whole apparatus . . . (including the Japanese and Chinese typesetters [handwritten insertion] *and translators*) should consist of no more than 6–8 people since the leadership 'trio' should not (when necessary) refuse to do 'dirty work.'"[107] This last point was ironic indeed because, as George pointed out following receipt of the directives in late March, this was "a larger apparatus" than was currently in place.[108]

When it came to the Bureau's proposed task, this, too, "indicate[d] a far larger work."[109] In essence, the proposed work plan included four tasks: one, publish Chinese and Japanese editions of the semimonthly newspaper *The Pan-Pacific Marine Worker* (*PP-MW*) and the thirty-two-page biweekly *PPW* in Japanese along with other revolutionary antiwar literature aimed at seamen of many nationalities; two, "create strong 'duos' and 'trios' on Japanese and other ships for the transfer of antiwar revolutionary literature to Japan"; three, issue leaflets, articles, and brochures, and conduct mass meetings, demonstrations, and strikes against the shipment of military supplies overseas; and four, "organize port bureaus and interclubs in the principal ports on the Pacific Coast," with the San Francisco Bureau taking "the work in the interclubs under its immediate political direction."[110] In this connection, the American Bureau claimed, "The club in SF was in existence before our Bureau was established, the other two [in Seattle and Vancouver] since then."[111]

At the same time, of "paramount importance" should be the fight "against the military threat, especially against the military activities of Japanese imperialism in China and the feverish preparation for a military attack against the Soviet Union." It followed that Japan should be the primary focus of the Bureau's efforts. The Bureau "should particularly concentrate on active work among the Japanese seamen / it is fundamental." It should exert all efforts "to establish regular ties with the revolutionary trade union organizations and other revolutionary organizations in Japan." It should also "collect by all possible means the names of seamen and stokers on Japanese ships, the addresses of Japanese workers, peasants, students and other organizations of the working population, and likewise the addresses of individuals in Japan." In short, it was to Japan "where revolutionary literature should be sent by all possible means."[112]

According to George's report on his five-month tenure as head of the Bureau, the Bureau had already directed its energies to Japanese seamen and Japan. It had concentrated almost entirely on producing literature in Japanese, particularly a Japanese edition of the *PPW*, and seeing that what was printed "reached Japan." The "Contacts with Seamen," apart from a "Stop Munitions" leaflet in Chinese, focused entirely on the effort to obtain the names and home addresses and make contact with Japanese seamen and thereby convince them to carry "literature in quantity into Japan." Only in the last section, "Connections with Organizations," did the report cite efforts to make contact with revolutionary organizations in China, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, India, Indo-China, Indonesia, and Hawaii, and/or with seamen from these countries who sailed on trans-Pacific liners.[113]

When George singled out the Bureau's success "in getting the names of something over 300 Japanese seamen" and in "developing friendly contacts with seamen on about eight or ten Japanese ships," he was simply reporting on what had been accomplished thus far. Similarly, he could talk about his "brief visit to Los Angeles to organize the Japanese comrades there for this

work"—alerting the Bureau to the "recent dispersal of the leading comrades there (nine of the best were already jailed for deportation)"—because that was the group he had been most successful in recruiting and whose work along these lines already "promises to be carried on better in the future."[114] Moreover, there is no evidence that George was biased toward working with Japanese over Chinese cadres or that he held a single-minded interest in Japan. Indeed, just as he had earlier kept "in close touch with the Chinese comrades," so in late July, after Eddy had taken his place as chairman but he continued to work with the Bureau, George reported on "meeting with the leading Chinese comrade" about forming ties with Chinese seamen and made extensive recommendations in this regard.[115] At the following meeting, he "reported that he had spoken with the Chinese translator and arranged with him for part time work for the first two issues of the Chinese Marine Worker."[116]

George was not alone in making efforts to recruit Chinese immigrant activists for participation in the Bureau's work. In fact, these efforts were initiated during George's tenure and continued under Eddy's supervision. At its first meeting on June 8, 1932, the new Bureau assigned duties: "Eddy,[117] chairman and in charge of Port Bureaus, work among seamen and connections; Ralph, in charge of editorial work; Jones [Pallo], charge of printing, shipping of literature, handling of finance and archives"; and George to "remain working with us and on our payroll until we hear further about what is to be done with him."[118] By mid-August, Pallo reported, "that the 2000 copies of the first number of the Chinese Seamen's paper had been shipped to all inter-clubs, to all Chinese workers' clubs in America and small bundles to connections in several of the Japanese ports. Bundles were also sent to Hawaii and to a port in Indo-China." Although at this time "none were sent to China direct because we have no addresses there,"[119] three weeks later Jones reported great improvement in the entire pan-Pacific distribution network.

> Had a conference with our Chinese translator and the secretary of the committee for work among Chinese seamen. They report that 120 copies of the Sept issue of the seamen's paper was distributed among Chinese seamen in San Francisco. The balance of this issue [was] being sent to Chinese workers' clubs in America and to the Inter-clubs of the world. They have given us 2[?] new addresses of Chinese seamen's organisations, seamen's boarding houses and clubs. Of these 4 are in Singapore, 3 in Cuba 2 in South America and also the Red Seamen's Union of Canton. And 4 addresses of contacts on ships whose home port is Vancouver. All these address[es] will be included in our shipments of the Nov. issue.[120]

In fact, when interpreting the Bureau's conduct, a few facts are striking: the Bureau emphasized Japan over other countries across the Pacific and Japanese over Chinese or other Asian seamen; the upward curve of reported

progress is rapid, especially given evidence of obstacles. In his summary report from June 1932, George described the enormous challenges confronting Japanese activists who sought to make contact with "Oriental seamen."

> Here we find the first difficulty to be a lack of forces numerically; secondly, of the forces available, many are occupied earning a living at long hours of labor during the hours when ships can be visited; thirdly, 'Party work' of various kinds occupy their free hours and it is not always easy to obtain the requisite attention to this important work of visiting ships; fourthly, the comrades have to be trained and encouraged in this work which is new to them; fifthly, the police obstacles and those put up by the ship companies.[121]

Similarly, the new Bureau began its report covering the next five months with the frank admission that it "had to start from the very beginning, with one or two exceptions where initial steps had already been taken by the previous Bureau, to try and make connections with our organisations in the Far East. Marine Work among the American marine workers was practically nil . . . The difficulties in reaching the Eastern seamen had hardly been tackled as yet." The problems were both internal and external: "very little attention" from the Party on the West Coast; "very little source material" for publications; "a lack of funds"; "little experience"; a "very limited" number of Chinese and Japanese activists available, "especially for the visiting of ships; immigration laws that restricted Asian seamen from coming ashore"; and strict surveillance of seamen and immigrant activists alike.[122]

Moreover, the brief reference to a "lack of funds," as elaborated elsewhere in the report, hardly suggests the scale of the problem that confronted the new Bureau. For instance, two months into its original budget, allowing the added expense of retaining George "on our pay-roll," the Bureau was notified that its budget was cut "by about 60 percent," that is, from not "over $2,000 a month" to $850. As a result, the Bureau "would not be able to have the staff of full time workers that was agreed upon," and without the means "to establish an illegal print shop . . . would not be able to do printing of any kind in any language outside of the magazine [*PPW*] in Japanese and the Marine Worker in Japanese and Chinese" once a month. Nor would the Bureau "be able to do the traveling necessary to the other ports for the purpose of building up the work there." In addition, Ralph's "language difficulties" continued; the Bureau had explained the necessity of translating his articles from Russian into English, rewriting them for clarity "before being given to the Japanese and Chinese translators," and "paying at least a little to the translator that translates Ralph's writings"—all this, when Ralph's sole task was "editorial work."[123]

Yet, this same report claimed that the wildest goals were attainable. Basing its decisions upon the experience of the last four months as well as the results of "a special 'questionaire' " that was mailed to "about 120 seamen's clubs and

contacts all over the world" and in response to which they received "definite information from 32 ports," it projected circulation of the *PPW* in Japanese and the *PP-MW* in Japanese and Chinese quite literally around the globe. Destination points ranged from Marine Workers International Union groups at U.S. and Canadian ports and "seamen's committees and contacts" in the United States, Canada, Cuba, Hawaii, Singapore, and the Philippines to "South and Central American ports" and "Capetown, Sydney, Wellington & Curacaol (D.E.I.)"; from Interclubs in Germany, England, and France to "Vladivostok (on direct demand)" and other ports in the Soviet Union; and from "Chinese and Japanese Seamen's Clubs" to "Directly (by mail)" to Japan and China. Only in the discussion that followed did the authors return from wild ambition to the shaky ground on which the Bureau was presently standing: "This schedule also shows that the distribution from our main base—thru American ports—is as yet very weak, altho it is improving, because of direct and indirect pressure by our Bureau on the Seamen's clubs."[124]

Was the above gesture a demonstration of revolutionary spirit and projected victory, when failure could be read as "deviation"—all the more essential when it followed oft-repeated charges of neglect and/or indifference against the leaderships in Moscow and New York? The trope of "neglect" was a charge so common among Party functionaries working outside Moscow and so frequently deployed as a weapon in factional struggles that its valence is highly uncertain; nonetheless, the American Bureau was placed in the impossible position of having to fulfill directives staggering in their reach with limited personnel, funding, and other forms of support from all levels of the Communist apparatus, whether the heads of the Profintern or the national and district leaders of the CPUSA.

The question of support ultimately returns to the overriding problem confronted by the American Bureau—namely, the difficulty in recruiting Japanese and Chinese activists. To be sure, in some matters, such as the production of literature in Chinese and Japanese, the Bureau ran into a myriad of other problems—from "receiving very little source material" to discovering that "really able Chinese translators are hard to find," "a long time" required to produce translations into Japanese and then finding that the "printshop" willing to do the work and with printers who "can set up both Japanese and Chinese" had "a shortage of [Japanese] type" and "no Chinese type," or that Chinese cadres "lack[ed] good scholastic education in English."[125] Moreover, both the recruitment problem and the difficulty in finding a printing shop willing to publish Communist materials were intimately connected to the larger security question over which the Bureau had little control. Yet, as George and then Eddy pointed out in their letters and reports to Alexander and the Home Office, if progress were to be made in the pan-Pacific arena, then the first stumbling block to confront was the absence of ties at the local level between the Party and Japanese and Chinese immigrant communities.

In this vein, in a letter to Alex following the "first meeting" of the newly reorganized Bureau in mid-June 1932, Eddy once again raised the problem of reaching out to Chinese and Japanese in the United States: "It will take several months before we can expect any income for our magazine and pamphlets"—which now included the *PPW* in Japanese, the *PP-MW* in Japanese and Chinese, "and special English, Japanese and Chinese pamphlets"—because "we are dealing chiefly with a section of the working class that is practically unorganized." In addition, he noted, "Our friendly organisations have extremely limited organisational contact with Chinese, Japanese and other eastern peoples." Finally, another "factor which we cannot overlook is the extreme poverty that especially at the present time prevails among the workers for whom our publications are chiefly intended."[126] By mid-October, the Bureau reported that "in meeting regularly with our Japanese and Chinese comrades here, we take up with them not only our special work but also the work in general, realising that to the extent that they improve" the latter so would they improve the former. However, the Bureau also acknowledged that "outside of San Francisco, we have practically no connections with American Chinese on the Pacific Coast."[127] There is little evidence that the Party either recognized or grappled with these problems at the local and national levels, but the Bureau certainly failed to see the ways in which they negatively impacted Chinese and Japanese activists' ability to play their assigned international roles in the crucial campaign "against imperialist war, for the defense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union."[128]

PART III

From the Bottom Up

5

From East to West and West to East

Ties of Solidarity in the Pan-Pacific Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, 1923–1934

Our Ranks Are Growing

From the beginning of 1925, the ranks of our units of combat in the Orient have begun to swell . . . The Bureau of the port of Vladivostok has published with the aid of a duplicator a bulletin in English aimed at American and Japanese crews. This bulletin is dedicated to the memory of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg . . . Further, the bulletin prints an appeal to the seamen of Asia inviting them:

1) to struggle for equality on board ship, in other words there are no "foreigners" among seamen and workers

2) to help workers from the Asian seaboard to free themselves from their European and native masters and from the exploitation of these masters

3) to resist in an organized fashion any kind of foreign intervention in the affairs of Asian countries

All other seamen, declares the appeal, we must serve as conductors of the revolutionary movement traveling from one shore to the other. We must help our more backward comrades in Asia attain the front ranks.

"De La Presse Revolutionnaire," ca. 1925[1]

The Communist press issued this brief statement at the Congress of the Federation of Maritime Workers, which convened in January 1925 in Moscow; the document exposed some contradictions at the center of the Communist-led pan-Pacific revolutionary trade union movement.[2] These stirring words called upon all seamen, regardless of nationality, to join the ranks of the movement for social equality, the overthrow of the colonialist system and imperialist intervention, and the emancipation of exploited workers across Asia. This

message of universal liberation and self-activity among rank-and-file Asian workers, however, was undermined by an evolutionist mode of thought that saw the advancement of human consciousness as moving from West to East. The "seamen of Asia" were urged to play the leading role on the terrain of struggle—at the very intimate scale of the ship, the national and regional scales of the struggle against colonialism, or the large scale of pan-Asian and international solidarity. In fact, few were more aware of both the primacy of their tasks and the underestimation or neglect of their efforts than were Asian seamen and Asian immigrant workers active in the pan-Pacific revolutionary trade union movement.

In approaching the subject of the pan-Pacific revolutionary trade union movement, the history of the Profintern has been largely neglected as a focus of scholarly inquiry. Moreover, when studied the Profintern has been generally viewed as no "more than a footnote in the history of the international labour movement."[3] Until recently, the lone exception was historian Edward Hallett Carr who integrated into his multivolume *History of Soviet Russia* a close examination of the history of the Profintern, concluding in 1928–1929.[4] Most important, Carr argued that not only was the Profintern, alone among Communist-led mass or auxiliary organizations, "distinctively proletarian" but also that it "was the largest and most independent, and sometimes seemed to rival Comintern itself in importance."[5] In the past several years, other scholars have followed Carr's lead.[6] One issue remains that is for the most part given only brief mention in the recent scholarship: the role played by the Profintern in Asia.

In this chapter I offer a glimpse of the contours of pan-Pacific revolutionary trade union internationalism from the mid-1920s up through the early 1930s. In particular, I trace the networks of communication, exchange, and solidarity forged by Chinese and Japanese seamen together with Chinese and Japanese Communist organizers and Chinese and Japanese immigrant Communists working in ports up and down the Pacific Coast of North America as well as in the ports of New York and Philadelphia. In so doing, I grapple with the question of rank-and-file autonomy. What were the connections between the activists engaged in the practice of proletarian internationalism in the harbors and on board the ships and the hierarchy of Communist authority? Did authority descend in a clear unbroken line from the leaderships of the Profintern and Comintern in Moscow to the regional representatives of arms of the Profintern such as the International Propaganda Committee of the Transport Workers, which was renamed in 1928 International Propaganda and Action Committee of the Transport Workers (IPCTW)? And did it continue on down to cadres working with regional PPTUS bureaus and Port Bureaus and local Interclubs? How did various intervening factors, such as scale, restrictive immigration policies, language barriers, and lines of race, gender, and nationality, affect the decision-making process and implementation of orders?

The years 1928 to 1934 are commonly viewed as being characterized by "a loss of influence" on the part of the Profintern in the industrialized countries of Europe and America as a result of the Comintern's "left" turn.[7] In spite of high levels of repression against trade union and Communist activists in China and Japan during the late 1920s and early 1930s and the continued existence of restrictive immigration and shipping laws in North America, the pan-Pacific revolutionary trade union movement probably retained a visible presence across the Pacific. Sustaining this movement were two groups of actors. First, Chinese and Japanese seamen, subject as they were to severe repression, understood that the strength of their local unions depended at least in part upon support from overseas and their ability to command space at regional and international levels. Therefore, at great risk, through face-to-face contact and the medium of print, they sought to forge pan-Pacific ties of international solidarity. Moreover, even as the mobility of the seamen was the "main" difficulty in organizing, it also offered the possibility of "subversive" action.

Geographer Don Mitchell formulated the concept of "subversive mobility," which he develops in his study of migrant workers and the "making" of the California landscape from the 1910s through the 1930s. Mitchell focuses in particular on the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW): "By mobilizing mobility, the IWW sought precisely to take command of space. The mobility of militant labor provided the pathways for connecting sundry place-based struggles, but it also did more. It took hold of the established spatial practices of industrialized agriculture and other resource-based industries in western North America and utilized them for its own purposes. Here lay the very subversiveness of mobility. By connecting place-based struggles, migratory workers were able to transcend the spaces and places of their oppression."[8] Of course, if a conflict flared up on board ship, neither the unemployed nor workers from other ships could rush to the site. In fact, a crew might be physically removed from the larger society for months at a time. At the same time, as historian Bruce Nelson argues in his book *Workers on the Waterfront*, "The seaman's rootlessness, his separation from integrative social institutions, the extremely oppressive conditions he faced aboard ship and ashore, the worldliness he acquired in plying his trade—all these factors taken together propelled him toward a radical and turbulent disposition and in the long run overshadowed the factors weighted toward quiescence."[9] Indeed, Peter Kwong notes that Chinese seamen "had a long history of militancy and a high level of class consciousness."[10]

Second, Chinese and Japanese immigrant Communists, also at great personal risk and also always subject to repression and failure, endeavored to "jump" scales by boarding ships that came into North American ports and on which Chinese or Japanese seamen worked. Momentarily claiming enough control of some part of the deck to make contact with the seamen, they aimed at the very least to hand over revolutionary literature for distribution among the crew as well as back in China, Japan, and across the Western Pacific and

at best to recruit the seamen into the movement as organizers and couriers. The contradictions of their status as "aliens ineligible to citizenship" actually provided the possibility and ground for resistance. Mainstream American society and the U.S. government constructed them as "alien" outsiders and the Japanese government as traitors to the empire so the activists themselves took advantage of their contradictory positions; in some instances they boarded the ships, and the Japanese immigrants "passed" as patriotic members of the national community. Thus, even as they struggled to gain control over their lives in U.S. localities, they succeeded in making contact with seamen who operated in national and international arenas and who might in turn respond to their overtures by extending their efforts to forge ties with labor and Communist activists positioned on the other side of national divides. Together these immigrant workers and seamen were the "conductors of the [pan-Pacific] revolutionary movement" who linked one side of the Pacific with the other.

Establishing the Apparatus for a Pan-Pacific Revolutionary Trade Union Movement

At the beginning of the twentieth century, international trade unionism took institutional form in two kinds of organizations, the International Trade Union Secretariats (ITS) and the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) (better known in the aftermath of World War I as the Amsterdam International). Although formally separate bodies, the two were linked by the facts that the members of the ITS were usually also members of their respective national trade union federations and that both groups were dominated by social democratic politics. Founded in July 1921, the Profintern immediately opposed the IFTU, not only on an organizational level but also in terms of tactics, such as its espousal of an "industrial strategy" and its recognition of the importance of organizing workers in colonial and semicolonial countries and so-called Eastern countries. Among the most important vehicles formed by the Profintern for carrying out its aims were the International Propaganda Committees (IPCs) whose function was "to act as a revolutionary pressure group working to force a corresponding secretariat to admit revolutionary federations." The first IPC was formed by the transport workers at a conference held concurrently with the founding congress of the Profintern. This was also the most important IPC in the field of pan-Pacific organizing.[11]

By the following year, both the central council of the Profintern and the transport workers' IPC had turned their attention to the trade union movements in Asia. Around the beginning of March 1922, following the first Far Eastern Peoples Congress in January, the central council of the Profintern decided to form "a special bureau . . . to direct agitation among Far Eastern workers," supervised by Boris Reinstein and Katayama. At this same moment, the transport workers' IPC convened a conference of "transport workers of the

Far East." When, after word came to the Profintern leaders that the Australian trade union congress had decided to convene a conference of trade unions of Pacific countries in June 1923, to which the Soviets had not been invited, the fourth congress of the Comintern sought to take the lead and resolved to "convene a Pacific conference in order to work out the correct tactics and find the corresponding form of organization for a real union of the proletariat of all races in the Pacific." Meeting on the heels of the Comintern Congress in the latter part of November 1922, the second congress of the Profintern similarly resolved to call "attention to the need to organize 'the transport workers in general, and the transport workers of countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean in particular' and to create 'port bureaus which will serve as a link between the revolutionary seamen of the whole world.' "[12]

In reflecting upon this period, Carr comments that, although there were more possibilities for developing ties with Asia through the Profintern than through either the Comintern or still fledgling communist parties, in truth "what was done was the result of local initiative rather than of direction from Moscow."[13] Thus, early in 1923 the local branch of the Union of Workers of Water Transport established an Interclub in Vladivostok, which according to the secretary of the club from that time forward was "actively attended by the english, german, dutch, norwegian and japanese seamen arriving in Vladivostok."[14] And in June 1924, representatives of transport workers from South and North China, Java, and the Philippines gathered for a six-day conference in Canton at the end of which the delegates issued a manifesto addressed to the "toiling masses of the east" as well as the workers of Europe and America. The manifesto urged action: to organize the fight against "world imperialists" as well as those "who compromise with the imperialists"; to form trade unions and peasant unions among the so-called "Eastern masses"; and for transport workers of the East to "affiliate with the revolutionary transport workers of the world." In addition, the conference resolved, "to create in Canton a Bureau of Transport Workers of the Pacific," "composed of five members, one from China, Phillipines [*sic*], Dutch India, British India and Japan, respectively."[15]

Meanwhile, organizing efforts lagged far behind on the other side of the Pacific in the United States. The difference in level of organizing clearly illustrates David Harvey's "simple rule: that those who command space can always control the politics of place even though, and this is a vital corollary, it takes control of some place to command space in the first instance." Not until January 1927 did the American Party begin "taking steps toward the formation of a Seamen's Club" in New York City. The next fall, Party maritime workers formed the Marine Workers Progressive League (MWPL) (renamed in 1929 the Marine Workers League, MWL) and began issuing the monthly newspaper, *Marine Workers Voice*. Around this time, a club was set up in Philadelphia. Still, for the most part no other Interclubs were established until MWL secretary George Mink initiated an organizing drive among seamen on both coasts as well as in

the Gulf in 1929–1930.In accordance with the Third Period line the Party initiated the transformation of the MWL into the red maritime union, the Marine Workers International Union (MWIU), which held its founding convention toward the end of April 1930 in New York City.[16]

Confronting the Challenges of Organizing Seamen Who "Are Always Traveling All Over the World"–Tan Malaka, January 15, 1925

From their base in Vladivostok, Communist functionaries sought to carry out the Comintern's and Profintern's plans for building revolutionary trade union movements in Asia and linking up workers on all sides of the Pacific. At a meeting of the newly formed Port Bureau in late July 1923, Batis, leading JCP member Arahata Kanson (alias Aoki), and representative of the Profintern and Comintern Iosif Feinberg, who was also head of the Bureau of the Profintern,[17] approved "organization of Club on membership basis" and "resolved to issue Bulletin in Japanese, Chinese and English." Although such an action may have appealed to the Japanese seamen who attended "the meetings and entertainments at the club," it did not address the more intractable problem of a lack of "enough helpers at the meetings who spoke foreign languages, consequently the main purpose was not achieved."[18] The group did not realize how intractable the various "communication" problems that confronted the bureau in these early years would prove.

In a report covering his "experience of nearly eight months work in Vladivostok," Feinberg called attention to "the absence of direct communication with the countries with which we have dealings . . . [which] naturally nullified to a large extent, the work that was actually done in Vladivostok because no means could be found of putting the proposals drawn up there, into practice." As far as getting the word out in print, after publishing "a considerable amount of literature in Japanese and Chinese"—some of which was placed in the hands of Chinese and Japanese seamen visiting the port—"the greater part of the literature dispatched to Harbin for further distribution in China and Japan were [*sic*] not so distributed and remained accumulated in Harbin." In theory the city's geographical proximity to "the countries of the Far East" should have facilitated easy communication, but in practice this was hindered by not only "the secret nature of the work and the strict regime at present existing in the various countries" but also "the marked unwillingness of the parties in the respective countries to deal with and take instructions from an intermediary body like the Vladivostok Bureau and prefer to deal directly with Moscow."[19]

To a cadre working in China, the above attitude translated into "Your Vladivostok 'imperialism,'" which phrase conjures up the history of Vladivostok as a site of Soviet Sinology.[20] He explained, from the "point of view of work among seamen," the problem lay in the inclusion of Shanghai "in the

region of Vladivostok. Any Party or professional work in the territory of China can be carried out only under control, or at least with the knowledge and consent of corresponding Party and professional organs of China."[21] This cadre was not alone in being troubled by the Port Bureau's handling of national movements. In fact, Feinberg acknowledged, "Almost the whole of my time in Vladivostok was taken up with the disagreement that arose on the Korean Bureau and among the Korean comrades in Vladivostok over the question of the national movement." He noted, "The dispute assumed a very heated and even personal character, into which the Gubkom [Provincial Committee] of the Russian Communist Party was dragged."[22] It is doubtful that the RCP improved the situation because official Soviet supervisors of the region tended to adopt the typical Orientalist lens that construed all Koreans as Asians and therefore "suspicious."

In fact, no problem detailed by Feinberg was special to his tenure. Like the functionaries in Vladivostok, Tan Malaka (also known as Abdul Rachmann, Avon Rachmanoff and Hassay), who was the Indonesian representative of the Profintern in the Far East,[23] encountered "the bad connection with other countries," which prevented distribution of the Bulletin, as well as "sickness." He also broached the need for "a good man as my translator and supporter" as well as "a Chinese comrade in Hongkong itself for communist work" because he, as an English speaker, was trying "to win the Seamen-members for our Idea" and "they mostly understand very little English." In addition, among the Chinese seamen Malaka was disadvantaged by his nationality, citing difficulties "for me as Indonesian."[24]

Moreover, certain problems stemmed from the very nature of maritime work. According to Feinberg, "After a long sea journey they do not seem to be at all inclined to discuss politics."[25] More important, Malaka emphasized, at least among the members of the Hong-Kong Seamen's Union, "The mean [*sic*] difficulty is for us, that the seamen are always traveling all over the world. The leaders told me that they come only once in a year in Hong-Kong," and "most of them go to their respective countries, Canton, Macao or villages in Kwang-Tung," making "the educational work among the Seamen a very difficult one." In addition, "the difficulty is in many cases becoming an impossibility, owing to the fact that many Seamen are opium-smokers," which meant that they became "a willing instrument for the Ship owners. (They generally do extra work)."[26]

At the same time, as discussed earlier, seamen's mobility could prove "subversive" by enabling them to transcend the confines of place and nation. Malaka sought to capitalize on this dimension. Writing from Shanghai but with his "residence in Hong-Kong," Malaka reported to Geller on his efforts to develop ties with the members of the Hong-Kong Seamen's Union and "continue the Bulletin's work." By his account, he was "absolutely in good terms with the leaders" of the Seamen's Union to the extent that they helped him get

to Shanghai with "no passport" and "are willing to give help for stowaway to the Philippines or Singapore," and he also had "good friends among Filipinos in Hongkong" who were "willing to give me all kind of help for going to and staying in the Philippines." Before giving this report he interestingly invoked Islamic tradition by saying that "as the mountain not come to Mohammed, Mohammed will go to the mountain" and suggesting that his call two years before at the Fourth Comintern Congress for Communists to "support Pan-Islamism" in Indonesia was more than simply strategic.[27] The remark also hinted at an independence of mind that did not lend itself easily to blind obedience to the Russian-dominated apparatus in Moscow.[28]

"Fellow Seamen!" "Organise your fellow seamen in Europe and America! We, as the elected executive committee of your union, will stop at nothing to organise our seamen within and without the country,"–Declaration of the Chinese Seamen's Union to the Chinese Seamen, ca. August 1928.

First, during the 1922 mass strike in the port of Hong Kong and then in the eighteen-month Canton-Hong Kong strike of 1925–1926 Chinese seamen had proved to be among the most militant.[29] Following the bloody coup launched by Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists in mid-April, the Hong Kong branch of the Chinese Seamen's Union had been "smashed," and the union was "forced to lead an illegal existence."[30] Yet, a year later, the executive committee of the Chinese Seamen's Union called upon Chinese seamen to "organise your fellow seamen in Europe and America!" It urged seamen to remember the "gigantic force of us seamen," as demonstrated in "our powerful strikes in 1922 and 1925."[31]

Rhetoric aside, the leadership was faced with the formidable task of having to organize under extremely repressive conditions. In a report prepared in November 1928, the Hong Kong-based Chun Hwa (China) Seamen's Federation concluded, "Chinese seamen lead a very miserable livelihood. They are in the lowest and dirtiest places, often over 100 persons together. Good treatment enjoyed during the time of revolutionary period was away. Clubs were closed. Seamen were dismissed or fined for the test [*sic*] cause, some without any cause at all." In July and August 1928, the General Seamen's Union in Hong Kong and Seamen's Federation had drawn up reports that detailed the weaknesses of their efforts thus far and proposed ways to improve their organizing tactics. One key issue was the "close relation between the seaman and nationalism. For this reason, we must not in our future propaganda neglect agitations against imperialism and the abuses of foreigners." While the connection between nationalism and anti-imperialism was close, so was the reverse, even among avowed anti-imperialists. For example, Seamen's Federation's report described the hiring policy of the Dollar Steamship Company and referred to "Chinese

seamen on the stern, American seamen on the deck and Filipino seamen on the steerage," thus seeing the seamen thoroughly as nationals.[32]

A few months' later, Chinese delegates to the Profintern Su Chao-jen, Dunn Chun-Shia and Ju Je-ei appealed to the executive committee of the Profintern with complaints of "financial difficulties" and the language problem—that is, "most of the Chinese seamen workers do not understand foreign languages." And this problem extended beyond the local scene: "Now our connection with the seamen workers in other countries has been delayed by the ignorance of languages which means a great loss to the international trade union movement as well as to the Chinese seamen." Here was evidence of Chinese seamen leaders' growing realization that the growth of the unions at home depended at least in part on the growth of the pan-Pacific trade union movement and support from overseas. At the same time, it is important to recognize the ways in which the delegates were attuned to the Comintern's and Profintern's growing clamor over "the war plans of imperialism" and the "situation of ripening *war danger in the Pacific*."[33] For example, they bolstered their request for English-language courses by calling attention to the fact "that the connection between the seamen of China and the seamen of the world is very important, especially on the coast of the Pacific Ocean where the imperialist powers are struggling both openly and in an underground manner." Without the knowledge of foreign languages, and the English language in particular, the seamen "cannot do anything when the war breaks out."[34]

As critical as the three delegates were of the executive committee's past actions, they never raised the issue of autonomy, despite the fact that the month before, the ACLF had criticized the All-China Seamen's Federation for being "indifferent toward the attraction of non-comrades into the unions. The party still dictates too much in matters affecting trade unionism, leaving no chances for the masses to participate."[35] At the same time, the Chinese seamen's leaders were not entirely silent on the matter of alienating workers through too radical forms of agitation. For example, the General Seamen's Union's report for July 1928 noted that the plans for work in the area of Hong Kong-Canton had "failed to accomplish anything because the workers dreaded our propaganda" and repeatedly criticized the fact that "too much attention was given to politics, too little to masses." At the same time, "we neglected such movements which were closely related to the workers themselves as nationalistic aspirations, the abuses of foreigners, down with the foreigners, etc."[36] Once again, the report emphasized the preeminence of nationality as an axis of identity to the exclusion of intranational divisions.

Meanwhile, Chinese cadres on the East and West coasts of the United States were making efforts to develop ties with Chinese seamen. Like their counterparts on the other side of the Pacific, they recognized that such mass "organizations like . . . the Chinese Seamen's Club, etc. really have tremendous possibilities for developmet [*sic*] and work," and they also understood

the magnitude of the task. By February 1929, it was reported that "our comrades are still working within the old organisations like the Seamen's Clubs in Phia. [*sic*] and N.Y." They also sought to "make connection with the Chinese seamen working on the foreign ships along the West coast. But due to strict vigilance of the ship owners and them [*sic*] immigration offecers [*sic*], we have not been yet successful." Indeed, by the spring of 1930 ties with the seamen's clubs remained weak to nonexistent. Although the Chinese Seamen's Club in Philadelphia was among the non-Party organizations in which they had "fractions and influence," out of a total membership of eighty only two were Party members; and they had no fraction at all in the larger "Chinese Seaman Club in N.Y.C." whose membership totaled 200.[37]

"There is no mention that the left should give particular attention to the seamen's movement, since the latter has great significance," –Yamamoto Kenzo, December 14, 1928.

Back in Vladivostok, Japanese cadres working with the Port Bureau had long been grappling with the challenges of organizing seamen and other seasonal workers. The problems were familiar: Japanese spies and suspicion, a shortage of experienced cadres, severe lack of funds and other resources, and the ever-present communication difficulties. When it came to relations with the center, Port Bureau head K. Yano was particularly pointed in his criticism: "Unless Moscow approves something, we can't do it, and Moscow doesn't give permission that often." Also, the material conditions were reportedly dire: "Everybody comes here penniless and almost naked, so we need more clothes here." At the same time, the ties that bound were not to Moscow or even the international communist movement but to Japan. Even as they involved themselves in efforts to organize Japanese seamen, fishermen, miners, and lumber workers at the local and regional levels, they continually returned to the question—how will this "affect the movement in Japan"? So, too, did their own plans always refer back to Japan—in terms of another cadre's travel back and forth, the availability of this or that route to or from, the receipt of newspapers and other materials or correspondence, and, ultimately, the situation "after we return."[38]

On December 14, 1928, Chairman of the IPCTW Geller, Secretary of the Executive Bureau of the Profintern T. Achkanov, representative of the Profintern Yamamoto, H. T. Eidus, who was involved in scientific-pedagogical work in the Far East,[39] African American Communist leader and member of the Executive Bureau of the Profintern James W. Ford, and two Japanese seamen graduates of KUTV met in Moscow under the auspices of the Bureau of the IPCTW to discuss "questions regarding the organization of Japanese and Negro seamen." At this meeting, Yamamoto raised the problem of Japanese seamen's unions' isolation: "There is no mention of the link between the Japanese seamen's trade unions and the international seamen's movement; there is no mention

of the necessity for new, more flexible tactics by the left wing with respect to the seamen; there is no mention that the left should give particular attention to the seamen's movement, since the latter has great significance."[40] Like the Chinese labor leaders, another voice—belonging to one who had entered the ranks of the Profintern leadership—called for "new, more flexible tactics" and for recognizing the "link" between national seamen's unions (that is, non-white seamen's unions) and the international seamen's movement.

Not a month later, at a meeting of the executive bureau of the Profintern, Achkanov reiterated the point that the drive to organize the unorganized "brings forward with all insistence the question of the organisation of the coloured seamen." Following the tragic sinking of the British steamship *Vestris* on November 12, 1928, and the "campaign of the shipowners' press against the coloured seamen," the Interclub in New York had begun "to develop a campaign for the organisation of coloured seamen." However, "the USA [offered] insufficient support by the Party to the work of the International Seamen's Clubs."[41] Achkanov oddly failed to acknowledge a similar call by the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers of the RILU in which committee representative James Ford remarked, "The question of 'coloured' seamen in general (Chinese, 'orientals,' Indians, etc.) has also been raised in all its international implications."[42]

In the meantime, the IPCTW took up "the question of 'coloured' seamen" through the medium of print. Across the pages of its oversized, Japanese-language bulletin, *Ashu Sekishoku Kaiin Shimbun* (The Red Seamen of Asia) was printed news of strikes and other actions taken by "revolutionary workers" in Asia, Australia, England, Western Europe, and the Soviet Union. Overall the bulletin negotiated a balance between appealing to readers on the basis of their national and racial identities and urging identification with a cause that saw class and political allegiance as overriding all other lines of division, including those of nationality, race, and language. For example, on the front page of the issue from late 1928 were two pictures: one illustrated the "Demonstration on November 7th in Vladivostok, the City in Red," which displayed "the spirit of oppressed orientals raising the flag of anti-imperialism," and the other picture showed Russian fishing vessels on which Japanese fishermen who were working for Russian public companies had raised red flags to Russian workers.[43] Thus, the bulletin enacted for the red seamen of Asia the creative if largely symbolic act of "jumping" scales and crossing all other axes of identity in the interest of proletarian internationalism.

Upon its formation TOST formulated plans for publishing both periodicals, including the Chinese newspaper *Khaigan* and the Japanese newspaper *Kaiin Shimbun* (Seamen's News), and "non-periodical publications" and their dissemination among "Chinese, Japanese and Korean and all other seamen, sailing in the Pacific."[44] This initiative had a good chance of success because the staff worked directly with seamen who sailed the Pacific and knew their

languages. As a result, they could make "use of this route, being at our disposal," and also engage in "conversations with foreign seamen in the Interclub in Vladivostok." In addition, TOST had "friendly contact" with other international organizations such as the IPCTW.[45] Yet, against the Vladburo's reports of success in distributing Chinese, Japanese, and Korean editions of the *PPW* to Interclubs on both coasts of North America and across both Europe and the Western Pacific,[46] must be placed Yamamoto's comment in late December 1930: "in Vladivostok at the present time there is not a single capable worker!"[47]

Japanese and Chinese Immigrant Activists Take Charge of "The Work of Making Contacts with the Seamen"

The newly established American Bureau—PPTUS whose staff included George and Yano—next raised the "question of 'coloured' seamen" in the United States three years later in February 1932. Following Moscow's direction and ignoring Yano's view that "'the seamen have wooden heads' . . . [and] it is impossible to penetrate the ship's side of the Japanese ships, arriving here," the Bureau decided to organize "three brigades of Japanese comrades for the approach of seamen." In addition, although the *Rodo Shimbun* had been unable to confirm that its newspapers "were received in Japan," it was "sending a carefully composed letter to Japan in the capacity of a 'trial balloon.'"[48] At the same time, not until after the Chinese cadre Olden Lee had joined the Bureau in mid-March was a meeting "arranged with Chinese seamen."[49] Once again, those involved in pan-Pacific work ran up against the twin problems of language barriers and racial and national divides.

Of greater moment than the delay in initiating work among Chinese seamen was the acceptance of the indispensability of Chinese and Japanese immigrant cadres—especially after May when Yano and Lee were removed from the Bureau's staff. Although Eddy and George held meetings with and could "make inquiries" and/or "confer with the Chinese" or "leading Japanese comrades," implementation of the Bureau's plans for approaching seamen was necessarily left in the hands of the cadres themselves. Indeed, even as the Bureau sometimes engaged in convoluted efforts at close supervision, it also acknowledged the wisdom of permitting greater leeway. At the meeting in late July, Eddy outlined a new "division of the work of making contacts with the seamen and the general distribution of literature among the Japanese seamen"; henceforth, the latter task should be turned over to the American marine workers. He explained, "There are only four Japanese comrades available in SF for this work and if they were to do . . . [this] they would soon be exposed and thereby make it impossible for themselves to gain admittance on board the ships, since the docks are fenced off and permission must be obtained to go aboard." In closing, he commended the Japanese cadres for "energetically doing all they can and showing real initiative in this work."[50]

From the viewpoint of immigrant activists, language barriers and sharp racial and national divides provided a double-edged sword. The divisions contributed to the immigrants' isolation from the larger Party and national Communist movement in the United States, thereby compounding the isolation they experienced within their immigrant communities and heightening their vulnerability to harassment, arrest, and possible deportation. The isolation in turn furthered the Party's and movement's ignorance about the specific contours of their lives and complicated execution of their tasks as activists. For example, in mid-July the Bureau was informed that "a Japanese merchant marine training ship is coming to Los Angeles at the end of the month for the Olympic games," and "all aboard will be permitted to come ashore" during its week in port; the Bureau then promptly directed "our comrades that they must see to it that our Japanese comrades in L.A. free themselves from all work during that week and devote their entire time to making contacts with this crew giving them our literature, making connections, etc."[51] It is difficult to imagine how such a plan was practical, given the fact that most of these comrades made their living as gardeners, house workers, and agricultural workers and could little afford to forego an entire week's paid labor.[52] Indeed, later that fall Eddy learned that the activists in Los Angeles could not even afford to go to the port of San Pedro. "Each trip cost them about one dollar which could not be met by them because those working were receiving very low wages. And they had to finance their other work and help maintain the unemployed comrades." Nor could the latter "stay permanently in SP because they are maintained in the rooms of and receive food from the employed comrades in LA."[53]

These factors, however, afforded the activists a certain measure of autonomy within the Party and national and international movements. Equally important, the contradictions of their status as "aliens" could provide the possibility and ground for resistance. Even as their control of some place at the local scale remained always precarious, they were sometimes able, though at great personal risk, to board Chinese and Japanese ships and by thus "jumping" scales distribute copies of the *PPW* and speak to members of the crews in their respective languages. The "plan" was to "get their reactions and if favorable to get them to take our literature back home with them as well as to try to use them to make connections in Japan"; thus, they managed to extend their networks beyond the local to the international scale.[54] Those "noncitizen" activists, whose claim to a place was most tenuous, were ironically the most likely to succeed in "get[ting] their reactions," if for no other reason than that they were fluent in the seamen's native languages.

At the same time, one should not assume that by reason of their remove that the immigrant activists held the American Bureau or the Party leadership any less responsible for acting on their behalf. This fact came to light in late July when George "reported on his meeting with the leading Chinese comrade." The issue that was front and center in the minds of both the Chinese seamen

and Chinese immigrant activists in San Francisco was the Jones-White Act of 1928, "which among other things calls for the discharge of a number of Chinese born members of the staff and replacing them with American born Chinese, so that two-thirds of the entire staff on the ship are American citizens." According to George, "The comrades of China blame the American Party for not doing anything on this matter," while the "SF Chinese comrades have gone to our Marine Workers Union about this question, but it has done nothing." Concerned that "if the discharges on the American ships would hit the steward dept., it would damage or wipe out our connections," the Bureau pledged to "consider means to show solidarity with the Chinese seamen who are being discharged" and to "confer with the Chinese, our Union leaders, and the Party" in order to coordinate efforts and free up the SF Chinese activists for work with the KMT-controlled seamen's union, the Yuen Lee (also known as Lien Yi) and the American Chinese seamen's Association "with the full support of our Marine Union."[55]

These plans were all well and good in the abstract, but they failed to take into account the long-standing and deep-rooted history of anti-Chinese sentiment among white maritime workers. Even when not manifested overtly in either acts of violence or efforts to exclude Chinese immigrants, this history was nonetheless evident in the continuing absence of communication between the two groups. For example, "Hall (leading American Marine comrade), stated he knew nothing about the Chinese comrades attempts to get a representative of the Union to go to the Chinese Seamen's organisation, nor that such an organisation existed in SF." In a move that promised a break with the past, Hall and the Bureau agreed to "have a joint meeting . . . with the leading Japanese, Chinese and Party comrades to put all of our proposals into effect."[56] However, about four months later a "Draft Outline of Waterfront Section of the Party in the Port of San Francisco" included neither mention of the subject nor a single reference to Chinese, Japanese, or Filipino "comrades" or seamen.[57]

Furthermore, like the Bureau's earlier effort to "free" the Japanese activists, so its current plan "to get our Chinese released from some of the general Party work they are doig [*sic*]" thus far appeared entirely impracticable. The cadre assigned to head "the important work of organising and directing the visiting of Chinese boats" was already "leader of the Chinese fraction in SF," "doing much YCL work," and "the Chinese translator"—in addition to his full-time "job." Meanwhile, so Pallo reported, "the Chinese comrades had organised a committee of 4 to be in charge of the distribution of the Chinese Marine Worker and the visiting of Chinese ships."[58]

Myriad of Problems Impeding the Work

In truth, whether the place was Seattle, Vancouver, San Francisco, or Los Angeles, the situation was daunting at best. In the fall of 1932, the Bureau reported

on its work up and down the West Coast, with as always a particular focus on Japanese activists.

> Our Japanese and Chinese forces here are very limited, especially for the visiting of ships. In SF we only have one or two comrades who are qualified for this work and have the time to visit which must be done in the day time. In Seattle likewise, we have only one or two comrades for this work. In Los Angeles altho the largest group of Japanese comrades exists there, yet it is very difficult to get any of them to go to San Pedro since the fare between the two places costs one dollar . . . In Vancouver the Japanese comrades make practically all the ships that arrive there (Japanese). Another problem is the fact that in the USA oriental seamen are not permitted to come ashore and the Japanese ships tie up at docks that are fenced off and have a watchman at the gate.

In addition, Japanese activists "who in the first place have difficulty in getting on the ships . . . cannot openly distribute our literature but at best can only give it, and only a few copies at most, to those seamen that can be more or less trusted."[59]

This made clear the paradoxical and highly insecure position of the Japanese immigrant activists. Their fluency in Japanese and familiarity with codes of conduct among the seamen allowed them to approach and board the ships under the guise of being patriotic members of the national community; their "alien" status, however, coupled with their political beliefs and aims made them vulnerable at any and all times to arrest, both on and off the waterfront. Moreover, their actions could also jeopardize the livelihood and even lives of the seamen.

Indeed, the vulnerability of their claim to some place locally was brought home in early November when upon his return from Los Angeles Eddy reported, "half of their members (9) were being deported in the next week or two," among which group "were most of the oldest and most able Party comrades." Likewise, in San Francisco "it was becoming more difficult to work because the watchman and the officers on the ships were getting wise to the work our comrades are doing."[60] And a month later, activists reported that, "the Japanese patriotic society in SF and the spies were becoming very active . . . Spies have been discovered following some of our comrades and have already located where some of them live." Eddy ordered "that all leading comrades must immediately change their place of residence and that the non-citizen comrades must abstain from doing open work."[61] There were few "citizens" among the group to make up for the loss of "non-citizen comrades." In February, after an "article that appeared about our work, in a local J paper" and "in all the J papers in America as well as in J itself," the work in this port was again "negatively affected. Only citizen comrades can visit ships but even so, the seamen will have very little to do with them, being afraid lest they be

suspected of being reds."[62] Nor were the seamen's fears unfounded: "several seamen on ships to this port were arrested when they reached J.," and one of those arrested "was found with a letter in his possession" that was probably from "our people in J."—"just a good natured fellow who carried on no activities whatsoever on the ship."[63]

Given the risks faced by all involved and the continuing lack of support from leaderships in New York and Moscow, it is not surprising that in its reports on visiting ships and "distributing our literature among the Far-eastern seamen, particularly the Japanese," the Bureau continually repeated that this "work is of the utmost importance."[64] By the fall of 1932 and spring of 1933 "events in the Far East" demanded of those working in Vladivostok "exceptional caution and vigilance," and the Profintern leadership turned its attention anew to operations on the other side of the Pacific.[65] Janson drew up detailed instructions for the American Bureau that, among other things, called for "the organization of work in the Hawaiian Islands, which have acquired strategic organizational significance,"[66] while the secretariat decided that the "Pan-Pacific Secretariat of ISH [TOS IMPR] in Vladivostok should be liquidated and its residence moved to San Francisco—natural center of pan-Pacific navigation."[67] Yet, in the fall of 1932 the Home Office reduced the Bureau's budget from "over $2,000 a month" to $850, and in May 1933, when George replaced Eddy, it reduced it further to "700 American dollars per month," and in September "to 350."[68]

Moreover, according to the Bureau, the American Party at the district level was no more helpful: "The biggest shortcoming here, in this work [Marine Work] is the lack of able leadership and particularly, the failure of the Party to give the support that this work calls for."[69] Likewise, the "American marine comrades" failed to respond to the Bureau's pleas for "much greater efforts to get aboard J ships": "This work has hardly been started by the Americans notwithstanding, our continuous and persistent demands that it should." In this regard, for the first time Eddy offered some insight into the problem: "the situation is generally bad because a drive is being made to illiminate [*sic*] all C seamen from these ships . . . and we are not in a position to effectively struggle against this. First because our American marine union has not even one connection on these ships, and secondly because we have a wide-spread prejudice on the part of American seamen, to break thru. The latter believe that these Eastern workers are taking their jobs at much lower wages."[70]

Japanese and Chinese Immigrant Activists Seek to Learn from their Own and Each Other's Experiences and to Cooperate across Lines of Race and Nation

Isolated and closely watched as they were, both Japanese and Chinese immigrant activists nonetheless stepped up their work on the waterfronts in

response to the escalating tensions and increased repression suffered by Japanese and Chinese Communists and trade unionists on the other side of the Pacific. Indeed, after Japan manufactured the Shenyang Incident in Manchuria in 1931 and used it is a pretext to occupy the region, the immigrant activists' efforts to make contact with seamen on this side of the Pacific and convince them at the very least to carry literature back to China and Japan took on greater urgency.[71] In fact, by all accounts the main concern was not whether, but how, to visit the ships.

During the late summer and early fall of 1932 Japanese cadres experimented with new tactics.

> In SF the Japanese comrades have surmounted the difficulty of getting aboard Japanese ships thru obtaining a pass. Here the comrades at first, on the basis of the new objective approached the seamen under various camuflauges [*sic*], which did not work because it made the seamen suspicious when our comrades came to the question of the labor movement. They now approach the seamen and speak to them about the conditions of Japanese workers in America, and in turn ask them about their own conditions aboard ship carefully leading from this to the questions of the situation in Japan including that of the war . . . As a result of these discussions we have on several occasions found by the reactions of one of the listeners that he might be close to us and therefore attempts are made to see him alone and try to feel him out as to where he stands.[72]

In seeking to make contact with Japanese seamen, the strategy of adopting a "camouflage" was not effective. Rather, in sharing their experiences as immigrant workers in America whose lives were now tied to this place but who nonetheless continued to feel bound to their compatriots as well as to ideals of internationalism, the activists critically succeeded in creating the possibility at least of dialogue with Japanese seamen.

At the same time, both groups sought to coordinate efforts among themselves at the local, national, and international levels. For example, in the spring Chinese activists in Philadelphia, with the assistance of "a comrade from New York," achieved "the *penetration into the Chinese Seamens Club* (Lien Yee Shei, reactionary mass organisation under the control of Kuomintang) in Philadelphia," following which "practically all rank and file membership of the Culb [*sic*] [numbering about thirty-five] *joined the Marine Workers Industrial Union in Phila*." In a subsequent effort to replicate and extend this success at the national scale, "a Chinese Bureau of the Union was created to be responsible to the Executive Committee of the Union to work among the Chinese seamen." Already "done in New York and Phila.," activists in San Francisco were now "taking steps towards this direction."[73]

For their part, in July after learning that "on one Japanese boat the entire engine department were members of the Sassinkai (left trade union opposition

in the seamens [*sic*] union)" but that the activist who visited this particular boat when it was in San Francisco "failed to give them our literature," the other Japanese activists in San Francisco "wrote to Los Angeles, the boat's next port of call, telling them to immediately get in touch with this group." And like the Chinese activists who sought to reach beyond singular success at the local scale toward cooperation at the national scale, so the "leading Japanese comrade, on his own initiative, drafted a letter embodying the experiences already gained and how to proceed with the work in which he also asks for criticism of the work, and the experiences of other Japanese comrades, which letter was sent to all our Japanese connections in the USA, Canada and Hawaii."[74] As a result, that summer in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York, and by the end of the year in Vancouver, Seattle, and Hawaii activists formed local boat action committees (LACs), to be supervised by a National Boat Action Committee (NBAC) headed by Yano and based in Los Angeles.[75]

The presumed benefits of the latter move required caution because it entailed a shift from sharing and learning from other activists' experiences to "effective guidance" by this national body and relying on "the experience of Takeda," whose authority carried special weight insofar as he was sent to the West Coast to do "PPTUS work" by the national if not international leadership and who promptly assumed the role of "an unskilled emissary from abroad."[76] Thus, given the experience of other activists, Yano advised use of camouflages: "To have pass of newspaper, hotel, express etc.," "Pretend himself as fruits peddler, dry goods merchant, fisherman, editor, import & exporter," Make a friend with driver of grocery and ask him to take you to seashore and ship, Thus drive in together to the ship in his auto," or "Make friend with custom officer, watchman etc. and fool him with a conversation fit to editor, christian or the like." Yano did not hesitate to present his approach as a model for others to follow: "I think that the fact that I am still able to openly visit the ships without arousing suspicions is due to the fact that I have been very bold. For instance, I often converse with the watchman pretending myself to be somebody else."[77]

In contrast with Yano's assumption of greater knowledge, on occasion activists from both groups crossed lines of race and nation to share resources and learn from one another's experience. For example, in July Pallo "had a joint meeting with the Japanese and Chinese comrades about the question of printing all our publications in the same print shop." After reporting that they had "organised a committee of 4 to be in charge of the distribution of the Chinese Marine Worker and the visiting of Chinese ships," the Chinese activists, who to date had "no connections with any other port in [reg]ards to this kind of work," decided "that they would have to start making connections the same as the Japanese comrades are doing."[78] Two months later, they had already succeeded in extending their network of contacts at both local and national levels as well as internationally across the Americas and the Pacific: "120 copies of the Sept issue of the seamen's paper was distributed among Chinese seamen in San

Francisco. The balance of this issue being sent to Chinese Workers' clubs in America and to the Inter-clubs of the world . . . They have given us 2 [numeral unclear] new addresses of Chinese seamen's organisations, seamen's boarding houses and clubs. Of these 4 are in Singapore, 3 in Cuba 2 in South America and also the Red Seamen's Union of Canton. And 4 addresses of contacts on ships whose home port is Vancouver."[79] By adopting the Japanese activists' approach as a model the Chinese activists not only made progress in their own efforts but also in turn boosted the efforts of the Bureau through supplying them with a myriad of contacts within the United States and across the Pacific.

Thus, the approach circles back to the issue of autonomy. It is clear that by the beginning of 1933, even as the Bureau stepped up its rhetoric invoking "the struggle against imperialist war,"[80] it also became more removed from the crucial local efforts to enlist Chinese and Japanese seamen, owing to either the Japanese government's heightened surveillance and the Home Office's budget reductions or the continuing divides separating the Bureau from Japanese and Chinese activists and their respective immigrant communities. For example, in January the Central Committee of the Chinese Buro reported on the details of the appointment of two "comrades Call and Manmen" to work among Chinese seamen;[81] in this same month the Bureau simply noted that "our C. people report that they are visiting all establishments and distributing our publication thoroly[*sic*] among the employees . . . that they now have good connections with our Mar. organisation in C."[82] Moreover, by November the Bureau acknowledged, "Because we could not possibly publish any Chinese paper [due to the budget cut], our former work among these has also stopped—there being no reason for it without a paper"; the Bureau added, "It can be revived at any moment, however, as the C. comrades visit each ship with their own local paper."[83] Similarly, with regard to work among Japanese seamen, in late September George wrote to Alex that, although the Bureau had thus far received "reports from only three Boat Action Committees (SF; LA; and NY) for only one month, from July 15 to August 15," it recognized that "there is more work going on than we are getting reports on." Once again, George reminded Alex, there was a "lack of funds" available, in this instance for travel to the various ports.[84]

6

Left-wing Chinese Immigrant Activists

Communism and the Strengthening of the Kuomintang in America

In late March 1927 left-wing Chinese activists Shi Huang, Shih Tso, and Xu Yongying wrote a "confidential" letter to General Secretary Jay Lovestone under Shi's home address in San Francisco to inform the Party of the recent formation by the KMT in America's Central Committee of a Committee on the Abolition of Unequal Treaties. As "communists in principle," their "policy with the committee" was "not only to seek for the abolition of unequal treaties, but to see to it that there is any chance for the advancement of Communism in America." They also saw "great hope both for the advancement of Communism and the strengthening of the Kuomintang in America, if the two parties can cooperate wisely and tactifully [*sic*]"—much as they had done for a long time now with DO Levin. Toward this end, they sought to persuade the Party to make this work "embodied definitely in the programme of the Communist Party," in the first instance by joining "a nation-wide League" and thereby helping to "enlarge and unify our front against imperialism." More to the point, they reminded Lovestone, it was "imperative for your Party, or rather ours as well, since we are all Communists but in name, to pay attention to this matter."[1]

Given the continuing existence of a United Front in China, it is not surprising that leading left-wing members of the KMT in America who were "Communists but in name" advocated cooperation between the KMT and the American Party. Surprising, however, is the activists' positive working relationship with Levin and their request that he "can be with us in his present capacity"; first, it reveals that during this period such a possibility existed, and second, it provides proof that left-wing Chinese activists in the United States tried to enlist American Party leaders in their efforts at the local and national scales to develop KMT "policy and tactics" in the United States from "Communist and Chinese Nationalist point of view." Indeed, the very fact that Shi, Shih, and Xu had "not joined the Party because of technical and tactical

reasons" suggests that they did not see their position as identical to that of like-minded activists in China where at that time CCP members also belonged to the KMT.

This raises the vexing issue of party membership. According to Chinese historian Zhang Bao, in the wake of the KMT-CCP split Chinese students such as Shi, Xu, and Shih in San Francisco and Chi in Chicago decided to join the CCP. These students served as examples for others, and, by the end of the 1930s, "there were approximately fifty CCP members in America, most of them from San Francisco, Philadelphia and New York." Unlike the American Party, however, CCP members and the groups they formed in the United States were never made public, both to avoid persecution by American and KMT officials and to permit activists' participation in the movement upon their return to China. Zhang notes that "all of the CCP members in America participated in all kinds of activities and struggles led by the American Communist Party," including "routine work and political campaigns"; they understood that they did so as members of the CCP alone.[2]

Beginning in 1926–1927 the first cohort of left-wing Chinese immigrant activists joined the American Party, and I argue that the twin questions of leadership and direction lie at the heart of the issue of party membership. The American Party national leadership declared its adherence to the Comintern tenet that "no other Communist Party can have branches in this country,"[3] yet, when questions arose regarding qualification of Chinese candidates for American Party membership or strategy on Chinese matters, Party leaders at the national and district levels turned to the Party fraction in the KMT in China and the CCP prior to the KMT-CCP split, and the CCP alone afterward, as the final arbiter. On this issue, Him Mark Lai comments, "Through contacts on the international level, CCP political directives on China issues were also passed on to CPUSA as guidelines for action. This factor greatly influenced the selection of activities and the development of the Chinese Marxist Left in the United States."[4]

At the same time, as Zhang suggests, the question of party membership cannot be separated from the matter of disclosure. From the perspective of those organizing inside the United States, "openness" about one's Communist identity not only made them subject to police surveillance and the threat of possible deportation but also foreclosed any possibility of organizing at the local or national scales among Chinese immigrant communities. Thus, publicly identifying as a Communist was a matter of intense concern and debate among Chinese members of the W(C)P.

Finally, the issue of disclosure in turn raises the question as to whether formal membership in the CCP and/or American Party constituted the single most important or sole determinant of level of involvement in the Chinese or American Communist movements.[5] Certainly, Shi, Shih, and Xu's communication suggests the flexible and contingent nature of Communist Party

membership among Chinese immigrant activists, at least during the period preceding the KMT-CCP split. Furthermore, except insofar as activists are referred to as "comrades," the subject is rarely addressed in the extant written record to which researchers have access. In this regard, Levin reported in late April 1927 that he had gathered "from the Communication of Chi to Mr. H. Shih" that their membership was "to be [kept] secret from the rest of the party."[6]

This underscores two points: first, the highly sensitive and therefore difficult nature of the issue as a subject of research; and second, the fact that during the period of the late 1920s and early 1930s relations between the American Party and the CCP and their respective stances toward Chinese activists in the United States were not yet clearly defined. As a result, lines of authority cannot be determined with certainty at this time.

In this chapter, I focus on the activism of left-wing Chinese in the KMT in America and examine the Party's relations with the same at the local, regional, and national scales. In addition, I direct attention to the Party's initiatives on China and all matters related to the Chinese in China and the United States. This complicated set of relationships begins with the KMT Convention, held January 3–8, 1927, in Los Angeles and continues until the collapse of cooperative relations between the KMT and W(C)P following Chiang Kai-shek's coup in April.

From Los Angeles to Seattle to New York: Relations between District Party Leaderships and Left-Wing Chinese Activists

At the adjournment of the KMT's 1927 annual convention, *Daily Worker* Local Representative and Southern California Sub-District Organizer Paul C. Reiss wrote to Ruthenberg that "the Convention went on record in support of the Canton government." At the same time, he reminded him "of the fact that there is a definite fight going on in the Kuo Min Tang Party and that the San Francisco branch has openly revolted against the convention."[7] This revolt occurred two years after a gathering in the Western Hills in Beijing in November 1925 where the right-wing faction of the KMT in China declared itself the party central committee and resolved to expel CCP members; later right-wing members of the KMT in America sided with the right-wing faction in China in opposition to the revolutionary government in Guangzhou (Canton). Conservatives controlled the central headquarters (also known as the "general branch" and "Main Office") of the KMT in America in San Francisco. By the beginning of 1927, in the face of the open conflict between right- and left-wing factions in America the Central Committee of the KMT in China decided to withdraw recognition from the San Francisco general branch. The San Francisco group defied the orders from China and locally issued a circular that, as summed up by left-wing activist F.T.D., denounced Y.H.W. for stating that Sun Yat-sen's

Principle of the People's Livelihood "IS SYNONYMOUS WITH COMMUNISM."[8] Nonetheless the annual convention represented a triumph for the left-wing faction of the Nationalist Party in America.[9]

Reiss also reported that he had taken the initiative in seeking to develop connections between sympathetic members of the KMT and the Party. First, he had "forwarded detailed information [about the Convention] and also the resolution to the D.O. [Levin], Comrade Engdahl, and Gomez." Second, he had "selected two names of Chinese comrades, delegates to the convention and forwarded same to the Daily Worker to be put on the mailing list in order that they may get better acquainted with our Daily."[10] Last, he had made contact with "two official delegates who are returning to China," who were "very much interested in [Party member] James H. Dolsen's book, 'The Awakening of China,'"[11] and he had "sold a number of copies [of Dolsen's book] to the more advanced element." Still, he admitted, he had neither made contacts prior to the convention, nor was he "informed or given the names and connections of some of the active comrades of the Chinese party of Chicago. Somehow it seems that our party is not in close touch with the Kuo Min Tang."[12] Apparently, he was not aware of Levin's ties. In his response, Ruthenberg informed Reiss that the AAAIL secretary had "arranged to have a Chinese comrade from San Francisco represent the League and address the conference" in its name: "It would have been desirable that in addition the local comrades here would be advised so that they could co-operate on the work. But evidently this was overlooked."[13]

It is possible that timely notification might have helped in the short-term. However, the Party's experience to the north indicated that in the long-term far more effort was needed to produce cooperation at the local scale, let alone extend this cooperation to the regional and national scales. At the beginning of March, Levin wrote to Ruthenberg, "We are in close touch with Chinese students at Stanford and some of the Chinese" in the KMT, and in spite of the lack of definite "organizational contacts yet we have been able to create such a friendliness that I have received a letter of introduction to the branch of the Kuo Min Tang in Los Angeles as a speaker." Indeed, after noting that he had been informed of preparations for a conference whose purpose was the formation of a League for the Abolition of Unequal Treaties in China, he pointed out, "The progressives seem to have no fear of the 'Communist bogey' and one of them frankly stated to me that the Workers Party is the only sincere group in America that wishes to aid the Chinese Nationalist movement." Perhaps such a claim was exaggerated, but certainly any confidence in the Party among Chinese "progressives" was the result of Levin's commitment to working with the same. He explained as much: "I am trying to have their Central committee issue a call to all of their branches to call similar conferences, and have promised that it will be possible for them to get in touch with comrades like myself who will cooperate with them in successfully launching these conferences

throughout the United States. My experience with Chinese has taught me to work very carefully with them until firm confidence has been established. Once that is done then we can expect full-hearted cooperation."[14]

There is no question that among Party leaders Levin stood out in terms of dedication and the degree and range of his ties with Chinese activists. He not only worked closely and over a period of time with Chinese students in the Bay Area, members of the CEC of the KMT, branches of the KMT in San Francisco and Los Angeles, and the Women's Section connected to the Oakland branch, but he also represented the Party at jointly sponsored events in San Francisco.[15] Moreover, his efforts were successful, as suggested by Levin as well as by Shi, Shih, and Xu. Along similar lines, in February Alice Sum, representing the Women's Section in Oakland, responded to the district's overtures by "appealing to your organization which we feel is in sympathy with this struggle for freedom and independence of and for the Chinese people, and that you will add your voice of sympathy for this great cause." In fact, according to Gomez, it was "under our direction and guidance" that the Women's Section thereupon sent out a resolution and letter to groups across the United States.[16]

However, the experience of the Party in Seattle demonstrates that Levin's success was not unique and therefore cannot simply be attributed to his personality and background (that he had "been in China for several years").[17] Beginning in January 1927, the Seattle-based leadership of District 12 reached out to left-wing Chinese students and also developed ties with the larger Chinese community by working closely with the local branch of the KMT in organizing events in support of the Chinese nationalist movement. For example, between March 26 and April 16, the two parties cooperated on a range of events, including a Party-sponsored "open-air demonstration and celebration" at which "more than 2000 were present," two meetings at the Moose Temple at which representatives of both parties spoke, two joint meetings at the Chinese Opera House at which the house was "filled to overflow," and finally "open air meetings etc. every night."[18]

Like Levin, DO Aaron Fislerman made a personal commitment to this work; first, he did "everything possible" to convince the approximately 200 KMT members in the area to support the Left KMT in Hankow, and, second, he "worked" closely with two "very reliable" students. "Although they are not members at present because they fear they may be ousted by the Kuomingtang [*sic*], nevertheless they are with us and Hankow." Indeed, following the suspension of the local Chinese-language paper *The Chinese Star*, Fislerman "had a consultation with the Chinese and we decided to print a special weekly paper in Chinese," to be called "the New Star." In retrospect, Shi noted that "Hu Tang Te Kan was first published in Seattle by S. C. Huang (Editor) and C. T. Hsieh (manager)."[19] At the time, Fislerman reported that the newspaper, edited by Shih Chun Huang, was already being circulated in Seattle and "also in Vancouver BC and Portland through a few friendly Chinese to Hankow. Also

the student is corresponding with a number of Chinese students in many other parts trying to sway them fro [*sic*] for Hankow etc." Thus, the two student activists, with the cooperation of the Party's district leadership, had begun to extend their networks of associations from the local to the regional arena and thereby from spaces of dependence toward spaces of engagement. For its part, Fislerman claimed, the Party would do well to support the decision of the District Executive Committee (DEC) to give $10.00 weekly over the next three months because there was support to be tapped in the larger Chinese community. "There are a number of Chinese who are favorbaly [*sic*] but do not dare to voice the sentiment. There are others on the fence. If we keep the fight up for Hankow, we expect to sway them with us."[20]

"These Chinese comrades want to form a branch of their own."
–William W. Weinstone, January 7, 1927

Meanwhile, at the very moment when the KMT Convention was convening in Los Angeles, ten Chinese activists in New York submitted a request to District 2 General Secretary William Weinstone "to form a branch of their own." According to Weinstone, "They wish to be known as the Chinese Communist Party of America, a Section of the Communist International." They had already formed a Chinese Workers Alliance and enrolled in the W(C)P. In addition, at least two among the group—Sui Peng and Ho Shin—had been active in local Party-led anti-imperialist efforts.[21] According to New York JWA Secretary-Organizer Ogino, Sui Peng, who was "a member of the executive committee of the New York City Section of the Kuo Ming Tang, associate editor of the Mun Hey Daily, the official organ of the Kuo Ming Tang, and also an active member" of the W(C)P, had "been in contact with our Japanese comrades here and has been cooperating with us in anti-imperialist work and other activities."[22]

Although Weinstone thought "for a time we should permit them," he had nonetheless "forbidden them to use the enclosed stamp which they have gotten out without permission."[23] His superiors approved his message; Ruthenberg responded, "I do not think there is any objection to your permitting the Chinese workers which you have brought into the Party to work as a group for the time being. But of course they cannot call themselves the Chinese Communist Party in America. No other Communist Party can have branches in this country. They can call themselves the Chinese fraction of the Workers (Communist) Party, Section of the Communist International if they desire such a high-sounding name."[24] For the ten Chinese activists living in New York City, Ruthenberg's refusal may well have come as a surprise because four years earlier their compatriots in France had received permission to form a European Branch of the Chinese Communist Party (ECCP).[25] Ruthenberg's reaction also anticipated the differences emerging among national and district American Party leaderships, the leadership of AAAIL, and leading Chinese party members

over policies governing Chinese activists' application for membership in the American Party.

A New Ferment of Activity in the San Francisco Bay Area

Back on the West Coast, the first months of 1927 saw a growing ferment of activity among left-wing Chinese activists in the Oakland and Los Angeles branches of the KMT, among Chinese students at Stanford University, and in the larger San Francisco Bay Area. Activity overlapped among the groups and centered on a number of endeavors. Members of the left-wing faction of the KMT established a new Party organ, *Kuo Min Yat Po*. Although Shi was a member of the founding committee and Hsu became editor of the news section when publication began in June, the paper was nonetheless subject to intense pressure from both right- and left-wing factions. Within four months, however, the continuing conflict led to the resignation of the two chief editors, whereupon Xu was promoted to the top position and former Qinghua University student and left-wing activist Xie Qitai assumed responsibility for the literary section.[26] Around this time the CEC of the KMT, which was based in Oakland, began to organize the conference that led to the forming a League for the Abolition of Unequal Treaties in China. Among the proposed participants were "Chinese student clubs," Chinese workers, merchant, and religious organizations, "Labor Unions, Workers political parties, Workers Clubs, [and] Organizations of people of oppressed nations and sections of All-America Anti-Imperialist Leagues [*sic*]."[27]

In addition, a group of university and high-school students in the San Francisco Bay Area, which included some Chinese Americans as well as students from China, formed a local chapter of the national Zhongguo Xueshenghui (Chinese Students Alliance), to be known as the Sanfanshi Zhongguo Xueshenghui (San Francisco Chinese Students Alliance, SFCSA). Although nationwide membership of the Chinese Students Alliance represented a range of political beliefs, the members nonetheless shared a general interest in helping China become a strong and independent nation. Furthermore, under the direction of left-wing activists Fee and Xavier Dea the San Francisco chapter demonstrated strong, public support for the Chinese Revolution and the left-wing faction of the KMT. As Fee later recalled, in 1927 the group "mobilized a thousand participating students and entered a float depicting the triumph of the Chinese people over imperialism in a Chinatown demonstration commemorating the May 30th massacre." Later that year, members of SFCSA began publication of a mimeographed periodical titled *Resonance*, which openly sided with the left-wing faction. When word of this action reached the school administration, "the students were expelled and the publication banished from the school." At the same time as a result of the Party's efforts to attract Chinatown's workers, Fee and Dea joined the W(C)P.[28]

Meanwhile, when the San Francisco branch of SASYS began in the second half of 1926 to issue a monthly publication titled *Geming* (Revolution) that was openly critical of Chiang Kai-shek and the conduct of the KMT in America, the organization was quickly drawn into further battles with the conservative San Francisco branch and the KMT party organ *Young China*.[29] Undeterred, however, in early 1927 "six Stanford students," including the editor of *Geming* and Xu, met with the DO to study "Party organization and principals [*sic*] in order to help keep the Chinese movement in America to the Left."[30]

Finally, "a small group of chinese [*sic*] students and Chinese residents in Oakland and San Francisco" began publication, under the editorship of Stanford student Tsiang Hsi-Tseng (also known as H. T. Tsiang), of a new Chinese-language weekly, *The Chinese Guide in America*. Tsiang arrived in the United States in 1926 as a student and became editor of the KMT organ *Young China;* in a shift that provoked much controversy among left- and right-wing activists, Tsiang quickly became radicalized and changed allegiances. Indeed, as recounted by historian Leong Gor Yun, "Tsiang, a self-styled Communist, was ejected bodily from his office by a group of right-wingers. Shortly afterward the left-wingers would have nothing to do with him."[31] Owing to a lack of sufficient funds, the paper was initially "printed on a Mimeograph." With the publication of the eleventh issue on February 12, 1927, however, an English-language Supplement was printed. On the upper left-hand corner of the front page, the editor noted, "The other side of this page will be used for the Chinese Edition of the 'The Chinese Guide in America' as soon as enough funds can be raised."[32]

This raises the dual questions of funding and control. According to Wu Fook Zoo, member of the executive committee of the KMT in Chicago, the paper was funded "from subscriptions."[33] However, according to Levin, "The Editor is under our direct guidance and direction." There was no question in Levin's mind regarding the Party's interest in the paper: "The chief aim, organizationally, as far as the Party is concerned, is to pick out those Chinese who are in sympathy with the policy of the paper, both the Chinese and English edition, for the purpose of bringing into the Party. We are also trying to get those elements within the Kuo Min Tang who are particularly interested in this paper. If we can make such connections we will have a group within the Kuo Min Tang so that we have a real fraction there."[34]

For his part, in forwarding copies of the Supplement to "Comrades & Fellow Workers," Tsiang raised the banner of interracial solidarity and challenged his fellow Chinese workers to do the same: "It is quite necessary that the Chinese workers in America and the American workers establish a close relationship, so that the imperialists will not be able to use one against the other. We will bring these facts to the attention of the Chinese workers in America through our Chinese and English supplement . . . Hoping that this paper will be brought to the attention of your organization."[35] At the same time, in his

FIGURE 5 "Leaders of Chinese protest meeting here [in Philadelphia]," *Philadelphia Daily News*, March 28, 1927. "Left to right: P. T. Lau, who just came from Canton; P. H. Ho, local representative of Kuo Min Tang, followers of Dr. Sun Yat Sen and Sherman Chang, Chairman. They ask that China be left alone to solve its own problems." Local representatives of the KMT right-wing denounced the protest. (*Daily News* photo.)

letter to "HIS READERS," he affirmed the interests of the community to which he belonged and to which the paper was responding:

> This supplement meets an urgent need for the Chinese in the United States as well as for the Americans who are in close sympathy with the liberation movement of China and the Chinese . . . There has been no weekly presentation in English in America of the crisis in China from the point of view of the Chinese and edited by us. ("The Daily Worker," printed in New York City, presents the news from a most favorable point of view, but is not edited by the Chinese). The publishing of news of China and the interests of the Chinese in the United States in this manner is necessary for the many American friends of China and also for the native born Chinese who are accustomed to read the general press of America which does not at all times present accurately and reliably the news and points of view of China and the Chinese.[36]

Clearly, Tsiang's understanding of what was at stake in producing *The Chinese Guide* and its English-language Supplement went far beyond any narrow interpretation of "Party" interests. In a much broader appeal, Chinese Americans and "American friends of China" would for the first time have access to an accurate and reliable presentation of "the news and points of view of China and the Chinese"—the first progressive English-language paper to be "edited by the Chinese."

Tsiang's failure to mention the Party does not necessarily indicate an absence of Party ties, especially because the paper was aimed at the broad audience of Chinese in the United States and sympathetic Americans. Both non-Chinese Party leaders and Chinese activists in the district agreed that *The Chinese Guide* was "owned and controlled by our party [W(C)P]."[37] Still, his repeated reference to the significance of the paper's being edited by "us"—that is, Chinese in America, suggests that as editor Tsiang did not view himself as being under the Party's "direct guidance and direction." Indeed, Tsiang was not one to toe any line.

"Long Live the Friendship and Solidarity of the American Workers and Farmers with the Chinese Workers and Peasants!" —CC of W(C)P, 1927

Although district leaders such as Levin and Fislerman understood that to develop individual and organizational ties with the Chinese left in the United States the Party must demonstrate a commitment to working simultaneously at the local, regional, and international scales, there is little doubt that the national leadership's sights were trained almost exclusively overseas. Toward the beginning of 1927 both the leadership of District 2 and the Party's National Office threw their energies into launching a nationwide Hands Off China

(HOC) campaign. First, "the organization of the broadest possible mass movement around the demand for Hands Off China and defense of the Chinese liberations [*sic*] movement," was to be extended to defend the Soviet Union and transform in the long-term the HOC Committees "into a broad permanent anti-imperialist war movement." As such, the Program of Action emphasized the need "to draw in and stimulate action by the trade unions in behalf of the Hands Off China demand and in direct and open support of the Chinese labor movement against American imperialism and Chinese War. [*sic*] militarism." The same policy should also apply to "all honest socialist elements."[38] For all the emphasis on appealing to as broad a range of groups as possible, the campaign literature and correspondence made no mention of Chinese in the United States. Rather, the standard refrain was: "LONG LIVE THE FRIENDSHIP AND SOLIDARITY OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS AND FARMERS WITH THE CHINESE WORKERS AND PEASANTS!"[39]

The omission was all the more surprising insofar as "Kuomintang comrades" were, so Weinstone informed the National Office, "taking the initiative in this work" in New York.[40] Similarly, Vivian M. Wilkerson, secretary of the HOC Committee in District 2, wrote to Acting General Secretary Max Bedacht in early June that "a number of Chinese students of New York sympathetic toward the Party who have been working with me in the H.O.C. Committee here, are available to speak and help the work for H. O. C. throughout the country." But the students were not prepared to wait on the Party's decision. Wilkerson urged, "Please rush this information care of Party office, N. Y. as the school semesters are over, and these students will soon begin to travel through the country."[41] Likewise, left-wing Chinese in the KMT on the East and West Coasts were cooperating with the Party in efforts to raise support for the Chinese nationalist movement among Chinese- and English-speaking communities. For example, in Philadelphia, in late March, at a multilingual mass meeting and march jointly sponsored by the Party, YWL, and KMT calling for "Hands Off China" and commemorating the second anniversary of the death of Sun Yat-sen, speakers included Party organizer Albert Weisbord, YWL representative Irving Green, KMT member P. T. Lau, who was "a former member of the city government of Canton" and "who just came from Canton," and P. S. Ho, representing the Philadelphia branch of the KMT. P. T. Lau spoke in English and P. S. Ho in Chinese.[42]

As left-wing activists Shi, Shih, and Xu explained, raising support for the Chinese movement should be seen as an integral part of the "advancement of Communism in America," and matters of concern to Chinese in China should be of concern equally to Chinese Nationalists and Communists in the United States and indeed all Communists in America. Thus, the Huaqiao Gonghui (Chinese Workers' Club), which was formed in San Francisco in the mid-1920s and continued to exist until 1930, "aided and educated Chinese workers and especially gave aid to the Chinese Revolution." It was also reputed to be one of

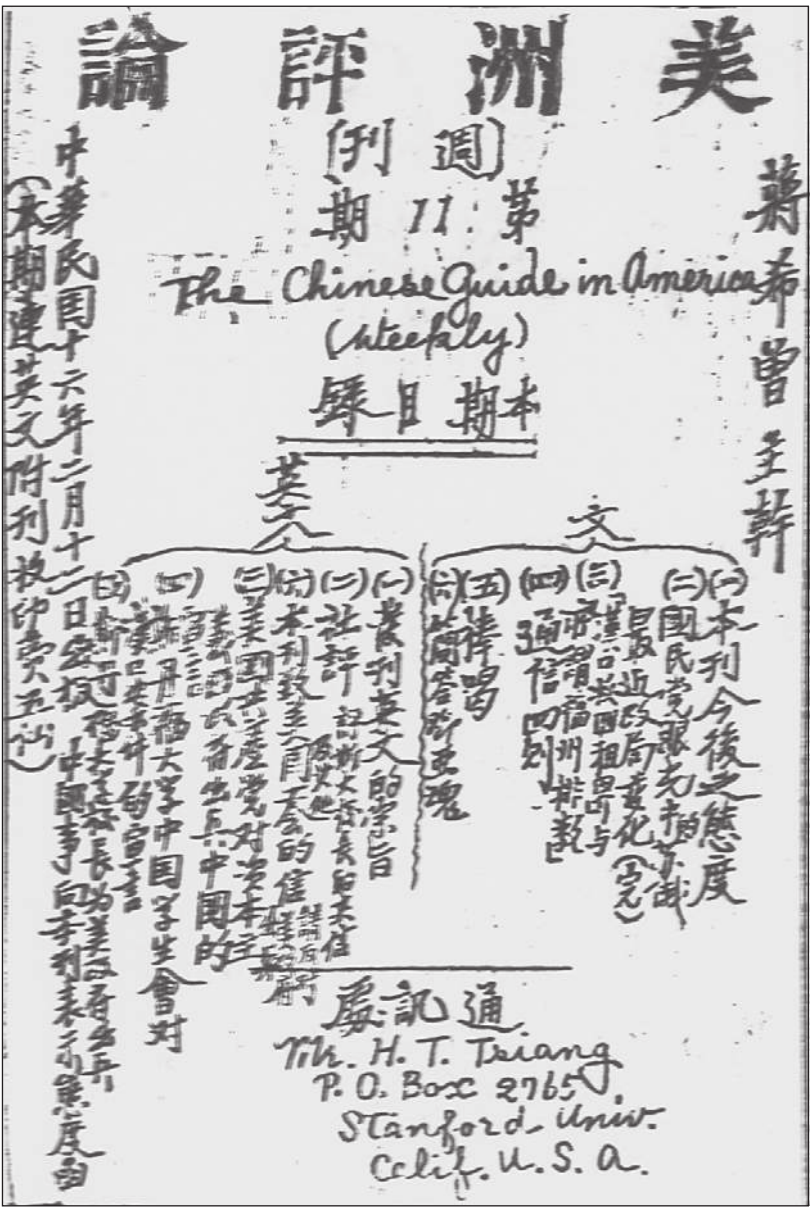


FIGURE 6 Cover of a mimeographed issue of the weekly Chinese-language *The Chinese Guide in America*, published by a small group of Chinese students and residents in Oakland under the editorship of Stanford student Mr. H. T. Tsiang (Tsiang Hsi-Tseng) and probably first appearing sometime in November 1926. Upon publication of the eleventh issue of the weekly *The Chinese Guide*, the editor H. T. Tsiang added a printed English-language supplement. First issued on February 12, 1927, it was also edited by H. T. Tsiang. As soon as enough funds had been raised, the publishers decided to use the opposite side of the front page for the Chinese edition of the *Guide*.

the first organizations of the Chinese left "to fly the Kuomintang's national flag in San Francisco's Chinatown."[43]

In a promising move, on April 22, 1927, Lovestone informed Levin that the political committee had decided his district would "receive an appropriation of $200 to help you in your anti-war, Hands Off China work," to be given "little by little upon receipt of your budget."[44] In his response four days later, Levin immediately broadened the focus and called attention to the larger context of nationalist politics and to the absolute necessity for supporting the Chinese fraction: "You ask for budget for the Two Hundred Dollars. The money was at first need [*sic*] for the emergency purpose to prevent a sabotage of the Central committee of the Kuomintang reactionaries . . . It is also needed for our fraction, (Chinese co munist [*sic*] fraction)," in the amount of "thirty Dollars a week for administrative help." In this regard at stake was not so much the fraction's survival but rather the Party's legitimacy among the larger Chinese left in the United States.

> If the work is hampered because of lack of c lerical [*sic*] andadministrative [*sic*] help, we will all look like a lot of sick kids. The Chinese fraction are being exposed to a bitter attack and if we cannot assist in that much they will have good reason not to have over confidence in our ability. Our fraction can stand it they are a remarkable courageous and clear-headed group, but if they cannot [g]et their machiner [*sic*] working the left wing, not the communists but who are supporting them will have little confidence in them.[45]

The next day, Levin sent off another letter regarding the finances of the district as a whole, as reported at the DEC meeting held on April 20. Because the district did "not receive enuf [*sic*] stamps either to pay the salary of the DO or any additional help" or any funding for the current "Membership Drive" and Hands Off China campaign, the DEC was recommending "to the CEC that the National Office either subsidize District 13 with about $80. per month . . . or permit this district to tax its members $1.00." To garner support of the national leadership, Levin added, "This will mean, of course, that the CEC will be in closer touch, and more frequent and regular communication with this district than it has in the past."[46] Having engineered approval from the political committee at a meeting held on May 1 at his request, Levin illustrated this very point by traveling to Chicago to attend the Party Plenum. Upon receiving news of Levin's departure, the DEC of District 13 declared his action "uncommunistic and detrimental to the best interests of the Party" and sent a telegram to Chicago "condemning Comrade Levin's presence there as illegal."[47] In spite of the proffered opportunity for maintaining tighter control over this distant and notoriously independent district, Lovestone declared the request for a monthly subsidy was "impossible" and instead approved a "district assessment . . . providing that it is not more than one dollar monthly. We suggest a fifty-cent assessment."[48]

Not three weeks later, Levin appealed to Bedacht, once again calling attention to the fact that the "work with the Chinese is being greatly hampered because of lack of funds." Apparently, the district had not yet received the promised $200. On this occasion, however, Levin underscored the benefits to be gained by the Party as a whole in supporting the left-wing Chinese activists' united front efforts: "On this point if our party will be able to be mobilized for active participation, I am quite sure it will have a very healthy reaction upon all the members of the Party, and it will tend to bring us closer together on the basis of active participation in the real dangers the American workers are facing in this Chinese situation." Meanwhile, he closed, "our comrades and friends amongst the Chinese" had already mobilized a "left wing" locally and were extending their networks to the regional scale by "forming similar groups in several sections of California and are now waiting for our assistance to help them spread their work throughout the United States."[49] Yet, by mid-June, Levin had yet to receive either funds or a reply, a situation that endangered launching the campaign of Hands Off China conferences and prevented sending for Gertrude Haessler from District 2. Apparently, Levin had requested that she serve as "secretary for the left wing among the Chinese, of the C. P. Fraction and other Chinese work which would be too dangerous for our leading comrades to come out openly in the front."[50]

Bedacht's belated response was brief. Although he acknowledged "the importance" of Levin's work in "the Hands Off China matter" and the political committee's earlier vote to send a subsidy to his district, he nonetheless reaffirmed that the "state of finances" made it "absolutely impossible to comply with the decision."[51] By its actions the national leadership made clear that it did not consider the work undertaken by left-wing Chinese within their communities in the United States as vital to either the conduct of anti-imperialist work in general or the Hands Off China campaign in particular.

The "Chinese Question" and "relations with H. T. Tsiang"

Meanwhile, even as he wrestled at the national level to secure funds for left-wing Chinese activists' united front work and the Hands Off China campaign; Levin was simultaneously embroiled at the district level in the struggle over "relations with H. T. Tsiang." Toward the end of March, Levin wrote to Lovestone to apprise him of where things stood, in particular with regard to the matter of helping Tsiang to rejoin the KMT. At the KMT in America's convention in January "a resolution was passed instructing the various branches not to aid" Tsiang, now "an expelled member" of the KMT in China, but Levin believed that he had "thoroughly realized his past mistakes and it is felt that he can be relied upon to carry on good constructive work for the Kuomintang and can be guided in his work." For that matter, if Tsiang was "to be of any use in the Kuomintang movement he must be in that Party." At the same time,

Levin advised, before making a decision the Party "should consult with our Connections in China."

> If we were sure that he would be accepted back under the same conditions as the others of his group have been re-admitted or any other condition we [*sic*] which they thought was advisable, we then would prepare the ground work for the removal of the objections in this country. Intimation of favorable action in China, especially if there [*sic*] representative in America would be informed of it, would simplify the question of his return to the Kuomintang. It would save the more active me bers [*sic*] here from exposure of attack because of their attempt to change the decisions of the Convention in the U. S. and in China.[52]

In a second letter of the same date, Levin was more specific about whose opinion mattered and what was at stake. First, Levin sought "to win over" Mr. Dong, member of the CEC of the KMT, who in spite of "becoming inactive" supported "the progressive group" and who "was also and still is very sympathetic towards Tsiang and has helped him financially in his paper." Levin had already "won over Mr. Dong to a certain extent and he is now quite active." In fact, he was appointed as chairman of the Committee on the Abolition of Unequal Treaties "because of his long residence in the chinese [*sic*] community. He gives it a godd [*sic*] deal of prestige and with this committee is better able to meet the opposition on the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang." At the same time, the question of Dong aside, the Party "must consider carefully how we should take this matter up with the Centre and the C. P. of China . . . If we make too strong a plea for him it might indicate a lack of knowledge of the danger f [*sic*] the right wing to the party fraction in the Kuomintang in China. It might also appear that we were giving objective support to the Tai Chi-tao o r [*sic*] right wing ideology." Therefore, their "best" strategy was to recommend that Tsiang be permitted to rejoin the KMT under "probation" and that Lovestone "specifically inform our connections that this is done to win over some of the members of the Kuomintang who . . . are tending to weaken the efforts of our left wing." This last point was crucial because at stake here was ensuring that the Party did not jeopardize its relations with "our connections" in China. Levin warned, "It should also be pointed out that if there should be very serious objection to Tsiang for them to please forward them immediately so that I may use that in influencing some of his friends not to support him or even to break with him." Above all, he concluded, the larger lesson to be drawn from "this matter" was that "we should have actual organizational contact with the Party fraction in the Kuomintang of China."[53]

In the weeks that followed, the DEC discussed all matters related to the "Chinese question," including the policy to guide the DEC in its work with *The Chinese Guide*, the committee on the Abolition of Unequal Treaties, and the committee's newly formed English-language organ, the *Abolitionist*. When

the DEC convened a "special meeting" to vote on various motions and amendments, a firestorm erupted between "majority" and "minority" factions, whereupon both groups appealed to the CEC of the Party.[54] Whereas the "minority" supported using the *Abolitionist* to serve broad united front work and *The Chinese Guide* for advancing "progressive measures" in the KMT and mobilizing "a definite Communist group" among Chinese in America, the "majority" advocated strictly limiting the scope of the *Abolitionist* to "issuing the call for a United Front conference" because it "can, at best, serve only a narrow Nationalist policy." *The Chinese Guide* alone should be "the Left Wing organ, under Communist control, in our Chinese work."[55]

The fact that the "majority" judged the merits of the publications in terms of "Communist control" did not set it apart from the "minority," whose leader Levin had expressed the very same concern in relation to *The Chinese Guide*. What distinguished the "majority's" position, however, was the group's pitting of the American masses and "our Party" against the KMT in America and the Chinese struggle. The group charged,

> They [the "minority"] seem to be obsessed with the idea of building up the KMT in America without realizing that the basis of our work must be to arouse THE AMERICAN MASSES AGAINST IMPERIALISM, and gain organizational contact from such a growth, and thus strengthen our influence with the American masses. The result is that our party is being neglected in order to build up the KMT . . . The way in which we can best assist THE CHINESE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE is to gain contact with the American workers thru mass labor organizations and such organizations as the KMT and lead them in the struggle against Imperialism in the U. S. This can best be done, not by a large KMT in America . . . but by an aroused working class here . . . Our ultimate objective should be the utilization of the KMT and the Chinese struggle for the massing of the workers of America against Imperialism and the building of a COMMUNIST PARTY here.[56]

By omitting either the subjects that gave body and direction to the KMT in America or the Chinese masses that waged the struggle in China the majority spoke with clarity: the leadership was most interested in advancing the cause of full-bodied "American workers" and of "our Party" "here."

None of the above deliberations involved Chinese activists, but five days later Shi intervened and redirected attention to the subject of Tsiang. At the outset of his letter to Lovestone on behalf of "comrades here," Shi emphasized the group's privileged perspective: "We know Mr. Tsiang since his coming to the United States. We are sure that we are in a better position to estimate his personality than anybody else, because we all study in the same university and often work together along the same line of activities." Indeed, it was by reason of this long and close association that Shi could provide an account of

Tsiang's entire political trajectory up to the "present period." For the same reason, the group could furnish "evidences to prove that he is working against us in the dark. He dissuades our friends to attend the committee meetings in Oakland and turned them into his personal use. He destroys our united front against the right wing and the reactionaries. He purposely discredited the central in Oakland and creates impression that nobody in the party is capable of revolutionary work." By the same token, long familiarity with "his personality" had bred mistrust: "He is very unscrupulous and practically all people here consider him a too dangerous person to work with." Indeed, so dominant was the "dangerous" side of his character that even such qualities as being "a hard worker and his courage" were suspect.

> The fact that he is not a government student, that he has been dismissed from Stanford University, that he has to find some means to maintain his livelihood, and that he has to struggle for existence makes him work like a real horse. He has radical views, but we are not sure whether he is sincre [*sic*] about the proletarian revolution. Practically all articles published in the English edition of the Chinese Guide are written by some comrades of District 13. He cannot express himself in the English language. If you read carefully his Chinese articles you can easily ascertain that they are simply a show of radicalism. But radicalism does not necessarily mean Communism.[57]

The claim that Tsiang could not "express himself in the English language" strikes a particularly false note because that fall Tsiang enrolled in Columbia University and in January 1929 he self-published an English-language collection, *Poems of the Chinese Revolution*.[58]

At the same time, it should not be assumed that the above statement reflected the views of all left-wing members of the KMT. In fact, in a conversation with Lovestone, Wu Fook Zoo, a non-Communist but left-wing member of the CEC of the KMT, offered a somewhat different perspective. Although it was true that Tsiang was "an able man" as editor of *The Chinese Guide*, according to Wu, "we never accepted him." Therefore, at that time Wu counseled that "we should not accept him unless we get information from Executive Committee because he is under orders of arrest."[59]

From the perspective of the district leadership, Tsiang's case placed the Party in an impossible situation. Whereas Tsiang would not simply "fall in line," at least two leading "Chinese comrades" in the district believed "that the Guide is necessary for our work and they unreservedly declare that they are for its maintenance." Moreover, they emphasized, "at this time the Guide cannot be maintained without Tsiang . . . but that he *must* be controlled and not pushed to the front on account of his past record, and the estimate of the left wing Chinese towards him for his past activities." To further complicate matters, Tsiang himself was "firmly convinced that Levin is

determined to stop the Guide and that he will use any method to accomplish his purpose."[60]

After a weekend of chasing after and heatedly discussing Tsiang, DEC members Edgar Owens and Manus, Chang, and another Chinese activist from Stanford who came "to town" for that purpose, the Party appeared to have achieved the impossible. The "agreement" with Tsiang on *The Chinese Guide* stipulated that Owens "was the Party representative . . . [and] that the policy would be determined by the Party; that their [the three Chinese activists'] discretionary power was limited merely to the best means of carrying out the policy . . . and finally that in case of a difference of opinion between the three of them, that I as the representative of the Party would decide the difference." In closing, Owens affirmed his "firm conviction that Tsiang can be handled and that he will respond to frankness."[61] In the weeks that followed, however, resolution of the case remained elusive. At the DEC meeting on May 7, a motion "that under no circumstances should T. H. [*sic*] Tsiang be sent on tour for the purpose of raising funds for the Guide" lost by a vote of three to four, while a countermotion "that Tsiang be sent out on tour to raise finances and secure subs for the Guide" won by a vote of four to three.[62] Eleven days later, a "special meeting" of the DEC was called "to inform DEC of telegram sent DEC by the secretary of the CEC dated May 11, referring to tour of THTsiang [*sic*]." Even after being informed "that Tsiang was already on tour, [and] had raised $60.00," the group voted three to two on a motion "that Tsiang is not to speak before organizations in behalf of the Guide until the Receipt of the letter referred to in the telegram of the national secretary, excepting on [this] Sun at the Labor College."[63]

In fact, the end only arrived at the hand of the authorities. Two months later on the evening of July 20, 1927, Tsiang "was detained in the City Jail by orders of the federal government. The following day he was shown warrant for arrest by the immigration department." The first to intervene were "some Chinese Friends" who got Tsiang "out on Bail" by furnishing the requisite $3,000. In informing Bedacht of the news, Levin advised that the case would necessitate "close co-operation" because it might "involve not only the Chinese but also [the] party." He also noted that the DEC had already held "a special meeting" at which it was decided, "that case itself should be held by [American] Civil Liberties and ILD jointly or in close cooperation with each other." At the same time, Levin warned, the case had "in it all of the elements" of what he suspected was "the beginning of campaign for support of Chiang Kai Shek [*sic*] interests," adding, "To say the least the Chinese stu [*sic*] students in America will be in great danger."[64]

Whereas Shi, Shih, and Xu had earlier alerted the Party's national leadership to the vulnerability of their position as Chinese in America who were both Communists and Nationalists, now in the wake of the KMT-CCP split Levin drove home the point with news of left-wing Tsiang's "arrest by the

immigration department." Placed side-by-side, the two moments capture well the outlines of the period of cooperation between the KMT in America and the American Party. For left-wing Chinese activists, cooperation entailed a fragile and risky balancing act. They worked not only inside the organization but also through nonorganizational and sometimes "confidential" channels with district and national Party leaderships in an effort to strengthen the progressive wing of the KMT in America, advance Communism in the United States, and support the anti-imperialist and Chinese Nationalist movements in China. For the Party, except individual district leaders who forged close ties with left-wing Chinese in their districts and developed an understanding of the specific contours of their lives and political activism, cooperation involved enlisting the KMT in America in the Party's nationwide Hands Off China campaign with the aim of building a broad anti-imperialist antiwar movement.

7

Chinese Workers in America

Labor Organizing and Rallying for Support of the Chinese People

In the wake of Chiang Kai-shek's anti-Communist coup in April 1927, as the ongoing intraparty struggle within the KMT in America became ever more fierce, the presence of Chinese immigrants in the American Party was formalized through the formation in May of a Chinese Bureau of the W(C)P. Two months later, with the end of the KMT-CCP united front in China, there was a corresponding collapse of cooperative relations between the KMT in America and the W(C)P. Indeed, the latter struggle culminated in early 1928 with "instructions from CI and CEC to dissolve all branches of the KMT that we controlled and to withdraw from the KMT" and the forced resignation of Chinese immigrant Communists from their positions working for the KMT official party organ *Kuo Min Yat Po*.[1]

In this chapter, I examine the activism of left-wing Chinese from the time of the above sequence of events in the spring of 1927 through the latter part of 1933. Until the early 1930s, activists devoted much attention to events in China and also expressed strong interest in returning to China at some not too distant time to participate directly in the revolutionary movement there. By late 1933, anticipating the shift in the larger Party toward the policies of the Popular Front, the Central Committee of the Chinese Bureau of the CPUSA (renamed as such in 1929) had moved away from policies that isolated the Chinese Party members from surrounding Chinese communities and toward more broad-based cooperation with organizations that shared "similar ends in view" and that enabled "draw[ing] in unorganized and undeveloped workers." At the center of these new efforts was the mass organization American Friends of the Chinese People, formed in the spring of 1933. Even as the activists began to embrace this new policy, they continued to put much energy into finding ways to support the Chinese Revolution and sustain close ties with the CCP.[2]

At the same time, Chinese immigrant party members were also forced to wage another struggle within the movement itself. Problems mounted:

isolation within the Party and local Chinese communities; small memberships and the repeated loss of leading members through their departures for Moscow and China; a perpetual lack of funds; ongoing and bitter factional struggles within district and national party leaderships; harassment by the KMT and immigration authorities along with the ever-present threat of arrest leading to deportation; and the party leadership's neglect of issues concerning Chinese communities inside the United States. Complicating matters further and contradicting their construction as natives of China, Chinese immigrant activists were expected to conform to policies that construed all members of the American Party as eligible to become naturalized "Americans." Even individual party leaders who worked closely with and demonstrated their commitment to sustaining the Chinese activists' efforts nonetheless were most interested in the fight to support the revolutionary forces in China and defend the Soviet Union. In developing strategies and organizing at the local level, therefore, the activists were largely alone.

Collapse of the KMT-CCP United Front and Formation of the Apparatus of Chinese-Language Work in the Party

Organizational efforts advanced quickly during the second half of 1927. On April 13, 1927, the District 13 DEC resolved that a "Chinese fraction be formed," and around the beginning of May the "fraction was organized." In October, at the First National Convention Conference held in Chicago, participants wrote a constitution for the Chinese National Fraction in America. In November, the National Buro or Bureau (also known as Central Buro) of the Chinese National Fraction was established, "consisting of 5 members" and "situated in S. F." At the end of that year, approval was given to launch a weekly mimeographed Chinese-language "Chinese Communist paper," *Kungchang*.[3]

In their biography of first secretary of the Chinese National Bureau Shi Huang (aliases Tontien and Dongsheng),[4] Yang Zundao and Zhao Luqian recount, "Shi Huang and some others secretly established the Chinese Bureau under the leadership of the CC of the Communist Party of America." The Chinese Bureau, they continue, embarked on an ambitious program: public condemnation of Chiang Kai-shek and "the rightist faction of the Nationalist Party," defense of Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles, and a dizzying level of communist activism. Overall, they set "as their primary objectives to promote and support the revolutionary cause in China."[5]

According to a report delivered at the Second National Conference of the Chinese Fraction, held February 19–21, 1929, in New York City, at the time of the First National Conference there were only "two and half and not well-organized branches"; "there was no regular Buro," and "the Fraction at first was absolutely secret." Moreover, "the delegates did not only return to their units but left the States right after the Conference." In September of 1927 the

Fraction had a total of eighteen members, of whom ten were "workers" and eight were students. Two other members had recently "ieft U.S. for Europe."[6]

Given these numbers, it is not surprising that other sources give far more subdued accounts of the work carried out under the leadership of the Chinese Buro during the months following its formation. An unnamed "Chinese comrade," who delivered a "Chinese report" to a District 13 DEC meeting held in San Francisco in early May 1928,[7] first stated the aims of the fraction: "to carry on work among the Chinese workers, do anti-Imperialist work and to train comrades to go back to China and carry on the work there." After noting that the National Buro was located in San Francisco and citing Party membership figures (a total of "about 24," with "5 in S.F.; 8 in N.Y.; 3 in Chicago; 3 in Madison and 4 in Philadelphia"), he proceeded to detail the activities pursued during the past year. In what became a trend, not the members of the "C P group" but rather the members of the "C Y Group [Chinese Youth]," numbering "about 9 in S.F.," had been most active. They had "organized a workers club with about 19 member [*sic*]," "publish[ed] a paper regularly," and "conduct[ed] many mass meetings." They were also "organizing a restaurant workers union" and trying "to establish a workers school under the auspices of the students group," which was "under the control of the C Y group." In the wake of the KMT-CCP split in China, the removal of "our editor," Xu, from the "KMT paper," and withdrawal of Party members from the KMT, the main endeavor undertaken by the activists was to form, in January 1928, a "united front organization," Meizhou Yonghu Zhongguo Gong-Nong Geming Da Tongmeng (Grand Alliance to Support the Chinese Workers and Peasants Revolution, ACWP) with "the purpose of attacking and exposing the KMT."[8] The ACWP soon began issuing a mimeographed Chinese-language weekly newspaper *Xianfeng Zhoukan* (The Vanguard) as its official organ.[9] ACWP also established other branches in cities with significant numbers of progressive Chinese.[10]

Even as they acted within the confines of the ethnic enclave in San Francisco, the activists boldly endeavored not only to extend their reach into the English-speaking national arena but also to persuade Japanese Party members to act in solidarity in both national and immigrant arenas. To address the "Present Chinese-Japanese Situation," the activists "decided to issue a statement in English on the present situation." If all went as planned, publication of "the statement in the Japanese, Chinese and daily press" and the organization of "mass meetings and protests against Japanese intervention" would follow "a meeting with the Japanese comrades."[11] By mid-May, the Chinese Buro and Japanese Fraction in District 13 issued a "joint statement and leaflet" addressed to "WORKERS AND FARMERS OF CHINA, JAPAN, AND AMERICA" and linked the collective struggles of the three groups.[12]

Four months earlier, in a letter to AAAIL Secretary Gomez, Chinese activists in San Francisco shed further light on the prospects for "spreading the ideas of communism and revolution among the Chinese workers and students"

in America. They summed up the dilemma as follows: "Nearly all the Chinese residents here are Cantonese . . . Only two of the seven Chinese comrades here (Suarez [Fee] and Tsetung [S. S. Lo, also Luo Jingyi]) are Cantonese, while the rest are not Cantonese and cannot speak the Cantonese dialect." Actually, one "comrade," Luo Jingyi, in San Francisco was not only a native speaker of Cantonese but also a talented orator and teacher who "moved everybody in the audience" when she delivered speeches to San Francisco's Chinese community about the Chinese people's "resistance against imperialism" and who under Shi Huang's instruction also gave lessons in Mandarin to the community.[13] Most other activists found it "very difficult for us to work among a people with whom we cannot communicate in the same language. This language difference has greatly handicapped our work in the past." In addition, "all the Chinese Comrades here are students, not workers," which made it "difficult for the students to mix up with the workers and still the more difficult when the former are engaged in their studies."[14] Moreover, "the majority of the Chinese comrades here are 'outsiders,' and do not intend to stay in American [*sic*] for more than five years." Thus, "at present we can hardly get some chinese [*sic*] workers here into our fraction and even if we can, they are not qualified to take important responsibilities."[15]

The last two points were not strictly true since YCL member Fee had been working "at various jobs as a cook in San Francisco" since his arrival in the United States in 1923. Similarly, Xavier Dea had been "a restaurant worker, a fruit gatherer, and did some other kinds of work" since he had come to the United States in 1923.[16] These comments raise an important issue that left-wing Chinese activists later acknowledged at their Second National Conference in February 1929, when they looked self-critically at their efforts thus far: one of "the principal causes of our defects" was "underestimation of the revolutionary potentialities of the masses, condemnation of masses, segregation from masses, and defetism [*sic*]."[17] Being active in local Chinese communities was ironically more difficult than at national and international levels.

A month earlier, Shi had reported to Gomez that the first meeting of the Central Bureau of the Chinese National Fraction, held on November 20, 1927, in San Francisco, had grappled with two pressing and knotty matters, namely, "APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP" and "THE QUESTION OF APPROACHING THE CHINESE AS COMMUNISTS." The crux of the second dilemma was that "the Central Bureau holds that unless some Chinese comrades are ready to approach the Chinese as communists and openly preach Communism, it will be very difficult to win over the Chinese workers and sympathizers to our side. But there is danger of being deported if the American Government discovers." In theory, the solution was straightforward: "find some Chinese comrades who have American citizenship, to do this work." It was agreed that the "Central Bureau should proceed immediately to investigate the names, addresses, occupations, native place, and past histories of all the Chinese comrades in

America and prepare a list."[18] Implementing the solution, however, proved far more difficult. At the Second National Conference held more than a year later, "native place" was not included in the membership tables or mentioned in the discussion. Rather, one had to go to the second to last page of the report, in the section "TASKS OF THE CHINESE FRACTION," to find a reiteration of the earlier directive: "Recruit more working class elements and native born Chinese into the Party."[19] The consensus of the meeting in mid-December 1927 in San Francisco was more realistic: "It is impossible to carry on the entire C P work openly in America. Even when possible, the scope of activities is very limited."[20]

In addressing the question of recruiting members, focus shifted from within the Chinese community to the relationship between the Chinese activists and the larger party leadership. The participants decided upon two "method[s] of procedure." According to the first scenario, the DO should refer a Chinese applicant's "application card" to the "imperialist Committee of the National Office of the American Party and the Imperialist Committee will refer it to the Central Bureau of the Chinese National Fraction for approval." Alternatively, the "Chinese Branches may also introduce new members." However, in the event an applicant was considered "suspicious," not only should the first method "be resorted to" but also "approval of the National office of the American Party should be obtained."[21] A month later, members of the central Anti-Imperialist Committee, led by Director of the Anti-Imperialist Department Manuel Gomez,[22] approved a motion that reaffirmed the authority of the Chinese Bureau: "we approve the recommendations of the Chinese Bureau relative to the approach of new members and relative to the regulations for taking Chinese members in to the Party."[23]

Meanwhile, the Party leadership had already arrived at a decision on the matter. About seven months earlier and in response to Levin's question, Lovestone reaffirmed the authority of the Party leadership: "All members must go through the National Office when they are received, so that we may check up with the connections we have here." In his letter, Levin had also raised the issue of disclosure. He understood that Chi was "in charge" of "admission of Chinese to the Party," and that Chi had informed Shi that their membership was "to be [kept] secret from the rest of the party." While he considered this "a very wise move at this time," there seemed "to be a tendency here to treat this question by some of the other members just as we would other workers."[24] To this, Lovestone responded, "In almost all cases the connection should be confidential, not public. This does not mean they should not attend unit meetings, however. They should participate in unit meetings, but should exercise greater care than others."[25]

Confusion, if not open disagreement, over the rules is evident. Lovestone's statement once again revealed the basic contradictions in the Party's treatment of its Chinese members. Like "other workers," all Chinese membership applications must "go through the National Office," but the National Office's

evaluation of these applications turned to "the connections we have here." Most likely these contacts were valued for their access to information about each individual's relationship to the KMT branches in America and China as well as to the CCP. In simultaneously denying the special circumstances of Chinese members and recommending that they remain ever sensitive to these circumstances, Lovestone was both perpetuating the age-old misreading of the situation confronting the Chinese in America and placing the burden of exclusion on the shoulders of the Chinese activists themselves.

Left-wing Chinese immigrant activists, however, could never forget the realities of exclusion and discrimination. As they noted at their Second National Conference in February 1929, "Our work among Chinese in America cannot fail to give due attention to the question of national minority," namely, the "vicious racial prejudice fostered by American imperialists and the social political, and economic discrimination and oppression against the Chinese."[26] This first cohort of leading Chinese immigrant party members, seeking to maintain connections with China,[27] demonstrated a strong orientation toward events in China and much interest in returning to China in the near future to participate directly in the revolutionary movement there.

Until the end of 1927 left-wing activists devoted much energy to working inside the KMT in branches across the United States, as well as in Canada, Tampico, Mexico, and Cuba,[28] and "under the name of the KMT" even as they debated whether to continue the policy of cooperation.[29] In a jointly written letter relayed by Shi in early December, Chi and Y. C. Chang reported on their interview in France with the former head of the political department of the Chinese revolutionary army Comrade Teng Yen Ta. They had learned that the "majority of the Chinese communist party are not in favor of cooperating with the KMT as they did before." Although they had not been informed of the "attitude of the Communist International," Chi and Chang believed that "we should change our policy." More specifically, they "express[ed] the opinion that the policy of the Chinese national Fraction in America should be on the same line with the Chinese Party." They were "in favor of converting the KMT members directly into Communists." They "also stress[ed] the importance of organizing the left wingers of the KMT."[30] Shi reported that the next issue of the left-wing Chinese-language newspaper *Hu Tang Te Kan* (*HTTK*), of which he was editor and Fee manager, would "be devoted to the discussion of cooperation between the KMT and the Communist Party," calling attention to the fact that this was "at present the most important question confronting every responsible member of the party."[31]

This question lay at the center of the raging battle then taking place at the highest levels of the Comintern over the disastrous failure of the united front policy. In late December, members of the Party's central Anti-Imperialist Committee began to debate such questions as how Chinese immigrant Communists should "prepare for a split in the KMT here" while at the same time

"immediately organizing all possible forces in a left wing, welding together expelled branches and connecting them with left wing the [*sic*] in the KMT, etc." A motion was passed that explicitly linked the Chinese immigrant Communists directly to the revolutionary movement in China, even at the cost of any support for the activists' commitments to U.S.-based activism. "The chief task of the Chinese Communists in America is to mobilize around themselves and their leadership the Chinese workers and peasants in an open organization, locally and later on nationally, for the purpose of giving organized support to the Chinese Revolution."[32] In using the descriptor "Chinese workers and peasants" to refer to Chinese laborers in the United States, the national leadership once again betrayed its confusion of the same with Chinese in China and its dogmatic application of a China-based model to the U.S. context.

Building Mass Organizations of "Asiatic Workers"

When it came to anti-imperialist initiatives and mass organizations, Party leaders generally marginalized "Asiatic workers." Records of the AAAIL—which, like ACWP, was formed sometime in early 1928—mention the existence of neither the ACWP nor the organization that succeeded it by the end of 1929, the All-America Alliance of Chinese Anti-Imperialists (AACAI—also known as the Chinese Anti-Imperialist Alliance of America).[33] Rather, one finds only scattered references to anti-imperialist organizations of Chinese in the United States and to "Orientals" as "individuals and representatives of organizations." Nor were members of ACWP invited to participate in the AAAIL's "national tour on the subject 'The Struggle Against World Imperialism, The Frankfort Congress and Latin-America.'"[34] Only more than halfway into the tour did the Secretariat of District 13 decide that speakers would include "Fee, Filipino (if possible)."[35] This, despite the fact that by the beginning of 1929 the ACWP had extended its reach across the Americas, with "9 branches in Canada, Cuba, Mexico and the U.S.,"[36] and a number of leading left-wing and Communist Chinese immigrant activists were appointed to the General Council of the U.S. Section of the AAAIL, which, like the ACWP, was headquartered in New York City.[37] Among Party members were K. M. Chen, Li Tao Hsuan ("Chinese, student"), Zhang Bao (Mo Zhengdan and Me Guoshi, aliases Xuehan and James Mo, also referred to as "Chinese, student"), Y. Y. Cheng, and Chi. Among non-Party members were (H. T.) Tsiang (referred to as "Chinese, intellectual"), and Thomas T. Y. Hu (Hu Dunyuan), as representative of the Chinese Students' Alliance.[38] The council also included three leading left-wing Filipino immigrant activists—Ricardo Talentino (referred to as "Filipino, worker"), I. A. San Jose (referred to as "Filipino, liberal (from Seattle)") and Pablo Manlapit (referred to as "Filipino, intellectual")—and the leading Issei Communist, K. Nishino, as representative of the JWA as a whole.[39]

For their part, in January 1929 Fee reported that the Chinese Fraction had resolved to organize an "Oriental branch, of All America Anti Imperialist League," toward which aim "the Chinese Fraction and Japanese comrades formed the Sino-Japanese Anti Imperialist Federation." Although "this league is not yet functioning," the Chinese activists were nonetheless "prepared to draw up the work for all Oriental workers on the Pacific Coast for Anti Imperialist work."[40] At the same time, in the months leading up to the National Conference in February the bureau made plans to extend its networks across the Americas by sending Fee on a trip across Canada, Shi to Cuba, and Li across the United States. In so doing, the activists also laid claim to the resources of their own party by asking it to furnish "the addresses of the national offices of the Parties in Canada and Cuba" and to notify the same of Fee's and Shi's upcoming tours and for "the CEC to send us the sum of 250.00 at once" for travel expenses.[41]

This is not to say that extending such networks at the regional scale was simple. Shi acknowledged the complexity at the beginning of a lengthy report on his trip: "The fact that the Cuban Party is underground, that I cannot speak the Spanish language, and that my activities have been closely watched by many Chinese in Cuba greatly hampered my work there." Moreover, the "connection" he had obtained from the National Office in America was "old" and "useless." And five days after his arrival in Havana, he found himself embroiled in the battles between the "Cheng Yee KMT (left wing KMT)" and the Chiang Pei-dum group ("official KMT in Cuba") and having to fight off immediate deportation. Yet, in the end the "Cuban comrades" reportedly told Shi "that one result of my trip to Cuba should be a better connection between both parties."[42] In fact, the strength of these ties was demonstrated in December 1929 when Shi, who was then in Moscow for Party training before his return to China, learned that Cuban Communist Party members Li Juzhi, Rong Jichen, and Deng Haishan, whom he had "recommended" to the Cuban Party, had been arrested by the Cuban government and were threatened with imminent deportation. Shi wrote to Foster to relay a message from then secretary of the Chinese Buro Li that the men "were trying to go to some other Latin-American-countries." In the belief that this plan would not materialize, Shi urged Foster to act on Li's recommendation to prepare to "send them to the Chinese Communist University in Moscow," in particular by "*secur[ing] the money*" for their passage when Foster was next in Moscow.[43] In a further testament to the strength of the ties between Chinese and Japanese activists, Kenmotsu reported having "rescued these three comrades who lacked any legal means"—this "by getting on the ship when not many people [in the Party] knew about the arrival of the ship [in San Francisco en route to Japan]."[44]

Perhaps spurred to action by the efforts of the Chinese and Japanese activists, sometime in the first part of 1929 the national Party leadership took the initiative. The Administrative Committee of the U.S. Section of AAAIL issued

a "Call for a National Convention of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League (United States Section). To Be Held in New York City, April 20–21, 1929." Among other groups, the call was "addressed to all anti-imperialist organizations of Chinese, Japanese, Hindoos [*sic*] and others residing in the United States . . . as well as to all the branches of the United States Section of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League."[45] As it happened, given the convening of "special Negro, Latin-American and Far Eastern conferences,"[46] the New York conference was pushed to June 15 and broadened to include conferences in Chicago and San Francisco. The timing of the Party's actions was connected to the Second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence scheduled for July. In "view of this, and under the instructions of the International Secretariat," AAAIL International Representative Louis Gibarti wrote the secretariat "to request the C.P. of the U.S.A. to give the utmost possible support to this important international work."[47]

In mid-May the District 13 DEC formed a committee to organize "a Pacific Coast Bureau of our Asiatic fractions, which shall work toward the building of mass organizations of Asiatic workers, with the aim of calling a conference to organize an Asiatic federation, mostly along anti-Imperialist lines." At a meeting a week later, the group learned that Gibarti had written that a regional Anti-Imperialist League Conference was to be held no later than June 2, 1929. Two days after that, the "Committee on Oriental Work" met to discuss this matter; and later that night newly appointed District 13 DO Emil Gardos wrote to Gibarti informing him of the committee's criticisms—the problem of "slowness of the National Office in informing us about this Conference" and the more serious charge "that no anti-imperialist work whatsoever was done in the past. All the comrades know of was the formation of some Party-committee last year, which did not work whatsoever." There was no reference to San Francisco-based Chinese activists' anti-imperialist efforts.[48]

Still, recognizing "the importance of this work," the committee "decided to go ahead," to convene the "Western Conference" on June 23. Plans included "the arranging of smaller conferences through the Seattle District and the Los Angeles Subdistrict," which would then "send delegates to the Frisco Conference," and the mobilizing of "a group of people to sign the call." Gardos elaborated,

> We are laying of course great emphasis to the drawing in of the Mexicans, Orientals, Negroes etc in this work. Among the signers of the Conference call we hope to have the editors of the Chinese left Kuo-mintang paper, Pa blo [*sic*] Manlapit, who is in L. A.[,] the chairman of the CUCM (Mexican indep. Union in Los Angeles) and a few more representatives of oppressed peoples . . .
>
> We will also try to secure prominent liberals, such as Upton Sinclair, Robert Whittaker, Austin Lewis, etc and active AFL trade-unionists,

> presidents of 1–2 local unions, together with our own comrades to sign the call, such as [Anita] Whitney, H[arrison]. George, Japanese and Chinese comrade, etc.

These were ambitious and surprising plans indeed—ambitious in regard to "the drawing in of the Mexicans, Orientals, Negroes";[49] surprising because of the aim to bring together such a broad constituency at a time when the Party was for the most part openly hostile to cooperating with "liberals" and "AFL trade-unionists." The same might be said of the desire to obtain the signatures of the "editors of the Chinese left Kuo-min-tang paper," when more than a year ago the paper's left-wing staff members had been forced to resign. In any case, it was "the opinion of the DEC that there is a splendid field for anti-imperialist work in the Western Coast and we are going to do our best in that direction."[50]

When the Western Regional Conference of the AAAIL, U.S. Section, opened on Sunday, June 30, 1929, in San Francisco's California Hall, a remarkably diverse group of sixty-two delegates representing fifty-two organizations assembled. After greeting the delegates, Secretary of the Arrangements Committee Anita Whitney "proposed a Presidium of nine members" that reflected this diversity: "H. T. Chang [Ben Fee] (Chinese Labor Group); Harrison George (TUEL); Alice Park (Housewives' League, Palo Alto); Austin Lewis (S. F. Attorney)[;] H. Haksori [Hakomori] (Japanese W.A. [Workers Association], Los Angeles);[51] K. Gardos (Communist Party,USA); J. Villareal (Mexican Labor Group)[;] Ben. Falcon (Philippine Legion of Labor)[;] J. Westgreen (Seamen's Union)." After a brief recess, speeches followed.[52] These included University of Southern California student "Ming Hua Wei, representing the Chinese Labor group" and whose transfer from the CCP to the CPUSA had been approved in 1928,[53] Fee, Falcon, Villareal, the "colored worker" Davidson who "greeted the Conference in the name of the Negro workers," and Gardos who declared that "all sincere opponents of imperialist war must unite in the AAAIL, even if they disagree on other questions." Falcon pointed out that this gathering was most notable because it was "the first Conference which he attended, where white workers speak against racial discrimination and where there is a unity between all colors and races in fighting capitalism, the common enemy."[54]

At the end of June, instructions were given for "Building [of] AAAIL Branches in Localities Where None Exist." Specifically, the "backbone of the organization must be the affiliated organizations and nationality branches." The former should include "trade unions and other labor organizations, political organizations, liberal groups, anti-militarist societies, etc.," and the latter, "Chinese, Filipino, Latin American."[55] Meanwhile, Chinese activists redoubled their energies in seeking to organize Chinese workers in their own communities.

"Lead Up the General Life of the Chinese Masses in America"

In late 1927, left-wing Chinese activists began to pay greater attention to the struggles of workers in Chinese communities within the United States. The shift, as Lai points out, was especially important because "it marked the reorientation towards the labor movement of many in the Chinatown left who had outgrown their student careers." For instance, before former university student Xu (alias Huafa) left for the East Coast in late spring 1928, Party members Li Gan and Xu advised Xavier Dea and his classmates to reorganize Sanminzhuyi Yanjiushe (Society for the Study of the Three Principles of the People) into the Gongyu Quluobu (Kung Yu Club [After working hours club]). Along with Dea, who became a leader in the Club, the roughly dozen active members included other former SFCSA activists as well as a number of workers from Chinatown. Then, in early 1928, in a further effort to reach out to Chinatown's workers, the club again transformed itself, this time into the Huaren Gongrenhui (Chinese Workers' Club).

In spite of the change in orientation, the group was unable to remove itself from intraparty politics. In a short time, it split into both a pro-KMT faction that called itself Huaqiao Gonghui (Overseas Chinese Club) and focused on providing job placement and a left-wing faction that reclaimed the name of Kung Yu Club and continued to put its energies into working with the American labor movement. However, once reformed, both the original Kung Yu Club in San Francisco and a branch that formed in Walnut Grove, California (also called the Kung Yu Club), sought to take part in and initiate labor organizing drives among Chinese workers in the area. The club in San Francisco tried to organize Chinatown restaurant workers. Lai wrote, "This attempt failed when the organizers made demands so out of line with Chinatown realities that few workers found them credible."[56]

The Chinese activists' labor organizing at the local level was by no means limited to actions taken by this single group. In his report to the District Convention in January 1929, Fee enumerated the several labor groups formed and other labor-oriented initiatives in which they had participated. In this regard, Fee played a leading role not only at the local level in San Francisco's Chinatown but also at the district and national levels among the non-Chinese Party leadership. Although he was a YCL rather than Party member, he often represented the Chinese Fraction and "Chinese workers" before or on Party committees because he was fluent in English and Chinese.[57] For instance, at the meeting of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of TUEL, held in February 1929 in New York City, Fee spoke before the group on "the activities of the Chinese Fraction among the Chinese workers in California." At the district level, "Benjamin Fee (Chinese)" was among those elected "for the incoming new District Executive Committee" along with "Dea Wood" as an alternate.[58]

One arena in which the Chinese Fraction engaged in activism at the local scale and in which Fee was a leader was the field of "YOUTH WORK." Fee summarized the activities of the YWL Unit #7 (comprised of the Chinese Student Alliance in U.S.A. and Chinese Youth in S. F.), calling attention to its success in "captur[ing] the Students Alliance."[59] Although Fee's report did not indicate a special interest in labor issues on the part of left-wing Chinese students and youth, the report by YWL representative Minnie Carson revealed that "in S. F. the comrades refused to do industrial work . . . and gave an excuse that the work is not important because we have no proletarian workers in that nucleus." In contrast, the young Chinese activists proved a striking and ironic exception to the rule; "the Chinatown nucleus is the only active nucleus in industrial work. They organized a club, laundry work and industrial work." Unlike the Party as a whole, these activists had arrived at least in practice at a more flexible understanding of what constituted "industrial" work within the immigrant economy.[60]

This was not the only instance in which Chinese youth stood out in terms of dedication to the movement. In regard to election work, Carson reported, "When the comrades were called upon to distribute leaflets, only the Chinese comrades reported for this work," even though at this time few "Chinese comrades" were eligible to vote. Finally, they were among the most outspoken on issues of discrimination. For instance, following the formation of a "University fraction in Berkeley," the group discussed the "segregation question of Berkeley." Members pointed out that the university "tried to keep the Orientals, Negroes and Mexicans, students from the University campus and around the schools." Carson added, "Immediately all the Orientals called a mass meeting" that was attended by a League representative who "presented a policy which they were to follow."[61]

Less than a month later, at the Second National Conference the bureau issued a fuller statement, "Work Among the Masses," which articulated the larger set of beliefs that underlay the Chinese activists' efforts to organize Chinese workers in their local communities. As Communists dedicated to the class struggle as well as the struggle against all forms of imperialism with the ultimate goal of bringing about the "Proletarian World Revolution," they placed their activism at the local level within this larger framework of thought: "To work among the masses is the basic task of the Fraction. Our line of work is to educate the Chinese workers in America in their class struggle, to arouse their class consciousness, to organise them into real working class organisations, to work within the already established workers' associations in order to win them over, and to bring them together with the workers of other nationalities in America to fight against American Imperialism." Impossibly ambitious as such a declaration appeared to be, it was immediately followed by a remarkably frank admission of failure: "But we must admit that not much satisfactory result has been brought about."[62]

The report cast a critical eye at what had been done thus far. The number of members had increased from eighteen in September 1927 to thirty-three in February 1929, although nine had "left U.S. for Europe" en route to Moscow between September 1927 and August 1928 and six had been expelled between the latter date and February 1929.[63] There remained many weaknesses in the Fraction's work.

> We have published a labor monthly called Kon [phonetically Kong] Yu, Which is the first and the only labor Chinese publication in America. It was not very well editied [*sic*] and its circulation is still not very extensive. We have organised several labor associations such as the Kong [*sic*] Yu Club, in Walnut Grove, the Chinese Workers Association in California, the Kong [*sic*] Yu Club in San Francisco, the Chinese Workers' Alliance in New York, the Chinese section fo [*sic*] the International Labor Defense in Philadelphia, etc. Chiefly due to inexperience on our part, we have not been able to develop these organisation [*sic*] into the desired shape. The present situation is that one has been disintegrated (N.Y.). One has fallen in the hands on the right wing (Calif.) one is not well controlled and two (San Francisco and Philadelphia) are without larger membership.[64]

The "comrades" also remained active "within the old organisations like the Seamen's Clubs in Phia. [*sic*] and N.Y. and the Unionist Guild in San Francisco," had "approached" "women workers in San Francisco" and "distributed leaflets among the Chinese workers telling them not to break the strike and to give full support" to the striking "Pullman Negro Porters." Furthermore, they had "carried on a campaign to aid the Chinese Trade Unions" and attempted "to make connection with the Chinese Seamen working on the foreign ships along the West Coast." Unfortunately, "due to strict vigilance of the ship owners and them [*sic*] immigration offecers [*sic*]," the latter effort had "not been yet successful." Given the relatively small number of activists in the various cities, the record was dizzying in scope and level of activity. However, none of the above appeared to merit special praise, which was reserved for a single action that "must be recorded as a great step forward in our work among the Chinese Masses"—the recent strike of Chinese laundrymen and women in which "our comrades there were able to some extent to direct the movement, and became connected with the strikers."[65]

The laudatory comments were well deserved as the action was significant on a number of counts. First, the very fact that the strike had occurred among Chinese laundry workers, who were organized into the Sai Fook Tong (Chinese Laundry Workers Union) in which "about 15 percent were women workers" was noteworthy.[66] Second, the workers had won all their demands "except pay for time lost" as a result of their weeklong strike beginning at "noon Monday January 28th," 1929. These included twin demands: "All workers, men and women,

to belong to the Union," and "No discrimination."[67] Throughout the process of organizing the walkout the union followed democratic procedures.[68] Third, the action involved both the Party's "Chinese Units, League and Party," and non-Chinese Party organizers. Among the Chinese activists, "Billy" played the key role in his capacity as representative of the Kung Yu Club along with Dea as representative of the ACWP; the two served with Manus on the Advisory Committee to the Strike Committee. Also active was Fee; among non-Chinese Party activists Manus and Ellen were the lead organizers, and Levin also provided some assistance and guidance.[69] Fourth, the strike was significant in terms of the breadth of support it received. Notably, "the Japanese Workers Club (our own organization) issued leaflets in Japanese which were translated into Chinese also. [*sic*] calling upon the Japanese workers to help the Chinese workers and not to act as scabs, urging them to place their solidarity before the Chinese strikers." In addition, the ILD offered to place "the services of the ILD at the disposal of the strikers . . . [who] will take over the defense in case of any persecution." Within the Chinese community, support came from the Kung Yu Club, the Chinese Labor Alliance, ACWP, the Union Guild, "some Chinese papers," and both YWL and Party members. Given such broad support, it is surprising to learn that news of the strike did not spread very far among the non-Chinese party rank-and-file. Because of this, DEC member Joe Modotti resolved, "As a member of the Buro, hereafter I will make a point of arranging frequent meetings with the Chinese comrades for the purpose of mutual help and work."[70] But the rank-and-file members and party organizers were, in fact, never told about events in the Chinese community.[71]

The strike was a landmark; it was the first time a Chinese organization was invited to attend a meeting of the San Francisco Labor Council thanks to strenuous efforts on Billy's part. Indeed, even the notoriously anti-Chinese *Seamen's Journal* published an article that said: "This incident is of historic significance—first, because never before had a duly accredited delegate of organized Chinese workers appeared on the floor of San Francisco Labor Council; second, because the strike illustrates forcibly the terrible contrast in the working conditions of white and yellow." Nonetheless, the journal saw no contradiction in broadcasting its harangue about the "threat" and "menace" of "Asiatics."[72]

Even with this recent victory so fresh in the minds of the assembled group, the national conference in February acknowledged many weaknesses in their work. After detailing problems at the local level, the report summarized "the principal causes of our defects." Of the eight points, all but two centered on internal factors—problems of "language and dialect difficulties," with "Cantonese working class comrades . . . not all participat[ing] actively in Party work,"[73] "condemnation of masses, segregation from masses" and "lack of a clear analysis of the conditions of the Chinese community," and "low ideological level" and "strong Kuomintang tradition prevailed still among the membership." The two external causes were "poor relation with the Party. Lack of guidence [*sic*]

and assistance from the Party" and "tremendous financial difficulties." This was not the first time that the Chinese Buro had called attention to the last two problems, which, from the perspective of the activists, were connected.[74]

The Chinese Party members had not avoided raising the twin subjects in their respective districts. The same report noted "our Philadelphia comrades complained that they had contact with the D.O. only when the District wants money." And in January Fee called his district's attention to the "serious inattention of the Party." Of particular concern was the situation in Chicago where "the DO there did not know there was a Chinese Buro even." On the financial question, the report listed a string of instances in which the CEC had not come through with aid: "The casese [*sic*] of subsidiary to the publication of the Chinese 'Communist' in the end of 1927, of sending comrades abroad [to study in Moscow before going to China] in the Summer of 1928, of subsidiary of the 'Communist' and delegate to the National Conference of the Fraction this year are some examples."[75]

Although the leading members of the Chinese Buro for the most part framed the issue as a problem, equally apparent from their remarks was the activists' unusual degree of independence relative to the Party leadership. For instance, in reviewing the "Organizatiional [*sic*] Problems of the Fraction," the February 1929 report noted: "With the exception of San Francisco the Chinese Units do not have organizational contact with the District. They work independently and are quided [*sic*] only by the National Buro." The report astutely pointed out, "Lack of attention on the part of District was the cause of the independent character of the Chinese Unit in the Disricts [*sic*]." From the perspective of at least one Party leader such behavior should serve as a model for others. At the District Convention in January Levin twice singled out the Chinese and Filipino members for praise: "We must all understand Communist initiative better; the Chinese report and San Juan report gave an example of real initiative. The Chinese and Filipinos speak various dialects and cannot understand each other and have accomplished a great deal."[76]

It did not follow, however, that the Party leadership as a whole welcomed such independence. In July 1929, the national leadership leveled severe criticism at the Chinese immigrant Communists for convening a national conference.[77] Five months after the gathering, then Secretary of the Buro Li relayed the new directives issued by P. Smith, secretary of the "recently established" CEC of the Language Department: "the Chinese Buro is an agent of the CEC and does not represent the Chinese party members as a national group it follows that the Chinese Party members can hold no national conference hereafter, neither can they creat [*sic*] the Buro . . . that all members of the Buro must reside in New York; that the Chinese Buro is now under the jurisdiction of the Department." According to Comrade Smith, "the Buro had to be reorganized."[78] Once again the party leadership was refusing to acknowledge the special position of Chinese immigrants within the American nation. As "aliens ineligible

to citizenship," they were not at liberty to shed their identity as a "national group" and become assimilated into the larger society. Moreover, the group could not operate directly under the jurisdiction of the Party's Language Department because no members of the Language Department knew Chinese, and few Chinese activists knew English.

The activists themselves had already reorganized the bureau with its transfer from San Francisco to New York shortly after the National Conference in February. It consisted of Li as secretary, Xu as acting secretary, He Zhifen (Chee Fun Ho,[79] alias Hazen), and two others as central committee members (Fee was possibly involved because he was named "industrial organizer of the Buro"), and Xavier Dea and Zhang Bao as alternates.[80] In October the Language Department "appointed to the Buro: Li (student), Liu (worker),[81] Lo (worker), Mo (worker) and Chi (student). Comrade Li was appointed secretary."[82] At the "first meeting of the new Chinese National Buro," held on October 25, 1929, a number of decisions were made, including initiating the process of reevaluation that culminated by the end of that year in ACWP's reorganization as the AACAI. In addition, the Buro "request[ed] the Party to help set up an indepent [*sic*] printing press in N. Y.," and it "decided that the Chinese 'COMMUNIST' [*Kungchang*] shall be still published twice a month."[83]

Finally, Li "reported publication of a special pamphlet 'The Chinese in America and our Tasks.'" Even as he reminded the group of "the organizational mistake and also factional opportunist formulations," for which they had been reprimanded by Comrade Smith, Li "emphasized the usefulness of the parts dealing with the Chinese community." The aim in producing such a publication was "to draw critism [*sic*] and suggestions from Chinese comrades so that it will be a basis for a better and more correct program of action among the Chinese." This comment did not necessarily imply that either Li or the other leading members of the bureau were unwilling to follow specific Party directives or the larger Party line, though on at least one occasion they cautioned against accepting CI directives "simply as a matter of discipline." Rather, "the correct path" should be one that has been "verified by the experiences" of the American Party and "especially of the Chinese branch."[84] Li was fully cognizant of the fact that the bureau must look not to the party leadership but to their fellow activists for recommendations regarding a "more correct program of action among the Chinese."[85]

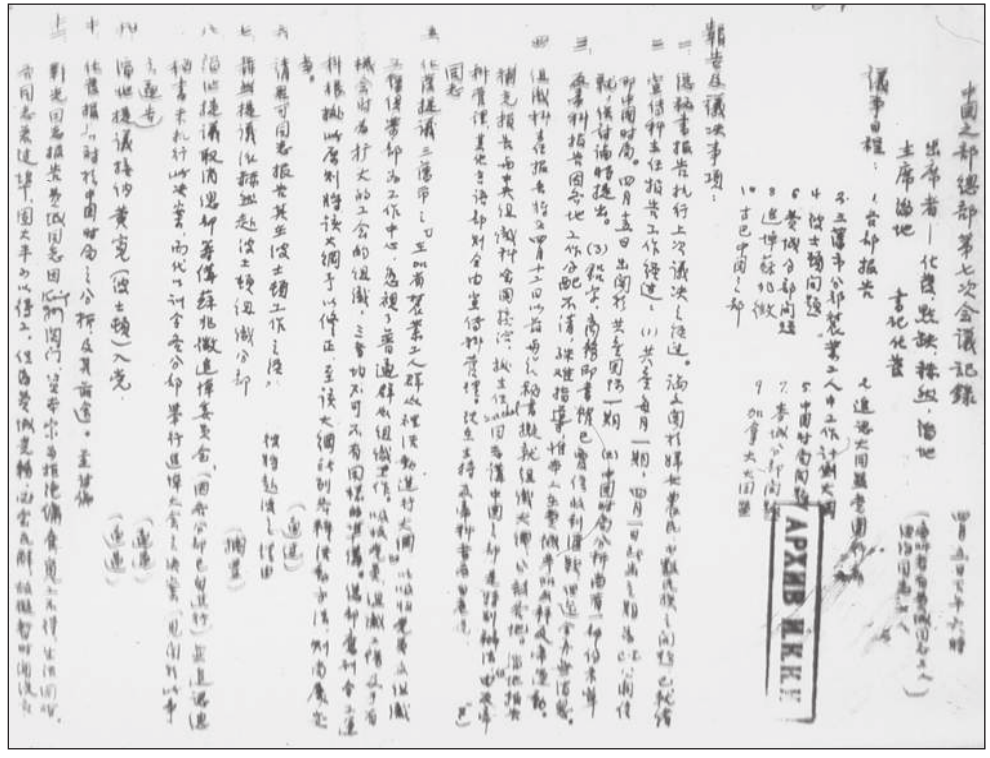
About two months later, as part of the nationwide "recruiting campaign," which aimed to move the Party in the direction of "becoming the mass political Party of the working class of the United States," Li prepared an "Instruction of the Chinese Buro." Following party procedure, Li submitted "an excerpt from the instruction in Chinese" to the CC of the Language Department." The first "two sections" covered only "essential points," "also published in the Language [Department's] paper, the 'Communist.'" The "third section," however, was not only "a direct translation from the Chinese version" but also "was omitted

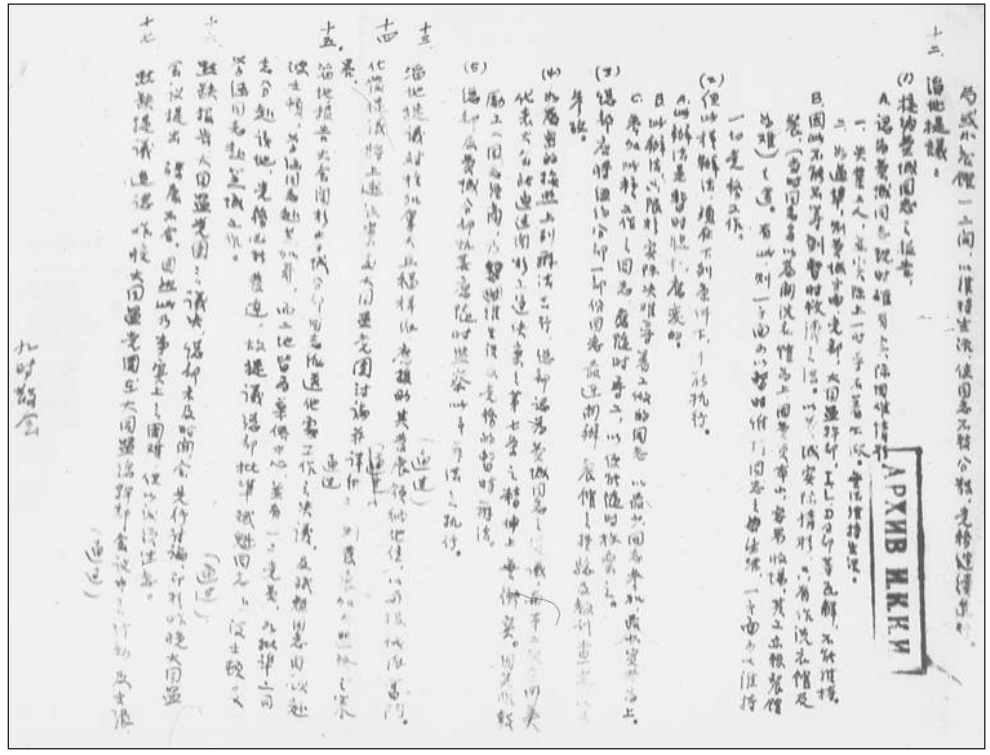
[from the Language Department's paper] due to the secret character of the work of the Chinese comrades."[86]

In the third section, before listing the "General Points of the Campaign" Li outlined the larger context. Four "conditions" must be emphasized: one, the current "radicalization of the American workers does not exclude the Chinese"; two, the "rising of the new revolutionary wave in China" coupled with the "revolutionary influence" of "the heroic struggle of the American workers" over "the Chinese workers"; three, the "Reorganization of the Chinese Fractions" meant that the Chinese party members now "join the regular Party units . . . and understand more about the line, tactics, and work of the Party as a whole"; and, last, the "Secret Character of the work of the Chinese Comrades" continues. Of the four, the last "condition" was the one "which differentiates the method for the recruiting Drive of the Chinese Fractions to some extent from that of the Party." In other words," Li explained, "we must successfully apply the general line of the Party to the specific conditions under which we work." In particular, "unlike the Party that can publicly appeal for membership, we can recruiting [*sic*] new members mostly from those we have organized in our fraternal organizations where the Chinese worke [*sic*] can be testified [*sic*] and trained before joining the Party." Thus, once again, Chinese immigrant Communists were articulating the delicate and contradictory nature of the position they occupied. Even as they acquiesced in party protocol and "join[ed] the regular units," they were compelled to point out that the "specific conditions under which we work" necessitated that the fourth "condition" override the third and that they be allowed to continue to work separately within their own immigrant communities.[87]

Isolation and the need for secrecy were not the only dilemmas that left-wing Chinese activists confronted at that time. In Philadelphia and New York, the far more pressing problems were unemployment, underemployment, and the resulting poverty. Li reported at the end of May 1929, "During the past two months comrades in Philadelphia and New York most of them lose jobs." Thus, it was "absolutely impossible for the Buro to tax the membership."[88] Similarly, "reports from comrades in Philadelphia" indicated that the activists there were "really in a difficult situation": "The unemployed workers couldn't find jobs in a short time, thus their livings are not supported . . . Therefore temporary relief measures have to be taken. In Philadelphia, only workers in laundry and restaurants could get support for their livings (currently workers are mostly in laundry, this is mainly due to the small capitals they have and also to the competition from the farmers). On the one hand, they can earn support for their livings; on the other hand, all the party's activities are still maintained."

In response to these reports, the National Buro emphasized that relief measures were only "temporary and subject to change" and further that "these methods are only applied to those who really have problems in finding





FIGURES 7A AND 7B Minutes of seventh meeting of the Chinese Buro, CPUSA, April 5, 1929, with agenda at top of first of two pages, followed by discussion of items alongside numbered headings. In attendance were: Li as Secretary, Xu as Acting Secretary, James Mo, and Xavier Dea.

new jobs. The fewer the participants and the shorter the time, the better." Moreover, recipients of this assistance were reminded that they "should keep looking for jobs so that the supply could be saved for others once they get jobs." On a more positive note, the bureau mentioned that "some comrades in New York recently opened a restaurant" and recommended that the National Bureau "should summarize the experiences and lessons," presumably so that they might serve as a model for the comrades in Philadelphia.[89]

With the onset of the Great Depression, the situation became more dire. Zhang recalled that just as "a large number of people were unemployed," so the "Chinese people there faced the same situation." During 1931–1932 the activists reported "instability in work," and in Boston there was "*fear for work*." By late August 1932, Zhang reported that the Chinese Bureau in New York was "in such bad financial condition that it can hardly buy stamps and envelops [*sic*]," not through any fault of their own but because "most of the Chinese comrades are unemployed." In the past individual members of the bureau had spent money "from their pockets" on office expenses and to "send comrades to Moscow," but this was no longer an option. Even the most privileged members, namely, the students, could no longer keep the bureau afloat because in late August 1929, when news of their "revolutionary activities" reached China, Quinghua University had cut off its financial support for Xu, Chi, and several other left-wing students.[90] To make ends meet, Xu "sold newspapers on the street, polished shoes for pedestrians, and waited at tables in restaurants."[91]

Another problem that continued to haunt the activists wherever they were located were the multiple threats posed by immigration authorities, the KMT right-wing, and local police who could not only harass but also threaten the foreign-born with deportation. For instance, in 1929, "the San Francisco police, perhaps egged on by the KMT right-wing, raided the headquarters of the San Francisco Chinese Students club and closed it for alleged communist activities."[92]

Thus, at the end of the 1920s, the Chinese immigrant Communists had clearly and remarkably consolidated their apparatus, with the establishment of a national bureau and local branches in New York, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and Madison, and regular publication in Chinese of not only *Kungchang*, *Xianfeng Zhoukan*, *Kung Yu* (*Gong Yu*—The Worker), and the *Chinese Students' Monthly* (English)[93] but also of the "Marine Workers," "Restaurant Workers," "Laundry Workers," and "Agricultural Workers." In addition, the Chinese Bureau directed a number of mass organizations, including the AACAI, a Chinese Worker Club in San Francisco, Chinese Branches of the ILD in Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New York, and a Chinese Section of the TUUL union, the Food Workers Industrial Union (FWIU) in New York.[94] It had fractions within the Chinese Seamen's Club in Philadelphia, the Chinese Unionist Guild, the Chinese Workers Alliance in Chicago, and the Chinese Students'

Alliance in the United States. Yet, the activists worked within a context in which successes were highly vulnerable to setbacks, if not dissolution of the organizations altogether.[95]

Taking "A Great Step Forward of the Communist Movement Among Chinese Masses in America"

On April 3, 1930, the first issue of the AACAI's Chinese-language newspaper *Xianfeng Bao* (Chinese Vanguard Weekly) appeared. Such an event was no small feat. Just to be able to launch the publication, the bureau ran up $1900 in expenses. In addition, a "monthly deficit of $200.00 for six months" was projected.[96] In its former incarnation as *Xianfeng Zhoukan*, the mimeographed paper had served as the organ of the ACWP. By contrast, as stated in the "Special Resolution of the Chinese Buro, C.C.," this new "printed weekly" was to "carry strictly a Party line, and develop wider connections preparing the ground for an official Party organ. For the time being," however, it would be "a Party organ without a label."[97]

This description of the newspaper suggested the subtle change of orientation taking place among the leading Chinese immigrant Communists at the beginning of the 1930s. First, "overt activities in support of the Chinese Revolution had ebbed among the Chinese in America. The Kuomintang right, in collaboration with the police and supported by the conservative merchants, gained control in the community."[98] However, as loyal Communists who adhered to and therefore viewed events through the lens of Third Period doctrine, this was a time of crisis and revolutionary possibility. In "the present period of crisis of post-war capitalism" Chinese workers "threw overboard their utopian dreams of 'getting rich' and began to be more class-conscious." Therefore, "our Party must take advantages of the growing favorable situation to educate and organise the Chinese masses and lead them closer to the general life and struggle of the American working class." Especially significant was not simply issuing this directive; rather, the activists suggested a need to showcase local work over efforts to "also rally them [the Chinese masses] to the support of the revolutionary struggles in China."[99]

At the same time, in a move that seemed to work at crosspurposes to the above directive, the members of the CC expressed a strong desire to strengthen relations with the Chinese in China and to build close ties with the CCP. For instance, in discussing why such "a mass agitation organ is IMPERATIVE," they called attention to the "strong reactionary propaganda among the tremendous Chinese population, (about 15 Chinese dailies alone in America)" and made the following additional points: "Furthermore, the coming weekly is not only the revolutionary organ of one million Chinese in this continent, but is also the organ of the nearly eight million Chinese outside China . . . It is needless to mention the importance of this Paper to the C. P. of China, because . . . we

have set up a printing shop which will supply partially propaganda materials to the latter in time of need."[100]

The Chinese immigrant Communists obviously understood their activism was bound up with not only the Communist movement in China but also the international cause: they identified with and pledged commitment to speak on behalf of the millions of "Chinese outside China." Throughout the text of the Special Resolution, the CC made clear that the bureau had in no way abandoned or even moderated its revolutionary beliefs and commitments. In deciding "to enlarge the 'Chinese Vanguard,'" the bureau had received "the approval of the Party, the Chinese Delegation at Moscow and also the Eastern Department of the Comintern." As for the CPUSA's approval, the secretary of the Language Department of the Central Committee endorsed the Chinese Bureau's joint proposals "to organize a wide campaign in connection with the Soviet Congress in China, May 30th," and "to have greetings sent through the Chinese Vanguard weekly to China." The question of "enlist[ing] support to the Chinese revolution . . . concern[ed] not only the Chinese Bureau of our Party but the whole Party."[101]

There were, in fact, several contradictory forces at work. The bureau was beginning to grapple more seriously with the problem of "segregation from [the] masses" and forced to work within an increasingly dangerous and inhospitable environment. According to the Third Period doctrine, however, Communists were entering a period of sharpening contradictions and "the increasing revolutionary activities of workers and peasants in Americas greatly influenced the Chinese masses here." As members of a national section of the Comintern, it was the duty of the Chinese immigrant Communists to act as the vanguard of such a revolutionary upsurge. By emphasizing this duty, ideological, cultural, and personal connections tied the Chinese activists in America to Chinese revolutionaries in China, in Moscow, and elsewhere in the world and the leadership of the Eastern Department of the Comintern. The American Party firmly supported the Chinese Bureau's public alignment with the Chinese revolutionary movement and its efforts to direct attention to anti-imperialist struggles overseas. As spelled out in the minutes of a joint meeting of the Chinese Buro and the Agit-Prop and Language Departments, the larger aims of the campaign "should be the BEGINNING of a REAL, CONTINUOUS MASS CAMPAIGN to support the Chinese and Latin-American masses on the PART OF THE U.S. WORKERS," and the "BUILDING-UP of the ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE."[102]

During the first two years of the 1930s, the National Chinese Buro and its branches both grew and stagnated. In June and July 1930, 72 party members out of 285 participants in "Org. controlled by the Party," but only 2 party members out of 105 participants in "Org. influenced by the Party." In February 1929, only thirty-three party members were recorded; thus, in sixteen months the nationwide membership had increased by at least 39 members.

Although such an increase might appear small, it must always be seen against the backdrop of the severe penalties incurred by party members whose identities local KMT leaders or immigration authorities discovered. Under these circumstances, perhaps as significant a measure as formal membership in the Party was the material assistance given to activities organized by the National Buro, its branches, and the mass organizations it directed. For example, the bureau received a "Collection among Chinese" totaling $1,000 as "INCOME" for launching *Xianfeng Bao*.[103]

Local branches of the bureau enjoyed some success in the party-led unemployed movement. In January 1931, under the leadership of Dea the Kung Yu Club in San Francisco formed a San Francisco Chinese Unemployed Alliance as a branch of the larger party-led Unemployed Council in San Francisco. It mobilized "several hundred unemployed Chinese in Chinatown to march on the Chinese Six Companies (Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, CCBA) to demand immediate relief." "Later many of these participants also joined a massive demonstration of the unemployed in San Francisco's business district." As Lai comments, "this marked one of the earliest instances of American Chinese taking part in such an event outside Chinatown."[104] This initiative was part of a broad effort to expand its base in the Chinese community. "Since 1930, the Seamen group, the unemploed [*sic*] alliance, the needle trades group had been formed." Shortly after the above demonstrations the Kung Yu Club established the *Huagong Zhongxin* (Chinese Workers Club) to assist Chinese workers looking for work as well as to rally them in support of the Chinese Revolution.[105] Perhaps the most striking instance of success occurred among the highly mobile in the maritime field, when sometime in the spring of 1932 almost the entire membership of the KMT-controlled club joined the MWIU in Philadelphia and the club was dissolved.[106]

Furthermore, the bureau accomplished a great deal in its work among youth. For instance, in 1931 it was noted, "In San Francisco, the Chinese Buro is making progress in youth work and are now organizing sports clubs etc." Also, the Buro controlled the youth organization Mass Voice whose membership included thirty-five YCL members. While the bureau could boast about forming the Resonance Association, "an organization of Chinese youth for the struggle against imperialism" based in San Francisco, and the reappearance of *Resonance*, a four-page printed monthly edited by Fee, circulation of the publication was "not wide and subscription is small." Plus, the association only had "a membership of fifteen."[107] More fledgling were the efforts in women's work. The National Conference in February 1929 declared that "the recruiting of women members into the Party and adequate attention of the Party on this work are quite urgent." Yet, two years later, the bureau was said to be moving in a positive direction only because it had "committees for women's work in district Bureaus for work among women workers." As for the press, success was moderate. Party papers issued included *Xianfeng Bao*, *Kung Yu*, and *The Mass*

Voice with a circulation in February 1931 of 1500, 500 and 500 respectively, and an overall "percentage growth in last year" of 15 percent.[108]

However, signs of stagnation were also evident. In 1930 there were "only the Anti-imperialist Alliance and the Resonance Association and the I.L.D. Chinese Branches numbered about 250." When considering bureau publications, "in 1930 only the Chinese Vanguard was published with an actual circulation of about 500–600, as compared with the present [1933] of 900."[109] Finally, at a meeting in January of the District 13 (San Francisco) Language Buro "with the Secretaries of the Language fractions," Dea, "reporting for Chinese fraction," presented a fairly bleak picture of local activism. There were only "10 Party members" and an "ILD branch with 24 members, Party members included. [The] Alliance for support of Chinese Revolution [was] not functioning. Chinese Labor League is going to issue two bulletins, one to the Food Workers and the other to the Needle Trade Workers. Anti-Imperialist League not functioning."[110] The bureau was obviously encountering difficulty in fulfilling its aims of "educat[ing] and organiz[ing] the Chinese masses" in America during the early 1930s.

Also, when organizing Chinese workers who labored within the United States, advances were less certain. There were no district bureaus in either Detroit or Chicago. More important, the activists could not make any headway in gaining influence over Chinese local organizations. For that reason, it is difficult to gauge what "success" meant when party members claimed to have "succeeded in penetrating among the reactionary students [*sic*] meetings in Columbia, etc." and had formed a fraction in the recently established "*A Chinese Students Culb [sic] for the Study of Socialism*."[111]

Other clear instances of stagnation include a "decline in activities of the [Unemployed] Council due to the lack of coordination of work among the comrades in San Francisco." It would be another year before activists succeeded in forming the Chinese Unemployed Alliance of Greater New York. More troubling still was the "situation in the F.W.I.U. in New York" in 1932, which apparently was "in such a bad situation that many Chinese workers who belong to the Union get disgusted with repeated blunders of the union leaders." As a result, it was "hard for the Chinese comrades to work among the Chinese workers in the union and hard to bring workers into the union."[112]

As of February 1931 out of a nationwide total of "33" functioning fractions only a "very small number" existed "in organizations controlled by our class enemies"; and the Buro also answered "No" to the question whether it could "send organizer on tour to organize the campaign for building our mutual aid organizations." Furthermore, growth was slow and uneven within organizations "controlled" by the comrades, and they did not necessarily reflect greater influence on the Buro's part. For example, in its responses to another Language Department questionnaire dated November 23, 1932, the Buro wrote

that membership in AACAI, The Resonance Association, the ILD Branches, and the Seamen's Club was "growing though slowly"; furthermore, "there is great fluctuation due to lack of systematic work and correct approach," and any apparent growth was "mainly due to anti-Japanese sentiment and suffering from mass unemployment."[113]

Finally, increased harassment resulted in arrests and deportations. In late 1930, Secretary of the Buro Li was arrested and threatened with immediate deportation "for his political belief and activity." In spite of defense efforts undertaken by both the bureau and the ILD National Office in New York (after some delay), as well as a "flood of protests," including those from American philosopher and educator John Dewey who knew Li as a "regular student at Columbia U.," Li was "ordered deported to China." After further negotiations, immigration officials permitted him to be deported to the USSR.[114]

Around this same time on the other coast, Xavier Dea and University of Southern California graduate student Wei Minghua were subjected to similar treatment. Recalling the sequence of events that followed Dea's arrest, Zhang Bao related that Dea "surrendered to the immigration office on May 14th, 1931 upon the information of his activities by the Kuomintang and imperialist agents in S.F." Dea, he continued "was in jail since then until he was granted voluntary departure, started for the Soviet Union from S.F. on May 6th, 1932." The process leading up to his departure was anything but easy. Dea was "suffering indescribable turture [*sic*] and discrimation [*sic*]" on Angel Island. That fall, Wei was arrested on November 16, 1931, in Los Angeles at an ILD membership meeting "when anti-war leaflets were found on his car by members of the 'Red Squad.'" He, too, was granted permission to "depart voluntarily" to the Soviet Union and left on May 22, 1932.[115]

On the East Coast, sometime in August 1932 Zhang himself became the target of sustained harassment. He was forced to resign from his position as head of the bureau and seemingly disappeared. The bureau apparently did not know that in late August the party leadership helped Zhang escape to the Soviet Union, where he received permission to transfer his membership from the CPUSA to the CPSU.[116] On September 1, the bureau learned most rudely that "the secret service agents are still looking for J. M. [James Mo]," when the agents appeared on "the 2nd floor of the Worker Center at a lecture conducted by the Anti Imperialist League" and "question[ed] a non-party comrade," whom they had "mistaken" for Zhang.[117]

Not surprisingly, the Buro was plunged into a crisis. Newly appointed Secretary of the Buro Henry Hahn explained: "Since Comrade Mo's affair the work of the Buro had been carried on in an unorganized manner and now especially the situation becomes acute. There is no fund for postage and other material, and as Comrade Hahn is recalled from Philadelphia to take the place of Comrade Mo as secretary, he has since stayed at Mo's place, Due to Mo's departure the place is to be given up. The question rises as to a suitable place for the

documents and for work, because the available places are open to outside workers." Even as he reassured party leader Earl Browder that all this was "not to say that we ask the secretariat to look for a place or to solve this [*sic*] small difficalties [*sic*] for us," Hahn nonetheless closed his postscript with the following recommendation: "In view of the fact that white terror is intensified, we suggest that the secretariat instruct the A.I.L. to release the Chinese comrades from open." (The end of the sentence is cut off by the margin of the page but presumably Hahn was referring to "open" meetings of the Anti-Imperialist League.) Although not mentioned by Hahn, we know from another source that Hahn's own situation may have been far less secure than his reassurances might lead one to believe. At an earlier meeting of the Chinese Buro where Hahn was approved as the new secretary of the Buro, a motion was adopted "to take up with the Secretariat about finding for Hahn some sort of paying position in sympathetic or other organizations so as to make Hahn's stay in New York possible . . . because of Hahn's health."[118]

In spite of the seeming thoroughness and candor of the many reports filed by the activists, one issue was not discussed—namely, the continuing separation between the members of the bureau and the so-called Chinese masses in American communities. This issue came to the fore following the reorganization of the Chinese National Bureau in October 1929. In July 1931, in a letter addressed to Hahn, Chow En Len, who had recently "resigned from the post of secretary of the New York Branch," along with fellow activists Wong Hwin and Lee Chen delivered harsh criticism of the "situation of the Alliance of the Chinese Anti-Imperialists."[119] Largely written in the first person, and "in the tone and by the hand of Chow," the letter declared:

> Since the organization og [*sic*] of the Alliance, there has not [been] any progress during the past several years. In N.Y.C., the number of members has not increased. Especially at the present time, the conditions are partially dead, and consititute [*sic*] a condition of backwardness . . . Some comrades told me that the backwardness of the Alliance was due to the leading comrades in the top, who are not trying their utmost for thd [*sic*] work among the workers, who are not speaking for the workers. Some are just pretend [*sic*] to be revolutionary. Some have the nervous disease about female sex, to become outstanding in the name of the Party. Their attitude of an [*sic*] rotten egg has been now finally discovered by the workers in the fraction. Afterwards we dont [*sic*] have to believe in what they say.

While acknowledging poor revolutionary credentials—"my experiences and past records in the revolutionary movement are shallow and weak"—Chow nonetheless reminded Hahn that he had been a member of "the Alliance for about one year, and have been trained by the Party in the work I should do." In addition, he had "observed [for] several months."[120]

The letter writers exhorted: "Since they have done this [*sic*] rotten things and were discovered by us, we must put all our forces to sweep them completely . . . Comrade Han [*sic*]: Wake up quickly! Prepare for the bright future that is to come! Forward with the class struggle to accomplish the tasks unfinished by our forerunners." In a postscript they demanded: "The Chinese Fraction under the monopoly of a few students is going from bad to worse. We can not [*sic*] tolerate any longer. We decide to demand its complete reoganisation [*sic*] at the next Fraction meeting. *If our demand is not passed, then we may not appeal. We will organise another organisation as a counter organisation to oppose it* . . . Without the abolishion [*sic*] of these several students, there can be no development in the work among the Chinese masses. This I have said long ago."[121] The letter clearly revealed not only the inability of the Chinese immigrant Communists to continue pursuing older strategies but also the emergence of heightened criticism of the divide between them and ordinary working people in Chinese communities in America.

The Chinese National Bureau responded swiftly to the criticism, though its response was surprisingly mild and included no demands for punishment.[122] Rather, having arrived at the conclusion that "these several comrades were instigated by talks and conversations which brought about the misunderstanding and misconception about the Bureau," the bureau sent letters to "each of the three comrades," by calling attention to not so much the substance of the criticism but rather to the tone and mode in which it had been delivered. As party members, they should "exercise real Bolshvic [*sic*] spirit." In addition, they must heed the following rule: "Inner Party disputes should not be broadcast to nonparty members and you should not attck [*sic*] our own auxiliary organisations among the non-Party masses"; instead, "you must send in your concrete criticisms and suggestions, you must follow the line of the party, base on the organisational tightness of the Party, observe the iron discipline of the Party and send in your ruthless criticisms!"[123]

Perhaps the bureau's apparent leniency was owing at least in part to the fact that the "three comrades" touched upon a matter that the Bureau had already acknowledged as a problem—the predominance of "intellectuals" and "students" over "workers," and the "attitude" of the former toward the "Chinese masses in Chinatown."

The American Defense of the Chinese People

On January 18, 1933, a "meeting of a group of comrades to form the organization for support of the Chinese Revolution" was held at the Japanese Workers Club. Among those present were "J. Loeb, Trebst, Huafa [Xu] and Hahn." Having met previously and received "proposals made by the Chinese Buro," the group chose a name for the organization, "Friends of the Chinese People," determined the composition of the committee, and wrote an "Outline for

Program." The program mainly sought to support the Chinese people's "resistence [*sic*] to Japanese invasion" and their "struggle for national liberation in all its phases." To this end, the organization was mandated "to cooperate with all organisations which have similar ends in view toward oppressed peoples." Equally important, the committee included leading Chinese immigrant Communists Xu, Chi, and Hahn, non-Chinese party leaders in District 2 such as Anthony Bimba and Moissaye J. Olgin, and prominent nonparty figures such as the intellectual Philip J. Jaffe (who was the third cousin of Chi's wife, Harriet Levine), and "John Dewey, Stokofsky, Elmer Rice, George Counts, Harry F. Ward, Scott Nearing, [and] Lewis Gannes." Also, to be approached were "Trade Unions and Literary organizations."[124]

The Chinese activists, under Xu's initiative, began to grapple more seriously with the problem of "separation from the masses." Through his efforts to make contact with Chinese workers in New York's Chinatown, Xu had "become aware of the overemphasis" by the Chinese Bureau and the AACAI on the political situation in China and on revolutionary movements elsewhere overseas, which resulted in the "neglect of the real sufferings and problems in the daily lives" of these workers. In an article published in the February 15, 1933, issue of *Xianfeng* Bao, he offered a "candid self-criticism" of the group and called attention to both their contemptuous attitude and "their overzealous concern for abstract concepts and theory." He asked rhetorically, "if we overlook their problems, and if we cannot even understand the needs of the masses, how can we expect to attract the masses?"[125]

The new organization "Friends of the Chinese People" should be a multipronged effort, to include use of the "Chinese Press";[126] the dissemination of literature among "American workers and toilers"; the mobilization of workers in the war and transportation industries to stop the shipment of arms to Japan and China; and grassroots organizing efforts among Chinese in America to build "self-aid organisations" and defend those "who are arrested for deportation." In addition, the CC of the Bureau should enforce the following code of conduct: "To impress all comrades with the necessity of maintaining illegal work among the Chinese comrades. The comrades who are in mass organisations in hostile organizations, or who return to China, must not appear as Communists, but must present themselves as anti-Japanese, anti-imperialist, etc." This last point was not simply a matter of individual behavior; rather, it concerned the central issue governing the change in orientation advocated by leading Chinese immigrant Communists in America.[127]

The crux of the matter was spelled out in the final comments. Critics alleged that the publication "China Today" promoted "news about Soviet China" to the neglect of "the anti-Japanese, anti-imperialist struggle." The proposed remedy changed direction: "This should be reversed so that *the main emphasis must be placed on the anti-Japanese, anti-imperialist struggle*, to appeal to the broadest sections of the Chinese People."[128] In fact, at the meeting of the

CC of the Chinese Buro held on January 20, 1933, two days after the meeting where the name and program of "Friends of the Chinese People" were chosen, those present had already articulated the shift: "Should make a turn in anti-Japanese imperialist work among the Chinese: liquidate the non-cooperation attitude of the past, penetrate into the masses by participating in the anti-Japanese collection drive, into aviation training corps, etc . . . When we have not yet gain [*sic*] the confidence of the masses, there must not be any split with them, or any action taken which would lead to a split with the masses."[129]

By early April, in response to the CPUSA Central Committee's suggestion to name the new organization "Friends of Revolutionary China," "the initiative group of Comrades" decided, instead, to name it "AMERICAN DEFENSE of the CHINESE PEOPLE." In a long letter, the group explained, unlike a "more revolutionary" name, such as "Friends of Revolutionary China," the chosen name would facilitate broad-based work. "With this name, we can work on the widest possible front. The unorganized and undeveloped workers can be drawn in, as well as the petty bourgeois liberals, and many other elements." In other words, the aim was not simply to "attract those who are already within the Red Orbit" but, rather, to "capitalize the large Anti-Japanese sentiment existing thruout the country." On a tactical level, "Mass protests held under the auspices of the AMERICAN DEFENSE of the CHINESE PEOPLE will be more effective, and receive much more recognition by the Capitalist Press and official Washington, than if the same protests were made by an organization with a revolutionary name."[130]

Sandwiched between the above points were two statements that seemed to contradict the rest of the analysis: first, "our objectives, as expressed in our revolutionary program, and our directive forces will remain the same, irrespective of the name we adopt"; and second, "unorganized workers, Socialist Party members, Liberals and the petty bourgeoisie, must subscribe to our revolutionary program before joining the organization. This would be an essential condition for all prospective members, no matter which of the two names we may adopt."[131]

At that very moment, Xu was also pressing members of the Chinese Fraction to address the neglect of Chinese workers' problems in America. It is unsurprising that the proposed change in orientation might produce conflict, but the impact of these changes on the attitude and policy concerning the activists' work was less predictable.

In the responses to a questionnaire during the second half of 1933, the Chinese activists noted, "The total membership of all organisations now in round figure number 3,180," an increase from "about 250" in 1930. However, "the chief characteristic then as now is the duprication [*sic*] in membership—one belongs to more than one organisation, especialy [*sic*] party members." A brief commentary on the "foremost tasks in the mass organisations" raised two problems: first, "the drive for new members drawing in new element as

instrument for liquidation of the sectarian tendencies of the party members"; and second, the "urgent need" for an "intensive drive to liquidate illiteracy both in the Chinese and the English languages." There was growing acceptance of the necessity, though perhaps not agreement on the method, of addressing the problem of how to bridge the divide between committed party members and working people in Chinese communities to mobilize the masses in support of the bureau's "revolutionary program."[132]

In the early 1930s the activists began to experience some success in mobilizing a broad constituency, including ordinary Chinese working people, Filipinos, Japanese, and other American workers and so-called liberal elements. The most promising fields were the "anti-Japanese invasion united front" and the related antiwar and antifascist struggles. For instance, an article on the front page of the January 30, 1933, issue of the *Western Worker* reported that "five hundred workers, including 150 Chinese and Filipinos marched through Chinatown today demanding the release of Huang Ping, member of the Executive Committee of the Anti Imperialist League, arrested in Peiping January 4 by the Kuomintang." Barely a month later, the *Western Worker* flashed another headline: "2,500 AT JAPANESE, GERMAN CONSULATES OF S. F. PROTEST FASCIST TERROR AND WAR PREPARATIONS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION." This time "a parade in which Chinese, Japanese, Germany [*sic*], Filipino and American workers joined, went through Chinatown and other districts crowded with thousands of workers. Banners were carried in various languages making a most impressive parade."[133]

Thus, even as Chinese immigrant Communists moved toward embracing a policy that advocated cooperation "with all organizations which have similar ends in view," they also sought ways to support the Chinese Revolution and sustain close ties with the CCP. For example, "at the beginning of the 1930s, the Chinese Bureau received letters from the CCP via Hong Kong, asking for money to be sent to certain people in Hong Kong to rescue comrades who were in jail. Each time, we sent a lot of American dollars."[134]

Such support was reciprocal. Zhang remembered that the Chinese Bureau "often received magazines" from "comrades" in China. Also, the meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Buro on January 20, 1933, reported that "books bought from contributions to the Chinese Vanguard from comrades in S. U. [Soviet Union] be sent to the RESONANCE,—to the amount of 100.00 R." (Presumably, R referred to rubles.) The same meeting noted that the "request by comrades in S. U. to reprint coupon with China Soviet currency cannot be complied with, because expense is too great." The group recommended that the bureau "write comrade in charge with the work there to economies [*sic*], and use the 'Map' coupons."[135]

Sometime later that year, the bureau appealed to the "American Party": it "should do more to help the Chinese Revolution than merely passing resolutions." That is, the Party "should contribute financial aid, at least as much

as it does to Germany." In concrete terms, the CC should "recommend to the membership that it be assessed for the Chinese party the same amount as it is for the German party, money to be transferred to C. C. of Chinese Party for their use; that money be collected in same manner as it is now for the Germans." This was a bold demand indeed, a testament not only to the strength of the bonds connecting Chinese immigrant Communists in America to revolutionaries inside China but also to the activists' awareness of the significance of the revolutionary struggle in China to the cause of the "Proletarian World Revolution" and the well-being of Chinese workers in America.[136]

8

Formation of the Oriental Branch of the ILD

Organizing among Japanese Workers and the "Second Generation Working Youth"

Appeal to Comrade Brothers and Sisters in America!

What have we, the Japanese brothers and sisters in America, accomplished in 50 years? And what has been our reward? 50 years of immigrant life! That is the history of our activities! . . .

When you think about it, are the Japanese brothers and sisters the only ones who have fought with blood and tears against oppression and the trampling of rights? What kind of treatment are the Chinese, who share our same culture and color, receiving? Also, under what conditions are black people being handled? . . .

The thing we must not forget is to make friends with the lower classes and those who are oppressed, unite with them, and crush this oppression and trampling of our rights . . .

In order to do this, volunteers from places like Japan, China, India, Korea, and the Philippines, are gathering to create the Oriental Branch of the ILD, and mutually helping one another achieve emancipation. I ask every Japanese brother and sister to come and endorse this organization's tenets, and lend your strength to this movement.[1]

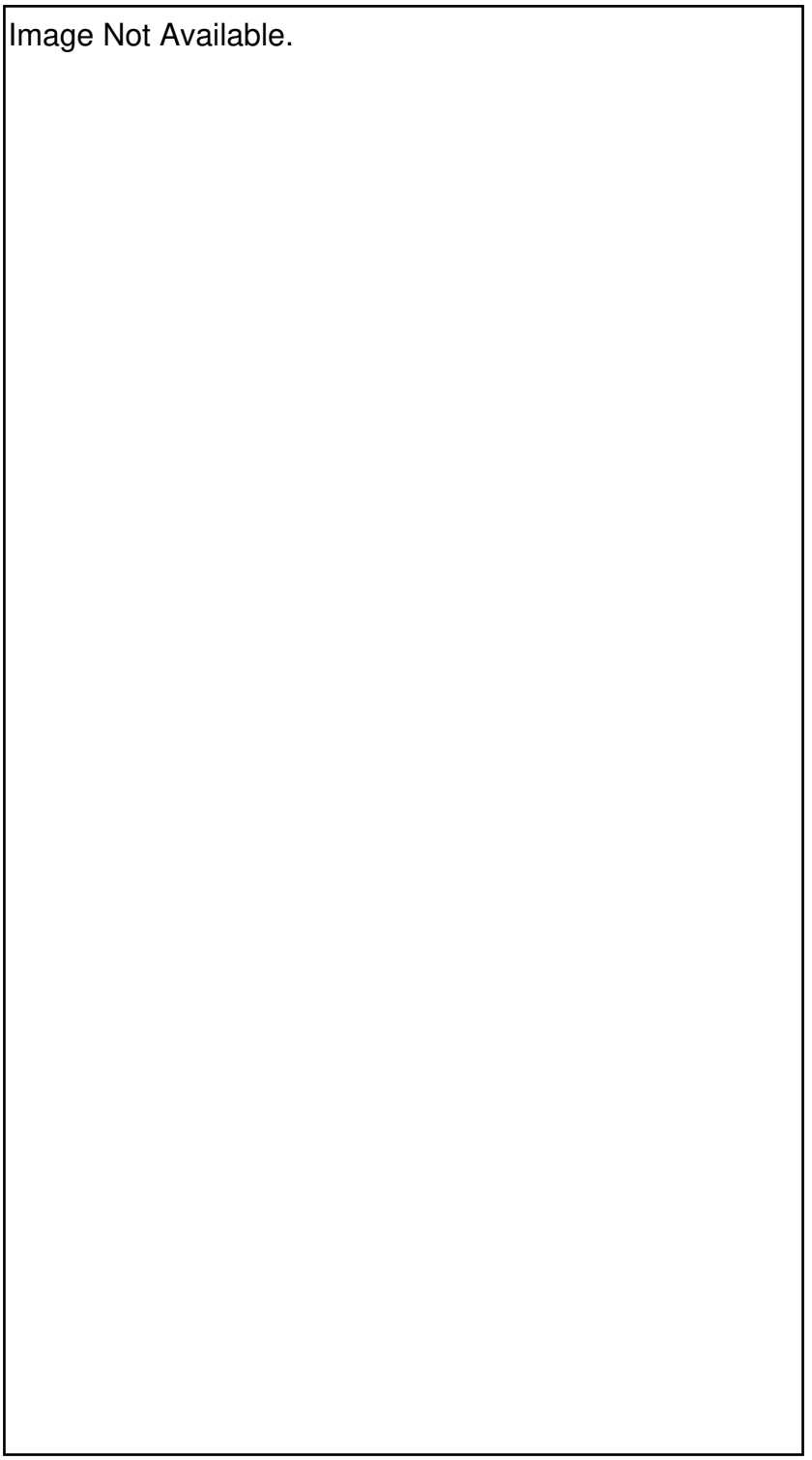
–Sadaichi Kenmotsu, L.A. Japanese Workers Association (March 1, 1927)

Like its parent organization, the Oriental Branch took as its mission support of all workers "within" and without America, including immigrants, class war prisoners and their families, "the poor" who together formed "a marvelous labor class," and peoples who were being "trampled by imperial-

ism." They articulated a broadly internationalist as well as class-based agenda. As a pan-Asian branch of the ILD, however, the Oriental Branch was the child of activists from Japan, China, India, Korea, and the Philippines who were engaged in "mutually helping one another achieve emancipation." These closing lines carried the reader back to the beginning of the appeal in which the authors described the plight of Japanese immigrants in America and linked Japanese with Chinese people. In thus identifying themselves as "friends with the lower classes" who share bonds of "culture and color" with the Chinese, the authors suggested the potential for conflict between the internationalist aims and values of the Communist movement and their ethnic self-identities and experiences in America.

At the same time, there were suggestions of a possible tension between Japanese nationalist and pan-Asian sentiments. The second paragraph's "mission" invoked the notion of "overseas racial development" formulated by the larger Japanese immigrant community in California after the mid-1920s. Historian Eiichiro Azuma explains, "Although the concept had its roots in Japanese expansionist discourse in the 1890s, Issei reworked it in order to valorize their position in relation to their homeland state. In prewar Japan, the term *imin* (emigrants or immigrants) was never neutral, for it carried a range of negative images . . . To Issei, who were always conscious of these stereotypes, the concept of 'overseas racial development' gave them an 'honorable place' in the official nation at a time when Japan was expanding into North China." Although left-wing Issei were vocal in their opposition to both state nationalism and Japanese expansionism and at no time espoused the "belief in the purported superiority of the Japanese race,"[2] it seemed they were affected by the larger immigrant community's embrace of the notion of Japanese "racial development." Alternatively, perhaps the activists were appealing to the larger immigrant community by invoking a popular belief, even at the risk of contradicting the basic tenets of proletarian internationalism.

It is important to recognize that this was not simply a matter of being caught between two competing sets of values—one espoused by the communist movement and the other by the ethnic community. First, while the national party leadership espoused the cause of proletarian internationalism it simultaneously led a relentless campaign for Americanization of the rank-and-file membership. Moreover, the national Party continually accused Japanese party members of not doing enough to draw Japanese activists away from their Japanese-only groups into the larger Party or to fight "nationalism among the masses"; at the same time it accused them of remaining isolated from the masses, without recognizing the double bind in which these twin directives placed the Japanese party members given the growing strength of nationalism in the Japanese immigrant community, especially following Japan's escalation of military action in Manchuria in the early 1930s.[3] Thus, the Party contradicted its own demand for complete submergence of ethnic self-identity and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sought to capitalize upon Japanese immigrant party members' national identities in the fight against Japanese militarism and in support of the Soviet Union and Chinese Soviets. Except when activists were urged to aid the JCP and workers in Japan, the connection to their homeland was largely negative. Whereas the Comintern considered China "the potential leader of the Asian revolutions," "Japan's main role was now as a potential obstacle."[4] In the end, as Japanese aggression against China and the Soviet Union grew, the very act of self-affirmation on the part of Japanese immigrant Communists in the United States became both more fraught with potential conflict and yet more vital to the cause of international communism.

During the period of the late 1920s and early 1930s Japanese immigrant Communists found themselves in an impossible position. Although the Third Period strategy of dual unionism benefited Japanese activists insofar as the newly established TUUL unions welcomed nonwhite workers and both men and women, many Japanese labored outside the arenas of TUUL-led labor organizing, including work in private homes in the New York area and in small ethnic businesses. Unlike the TUEL, the TUUL addressed the problem of organizing agricultural workers; but its initial efforts were quickly repressed, and not until 1933 did the TUUL union, the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU), concentrate its energies on the fields in California.[5] With the onset of the Great Depression, already "difficult conditions" rapidly became dire.[6] In addition, even as they were directed to participate in TUUL- and Party-led campaigns, Japanese activists continued to grapple with the language barrier as well as discriminatory laws and practices that made participation difficult and of little interest in election campaigns and calls for mobilization in heavy and basic industries. The workers also had to contend with the growing aggression of U.S. police squads and agents of the Japanese state who separately and in cooperation did not hesitate to infiltrate groups and raid homes and workplaces and who actively aided arrests and deportations of many leading activists. After the Comintern adopted an ultraleft platform in 1928, the American Party leadership at the national and district levels endeavored to impose the strict practice of democratic centralism.

In fact, relations with the party leadership changed abruptly following the activists' convening of a national conference of JWAs of America in Los Angeles from October 21 to 24, 1929. Less than a month later, the Language Department of the CC intervened to break the "Nationalistic isolation" of its Japanese members. Although beginning in 1927 local groups had made efforts to cooperate at the regional and national levels, they had nonetheless continued to operate independently of the larger Party, in closer touch with Katayama than with district or national party leaderships and more sensitive to their present Orientalness than the elusive possibility of Americanization. In the wake of the conference, however, the national party leadership directed leading Japanese members to reorganize their units. Although nominally successful,

reorganization fell far short of realizing its larger aims—witness the Party's steady drumbeat of charges of narrow nationalism, sectarianism, political backwardness, and isolation from the masses through the summer of 1934.

In effect, the period of the late 1920s and early 1930s was characterized by two trends. The National Buro and leading members of locals became ever more removed from the "Japanese masses" as they became both caught up in sectarian battles involving the politics of the CPUSA and JCP and consumed by the practice of criticism and self-criticism. Small groups of left-wing activists and Party members who belonged to branches of the JWA and ILD and Japanese Workers Clubs and Proletarian Art groups in New York, California, and the Pacific Northwest, however, began to stage antiwar and anti-imperialist protests, mount labor defense campaigns, and initiate organizing drives among coworkers and sympathizers. In one instance, the latter move was initially tried in the spring of 1928; others joined in the fall of 1929. As word spread through the JWA's organ, *The Zaibei Rodo Shimbun* (Labor News of America), and by word of mouth, individual men and women on farms and in shops, raising their voices in solidarity, testified to long years of quiet desperation and long-awaited hopes for positive change. Although resources were few and success fleeting at best, activists who began at the scale of a single restaurant or a single crop in one location quickly enlarged their visions to include all food workers in New York City and all Japanese farm workers in Southern California.

"Those of us gathered here in SF are making nothing but mistakes and blunders. But even though we make mistakes, we are steadily rising up and continuing the fight."[7]
—Kenmotsu, *Kaikyusen*, January 5, [1928]

In a letter to Katayama, Kenmotsu penned the above words. Approximately seven months later and from his base in New York, Ogino (alias Savelev), in his capacity as national secretary of the National Bureau of Japanese Fractions, struck a similar note in his report to Katayama on developments at the national, regional, and local levels. After detailing the San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York fractions' accomplishments in the body of the report, he noted in an "appendix" that "now there is a clear distinction of national and regional groups, and the comrades have come to be very disciplined"; "however, nation-wide work and the organizational movement, like I wrote at the beginning of this letter, are not progressing. The policy of appealing nationwide to Japanese workers, the policy of the Workers Association, and the policy of the organ's records are all uncertain."[8] Such admissions of failure, or, rather moments of candor, at a time of stepped-up activity and heightened sense of possibility suggested both the tremendous difficulties faced by Japanese activists and the disconnection between the ambition of the "movement" and

the weakness of those engaged in "the fight." No less apparent was the fierce determination. In closing Kenmotsu reiterated: "We will continue the movement with more effort and courage than last year."[9]

Beginning in 1927 activists on both sides of the country initiated efforts to cooperate at the regional and national scales. Following his deportation and arrival in Moscow, Kenmotsu wrote in his "Personal History" that, in 1927, "groups from LA, SF, and NY joined to form the Association of Japanese Workers in America."[10] Also, he explained in a later "Autobiography," as organizer of the San Francisco JWA and "having the connection with organizations in Los Angeles and New York," he assumed the editorship of the new JWA organ, "The Japanese Workers in America."[11] According to Yoneda (also known as Karl Hama), who attended his first meeting of the Los Angeles JWA in mid-April of 1927 and was admitted to membership in May,[12] the *Rodo Shimbun* "was born on March 9, 1928," with Kenmotsu as editor and Nagura Hiroshi as managing editor.[13]

Equally striking were activists' new forays into the field of labor defense. The aims were twofold: to encourage Japanese workers "to form Japanese ILD Branches wherever possible to protect yourselves and your fellow workers,"[14] and to transform Japanese into pan-Asian consciousness and thereby build pan-Asian alliances at the local and regional levels. As such, these stood in marked contrast with the Oriental Branch of New York's earlier effort to initiate "an active campaign for the organization of the Chinese workers of this city," wherein leading member Nishimura Yoshio had "advocate[d] the organization of a Chinese branch of the WP in this city," not entrance of Chinese members into the Japanese-dominated Oriental Branch.[15] No less important, for the first time women were cooperating with men in these endeavors. For example, Yoneda recalled that Mrs.Yu Fujikawa, "was among the first to join the Los Angeles Japanese ILD Branch." Yoneda himself "first met her in the fall of 1927."[16]

In fact, so evident were the new trends in regional and national organizing that the CEC took note and decided to convene "a committee meeting of representatives of Japanese fractions from all over." In preparation, the National Bureau set about preparing a "dissertation" that outlined major issues of concern, such as "the Japan-America Imperialism problem, the problem of Japanese workers in America (including Hawaii), the matter of our paper, and other political policies (all of which should be debated in the committee meeting between us and the W.P.'s CEC.)."[17]

At the same time, local activists were not idle. By the middle of 1928, although even the "reliable fractions in SF, LA, and NY" had small memberships—fifteen, thirteen, and twelve, respectively—each was "a base of the Labor Association [JWA]." In addition, all three were active in producing workers' papers: The San Francisco group offered both the *Rodo Shimbun* and "a branch of the Proletariat Newspaper"; the Los Angeles group wrote "a branch of the

Proletariat Newspaper"; and "With the money they collected" the New York group had "bought machines for the Proletariat Newspaper."[18] The *Puroretaria Geijutsu* (Proletariat Arts) was the journal of the Puroretaria Geijutsu Kai (Proletarian Arts Society), which, according to Okinawan artist Miyagi Yotoku, was formed sometime in 1928–1929 by a group of activists in Los Angeles that included at least two women.[19] Finally, in Seattle M. Kazue Miyata had launched publication in early 1927 of the newspaper, *Rodo* (The Labor), to be issued monthly on the 15th;[20] and in Vancouver activists were, like their counterparts to the south, "vigorously active."[21]

From Ogino's perspective, the New York group's slower start in terms of issuing printed matter did not mean that its members were any less energetic and merited less extensive coverage. They had "just established a Japanese Workers Club, and are now busy with negotiations with food workers." At the same time, indicating activists' continuing domestic and international focus (Japan in particular), "they held a dance night [at the Manhattan Lyceum], where there was sword-dancing, jujitsu, fencing and Japanese revolutionary songs to lift members' spirits" and raised money for both struggles. They "gave half of the money to help the branches fighting to spread the International Red Message"—that is, presumably to branches of the ILD—and the other half to "Japan's Association for the Liberation Movement and Relief of Victims."[22] Speaking of spreading the International Red Message, Ogino continued to lead the way. Following his arrival in New York, he had become active in the Party's Hands Off China campaign for which his fluency in English and ability to work with Chinese, "liberals and chairmen of local branches of the A.F.L." and "white people" more generally served him well. He was apparently also versatile in other ways, "sometimes ha[ving] to disguise himself as a Chinaman."[23] It is likely that during the course of this campaign his relationship with Vivian Wilkerson had blossomed into marriage and a desire to work together "among the Japanese in America," following their respective courses of study at the ILS.[24]

From the perspective of those on the other side of the country, however, Ogino's account was biased because it failed to mention significant developments in their region. In Los Angeles in early May 1928 "8 Japanese Comrades joined the Party"; the Sub-District noted that "basis [was] laid for work among Japanese in the city." The group included "H. Hakomori, T. Shieni, M. Nagabama [Maruya Nagahama], M. [Meikichi] Nishimura [also known as Seichi Nishimura], N. Kochi [Nakamura Koki?], M. Shiro [Masao Shimo?], [and] E. Yamaguchi." Three weeks later, word came that "4 more Japanese comrades joined Party," including "Y. Nakamura, Y. Fukunaga; . . . J. Yashiwato [Juki Yoshimoto?]; Miyachgo." Thus the "Japanese Fraction [was] formally organized," with "Yamaguchi elected secretary of the fraction."[25] In retrospect, Miyagi confirmed that the 1928 party membership drive in Los Angeles was "pretty lively."[26] However, three years earlier a group that included at least

two of the newly enrolled party members had laid "basis" for "work among Japanese in the city" by forming the Los Angeles Branch of the JWA. Although Hakomori did not join the Party until May 1928, he had joined the Los Angeles JWA in 1925 and by his account served as its secretary and treasurer "for three years." Also, in 1927 he had become "an agent of the Japanese revolutionary books" and organized a "branch office of 'Musansha Shimbun' [Proletarian News], a revolutionary newspaper of Japan."[27] Similarly, Fukunaga had joined the Los Angeles JWA in 1925 and remained an active member through January 1928 when he was elected educational director.[28] According to Yoneda, among the other officers elected in January were Yoneda as propaganda director, Hakomori, who now was "the oldest person among the gardeners and the only JWA member who had a checking account," as treasurer, and Jim Yanai as secretary.[29] Yanai was, in Yoneda's words, "a UCLA student and farm worker who had an excellent command of English."[30]

Omitted from Ogino's account but found in Yoneda's report was a major development: "Because the growers were cutting wages but not working hours, someone suggested that the JWA should look into the possibility of organizing a drive among Japanese and other farm workers." Of consideration was the fact that "TUEL organizers were unable to extend their work to include agricultural workers. They were too busy establishing a rank-and-file movement in AFL unions. They were also working to foster sentiments for establishing a Labor Party and for recognizing the Soviet Union, two tasks which preoccupied most CP members at the time."[31] Both Yanai and Fukunaga were already working in the fields, which may also have influenced the decision to launch such an initiative. Certainly, ample evidence corroborates both the Party's preoccupation with the above concerns and the TUEL's full-time effort,[32] in historian Cletus Daniel's words, at "simply trying to maintain a tenuous influence on the fringes of unions affiliated with the A.F. of L." Not until the TUUL's founding convention, held in Cleveland from August 31 to September 2, 1929, under "the sharpest pressure of the Comintern and Profintern," was the matter of organizing agricultural workers "finally discussed."[33] Undoubtedly, the discussion benefited from the input of delegates Yanai and Hakomori, who, in Yoneda's words, "represent[ed] all JWA Branches."[34]

All the more remarkable was the decision by the members of the Los Angeles JWA "to set up a separate organization known as the Japanese Agricultural Workers' Organizing Committee of Southern California (JAWOC)" over a year before the Party took steps in this direction. As a first step, Fukunaga wrote "an Organizers' Guide Book to include a brief history of Japanese farm workers in California," and Hawaii, which the group thereupon discussed in "Saturday night sessions." "Encouraged" by their newfound knowledge, in "the spring of 1928 the JAWOC started a campaign to organize Japanese farm workers." The strategy was to break into two groups consisting of "those who obtained jobs as pickers and those who acted as weekend organizers" and then to descend

in turn on each crop's picking season. In both the strawberry farms in Stanton and the raspberry fields in the San Gabriel Valley the activists worked and talked with the workers and also "dealt with the growers directly." When the peach and grape picking seasons arrived, however, four activists "traveled on to Fresno in a model-T Ford borrowed from Hakomori to become 'working organizers,'" joining "six other JAWOC members [who] had arrived in advance to lay the groundwork." Here, the activists confronted a different situation. Because Japanese, Filipino, Mexican, and white contractors housed their workers separately, the group of ten "split into teams of two and went into five labor camps." After regrouping "to compare our findings," they went back to the workers who were charged a higher food charge. Interestingly, according to Yoneda, the language barriers did not prevent the Japanese activists from "mak[ing] contact with workers in Filipino and Mexican camps."[35]

In the berry fields, the organizers succeeded in getting the majority of growers to accept "a twenty per cents per hour wage demand," while in Fresno they "settled minor 'beefs'" and "sold many copies of the JWA monthly." In the grape fields around Lodi, however, they scored their one major victory. Arriving in Lodi a week before the picking started and finding that "over a thousand Japanese" had flocked to the "three-square block Japantown," they were able to talk to the workers and decide on "one demand: twenty-five cents per hour pay." After negotiations with one major labor contractor resulted in a settlement of twenty-two and a half cents per hour pay, "other contractors soon fell into line."[36]

These and other advances occurred within a context of state repression. In a postscript to the minutes of the Los Angeles Sub-District Executive Committee (SDEC)'s meeting held on May 29, 1928, ILD Secretary Frank Spector reported that in a raid of "our bookshop" the night before, the Red Squad had threatened "to arrest many of [*sic*] the Party's Anti-Imperialist activities do not cease . . . A few Japanese comrades were also visited by the 'squad.' Strong intimidation is being used against the latter—such as deportation threats, etc. Please state your opinion just how far the police can go in relation to Japanese comrades."[37] There is no documented response to Spector's postscript in the minutes of subsequent SDEC meetings. However, at the District Convention held in late January 1929, Spector gave a follow-up report, "At this time there are some very important cases about to be tried in the courts. A Japanese comrade facing deportation had been in jail 15 days until we found means to release him on bail, which was $3,000. Another comrade is in jail and we need $3,000 fund for bail. They arrest us for distributing literature. If the comrade is not a citizen he is turned over to the Federal authorities . . . These are the conditions under which Los Angeles comrades work."[38]

Meanwhile, from thousands of miles away Katayama opined that the Japanese "Communist groups in America" were "still weak and unable to support any organizer, even partially." He wrote first to J. Louis Engdahl so that Engdahl

could "bring it to the attention of the American comrades when they arrive[d] for the [Sixth Comintern] Congress" the next month,[39] and then he issued a joint statement with Engdahl to the Small Commission of the Comintern, in which he appealed to the Comintern leaders for support of the "Japanese comrades in America."

In their joint communication, they laid out the case in full. First, Katayama described the contours of the Japanese community: "some three hundred thousand Japanese mostly settled along the Pacific Coasts," along with "a considerable number in New York and vicinity," of which most were "workers and farmers," and all were barred "under the American immigration laws" from being naturalized or owning land in California and Washington, which resulted in their pursuit of "mostly temporary work"; "at the same time there are new American born generations growing up in the Pacific Coast Japanese settlements." Second, he discussed the status of organizing: "So far the Communist propaganda among them has not been undertaken to any considerable degree." For their part, the Japanese comrades, who were "all workers, either as domestics, or ranch workers," had formed "a few Communist groups in America such as in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Vancouver. In San Francisco they are publishing a Japanese monthly—Kaikyusen (Class-Struggle), in Vancouver, Minshu-no-Chikara, a daily." However, they were "still weak and unable to support any organizer, even partially." Thus, their appeal was straightforward: "There have been a few good comrades from America working in the Japanese party and the American Japanese movement has always been influenced by the Japanese movement, so this will be a good chance to start a propaganda amongst the Japanese in America and to recruit good workers into our movement and supply fresh forces for the Japanese movement."[40]

Coming from Katayama there was nothing new about representing the ultimate aim of organizing among Japanese in America as the advancement of the movement in Japan. What was new, however, was the shift away from the duties of Japanese comrades in America; instead, Katayama and Engdahl placed the onus squarely on the leaders of the Comintern, who should "support this effort, morally and financially," and thereby enable the W(C)P "to carry on this propaganda and organisation work among the Japanese workers."[41]

Nothing evidences any direct support as forthcoming from either the Comintern or the American Party in the wake of Engdahl's and Katayama's appeals. Rather, to those on the West Coast the Party did make its presence felt in connection with the bitter and mounting sectarian battles. At the District Convention in January 1929, Kenmotsu accused the district leadership of neglect: "We, the Japanese Comrades, are supporting the CEC, because we want to break the glass-case under which we have been carefully tucked away, and kept isolated by our present D.O. I ask now, on behalf of the Asiatic races and exploited workers, that the CEC representative report the situation to the N.O, [National Office, N.Y.] and urge that in the future a strong effort be made to

build a real revolutionary Asiastic [*sic*] Movement in the U.S. of America, and establish a District here with a District organizer capable of fulfilling his revolutionary and Communistic duties."[42] Whereas DO Levin had invested much time and energy in working with Chinese activists, he had not done the same with the Japanese. In March Kenmotsu was "sent as a delegate to the [Sixth] C.P. National Convention," and in April he commented in a letter to Katayama that "the conflict in California is worse than you can imagine."[43] Similarly, in May the Los Angeles Japanese Fraction wrote, "participating in the party meant participating in the struggle."[44]

According to Uchida, however, the resolutions adopted by the Congress, as relayed to the rank and file by the Sixth Convention of the CPUSA, had led to an upsurge in union organizing among Japanese party members in New York. At a "fraction meeting" of the New York JWA held after the convention in March 1929, the group addressed "the question of how to apply the correct policy outlined by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern to the special activities of Japanese comrades." In the opinion of "one comrade," there was no better way to do this than by union organizing. He proposed a "summer place workers strike" that season. Although the ensuing "discussion was hot," in the end the group sided with "another comrade," who argued that given the presence of "one Japanese owned Cafeteria in the strike zone (Nikko Cafeteria near 37th St)" of the current food workers strike,[45] "it is our immediate duty to incite the Japanese workers there to demand a raise in wage & if it was refused to go on strike." A "committee was elected" to research the situation, and shortly after "action was taken." Although the "attempt was a failure"—the Nikko Cafeteria having "just replaced all the Japanese workers (some ten) with Philipinos [*sic*]" and there being "no other Japanese cafeterias within the strike zone" or "Japanese workers [who] belonged to food workers organization"—they had been convinced that "organizing Japanese workers into unions is indispensable."[46]

Of this much, there is little question. Only "a few days" after the first meeting held in the name of the temporary "Japanese branch of food workers union," at which "some forty were present," the Japanese who marched in the May Day parade chose as their "main slogan," "Build the Japanese Branch of the Food Workers Union!" They also formed a "special body" to distribute "agitational leaflets" among summer place workers, as the result of which in "Rockaway Beach one comrade actually lead [*sic*] strike of seven workers and partly won their demands," and in "New Long Branch park . . . one worker was able to keep himself away from being discharged."[47] Finally, on November 17, 1929, a sixteen-member Japanese Groupe [*sic*] of Hotel Restaurant and Cafeteria Workers met to elect "seven officials": Ninomiya Koichi as secretary; G. Murata, organization; D. Toshiro and T. Okamoto, Agit-prop; and "for committee," M. Yokouchi, T. Ikeda, and U. Sato. They gathered as they had in the past at the apartment of Japanese artists whose space and work schedules presumably could accommodate the needs of the group.[48] Their aims were threefold:

"1—to educate ourselves, 2—establish good contact between members of our group and the union, [and] 3—organize the unorganize [*sic*]." Moreover, in launching this larger effort organizers were fully cognizant of the fact that the "THIRD point is the main and hardest, in greater NEW YORK CITY there are about 3000 wokers [*sic*], its two thirds are food workers, but majority are working in the private famiry [*sic*], in the hotel restaurants, tea rooms, night clubs, cafeterias and coffee pots, about 800 workers are working under long hours, low wages, speed up and bad condition in general."[49] By December, the group had become an established part of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union and claimed twenty members.[50]

The New York group was not alone in terms of energy and dedication to the movement. Although the Japanese National Buro was located in New York, with Nishino as secretary, the JWA had "its national office in San Francisco and two branches," one in Los Angeles and the other in New York, with a total membership of 150.[51] In Seattle, credit was due to "Comrade Esaki (Hasegawa) who had gone out alone from New York to "establish [a] JWA of Seattle," and not without risk—witness, in July "he was caught and put into jail for two and a half month."[52] And in Vancouver, by June there existed a Proletarian Youth League (Musan Seinen Domei).[53] There was also progress out West on the union front. In San Francisco George and Hiroshi Nagura, with the assistance of the Fraction, had organized a Nihonjin Insatsuko Kumiai (Japanese Printers Union), and plans were afoot to form a "Laundrymen's group" and organize "all sorts of people like city laborers and cannery workers from the rural areas." In Los Angeles, local activists had formed a "gardeners' group," while the members of JAWOC, after returning from another organizing foray that summer and listening to Yanai's and Hakomori's reports on the TUUL Convention, had dissolved their group and "joined en masse" the TUUL-affiliated Agricultural Workers Industrial League (AWIL). Finally, everywhere locals were "very active" in building both the ILD and the Anti-Imperialist League, distributing the *Rodo Shimbun* monthly to its "over 2000 readers,"[54] the "Senki (Battle Flag), the All Japan Proletarian Artists League monthly, and the Musansha Shimbun," and staging antiwar and anti-imperialist protests.[55] In both Los Angeles and San Francisco, considerable activity centered on their appeals to the crews on board Japanese Imperial Navy training ships.[56] They also held exhibitions of proletarian posters from Japan as a form of protest against the "white terror" in Japan.[57]

The other side to such campaigns was continuing support of the revolutionary movement in Japan. In April Kenmotsu wrote to Katayama that they were "in the midst of raising money and establishing a fund" in order "to buy printing type," which they would use not only locally but also "to make pamphlets and handbills" to send "secretly to Japan." Indeed, "in order to execute this work more systematically," they were "focusing on books and handbills that are in demand in Japan," including "manuscripts [sent by comrades in

Japan] which we publish here and then secretly send back." All this and more he had discussed "with some comrades from Japan." Although Kenmotsu was himself of the opinion that it would be preferable to locate book publishing operations in Russia for reasons of "better regulation" and "efficiency," he nonetheless admitted that on top of having "3 or 4 pressmen" it was "also much more convenient to communicate with Japan from here." Although the activists had "been neglecting" this activity of late, he assured Katayama that they would henceforth put "more effort in this direction"[58] Katayama was undoubtedly pleased because the message also strengthened his case before the Comintern on behalf of the Japanese Communists in the United States. What Kenmotsu failed to mention, however, was that communication with Japan could lead to division and deviation as well as expressions of solidarity and orthodoxy among Japanese comrades on this side of the Pacific. According to the Los Angeles Japanese Fraction, some members had been "brainwashed by Yamakawa [Hitoshi, and] Inomata" and formed a "Yamakawa faction."[59] Once again it is clear how little the Party leadership, at any level, could control lines of communication, especially as networks of association reached beyond localized spaces of dependence to spaces of engagement that crossed the ocean.

Yet, despite risks, Kenmotsu had also initiated plans to organize a "Pan-American Fraction Convention," to be held in September or October of that year. He aimed not only to extend the scope of their field beyond California and New York to "such important places as Washington, Utah, and Oregon" but also to develop "a Pan-American political objective for all the Japanese workers" whose scope would radiate outward from "the Pacific coast as the center" to Canada and Hawaii though at the moment "Contact with Hawaii has been completely suspended." Meanwhile, in "the near future," he hoped "that the Japanese Fraction can spread among the Asian workers along the Pacific Coast." In this regard, he had "emphasized" to the local Party leadership that "it was a mistake by the CP Branch not to put more effort in appealing" to "Asian workers in San Francisco," who were mostly "unorganized, and from colonies or partial colonies." Indeed, the Party leadership had failed to recognize how a focus on "the anti-war and anti-imperialist movements as well as T.U.E.L." could actually build the Party. He "humbly" requested Katayama's "assistance in this endeavor."[60]

A month later, Kenmotsu reported progress on all fronts. They had ordered printing type and received approval from the CEC for the Pan-American Fraction Conference. And when the Western Regional Conference of the AAAIL was convened in San Francisco on June 30, they at long last had the opportunity to transform what was hitherto "like a mass meeting for semi-active Japanese people, and for comrades from San Francisco" into an "Anti-Imperialist Alliance." To this end, he was "trying to get a number of delegates from the Asian community—party fraction members from China, India, the Philippines, Korea,

and other places."[61] Kenmotsu thus returned to the idea of building a pan-Asian coalition, part of a broad anti-imperialist alliance.

Broadly speaking, for Japanese activists on the East and West Coasts the decade approached its close with both heightened expectations and growing frustration and fear. They were frustrated over the lack of support from district and national Party leaderships and fearful in the wake of every raid and arrest. Looking back on the year's events Uchida recalled, "Since January 1929 Our Comrades [in Los Angeles] were arrested nearly dozen times. Comrade Yamaguchi and two others were arrested by attending ILD meeting in January. Comrade Horiuchi was arrested twice . . . Comrade Hama was several times arrested in connection with his activities in the YCL."[62] In addition, in San Francisco Kenmotsu was arrested in July at a Party-sponsored antiwar demonstration held in front of the Chinese Consulate.[63] At the same time, the Party's convening of the Western Regional Conference of the AAAIL in June, the founding of the TUUL in August, and the anticipated convening of a national conference of JWAs of America in October prompted new expectations. For the first time, Nishino explained to the Language Department in the National Office, members "from every branch [of the JWA] and any otner [*sic*] organizations" would discuss "how to organize those unorganized" among the "140.000 Japanese in the United States including those 40.000 in Hawaiian Island."[64]

The Center Intervenes, Encountering Accommodation and Resistance

From the outset, the conference focused squarely on the American situation and "Japanese workers in America, especially of the Second generations," with the situation in Japan reserved to a single item in the "Agenda." Indeed, the "Proposed Program" for the JWAs spoke only of "Solidarity with the other Oriental workers, i.e. Chinese, Koreans, Filipinoes [*sic*] as well as the white and Negro workers" and "Connection with Japanese workers in Hawaii, Canada, Mexico, etc."[65] Moreover, by the end the delegates had adopted a "NEW LINE OF WORK" in which they admitted that "in the past" the members of the JWA "were mostly concerned only with the struggle of the masses in their homeland" to the exclusion of any interest in "the daily economic struggle of the Japanese Workers in the United States." They also unanimously adopted a resolution supporting the recently established TUUL because in "the present third period" it was the only group capable of leading in "the interest of the proletariat, against chauvinism."[66]

At the same time, even as the delegates resolved "to follow the new line of the party and the TUUL," they nonetheless adapted the general line to the particular circumstances of Japanese workers and party members in America. For example, they declared "that the JWA shall be dissolved in proportion to the degree the Japanese workers join the labor unions under TUUL leadership *or*

the building up of separate Japanese union was completed when it cannot be otherwise [emphasis added]," with the caveat, "however, it is wrong to dissolve the JWA immediately since that might leave the Japanese workers without any organization whatsoever." They also agreed that "the Association shall not give any *independent* education to its members since the communist nuclei will give them necessary political education"; "that it is permissible, however, to give them proper knowledge about the events in their homeland and in America until the unions and nuclei are strongly established since those Japanese workers will be unable to understand English sufficiently."[67] Similarly, in a separate resolution they agreed that "the Party program must continually be translated into Japanese,"[68] But they desired to neither sever nor limit Katayama's influence. Rather, following the conference Yoneda reported to Katayama that they planned "to establish a committee" whose job it was "to establish systematic communication" and send whatever "materials" Katayama needed on Japanese living in the United States.[69]

Less than a month later a special commission elected by the Language Department of the CC issued a set of "Instructions to the Japanese Members of the C.P. USA in the Pacific Coast" that spelled out the very dilemma addressed by the national conference of JWAs: "Nationalistic isolation of foreign-born workers must be broken. However, to bring the foreign workers closer to the American movement, communist fractions within existing language mass organizations must first win these organizations for the Party." But rather than making accommodation for the circumstances that kept foreign-born workers removed from the American revolutionary movement, the Special Commission simply denied the existence of those circumstances: "The duty of Communist fractions within this organization [the JWA] is to bring the members of the organization under the influence of the Party and convince them to join, according to their trade, the respective union, preferably under TUUL leadership." Also, because the JWAs were "under control of Party members," rather than being dissolved they should "be developed into a broad organization, national in scope," "on a class basis," and with a "national, common program." Moreover, "wherever there are no branches of the J.W.A. (club) effort shall be exerted to build up one." A "draft program" should be "prepared by the Buro and submitted to the Language Department for final decision." The Commission delivered its harshest words in its warning to the Language Department: "It is not permissible for any fraction, as the Japanese Language fraction in Los Angeles did, to go beyond the Language Department of the CC and also of the Japanese Buro." Among the "comrades in Los Angeles," Yanai was singled out for censure.[70]

Yet, when it came to the Japanese paper, unlike all the other language fractions' papers that "are and must be organs of the Party," "it is necessary to make an exception . . . because it has to be sent also to Japan, where there is danger of its being confiscated if it is named officially as the C.P. organ."

Therefore, the *Rodo Shimbun* should "be published by the Rodo-Shinbunshar Publishing Co. and shall appear as the organ of the Japanese Workers Club."[71] This evidences the instability and potential conflict among Japanese party members who were obligated to both acquiesce in and make exception to party protocol in fulfillment of their twin responsibilities to the national section of which they were members and to their "national origin."

Writing in December to the Oriental Cabinet in Moscow from his position as secretary of the newly reorganized National Buro, Uchida revealed a community divided over the center's attempts to exert greater control. He recalled that in February New York and the Pacific Coast had expressed the desire to hold a national conference of JWAs. "At the same time another opinion was voiced to hold National Conference of the Japanese fractions." Although initially "the responsible member of the CC of CPUSA" had approved the latter "provided it does not end like the one our Chinese comrades had," subsequently it reversed its decision. However, "somehow or other there developed a serious misunderstanding between the comrades in Coast[,] and the Buro and in New York," and the two groups made plans for their respective conferences—with the New York group being "fortunate enough to hold [a] special meeting with the representative of the Language Department of the CC" while Yanai returned from the TUUL founding convention "with a wring [*sic*] notion that all non-party language mass organization[s] shall be dissolved." As a result, upon gathering in Los Angeles the "coast comrades" first insisted on their position until they finally "followed the Buro instruction";[72] but the "conference ended by adopting entirely wrong resolution concerning the future status of the JWA."[73]

In fact, things had not gone "entirely wrong" at the conference, from the point of view of either the center or the New York group. Representatives of the various fractions had agreed that although the newly "improved" *Rodo Shimbun* was to be published in San Francisco, the National Buro would begin issuing a "bulletin regularly in which things of importance to Japanese comrades are to be printed."[74] Moreover, the New York group subsequently gained the upper hand. First, at a meeting of the Language Department of the CC on November 21, to which Uchida and Takio were invited, Uchida was appointed secretary of the new National Buro. Also, after a motion was made that JWA's and Japanese clubs "should be enlarged and united in one common national organization," the meeting adopted a statute for a new "New York Japanese Workers Club" to replace the existing JWA and club in New York.[75] Then, at meetings in December the New York comrades recommended Ishigaki, Nishino, Ninomiya, and Takio as Buro members; and following their appointment the new Buro "selected" a committee to draft a National Constitution of the JWAs consisting of Uchida, Takio, and Ninomiya.[76] It also decided that "each local Buro [was] to recommend one comrade to the National Buro. [The] CC to pick one out of these candidates." Finally, whereas a special committee consisting of "7 comrades, two each from SF, LA, NY, and one from Seattle" was

elected at the JWA conference to translate into Japanese and publish the TUUL Program, the Buro thought it "not necessary to have such committee as long as there is National Buro."[77]

Yet, neither majority decision nor administrative directive—not even a letter "of official character" from Moscow that predated the national conference and that in Uchida's opinion, "We gladly accept"—could resolve the divisions. The Los Angeles group continued to oppose having the National Buro on the East rather than the West Coast; and there lingered "bitter experience in that certain comrades in Los Angeles supported [the] Rono group whereas New York and San Francisco did not experience such trouble."[78] Apparently, another source of disagreement was the issue of contact with Japan. At a fraction meeting on the first day of the conference "LA comrades demanded the NY comrades to drop out immediately all contacts with Japan in compliance with the constitution of the party." However, "Comrade Nishino in the name of the Buro" denied the request.[79]

In a letter to the Language Department in November, District 13 DO William Simons shed further light on the situation, including the district's relations, or lack thereof, with its Japanese members. Believing that "work among the Japanese here is of great importance," he wanted "detailed information as to the status of this work thruout the country and the work of the Buro." From "a talk with several of the Japanese comrades the other night," he had learned that Japanese members were employed "mostly in domestic work, janitors and gardeners," and there were a total of eleven, thirty, one, and fifteen members in "San Francisco (including Oakland and Berkeley), Los Angeles, Seattle [and] New York" respectively. However, having "not been able toascertain [*sic*] whether they have any definite program or not" in the "Japanese Labor Assn, here on the coase [*sic*]," he was appealing to the Buro for a copy of "any constitution worked out for these clubs in Japanese" along with "whatever information" the Buro had regarding last month's "national conference of delegates of Japanese fractions." In addition, knowing that the "Japanese monthly Party paper is printed here and their leaflets as well," he wanted "all possible information about this so we can intensify the work among the Japanese here."[80]

Was Simons, along with other members of the district leadership, entirely out of the loop when it came to the district's Japanese members, not knowing that they had held a national conference of JWAs? Or had his "Japanese comrades" withheld information? Apparently, he was apprised of the conflict between New York and the West Coast insofar as he learned "that the work on the Japanese fleet propaganda was planned here without instructions from the Japanese buro," and "this raised the whole question as to whether the Buro should be on the east coast or here."[81]

Five weeks later, on December 31, he reported continuing difficulty in imposing the party line: "Had a meeting of the Japanese comrades in Los

Angeles, and have come to an understanding with them. Comrade Yanai and other comrades were still holding to their point of view. However, they were told that they had to hold to the decision of the Party and they agreed." This was all well and good, but both the comrades in Los Angeles and Simons remained opposed to the Language Department on two matters at issue. Simons believed first "that the Buro should be here," and "would like to hear from you your opinion as to this";[82] and second, regarding the "Japanese Paper," "that the placing of the name of a publishing society will not insure its open circulation in Japan." Also, "if the paper is primarily intended for circulation in Japan, it cannot serve the purpose for which this paper is issued—the organization of the Japanese workers in this country, in the revolutionary movement, into the Party." Simons was being practical, not challenging to the central authority; for example, he wrote that "one of the Japanese comrades with the name beginning with H. [Horiuchi] states that he received a letter from the Japanese CP authorizing him to represent the Japanese Party here. It is clear to me that such a procedure is wrong, that the connections with the Japanese C.P. with this country must be thru the Japanese Buro."[83]

In January 1930, the Language Department of the CC confirmed: "we agree with Comrade Simons that in the case of H, it was a wrong procedure and the Central Committee has already taken a decision in this case." In the interval, only "seven days" after being sent to the Imperial Valley as an AWIL organizer Horiuchi was arrested and held for deportation;[84] therefore, the district language department "should help with all forces, the campaign against the deportation of the two arrested Japanese comrades, Kenmotzu [*sic*] and H." However, as a general rule: "The Japanese and all the other parties should be in contact with the Language fractions in the United States only thru the Central Committee of our Party." Indeed, the above exception to the rule should remain secret: "This letter is meant only for you and Comrade Simons as regards the question of Comrade H, and you should not notify the Japanese comrades about this." The department held firm on its other positions. First, "we shall not discuss it [relocating the National Buro] any longer, as the Central Committee took a decision, and the line of the Party is to have the Language Bureaus in close connection with the Central Committee, which mens [*sic*] that the headquarters be in New York." Second, "concerning the publication of the Rodo Shimbun as an organ of the Japanese Workers Association, the Central Committee gave its reason for this, and it is not a question of re-opening discussion on this point."[85]

Meanwhile, an action by the state and two other internal changes contributed to the tilting of power from the West to East Coast. On December 14, 1929, Kenmotsu was arrested at a demonstration against American imperialism in Haiti.[86] The latter came as "a big shock to San Francisco comrades. Because up to that time comrade Kenmotsu was man and general at once[,] great inconvinience [*sic*] was felt by most of the comrades in San Francisco

when he was taken away for a week." Moreover, like Horiuchi, he, too, was "threatened for deportation just because he is a member of the Communist Party."[87] In January the "Japanese group in New York City" chose "F. Kitamura to do the Anti-Imperialist Work among the Orientals in this country."[88] This move may have been facilitated by the fact that District 13's Anti-Imperialist Committee was at that time "not functioning."[89] In any case, in mid-March J. W. Ford was placed at the head of TUUL's International Department, based in New York, with Li Tao Hsuan to "be responsible for the Chinese, Japanese and Oriental Committees."[90] Ford himself received guidance from Profintern leaders overseas.[91] Also, according to Kenmotsu, back on the West Coast the Party was "extremely busy with organizing and demonstrations against unemployment," and thus unable to forward his efforts to build an anti-imperialist movement.[92]

Writing to the Oriental Cabinet at the beginning of February 1930, Uchida opened with a sober report on the arrests of Kenmotsu and Horiuchi as well as "the trial of 825 communists in Japan and imperialist war preparations on Soviet Union," all of which he "connected with the general crisis of US and world capitalism and the radicalization of [the] working class." He was unabashed, however, in hailing the "organizational questions" of the recent turn of events: "For the first time we are emerging from narrow nationalism and sectarianism. Our passive attitude toward recruiting new membership for the party have [*sic*] been liquidated." The proof was in the "facts": "The San Francisco Buro set for itself the tasks of recruiting 10 new members . . . and [was] now doing its best. The New York comrades . . . had recruited five new members, thus making the total to 18."[93] Although the first issue of the newly "revived" semimonthly *Rodo Shimbun*[94] was "very unsatisfactory," "this was mainly due to" the editor Kenmotsu's absence in jail for a week; and "for the first time our paper will be on subscription basis." Meanwhile, after "open[ing] up their new club in the center of the Japanese section of the city," the San Francisco comrades were "making good contacts with many workers."[95] Uchida would also have been pleased to learn that San Francisco was following the lead of New York and turning this single club into the successor to its JWA and earlier workers club and that the San Francisco local membership consisted of nine Party and six YCL members—the last six were American-born and recent recruits.[96]

Yet, the National Buro continued to experience some difficulty in imposing its will or at least in avoiding further misunderstandings between the coasts. In December, Kenmotsu noted that "delegates from NY, LA and SF" who had arrived for a planned "fraction rally" would "have to wait for a notice from the Japanese National Buro with regard to this matter" because the rally was "banned by the Party's new constitution."[97] Regarding the Horiuchi case, Uchida reported to the Oriental Cabinet in February that he "was appointed through some unknown connections . . . and that he is unwilling to

transmit the information he got about the movement in Japan to the Japanese Buro."[98]

Cycle of Criticism and Self-Criticism, Correction, and Continuing Isolation from the Masses

On December 1, 1930, Japanese party members completed a twenty-six-page "Analysis of Work of Japanese Language Buro & Fractions in America and Outline of Future Task[s]," which opened with an articulation of the chief dilemma to be confronted: "After Nov. 1929 the Japanese Party members participated actively in the work of the various units to which they were attached, and thru this participation received practical training and ideological development. However, the task of carring [*sic*] on special work among the Japanese proletariat was not clearly understood and was neglected." Therefore, activists' foremost duty was to "analyse and overcome the mistakes and shortcomings and set forth the tasks of the Japanese Language work of the CP so that we will be able to win the leadership over the majority of the Japanese proletariat of this country."[99]

The detailed and thorough analysis covered the accomplishments, shortcomings, and tasks to be undertaken in each arena involved in advancing the movement, including cadre formation, agitation and propaganda, mass work, and "Bolshivization [*sic*] & Party discipline." Also, in a reflection of the Soviet party ritual of "criticism and self-criticism" (*kritika i samokritika*),[100] this last section included a discussion of how "to criticize others" and "to be criticized." Yet, in conclusion, the authors cautioned that the "above program is only a suggestion of what should be done" and "every local" should first study "the objective condition of the particular district" before putting it "into action." Herein lay a possible contradiction between local initiative and the principle of democratic centralism, to which the authors returned in their concluding line, "Our party members must be activized under the iron discipline of the communist party."[101]

According to both the above analysis and an accompanying "Analysis of Work of Japanese Language Buro CC & Fractions in N.Y.C.," thus far Japanese party members were anything but disciplined in carrying out their work. First, the "Secretary of Buro was chosen merely because of his knowledge of English language and he neglected the work. He did not participate in the mass party work." Likewise, the membership "gave no assistance to leadership" and "did not strive to develop themselves as good 'Bolsheviks.'" In general, whether the field was agitation, organizational work, or making contact with Japanese and Korean workers or Japanese seamen, the work was "not planned and systematic," "neglected," "disconnected," "not active," "weak" and "very weak," "very poor," and "self criticism & discipline given little attention."[102]

To be precise, however, the problem was not simply lacking discipline. Rather, the Japanese activists faced a number of practical dilemmas for putting

any program into action: First, the language difference presented problems; "few Party members understand English" and hence they find it "very difficult to understand Party line," "cannot take a leading part in the unit work," and had difficulty in the TUUL, ILD, and the Party. Second, the "Ideology of Japanese immigrant in General" was "Nationalistic & Sectarian" and "petty-B." Third, they faced the familiar problem of maintaining contact and ensuring that communications were "carried out under *carefull* [sic] method" across long distances; apparently, "communications from Vancouver, and Hawaii were not sufficient."[103]

To these must be added the twin problems of worsening work conditions and growing repression. At a general level, "members work such long hours that have little time for systematic Party work." In the case of the Japanese Group of food workers, in New York in particular, conditions were dire—even before the worst of the Great Depression. Among the approximately two thousand food workers in the area, the "majority" were domestic workers who worked "14–16 hours or more with no Sunday and hollyday [*sic*] rest for cheapest wages and . . . sleeping in the basement or top floor room." Of the eight hundred or so who worked in restaurants and tea rooms, about three hundred quit or lost their jobs during the summer and left the city to do "Sea Shore work." Among "our members," "70 percent are unemployed."[104] At the same time, activists were increasingly subject to spying by Japanese intelligence agents and the threat and use of force by American police and immigration officers. At the end of October, Kenmotsu reported that, "repression by the police has become extreme. If one is foreign-born, they arrest and deport one on the suspicion of CP membership . . . The ILD office was searched, and unfortunately the ILD's address book was seized. Since then, the dogs' [police] searching has turned evil and has intensified more than ever."[105] It was perhaps no exaggeration to say "that one mistake will cause the whole distruction [*sic*] in the under ground movement."[106]

Yet, the national party leadership seemed to conclude that everything boiled down to a matter of organization and party discipline. For example, in July 1932 F. Brown, who played a leading role in the Party's language work, wrote to the Secretariat CC, "that the Japanese Buro C.C. is very weak in its composition and this is the main reason for the weak relations between the Buro and the fractions in California." Therefore, he continued, "I believe that it is necessary to strengthen the Buro as it is here [in New York], and see to it that the comrades should be in closer connection with California." Along these lines, "a month ago, Comrade Borisoff was appointed to assist the Japanese comrades.[107] Furthermore the Japanese Buro has been strengthened by a Japanese comrade [Yano] who came from across."[108]

Ironically, the appointments of B. Borisoff and Yano were followed in a matter of months by the transfer of the newly renamed Japanese National Language Bureau (NLB) to San Francisco. By then, all were in favor of the move

and recognized that "90 percent of Japanese population is in the Pacific coast" and "San Francisco is close to Hawaii where 150,000 Japanese live." Regarding the situation in Hawaii, in May a Party leader, who kept Browder and other members of the CC abreast of work with the Japanese on the West Coast, wrote, "The young English speaking Japanese, have for some time had a 'Proletarian Youth Group,' publishing in mimeograph, a review called 'The Cogwheel,' 14 men and 2 women in this Group, with many around it that attend its meetings. They work in Japanese only, however."[109] At its first meeting in early November the NLB decided that the bureau would consist of three resident members: Yano as organizer, Seki Kato (who may have been Hakomori)[110] as secretary and treasurer, and Akagi Tetsu to be in charge of Agit-Prop. Akagi was a "food worker (fruit clerk)" who had joined the Party in 1931 and belonged to the Los Angeles Japanese Language Buro (LB). In addition, the group appointed T. Hori, secretary of the New York LB, as contact person between the Japanese NLB and the NLD (National Language Department). According to Miyagi, the NLB's "activities" were "centered around Yano,"[111] who was also editor of the *Rodo Shimbun*.[112]

It should not be assumed, however, that the change ushered in an era of improved relations between the center and Japanese members in California. Prior to the move, the secretary of the NLB appealed to "the Party to pay one third of the Buro expenses ($60) each month," along with "$60 traveling expenses" for the move. By their calculations, "the Buro need[ed] one hundred and eight dollars for the livlihood [*sic*] of the three members of the Buro and Buro expenses in each month, but we have not yet to get such a suport [*sic*] from broad masses to pay our expenses." Apparently, "$15 per mo. for 4 months only" was forthcoming.[113] Soon after the move Japanese comrades told Eddy, "The only material help that they received as a transfer of the bureau was the comrade who came from NY."[114] By March of the following 1933, they were in "extremely difficult circumstances financially."[115] Meanwhile, activists in New York faced a similar plight. Hori reported, "We found that it is very hard to meet a fraction lately, because the most comrade are working long hours latly [*sic*]. Long houre [*sic*], speed up, which make too tired to attend a meeting." In particular, the five members of the Japanese branch of the FWIU were working as "dish washer, cook, and working 12–11 hours day with small wage as $10–$15 week."[116]

Moreover, Yano's arrival was not universally welcomed. In November 1933, District 13 DO Samuel A. Darcy reported that Yano "noticed many errors being committed locally, but in correcting them he did not take the necessary comradely attitude, but rather approached the matter as an unskilled emissary from abroad. As a result, by his own statement . . . he became hyper-critical, picking on every slight action of the comrades to make criticism in a rather irritating fashion."[117] In addition, according to one source, "the Buro and in this sense also the paper was, in the past, one man affair of T."[118] In May,

"with the understanding of" Darcy, the NLB was reduced from three to one because Japanese members had yet to "peneterate into masses" and could not, therefore, "provide financial support to 3."[119] Thus, from Yano's point of view he was "forced to do all the work alone." Also, so Harrison George confirmed, he "had too much to do alone even before the Buro came here, in editing the Rodo Shimbun," and he wanted nothing more than "another comrade to take the burden of the paper off" him.[120] In any case, by mid-June Yoneda was editor-in-chief and the staff consisted of three,[121] and NLB members were putting renewed energy into "thorough self-criticism" and finding ways "to arouse mass activity."[122]

Eastman believed that to "start doing real mass work" the Buro must first engage in "sharp criticism of the mistakes" of both the secretary and "the Buro as a whole,"[123] but Darcy focused on the Buro's "many political errors," including its "extreme sectarian approach," "political backwardness," and the "bureaucratic attitude by some of the leading comrades."[124] Once again, the solution, with which the national party leadership concurred, was a series of measures designed to strengthen the center's control over Japanese members. First, all local and district committees—other than the District Buros in New York and Seattle—were to be abolished; "one Japanese Language Bureau, . . . will hereafter work under the jurisdiction of the District Committee, and will send reports monthly to the center." Second, unless otherwise instructed by the center, the Japanese Language Bureau alone was to made decisions on expenditure of funds, whether these came from individual members or the PPTUS. Third, the *Rodo Shimbun* was to occupy a new local office, with Yoneda in charge. Fourth, "hereafter, there is to be no private mail between individual comrades and the center," and any business mail "should be submitted first to a reading by the Jap. Language Bureau."[125]

In March of 1934, the Japanese Bureau and CC submitted an annual report, which covered both the "positive outcome" and "basic weaknesses of our work" and causes of the same. Despite difficulties, party membership numbered 102 after forty new members, "majority of them from agricultural fields," were recruited during 1933; the *Rodo Shimbun,* now published three times a month, had increased its circulation to 2,500; members had been active in "almost every agricultural workers' struggle" in California as well as the union struggles of fruit stand and restaurant workers in Los Angeles, printers in San Francisco, and restaurant workers in New York,[126] and they were now "issuing five shop papers";[127] and the Bureau had coordinated efforts by local buros and also communicated with comrades in Hawaii and Vancouver in carrying out "really systematic" agit-prop work among Japanese seamen. However, their basic weakness was little success "in either organizing them [Japanese workers], or in mobilizing them for struggle," because they were not "sufficiently standing at the head of the masses in defending their interests." Rather, they had formed a "narrow nationalistic group" that was also "quite sectarian and isolated from

the masses." In a follow-up report to the CC's questions, the Bureau reiterated, "Our biggest weakness is ISOLATION, and lagging behind."[128]

The CC confirmed: "You talk much about correcting them [shortcomings], but time speeds by and, at the end, you remain in the same spot." The Japanese members suffered from political backwardness, "sectarian isolation from the masses," and a mistaken view of "the role and function of the National Japanese Buro in its relation to the whole Party and the Party line." However, the CC acknowledged their "praiseworthy spirit of sacrifice and loyalty to the Party and the CI" concluded confidently that "they will develop under proper guidance into real Bolshevik fighters." To this end it was instructing the District 13 DO to assist "in carrying out the line of this letter."[129] Thus, yet another cycle of criticism and self-criticism and correction ended—until two months later, when the Party Secretary Browder wrote to the Japanese Buro regarding "certain incorrect directives that were given by District 13 for your work, which must be corrected." Rather than prioritizing "direct mass work" over work in the "Pan Pacific area," the Japanese must give equal attention to both. In fact, Browder emphasized, "Especially at this moment it is extremely urgent that we do everything in our power to assist the other parties in the Pacific, and in the first place, the Japanese Communist Party."[130] Once again, Japanese party members were placed in the impossible position of having to fulfill twin responsibilities to the national section of which they were members and the JCP. In fact, Browder suggested that the urgency of the struggle against Japanese imperialism rendered responsibility to the latter paramount—this, in spite of strenuous directives to the contrary on the part of some members of the district and national party leadership.

"At the same time your comrades should give *practical* advices [sic] to those who may be looking for one. After all workers are, for the moment . . . interested in bettering their conditions"
–Japanese worker to Editor,[131] *Rodo Shimbun,* May 1933

Whereas six months earlier a number of critics had once again focused on the failings of "chief editor Takeda,"[132] this Japanese worker turned his attention to the actions of the masses. Contrary to the "printed organizational directives in your recent issues" and the "camp news from Tracy in your paper," this worker reported, "The workers there didn't follow the line your directive gives, but they acted most *naturally* and gained their objectives too." Their tactics were simple: "They had lots to kick about the foods, sanitation, etc. They got together,—somebody must have taken initiative—worked out several demands, *elected committee* to talk with the boss. They won the demands and later seven workers joined the Union . . . If this elected committee continued to function . . . *I think this is the camp committee and this is how, in many cases, a camp committee is to be formed*." For their part, Party organizers had advocated

"methods" that "stress too much *formal way* of organizing camp committees," when "what we need badly *now* is *CONTACT* with the masses." The answer to the Party's long-standing problem, then, was "through simple organization of the masses—a camp committee." In closing, he hoped that "workers in every camp learn a lesson from the example of the workers in Tracy" and that comrades "give *practical* advices [*sic*] to those who may be looking for one."[133]

This letter serves as an apt introduction to a discussion of activism at the local level during the early 1930s because the news from Tracy speaks to the kind of small-scale worker-led organizing that marks this period. Efforts to extend networks beyond the local to the international scale continually stumbled first against the threat and use of force by the American and Japanese governments and second against the problem of nationalism in the Japanese community, but activists on the West Coast and in New York experienced some success at the local level in building mass organizations and mounting union drives and protests against unemployment and hunger.

For instance, in a Language Department questionnaire from February 1931, the Japanese Buro reported that it had eight functioning fractions in the country as a whole and in the "near future" might be in a position to establish a district buro in Seattle, to be headed by Comrade Ohara. In addition, the ranks of mass organizations were swelled by the formation, alongside Japanese Workers Clubs, of Japanese Proletarian Art groups and the Okinawan Youth League. The Buro had also succeeded in building TUUL organization committees in three mass organizations and was working on forming International Workers Order (IWO) groups in various organizations and thereby drawing more workers into the IWO Japanese Workers Club[134] and on recruiting unemployed and employed Japanese workers into the party's unemployment campaign. Finally, its papers had experienced a 20 percent "growth in last year." One year earlier the only party paper mentioned was the *Rodo Shimbun;* the 1931 list included the *Rodo Shimbun* semimonthly, the "youth (Los angeles) Monthly," the "W. Voice [*Rodosha No Koe*, (*Voice of Labor*)] (Seattle) Monthly," the "I.L.D. (Los angeles) irregularly," and the "Workers Voice (New York) Weekly."[135]

News from New York and California reflected a continuation of the same trends: in New York in 1932 memberships of the Japanese branch of the ILD, Japanese Workers Club, Japanese branch of the FWIU, and Japanese Culture Federation, and interest in the national hunger march all showed increases;[136] in California in 1931 Japanese Workers Clubs and the beginning of efforts to organize Japanese restaurant workers in Los Angeles grew steadily.[137] Also, Yoneda recalled, "The membership in the Los Angeles Unemployed Council Japanese Section increased significantly in 1932."[138] In June 1931 Inoue Motoharu, who had assumed the position of secretary of the San Francisco branch of the Japanese Buro after Kenmotsu's arrest, offered a perspective from the ground, "We are exerting ourselves in organizing the unemployed, devoting special energy to farm workers in the Napa area, however, we the

organizers are also facing starvation. Hence, the lack of motivation among comrades."[139]

For its part, by February 1933 the Language Commission CC was ready to give a glowing report on the level of activism among Japanese, especially on the West Coast: "We have no figures. However, the development of the movement among the Japanese workers, especially on the west coast, is very promising. The Japanese comrades and sympathizers are penetrating into all organizations led by the bourgeoisie with good results; are doing splendid work among the marines; the semi-monthly paper 'Rodo Shimbun' is improving and is increasing its circulation. The Japanese comrades are in contact with Japanese groups in Hawaii."[140]

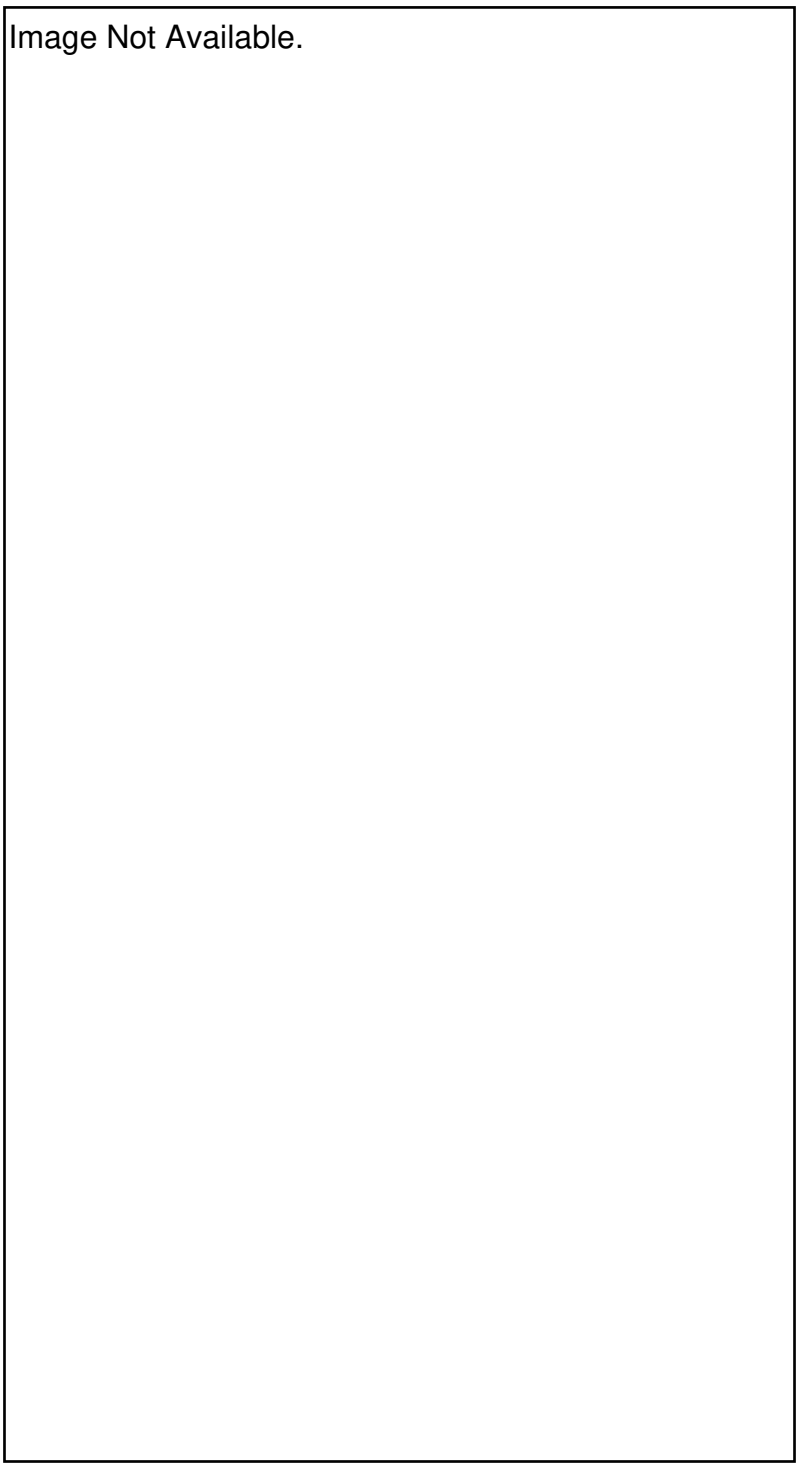
Most surprising, perhaps, is the fact that conditions were far from opportune. In addition to high unemployment, Japanese faced the constant threat of raids and arrest leading to deportation; these threats were realized by the deportation of fifteen Issei Communists on the West Coast, beginning with Kenmotsu on December 16, 1931, and ending in December 1932 when nine were arrested in a raid on a meeting at Long Beach, along with Mrs. Nagahama Sayoko who was pregnant and would have had "no one to support me and the baby to come" if she had stayed in America.[141] The level of responsibility shouldered by Kenmotsu up to the moment of his departure gives some sense of the extent of the local and regional loss. In late November, he opened his letter to Katayama with news of his involvement in the recent Conference for the Protection of Foreign Born, for which he had acted as "conference secretary and the committee's standing secretary." In spite of "a time shortage" in terms of preparations for the conference, he had "already established the movement's policy, so from here on I'll do even more."[142] At the same time, in his "last correspondence" he sought to reassure Katayama that neither the movement in the United States nor Katayama's role would end with his departure. "From now on, someone else will be in charge of all materials from Japan, and whatever else." He also believed that "1 or 2 Japanese comrades will come to San Francisco."[143] In fact, some others took the initiative even before his departure.

Toward the beginning of 1931 a number of employees of two San Francisco-based Japanese-language daily newspapers, the *Nichibei* (Japanese American) and *Shin Sekai* (New World), sought the advice of the *Rodo Shimbun* staff. At that time, a total of twenty-one Japanese-language papers (nine dailies and thirteen weeklies) served Japanese communities on the mainland of the United States. According to Yoneda, because most publishers had financial problems "some were unable at times to meet their payroll deadline," and the staffs received low wages. Although the newspaper employees were responding to these poor working conditions, they had acted "at the suggestion of fellow workers who were CPers. Out of this grew the formation of Press Shop Committees by the employees of both newspapers."[144] Then, on June 8, 1931, approximately fifty

Nichibei employees (of whom five were Communists) walked out. Their initial demand to the publisher Kyutaro Abiko was to get rid of the chief editor Shishimoto Hachiro who reputedly "acted as an abject henchman of the boss." After only "several hours," Shishimoto resigned, upon which employees set about organizing the San Francisco Japanese Press Workers' Union, with the Issei Communist reporter Sakuma Yoshio at its head. Reneging on his promise not to fire anyone for having taken part in the walkout, Abiko thereupon sent Sakuma a letter of dismissal and events unfolded rapidly. On July 26, forty employees went out on strike; this time they demanded reinstatement of Sakuma, "expulsion of four editors who betrayed the workers[,] and immediate payment of all [back] wages." On August 12, Abiko dismissed all the strikers and hired scabs in their stead. On August 15, police called in by Abiko attacked the strikers on the picket line. On September 21 Abiko agreed to meet the workers' demands, and they ended their nearly two-month-long strike; a month later Abiko again went back on his word, and workers again walked out. This time, however, Abiko was able to continue production. Finally, on December 20 approximately thirty of the striking workers began publishing their own bilingual daily paper called *Hokubei Asahi* (North American Sun).[145]

This sequence was pivotal in the workers' movement. Japanese workers in the United States successfully initiated and sustained rank-and-file labor organizing in their own interests and against the interests of their Japanese employer. And yet even under these circumstances, with internal leadership by a Party member and the active participation of four other Party members in the strike, some viewed the action critically according to the dictates of the Third Period. For example, an article about the strike, probably published in one of the Party papers, closed with harsh words for the strike leaders: "Due to the fact that the leadership of the strike is in the hands of the reformists 'News Employees Union' officials, no effort is made to reach the broad masses of the Japanese workers. Instead they orientated towards the pety [*sic*] bourgeois elements . . . The Trade Union Unity League has declared to the strikers that only militant struggle with the broad support of the masses of workers, yellow and white, could the employees hope to win their strike and defeat the boss."[146] In fact, in reporting on the sequence of events this same article testifies to the initiative and militancy of the striking workers. For their part, a year later Japanese activists remembered this moment by naming the San Francisco Japanese branch of the ILD, the Nagura Chapter, after Nagura Hiroshi, who had "fought at the front line of the strike to protect workers' interests" and was killed in a car accident.[147]

Meanwhile, in southern California another group of Japanese workers took action in defense of their rights as workers. On November 23, 1931, the Southern Pacific dismissed fifty of their Japanese maintenance workers. According to Yoneda, "Some of these men had toiled for the railroad for ten to fifteen years." In response, the workers formed a "committee, consisting of a TUUL organizer,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three dismissed workers" and Yoneda, to appeal to the Southern Pacific for severance pay. Yoneda notes that the Los Angeles TUUL Japanese Branch was involved. He also reports that although the committee was met with a "cold-blooded answer," "the Japanese workers understood the meaning of 'unite and fight.' They joined the Unemployed Council Japanese Branch en masse."[148]

In December 1932, to the north but inland, in Vacaville, four hundred agricultural workers went on strike against a wage cut. Apparently, "splendid solidarity has been displayed by the American, Spanish, Fillipino [*sic*] and Japanese workers," as well as "by the women workers" as a group.[149] Moreover, four weeks later, the workers' "ranks [were] 100 percent solid."[150] Equally promising, in April 1933 three hundred and fifty strawberry pickers from the Stanton area, including "28 Japanese from ten camps, and 32 Mexican delegates from seven camps," met to form an Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (AWIU)-TUUL union, which promptly formed a Committee of Action to present the workers' demands to their bosses. When these were refused, Japanese, Mexican, and Filipino workers went on strike, and once again all three groups stuck together.[151] Then, in May Japanese agricultural workers in southern California began to issue a union bulletin called "Noen Rohosha" (probably Rodosha No Koe, meaning Voice of Labor) to "bring the news of struggles to the Japanese workers in Southern California" and to organize the same into the California Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU).[152] And in August, Yoneda answered a call for a Japanese organizer in the Fresno area, where he was "informed that two hundred forty Japanese, several Koreans, and eighty Mexicans at the Martin Ranch's Kawai Camp in Visalia in Central California had appealed for AWIU aid in their fight for twenty-five cents per hour pay. Shortly after the field hands struck, Yoneda and eight others were arrested and then ordered to leave town, but the strikers won their demand.[153] Finally, in December, more than one hundred Japanese workers "voted to form a Japanese language club" in the CAWIU.[154] Indeed, according to the pages of the *Rodo Shimbun*, the word was out among Japanese workers across the mainland and in Hawaii.

> From Southern California, Robert, a sales boy, appealed to his "brothers! If we continue being afraid of the bosses and remain submissive, we, the sales boys, will either get sick or be fired."[155]
>
> From Kawai Camp, "a correspondent of the Fresno Labor Correspondence" reported on "Japanese and Mexican women standing at the front line of the strike": "I participated in a strike at a vineyard and saw how bravely female workers were struggling. And I learned that female workers, who are subjected to triple exploitation, have to work together with men to improve their lives."[156]
>
> From Tomoaki Okada in Hawaii, workers complained about two dollars for the cost of a subscription to the paper. Although individual

workers couldn't afford to subscribe, they were able to pool their monies. "Please keep sending us the newspaper."[157]

From Vancouver, a seamstress by the name of Yoshiko wrote in the Women's Column about a successful strike by fifteen married and single Japanese seamstresses working at Mura dressmaker on Powell Avenue in Vancouver. Not only had the women won their demand for a fourteen-cent raise, but they also understood that the struggle did not end there "since they have to do the cooking, take care of the children, and do the laundry." Yoshiko appealed, "Let's get together and fight so that we can have a good life."[158]

Two issues later, Tomiko Usami wrote in the Women's Column about her life as "the wife of a farmer in Colorado": "In the women's column, there were articles by Mrs. Hatsuko Koyama (who seems like somewhat of an intellectual) and women in Soviet Union, but there haven't been articles on the difficult lives of farmers' wives who are the majority of Japanese wives residing in the US. So, I appeal to you to use this section . . . It's been 20 years since I came to America. During this period, I literally worked the entire time, and I wonder what the reward is for every day I sweated away. What keeps increasing is the number of gray hairs, of children who are American citizens in name only, and the debt . . . Let's unite together."[159]

These stories suggest that left-wing labor organizing among the Japanese "masses" was not entirely absent from the landscape in the early 1930s. Instead, it took place outside and in some instances in opposition' to the institutional structures created to stimulate and direct activism at the national, regional, and local levels. Moreover, these actions took place at a time of heightened repression when scarce resources had to be spent on labor defense and few additional resources were forthcoming from district and national party leaderships.

Conclusion

On March 23, 1934, the head of the West Coast union William Lewis, at the request of President Roosevelt, called off a planned strike by San Francisco longshoremen. In the midst of a bitter fight with District 13 DO Sam Darcy over the role of the Party and the Communist-led MWIU in the organizing struggles on the waterfront, the reappointed head of the American Bureau-PPTUS Harrison George wrote a "Special Report" to a comrade telling him what "*we*" were doing in the longshoremen's strike situation on the Pacific Coast.[1] He declared:

> This was the exact psychological moment and the most excellent opportunity in years to aim a devastating attack upon the anti-Oriental chauvinism which the American Pacific Coast proletariat has had injected into it by bourgeois and A.F. of L. bureaucrats. This chauvinism, the depth of which may be indicated by understanding that its sources go back to the massacres of Chinese immigrants by the first California white settlers in the "gold rush days of 1849," has never received—and we can say does not *yet* receive—[small word covered by black spot] attention it deserves from the CPUSA. This anti-Oriental chauvinism on the Pacific Coast is as wide and as deep as that in the South against the Negroes, even though it does not assume the magnitude in political importance of the Negro question as a national revolutionary movement.[2]

Apart from himself and a few other individuals such as Levin, Gomez, Fislerman, and Wilkerson, who devoted time and energy to the needs and concerns of left-wing and Communist Chinese and Japanese immigrant activists, George's criticisms apply to the American Pacific Coast proletariat, the Party leadership, and the rank-and-file members at least until the mid-1930s.

By the beginning of 1933, the American Bureau stepped up its rhetoric invoking "the struggle against imperialist war" across the Pacific;

simultaneously it became more removed from the crucial local efforts to enlist Chinese and Japanese seamen because of either the Japanese government's heightened surveillance and the Home Office's budget reductions or the continuing divides separating the Bureau from Japanese and Chinese activists and their respective immigrant communities. At the same time, in August 1934 Party Secretary Browder advised the Japanese Buro that it must give equal attention to both "direct mass work" and work in the "Pan Pacific area." In fact, he emphasized, "especially at this moment it is extremely urgent that we do everything in our power to assist the other parties in the Pacific, and in the first place, the Japanese Communist Party."[3] Meanwhile, district and national party leaders were directing Japanese members to combat "sectarian isolation from the masses" and nationalism among the Japanese masses and draw the same into the American Party and TUUL unions.

During this same period, Chinese immigrant party members were forced to wage their own struggle within the movement. Like the Japanese, Chinese members also confronted problems: isolation within the Party as well as local immigrant communities, small memberships and the repeated loss of leading members through their departure for Moscow and their homeland, a perpetual lack of funds, ongoing and bitter factional struggles within district and national party leaderships, and, perhaps most important, harassment by the KMT and immigration authorities along with the ever present threat of arrest leading to deportation. In addition, they faced the party leadership's general lack of attention to and consequent neglect of issues of concern to their immigrant communities. Complicating matters further and contradicting their construction as natives of China, Chinese immigrant activists were expected to conform to policies that construed all members of the American Party as eligible to become naturalized "Americans." Yet, even in the case of individual party leaders who worked closely with and demonstrated their commitment to sustaining the Chinese activists' efforts, nonetheless the paramount interest lay in the fight to support the revolutionary forces in China and defend the Soviet Union. When developing strategies and organizing at the local level, therefore, the activists were largely on their own.

Thus, the long and deep engagements of left-wing and Communist Chinese and Japanese immigrant activists in labor, antiwar, and anti-imperial struggles, both inside the United States and overseas across the Pacific and Atlantic, remained "lost" to the memories and recorded narratives of the U.S. Left. No less striking is the absence of these histories in Asian, European, and general American historiographies.

Scholars working in these fields have made significant advances in illuminating individual aspects of these histories. Scholarship concerning the U.S. Left has moved a long way from the pervasive disregard of the subject of "anti-Oriental chauvinism" of which George speaks, a prejudice evident in some memoirs of former American Communists.[4] Indeed, Alexander Saxton's

The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California is now widely cited, and when scholars of red unionism turn their attention to activism on the waterfront and at sea, the discussion confronts "white supremacy" and racial prejudice directed at Asian seamen in particular.[5]

More recently, path-breaking work in Asian American Studies has not only examined the various and changing manifestations of anti-Asian prejudice and discrimination to which Chinese and Japanese immigrants were subject in communities on and outside the West Coast,[6] but it has also focused squarely on the experiences and actions of the immigrants as they used all the tools at their disposal to resist the discriminatory laws and extralegal actions that sought to prevent them from entering and sustaining lives in the United States.[7] In addition, a number of Asian Americanists have begun to shed light on the links between the immigration and emigration ends of the story by adopting a transnational perspective and delving into social, political, and economic ties binding individuals, families, and communities across the vast distances.[8] In this regard, most recent scholarship never loses sight of the power of the states to which the immigrants were subject.[9] However, when examining Asian Americans and the Left before World War II, Him Mark Lai's and Yuji Ichioka's work remains exceptional; more generally, when treated, the subject is largely confined to the boundaries of a single workplace or union.[10]

Japanese immigrant activists, given their interest and engagement in developments overseas, necessarily contended with an expansionist state whose imperial ambitions followed them across the Pacific and sought to track their every movement, as evidenced by the many lists prepared by Japanese government agents assigned to monitor the activities of Japanese radicals living in the United States on either coast.[11] The interest of the KMT in suppressing any actions seen as threatening its control over the direction of political activism in Chinese immigrant communities in the United States is likewise well documented.[12]

For left-wing and Communist Chinese and Japanese immigrant activists, the possibility of experiencing the repressive hand of the state was perhaps felt most immediately when they sought to cross national borders—whether the mission was to carry out an Atlantic- or Pacific-bound journey, or, if only momentarily, to board ships docked in U.S. ports. Multiple levels of security guarded the waterfronts where Japanese ships docked, and any movements in relation to and words exchanged by Japanese crews with "outsiders" were forbidden and carried severe consequences for all parties involved. The memoirs of American Communist activists who were assigned to board and scatter PPTUS leaflets in the holds of ships bound for Japan mention security conditions surrounding Japanese ships docked on both the West and East coasts.[13] Yet, Japanese immigrant activists took on much of this task, and exchanges between Japanese crews and Japanese immigrant activists occasionally occurred as the latter figured out how to "pass" as nationals whose interests

necessarily converged with those of the assumed patriotic Japanese crews. The memoirs and works by recent scholars neither mention these exchanges, nor do they acknowledge the difficulties organizers working in the pan-Pacific arena had in obtaining more than passing assistance from national and district Communist party leaderships or rank-and-file non-Asian Communists in helping to sustain the overtaxed and highly vulnerable efforts of Japanese and Chinese immigrant activists. No less risky were the efforts of Asian Communist organizers to reach out to either seamen on ships and waterfronts in the Western Pacific or to labor and Communist rank-and-file activists as they traveled clandestinely inland across China and/or by sea up to Vladivostok, and from there across the Soviet Union to Moscow, then back across this expanse and down into non-Soviet territory or, alternatively, into the port of Hamburg and from there to Berlin en route to Moscow and ultimately Asia once again.

This issue raises the question of the place of these histories in Asian and European scholarship. These histories are essentially absent in European historiography, even within the descriptions of Chinese who sought to organize Chinese seamen entering the port of Hamburg and Japanese radicals who gathered in Berlin; from this base they sought not only to support revolutionary movements back home in Asia but also to join the fight against Hitler's growing power. Although a number of European-based Chinese Communists and at least one Korean and one Indian joined these Japanese activists, their stories are not recorded.

The very existence of Chinese immigrants who joined the American as well as Chinese Communist parties and contributed to local struggles in Chinese immigrant communities in the United States has received only minimal attention. When examined, the primary focus among Asian historiography remains connections to the CCP and events in China. The sojourns of Japanese immigrant activists in the United States and Europe are viewed as mere moments in a longer trajectory whose organizing principle and ultimate purpose is return to the homeland. Most interesting in this regard is Travers Edgar Durkee's Ph.D. dissertation on "The Communist International and Japan, 1919–1932." The narrative is replete with references to Japanese socialists and Communists who traveled through and/or resided in not only Asia (with Shanghai as the key point of call) but also the United States and Europe. The ultimate message is clear: Asian Communism as a phenomenon belongs to the non-Western world, and the experiences of Asian activists who resided in the United States should only be "read" in the context of the homeland. As a result, the complexities of the transnational engagements of Chinese and Japanese immigrant activists, and in particular their formal and informal connections to American Communist national and district leaderships and American party institutions as well as European Communist parties,[14] have no place in Asian Communist narratives.

I discovered, however, that to illuminate the full histories of left-wing and Communist Chinese and Japanese immigrant activists I must make several key interventions. First, it was necessary simply to acknowledge the existence of left-wing and Communist Japanese and Chinese immigrant activists, their place within longstanding patterns of transnational activism and thought, and their formation of organizations inside the United States to serve the workers in the respective immigrant communities and/or grapple with overseas developments in China, Japan, and across the Western Pacific prior to World War II and the birth of the postwar Asian American movement. As elementary as such an acknowledgment might appear, it was in fact unprecedented in terms of calling attention to the linkages between the hitherto separate scholarships of Asian American Studies and the U.S. Left. It was essential to recognize that these Chinese and Japanese radicals' experiences were integral, not simply peripheral, to the narratives of Asian American Studies and the U.S. Left.

The perspective of the other side of the Pacific required me to place these immigrant activists squarely within the historiography of Asian Studies. Thus, the two interventions entailed placing oft-perceived exiled activists in a transnational context that linked their experiences and actions in Asia and America. Rather than seeing a clear boundary between the history on one side of the Pacific and the history on the other, an early and continuing web of connections emerged.

Next, I turned to the scholarship of immigration and global labor historians such as those involved in the "Italians Everywhere" research project, who have embarked on a path-breaking effort to trace the global movements of Italian immigrant laborers; one collaboration focused on labor radicalism and migration, and the other on women workers and militancy.[15] Among other things, these scholars have uncovered the linkages between local, national, and global histories of labor and gender. By following in these and other researchers' footsteps, I similarly began with a willingness to cross national borders and engage a field of interest that was transnational in the broadest sense. In fact, from the beginning the sources clearly demanded crisscrossing the globe and tracking the multiple and fluid connections among the various geographical scales.

Here I drew upon the scholarship of historical geographers and labor geographers, to make sense of these very linkages, the relationship between place and space, and the ways that space and spatial divisions act upon and are also used by the activists to further their radical aims. Geographical scale can thus serve as either a tool of repression or resistance and possible liberation.

Finally, the last step was to carry out the main body of the research: an in-depth study of left-wing and Communist Chinese and Japanese immigrant activists' experiences and activities in the United States and overseas, with attention to the similarities and differences between the two groups and any ties that developed over the course of the period under examination. In both

cases the activists formed webs of relationships that spanned the globe, both the Atlantic and Pacific dimensions, and continents and oceans. At the historiographical level, the result weaves together American, Asian, and European histories.

At this juncture I call upon other historians to internationalize their historical scholarship—despite their identification as practitioners of American, Asian, or European history—to build upon my initial research. This should not entail a neglect of the national dimension and the long and continuing power of the nation-state. In fact, I argue that, in treating national and transnational dimensions as inextricably linked levels of analysis, the researcher is forced to recognize the ongoing power of both the nation-state and the national interest. The boundaries between the various historiographies obscure more than illuminate the histories of mobile actors, such as immigrant Communists. Moreover, the left-wing and Communist Japanese and Chinese immigrant activists are not alone among immigrants and laborers in terms of their border-crossing practices, and no doubt the histories of other actors remain trapped within the interstices of the various scholarships, simply waiting for other scholars to liberate their stories.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. S. Kenmotsu to Katayama, January 5 [1928], original in Japanese, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, f. 521, op. 1, d. 75,ll. 91–92, Katayama Sen Papers, Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI), Moscow, Russian Federation (hereafter cited as KSP).
2. Pamphlet, "The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat: Its Origin, Program, and Work" (Shanghai: Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, 1928), f. 534, op. 4, d. 217,ll. 151–217, quotes on1. 158, Archive of the Red International of Labor Unions or Profintern, RGASPI (hereafter cited as RILU).
3. Katayama Sen to Editor. *The Pan-Pacific Worker*, December 16, 1927, f. 521, op. 1, d. 76,l. 40, KSP.
4. "Otchet o delegatsiiakh na I-i and 2-i vsemirneie s'ezdy Ligi bor'by protiv imperializma i za natsional'nuiu nezavisimost,'" 26.9.29, f. 542, op. 1, d. 94,ll. 46–47, Anti-Imperialist League Papers, RGASPI (hereafter cited as LAI); press release of All-America Anti-Imperialist League (United States Section), 1/11/27, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1212,l. 1, Communist Party of the United States Papers, RGASPI (hereafter cited as CPUSA).
5. William W. Weinstone to National Office, Chicago, February 21, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, 1024,l. 100, CPUSA.
6. David S. Ogino to Katayama Sen, March 13, 1927, f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,l. 48, KSP.
7. Huang Shih, Tso Shih, and Yung-Ying Hsu to Comrade Jay Lovestone, March 29, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1074,l. 3, CPUSA.
8. Sasaki, "Autobiography," April 28, 1936, translation into English, f. 495, op. 280, d. 188,ll. 3–4, Archive of the Communist International, RGASPI (hereafter cited as CI).
9. Tetsuro Kato, "The Japanese Victims of Stalinist Terror in the USSR," 7, 10, at // members.jcom.home.ne.jp/katori/spurge.html. For published version, see "Biographische Anmerkungen zu den japanischen Opfern des stalinistischen Terrors in der USSR," in *Jahrbuch fur Historische Kommunismusforschung 1998*, ed. Hermann Weber ua Hrsg (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1998). On the Great Terror, see Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); J. Arch Getty and Roberta T. Manning, eds., *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cam.bridge University Press, 1993).
10. The official name of the province was Dalnevostochny krai (Far Eastern Region). John J. Stephan, *The Russian Far East: A History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 173.
11. The term comes from Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (New York: Verso, 1989), 57.

12. From David Harvey's translation of a passage by Henri Lefebvre in *La Revolution Urbaine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), 25, quoted in Soja, *Postmodern Geographies*, 81. See also Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991).
13. David Harvey, *The Limits to Capital* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), 426–445.
14. Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990 [1984]), xi.
15. Neil Smith, "Homeless/global: Scaling places," in *Mapping the Future: Local Cultures, Global Change*, ed. Jon Bird, et al. (London: Routledge, 1993), 90, 101, 114. See also Smith, "Geography, Difference and the Politics of Scale," in *Postmodernism and the Social Sciences*, ed. Joe Doherty, Elspeth Graham, and Mo Malek (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 57–79.
16. Doreen Massey and Pat Jess, "Introduction," in *A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization*, ed. Doreen Massey and Pat Jess (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 1.
17. Doreen Massey, "The Conceptualization of Place," in *A Place in the World?*, 58–59. See also Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 154–156.
18. Doreen Massey, "Politics and Space/Time," *New Left Review* 196 (November/December 1992): 80–81.
19. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 234.
20. Kevin R. Cox, "Spaces of dependence, spaces of engagement and the politics of scale, or: looking for local politics," *Political Geography* 17:1 (1998): 2–3.
21. On the emergence of the field, see Andrew Herod, "The Spatiality of Labor Unionism: *A Review Essay*," in *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism*, ed. Andrew Herod (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 1–36; Herod, "Toward a Labor Geography," in *Labor Geographies: Workers and the Landscape of Capitalism* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2001), 13–49, 270–273.
22. Andrew Herod, "Workers, Space, and Labor Geography," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 66 (Fall 2004): 117. For examples of this scholarship, see Herod, *Labor Geographies*, and the essays in *Organizing the Landscape*.
23. Don Mitchell, "The Scales of Justice: Localist Ideology, Large-Scale Production, and Agricultural Labor's Geography of Resistance in 1930s California," in *Organizing the Landscape*, 189. See also Mitchell, *The Lie of the Land: Migrant Workers and the California Landscape* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
24. For examples of scholarship in the field of historical geography that focus on the racialization process, see Kay J. Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875–1980* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Peter Jackson and Jan Penrose, eds., *Constructions of Race, Place and Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).
25. On the twin challenges to U.S. labor history, see Ava Baron, ed., *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), especially chapter 1; Alice Kessler Harris, "Treating the Male Worker as Other: Redefining the Parameters of Labor History," *Labor History* 34 (Spring/Summer 1993): 190–204; David R. Roediger, "What If Labor Were Not White and Male?" in *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 179–202; "Labor History After the Gender Turn," Special Issue, *International Labor and Working-Class History* 63 (Spring 2003). On U.S. labor history's encounter with Asian American labor, see Chris Friday, "Asian American Labor and Historical Interpretation,"

Labor History 35:4 (Fall 1994): 524–546. For an example of a history of U.S. labor that integrates race and gender, see Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

26. "The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History," Special Issue, *The Journal of American History* 86:3 (December 1999); Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

27. Michael Hanagan and Marcel van der Linden, "New Approaches to Global Labor History," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 66 (Fall 2004): 2.

28. See, for example, Dirk Hoerder, ed., *American Labor and Immigration History, 1877–1920s: Recent European Research* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982); Edna Bonacich and Lucie Cheng, "Introduction: A Theoretical Orientation to International Labor Migration," in *Labor Immigration Under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States Before World War II*, ed. Cheng and Bonacich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Frits van Holthoon and Marcel van der Linden, eds., *Internationalism in the Labour Movement, 1830–1940*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988).

29. Donna Gabaccia, Franca Iacovetta, and Fraser Ottanelli, "Laboring Across National Borders: Class, Gender, and Militancy in the Proletarian Mass Migrations," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 66 (Fall 2004): 58. The two volumes published thus far include Donna R. Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, eds., *Women, Gender and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); Donna R. Gabaccia and Fraser M. Ottanelli, eds., *Italian Workers of the World: Labor, Migration, and the Making of Multi-Ethnic Nations* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

30. Robin D. G. Kelley, "'But a Local Phase of a World Problem': Black History's Global Vision, 1883–1950," *The Journal of American History* 86:3 (December 1999): 1045.

31. For Wong, the shift is problematic insofar as it participates in a "developmentalist narrative" that sees Asian American history as moving from "isolationism to transnational cooperation" and thereby "elides domestic race relations as well as the United States's history of exploitation of Asian labor." Sau-ling C. Wong, "Denationalization Reconsidered: Asian American Cultural Criticism at a Theoretical Crossroads," *Amerasia Journal* 21:1 & 2 (1995): 1–3, 13.

32. On the need to reevaluate the relationship between Asian American Studies and Asian Studies, see Sucheta Mazumdar, "Asian American Studies and Asian Studies," in *Asian Americans: Comparative and Global Perspectives*, ed. Shirley Hune, et al. (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1991), 29–44; Arif Dirlik, ed., "Asian American Studies: Origins, Identities, Crises," *Amerasia Journal* 29:2 (2003): 167–228.

33. Peter Kwong, *Chinatown, N.Y.: Labor & Politics, 1930–1950* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), 13.

34. Sucheng Chan, "European and Asian Immigration into the United States in Comparative Perspective, 1820s to 1920s," in *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics*, ed. Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 38.

35. See, for example, Madeline Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration Between the United States and South China, 1882–1943* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); Yong Chen, *Chinese San Francisco, 1850–1943: A Trans-Pacific Community* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); Arleen Garcia de Vera, "Constituting Community: A Study of Nationalism, Colonialism, Gender, and Identity

among Filipinos in California, 1919–1946," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2002. See also Adam McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, Hawaii, 1900–1936* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001) in which McKeown adopts a "global perspective" on Chinese migration.

36. My study has affinities to Gary Y. Okihiro's conceptualization of U.S. history in *Common Ground: Reimagining American History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).
37. McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks*, 85.
38. Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 8.
39. Dorothy B. Fujita-Rony, *American Workers, Colonial Power: Philippine Seattle and the Transpacific West, 1919–1941* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 19. Another recent study of Filipino-American history places at the center of its analysis the history of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines; see Catherine Ceniza Choy's *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
40. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). However, a number of scholars including Said himself have begun to address the subject, in part through a critique of Said's original work. Central to these critiques is the ambiguity in Said's study regarding the nature of Orientalism: Is it a mere or necessarily incomplete representation, or a misrepresentation reflecting a system of knowledge put in service of the imperial project? See, for example, Edward W. Said, "Orientalism Reconsidered," in *Literature, Politics and Theory; Papers from the Essex Conference, 1976–84*, ed. Francis Barker, et al. (London: Methuen Books, 1986), chapter 11; Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (New York: Routledge, 1990), chapter 7.
41. Robert Lee, *Orientals: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999); John Kuo Wei Tchen, *New York before Chinatown: Orientalism and the Shaping of American Culture, 1776–1882* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Henry Yu, *Thinking Orientals: Migration, Contact, and Exoticism in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). For ease of reading, henceforth I will not place words such as Orientals, Orient, East, Far East and their adjectival variants in quotations, although it is understood that such terms refer to social constructions.
42. Lee, *Orientals*, 82.
43. Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 8, 12. On the historical origins of the "illegal alien" in U.S. law and society, see Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
44. Fernando Coronil, "Beyond Occidentalism: Toward Nonimperial Geohistorical Categories," *Cultural Anthropology* 11:1 (February 1996): 55–57.
45. Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 3–4, 14–15.
46. The center-periphery paradigm is now fairly common in Comintern historiography. See, for example, Kevin McDermott and Jeremy Agnew, *The Comintern: A History of International Communism from Lenin to Stalin* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), xxi; Mikhail Narinsky and Jurgen Rojahn, eds., *Centre and Periphery: The History of the Comintern in the Light of New Documents* (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History, 1996).

47. L. Eve Armentrout Ma, *Revolutionaries, Monarchists, and Chinatowns: Chinese Politics in the Americas and the 1911 Revolution* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 161.

48. Notable examples include Benjamin Gitlow, *I Confess: The Truth About Communism* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1940); Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism* (New York: Viking Press, 1957); Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia* (New York: Viking Press, 1960); Harvey Klehr, *Communist Cadre: The Social Background of the American Communist Party Elite* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978); idem., *The Heyday of American Communism: The Depression Decade* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

49. See, for example, Al Richmond, *A Long View From the Left: Memoirs of an American Revolutionary* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973); Peggy Dennis, *The Autobiography of an American Communist: A Personal View of a Political Life, 1925–1975* (Berkeley: Lawrence Hill, 1977); Harry Haywood, *Black Bolshevik: Autobiography of an Afro-American Communist* (Chicago: Liberator Press, 1978).

50. See, for example, Steve Nelson, James R. Barrett, and Rob Ruck, *Steve Nelson: American Radical* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1981); Maurice Isserman, *Which Side Were You On? The American Communist Party During the Second World War* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982); Mark Naison, *Communists in Harlem During the Depression* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983); Bruce Nelson, *Workers on the Waterfront: Seamen, Longshoremen, and Unionism in the 1930s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); Dorothy Healey and Maurice Isserman, *Dorothy Healey Remembers: A Life in the American Communist Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). An early study on women in the American Communist Party is Elsa Jane Dixler, "The Woman Question: Women and the American Communist Party, 1929–1941," Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1974.

51. During the 1950s and early 1960s, the Oral History Research Office at Columbia University began to conduct oral interviews with prominent figures on the Left. However, in the 1970s a generation of activist-scholars began to collect the oral histories of radicals of both the Old and New Lefts. For an overview of this history, see Jonathan Bloom and Paul Buhle, eds., *Guide to the Oral History of the American Left* (New York: New York University Libraries, Tamiment Institute/Ben Josephson Library, 1984), 1–6; Paul Buhle and Robin D. G. Kelley, "The Oral History of the Left in the United States: A Survey and Interpretation," *Journal of American History* 76:2 (September 1989): 537–541.

52. See, for example, Kathleen Brown, "Ella Reeve Bloor: The Politics of the Personal in the American Communist Party," Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1996; Maria Woroby, "The Ukrainian Immigrant Left in the United States, 1880–1950," in *The Immigrant Left in the United States*, ed. Paul Buhle and Dan Georgakas (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 185–206; Robert G. Lee, "The Hidden World of Asian Immigrant Radicalism," in *The Immigrant Left in the United States*, 256–288; Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Verso, 1998); Fraser M. Ottanelli, " 'If Fascism Comes to America We Will Push It Back into the Ocean': Italian American Antifascism in the 1920s and 1930s," in *Italian Workers of the World*, ed. Gabaccia and Ottanelli; Kate Weigand, *Red Feminism: American Communism and the Making of Women's Liberation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). For a global and comparative approach to the study of Italian workers who are broadly described as "international

labor activists" and who include Communists, see *Italian Workers of the World*, ed. Gabaccia and Ottanelli.

53. James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia*, 120.

54. See, for example, Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes, *The American Communist Movement: Storming Heaven Itself* (New York: Twayne, 1992); Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, and Fridrikh Igorevich Firsov, *The Secret World of American Communism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, and Kyrill M. Anderson, *The Soviet World of American Communism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

55. Randi Storch, "Shades of Red: The Communist Party and Chicago's Workers, 1928–1939," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1998; James R. Barrett, *William Z. Foster and the Tragedy of American Radicalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Edward P. Johanningsmeier, "The Trade Union Unity League: American Communists and the Transition to Industrial Unionism: 1928–1934," *Labor History* 42:2 (May 2001): 159–77.

56. Bulletin issued by the Women's Department, Communist Party, District #13, Vol. 1, No. 1 (April 1930), f. 515, op. 1, d. 2502,l. 25, CPUSA.

57. Avery F. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 21, 66.

58. On the standard format of the autobiographical questionnaire used by the Comintern from 1933 to 1939, see Claude Pennetier and Bernard Pudal, "Communist Prosopography in France: Research in Progress based on French Institutional Communist Autobiographies," in *Agents of the Revolution: New Biographical Approaches to the History of International Communism in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, ed. Kevin Morgan, Gidon Cohen, and Andrew Flinn (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2005), 21–35.

59. In the closing line, he states, "I hereby certify the above statement to be true and correct in every detail except dates which are approximate." Sasaki, "Autobiography," April 28, 1936,l. 4.

60. "Thesis and Report of the Buro adopted at the Second National Conference of The Chinese Fraction of the Workers' (Communist) Party of America, February 19–21, 1929," translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1814,l. 20, CPUSA.

61. For an example of an historian who refuses to accept the silencing of an oppressed past, see Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

62. I am responding to James Barrett's call to historians of social movements to consider the attention to the subjective the same as "an important interpretative strategy." James R. Barrett, "Revolution and Personal Crisis: Communist Politics and Personal Narrative in the Life of William Z. Foster," in *Agents of the Revolution*, 127.

63. For a description of the still standard periodization of the Comintern, see McDermott and Agnew, *The Comintern*, xxi–xxii.

64. For a discussion of the origins of the Third Period, see Theodore Draper, "The Strange Case of the Comintern," *Survey* 18 (1972): 91–137; Fernando Claudin, *The Communist Movement: From Comintern to Cominform* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 77–78; Nicholas N. Kozlov and Eric D. Weitz, "Reflections on the Origins of the 'Third Period': Bukharin, the Comintern, and the Political Economy of Weimar Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History* 24:3 (1989): 387–410; Kevin McDermott, "Stalin and the Comintern during the 'Third Period,' 1928–33," *European History Quarterly* 25:3 (1995): 409–429.

65. For a thoughtful reflection on the traditional periodization of Comintern history and its shortcomings in relation to the different histories of national parties, see Jurgen Rojahn, "A Matter of Perspective: Some Remarks on the Periodization of the History of the Communist International," in *Centre and Periphery*, 35–45.
66. Fraser M. Ottanelli, *The Communist Party of the United States: From the Depression to World War II* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 58; Kevin McDermott, "Recent Literature on the Comintern: Problems of Interpretation," in *Centre and Periphery*, 27.

CHAPTER 1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. Branko Lazitch and Milorad M. Drachkovitch, *Lenin and the Comintern*, vol. 1 (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972), 389–390.
2. Michael Weiner, "Comintern in East Asia, 1919–39," in Kevin McDermott and Jeremy Agnew *The Comintern: A History of International Communism from Lenin to Stalin* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 162–163.
3. Xenia Joukoff Eudin and Robert C. North, *Soviet Russia and the East, 1920–1927: A Documentary Survey* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), 65.
4. Eudin and North, *Soviet Russia and the East*, 66.
5. On the differences between Lenin and Roy's positions, see Helene Carrere d'Encausse and Stuart R. Schram, *Marxism and Asia: An Introduction with Readings* (London: The Penguin Press, 1969), 26–31; Eudin and North, *Soviet Russia and the East*, 36–44, 63–71.
6. Alexander Pantsov notes that although the "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" was approved separately from the "Supplementary Theses," the two documents were thereafter "always presented as a unified resolution consisting of two parts." However, not only was Roy's draft of the "Supplementary Theses" radically revised, but also the amended version sounded "contradictory." Alexander Pantsov, *The Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution, 1919–1927* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 43. For the complete text of the "Theses on the National and Colonial question adopted by the Second Comintern congress," July 28, 1920, see Jane Degras, ed., *The Communist International, 1919–1943, Documents*, vol. 1 (London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1971), 138–144. For the complete text of Roy's draft theses, see Sibnarayan Ray, ed., *Selected Works of M. N. Roy*, vol. 1, 1917–22 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 165–168.
7. Germaine A. Hoston, *The State, Identity, and the National Question in China and Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 26–36.
8. For an interpretation of late Marx's work as revealing the development of Marx's thought away from a unilinear evolutionist schema towards a more complex conceptualization of social transformation and the heterogeneity and interdependence of societal forms across the globe, see Teodor Shanin, ed., *Late Marx and the Russian Road: Marx and 'the Peripheries of Capitalism'* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983).
9. Hoston, *The State, Identity*, 31–36, 177–178, 235–236; Edward Hallett Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917–1923*, vol. 3 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961), 259–270, 387–89.
10. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution,* 389. For the argument that the Comintern's interest in the national and colonial question was instrumentalist from the time it was first

articulated at the Second Comintern Congress, see D'Encausse and Schram, *Marxism and Asia*, 27–28, 39–40; Albert Resis, "The Profintern: Origins to 1923" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1964), 211–213.

11. Benjamin I. Schwartz, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 26–27; Maurice Meisner, *Li Ta-Chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 68–69.
12. Arif Dirlik, *The Origins of Chinese Communism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 8–15, 266, 269.
13. Dirlik, *The Origins of Chinese Communism*, 267; Hans J. van de Ven, *From Friend to Comrade: The Founding of the Chinese Communist Party, 1920–1927* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 1–4, 9–11, 105–107; S. A. Smith, *A Road is Made: Communism in Shanghai, 1920–1927* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 51–58, 115–116; Tony Saich and Hans van de Ven, eds., *New Perspectives on the Chinese Communist Revolution* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1995), xiv; C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-Ying How, *Missionaries of Revolution: Soviet Advisers and Nationalist China, 1920–1927* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 35–36. William Kirby goes so far as to argue that the overriding reality of the history of the CCP was the party's marriage to Moscow. William C. Kirby, "The Internationalization of China: Foreign Relations At Home and Abroad in the Republican Era," *The China Quarterly* 150 (June 1997): 450.
14. "International Labor Delegation in China," *Labor Unity*, April 15, 1927, p. 8.
15. The origins of the PPTUS actually go back to an initiative by the New South Wales Labor Council of Australia to convene a congress of trade unions from countries across the Pacific in Sydney in July 1926. Because so few delegates reached Sydney, this in effect became a "preliminary conference" in advance of the full congress, to be held in May 1927 in Canton, China. Pamphlet, "The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat: Its Origin, Program, and Work" (Shanghai: Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, 1928), f. 534, op. 4, d. 217,ll. 151–217, see esp.l. 156, RILU; Frank Farrell, *International Socialism & Australian Labor: The Left in Australia, 1919–1939* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1981), 126–131.
16. Harold R. Isaacs, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, 2d rev. ed. (1938; rpt, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), 183.
17. Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz and John K. Fairbank, *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1952), 89–93; Isaacs, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, 186–220, 252–271; Smith, *A Road is Made*, chapter 10.
18. Smith, *A Road is Made*, 208. See also Van de Ven, *From Friend to Comrade*, 181–183, 243; Patricia Stranahan, "The Chinese Communist Party During the Third Period, 1927–34," in *In Search of Revolution: International Communist Parties in the Third Period*, ed. Matthew Worley (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 301–318. For an example of an opposing interpretation arguing that the Chinese Communists were "hostages of Stalin's line," see Pantsov, *The Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution*, 212.
19. Robert A. Scalapino, *The Japanese Communist Movement, 1920–1966* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 7–9, 19; George M. Beckmann and Okubo Genji, *The Japanese Communist Party* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 48–54, 76–77; Sandra Wilson, "The Comintern and the Japanese Communist Party," in *International Communism and the Communist International, 1919–1943*, ed. Tim Rees and Andrew Thorpe (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 285–286.
20. Ibid., 46.
21. Wilson, "The Comintern and the Japanese," 286; Germaine A. Hoston, *Marxism and*

the Crisis of Development in Japan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 40, 62–66.

22. Wilson, "The Comintern and the Japanese," 290.
23. Scalapino, *The Japanese Communist Movement*, 44–45.
24. See note 61.
25. Hoston, *The State, Identity*, 408–409.
26. Quoted in Eudin and North, *Soviet Russia and the East, 1920–1927*, 3.
27. Reinhart Kossler, "Revolution in a Foreign Land: Eyewitness Accounts by Soviet Advisers to China, 1923–1927," in *Internationalism in the Labour Movement, 1830–1940*, ed. Frits van Holthoon and Marcel van der Linden, vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), 111.
28. Quoted in Eudin and North, *Soviet Russia and the East*, 3.
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32. Hoston, *Marxism and the Crisis*, 311.
33. Wilson makes the important point that the Comintern's own ambivalence regarding Japan's status has been perpetuated by historians of the Comintern "by confining their brief references to Japan to sections on the 'colonial and semi-colonial' members of the Comintern" and thus conflating nonwestern with colonial and semicolonial. Wilson, "The Comintern and the Japanese," 304n17.
34. Smith, *A Road Is Made*, 211; Wilson, "The Comintern and the Japanese," 288; Hoston, *Marxism and the Crisis*, xi; Fernando Claudin, *The Communist Movement*, 244–252, 287–288. On the history of the Comintern's work in East Asia in the 1920s and 1930s, see Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917–1923*, chapters 26,32, 33; Edward Hallett Carr, *Socialism in One Country, 1924–1926*, vol. 3, part II (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1964), section "B: The Soviet Union and the East"; E. H. Carr, *Twilight of the Comintern: 1930–1935* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 319–384; Weiner, "Comintern in East Asia, 1919–39," 158–190.
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CHAPTER 2: STUDY GROUPS, THE ORIENTAL BRANCH, AND "HANDS OFF CHINA" DEMONSTRATIONS

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65. Inoue to Ishida, ll. 36–37; Ritsutaro to Yamaguchi, l. 78.
66. Ishigaki Eitaro to Katayama Susumu, October 3, [1925], original in Japanese, trans. Mariko Izumi, f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,l. 24, KSP. Apparently, Yada redeemed himself sufficiently that in November 1928 Katayama appealed to Petrovsky for funds to enable him to travel from his current residence in Hamburg to Moscow. Sen Katayama to Comrade Petrovsky, 21/11.28, f. 521, op. 1, d. 65,l. 130, KSP.
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69. Ishigaki to Katayama, October 3, [1925], I. 24.
70. Chas. Krumbein, District Organizer to C. E. Ruthenberg, January 2, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 489,I. 1, CPUSA. Although Krumbein also noted that the branch "is composed mainly of Japanese comrades," there is no record of any non-Japanese members.
71. According to a police report by M. Umemoto, one Genichi Kito became a member of the American Party when he was living in the United States, and in 1929 he moved to Shanghai from Japan. Shanghai Municipal Police Report, September 17, 1931, File 2527/36, box 19, RSMP.
72. "Miyagi Yotoku's Notes," p. 1, from *Gendaishi Shiryo Vol. 3. Soruge Jiken Part 3*, ed. Obi Toshito (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobo, 1962), folder 4, box 13, KGYP.
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75. Oki Tadashi (Goro Ota), "Autobiography," January 18, 1933, translation into English, f. 495, op. 154, d. 524,I. 13, CI.
76. Ben Kobashigawa, "The Okinawan Immigrant Left in the United States Before World War Two," in *Contacts Between Cultures: Eastern Asia: History and Social Sciences*, vol. 4, ed. Bernard Hung-Kayluk (Lewiston/Queenstown/Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 55–57.
77. Sasaki, "Autobiography," April 28, 1936, translation into English, f. 495, op. 280, d. 188,I. 3, CI; Tetsuji Hariuchi [*sic*], "Autobiography," n.d., translation into English, f. 495, op. 261, d. 716,I. 3, CI.
78. Kobashigawa, "Okinawan Immigrant Left," 57. According to Deakin and Storry, Miyagi recalled, "there was a series of rows culminating in a split, which, as Miyagi put it, 'spelled the death of the society.'" F. W. Deakin and G. R. Storry, *The Case of Richard Sorge* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1966), 130.
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81. Sasaki, "Autobiography,"I. 3.
82. Karl G. Yoneda, *Ganbatte: Sixty-year Struggle of a Kibei Worker* (Los Angeles: Resource Development and Publications, Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1983), 16.
83. Wm. Schneiderman to Comrade Bedacht, October 4, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 528,I. 5, CPUSA.
84. Goto, "Autobiography,"I. 30b.
85. Sasaki, "Autobiography,"I. 3.
86. Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 17.
87. Sasaki, "Personal History,"I. 33.
88. Manuel Gomez to William Schneiderman, December 18, 1925, and March 18, 1926, Hynes Exhibit No. 19, C, Testimony of Captain William F. Hynes, in House, U.S.

Congress, Special Committee on Communist Activities in the U.S., *Investigation of Communist Propaganda*, 71st Cong., 2d sess., vol. 4, pt. 5 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1930) (hereafter cited as Hynes Testimony), pp. 1265–1266.

89. Sasaki, "Autobiography,"1. 3.
90. Ogino or Savelev (Nakao Ryuta), "biography," n.d., original in Japanese, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, f. 495, op. 280, d. 282,11. 5–6, CI; B.A. transcript of Seizo Ogino, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, The University of Kansas, Lawrence.
91. Ishigaki to Katayama, October 3, [1925],11. 23–24; Ishigaki Eitaro to Katayama Senior Brother, October 26, [1926], f. 521, op. 1, d. 75,11. 93, 95, RILU.
92. Chas. Krumbein to C. E. Ruthenberg, January 2, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 489,1. 1, CPUSA.
93. Executive Secretary to Charles Krumbein, August 11, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 488,1. 145, CPUSA.
94. E. Levin to C. E. Ruthenberg, August 6, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 497,1. 71, CPUSA.
95. Yokei Fukunaga, "Autobiography," January 18, 1933, translation into English, f. 495, op. 154, d. 524,1. 16, CI.
96. R. Kawashima to CEC, May 8, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 489,1. 95, CPUSA.
97. Sasaki Miichiro, Financial Secretary, Educational Director, Japanese Labor Union New York, to Comrade Sir Katayama, November 22, 1926, f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,1. 32, KSP.
98. William W. Weinstone to C. E. Ruthenberg, December 8, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 489,1. 256, CPUSA.
99. R. Kawashima to Comrade Jay Lovestone, December 18, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 524,11. 28–30, CPUSA.
100. "I D" to C. E. Ruthenberg, March 10, 1926, f. 515, op. 1, d. 715,1. 13, CPUSA.
101. This name was written in the Cyrillic alphabet. Unfortunately, I have been unable to identify the place being referred to.
102. Ishigaki to Katayama, October 3, [1925], 1. 24.
103. Sen Katayama to Comrade Roy, June 26, 1926, f. 521, op. 1, d. 65,1. 970b, KSP.
104. S. A. Smith, *A Road Is Made: Communism in Shanghai, 1920–1927* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 119.
105. Omura to Katayama, July 2 [1926], original in Japanese, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, f. 521, op. 1, d. 66,11. 41–44, KSP.
106. Sen Katayama and K. Omura to Com. Vassilieff, VIII/30.1926, f. 521, op. 1, d. 65,1. 98, KSP.
107. Sen Katayama to Comrade Vacillev, 19.21/IX.26, f. 521, op. 1, d. 65,1. 100, KSP.
108. The May Thirtieth Massacre occurred on May 30, 1925, when British police fired on a demonstration of Chinese students, killing ten and wounding fifty. The demonstration was held to protest the killing of one Chinese worker and wounding of others who had gone out on strike at a Japanese-owned cotton mill in Shanghai. Jean Chesneaux, *Le mouvement ouvrier Chinois de 1919 a 1927* (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1962), 372–373; Daniel Y. K. Kwan, *Marxist Intellectuals and the Chinese Labor Movement: A Study of Deng Zhongxia, 1894–1933* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 105–113.
109. Him Mark Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China, To Build a Better America: The Chinese Marxist Left in America to the 1960s," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* (1992): 8–9; Yang Zuntao and Zhao Luqian, "Shi Huang," in vol. 45 of *Zhong Gong dangshi*

renwu zhuan [Personages in the party history of the CCP], ed. Hu Hua, et al., trans. Jin Yaliang (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1990), 160; Yao Xiaoping, trans. Jin Yaliang, "A Red Revolutionist Seldom Known to Others—Xu Yongying, Founder of China Bureau, U.S.C.P. and Director of English Translation of The Selected Works of Mao Zedong," *Zheng Tan Feng Yun*, 8–10.

110. Yang and Zhao, "Shi Huang," 164.

111. L. Eve Armentrout Ma, *Revolutionaries, Monarchists, and Chinatowns: Chinese Politics in the Americas and the 1911 Revolution* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 4, 39.

112. Arif Dirlik, *The Origins of Chinese Communism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 32–33, 60–65; Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 5. On Chinese students' exposure to anarchism and other revolutionary causes and doctrines in Japan and Europe, see Peter Zarrow, *Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 31–81, 193–194. On the Chinese work-study movement in France, see John Kong-cheong Leung, "The Chinese Work-Study Movement: the Social and Political Experience of Chinese Students and Student-Workers in France, 1913–1925," Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1982; Marilyn A. Levine, *The Found Generation: Chinese Communists in Europe during the Twenties* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993).

113. Madeline Yuan-yin Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration Between the United States and South China, 1882–1943* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 31.

114. FBI Investigative Summary Report, FBINY 100–98894, 12/14/51, p. 4, Subject: Benjamin Junt Fee, FBIHQ 100–369886 (in author's possession) (hereafter cited as Fee FBI file); certificate of Identity of Benjamin J. Fee, in file of Benjamin J. Fee, File No. 12017–49602, Chinese Arrival Files, San Francisco, Records of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Record Group 85, National Archives, Pacific Branch, San Bruno, Calif.; M. James to Secretariat, CPUSA, July 5, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2756,l. 7, CPUSA; Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 10.

115. "Anti-imperialist Work," report of the Fourth National Convention, Workers (Communist) Party of America, August 21–30, 1925, Hynes Exhibit No. 2, T. Hynes Testimony, p. 155. The criticism was part of the twelfth thesis, "The West and the East," from the "Theses on Tactics Adopted by the Fifth Comintern Congress," July 1924. Jane Degras, ed., *The Communist International, 1919–1943, Documents*, vol. 2 (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1971), 153.

116. "Anti-imperialist Work," 155–156; minutes of meeting of WP Sub-Committee on Pan American Anti-Imperialist Work, Jan. 20, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 534,ll. 1–2, CPUSA; "The Organizational Structure of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League, American Section, Shall Be As Follows," [1925], f. 515, op. 1, d. 482,l. 149, CPUSA; C. E. Ruthenberg to all Party Units, October 20, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 482,l. 111, CPUSA; Charles Shipman, *It Had To Be Revolution: Memoirs of an American Radical* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 154–156; General Secretary to ECCI, November 2, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 474,l. 76, CPUSA.

117. Gomez to Comrade, Mexico City, May 11, 1926, f. 515, op. 1, d. 717,l. 13, CPUSA; "The Question of the Location of the Headquarters of the Liga Anti-Imperialista," [1926], translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 917,l. 71, CPUSA.

118. Ruthenberg, to all Party Units, October 20, 1925.

119. "Organizational Structure of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League."

120. "Diary of Events, May 1925," vol. 1, no. 2, f. 515, op. 1, d. 534,l. 22, CPUSA.

121. The correct spelling was Ling Chi Lo.

122. See also Alice Sum, General Executive Secretary, The Unionist Guild, to Sirs and Brothers, June 25, 1925, Carton 18, Folder "U Miscellany," San Francisco Labor Council records, 1906–1965, BANC MSS 69/139 c, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter cited as SFLC).

123. Before changing it in the fall of 1919, the organization's original Chinese name was Sanfanshi Gongyi Tongmeng Zonghui (Workers' League of San Francisco). H. Mark Lai, "A Historical Survey of the Chinese Left in America," in *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America*, ed. Emma Gee (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles),XXX 65.

124. "Diary of Events, June—1925," vol. 1, no. 3, f. 515, op. 1, d. 534,ll. 23–27, CPUSA.

125. On reportage, see Constance Coiner, *Better Red: The Writing and Resistance of Tillie Olsen and Meridel Le Sueur* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 27–29.

126. Minutes of DEC meeting on April 13, 1925, for Workers Party, District #2, New York, f. 515, op. 1, d. 545,l. 32, CPUSA.

127. C. E. Ruthenberg to All Dos, CCCs, and Party Editors, June 5, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 482,l. 40, CPUSA.

128. "Diary of Events, June—1925," no. 24.

129. C. E. Ruthenberg to Comrades, June 12, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 482,ll. 51–52, CPUSA; C. E. Ruthenberg to all DOs and CCCs, July 6, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 482,l. 69, CPUSA; Chas. Krumbein to C. E. Ruthenberg, July 16, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 489,l. 156, CPUSA.

130. Minutes of District 2 DEC meeting held on March 23, 1925, 515, op. 1, d. 545,ll. 21–22, CPUSA; minutes of District 2 DEC meeting held on March 30, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 545,ll. 26–27, CPUSA.

131. E. R. Browder to Charles Krumbein, New York, March 28, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 511,l. 40, CPUSA.

132. Minutes of DEC meeting held on April 13, 1925, f. 515, op 1, d. 545,l. 33, CPUSA.

133. Branch Organizer to the DEC of the W P A Dist. #2, April 17, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 550,ll. 12, 120b, CPUSA.

134. Minutes of DEC meeting held on April 27, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 545,l. 41, CPUSA.

135. "Anti-imperialist Work," 156–157.

136. Ruthenberg, to all Party Units, October 20, 1925.

137. Chas. Krumbein, District Organizer, to Wm. Z. Foster, Chicago, July 6, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 489,ll. 150–151, CPUSA.

138. H. Linson to Comrade Katayama, March 18, 1927, f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,l. 49, KSP.

139. Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 11; Yang and Zhao, "Shi Huang," 161–162; e-mail communication from Him Mark Lai to author, June 21, 2002 (in author's possession). See also Xie Chuang, "Chongyang Nan Zu Baoguoxin [The Seas and Ocean Could Not Hinder the Intended Dedication to Service for the Nation]" in *Guangdong dangahi ziliao congkan* [Collected Sources of CCP Guangdong Party History] (Guangzhou, 1993).

140. Shipman, *It Had To Be Revolution*, 154.

141. Manuel Gomez, "Report to Sub-Committee on Anti-Imperialist Work," November 18, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 534,l. 10, CPUSA.

142. Shipman, *It Had To Be Revolution*, 162–163.

143. "Chi Ch'ao-ting," in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, ed. Howard L. Boorman and Richard C. Howard (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 294; Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 10.

144. Wolfe to E. Levin, June 17, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,l. 95, CPUSA; Wolfe to Levin, [1927], f. 515, op. 1, d. 1044,l. 119, CPUSA.
145. "Negro Workers Meet, Form National Body—Six Day Convention," December 1925, Hynes Exhibit No. 6, G, Hynes Testimony, p. 527.
146. Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 12; "Chi Ch'ao-ting."
147. William Schneiderman to C. E. Ruthenberg, July 25 [1925], f. 515, op. 1, d. 497,ll. 70, 700b, CPUSA.
148. Tom Lewis, D. O. District #13, to C. E. Ruthenberg, June 17, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 497,l. 25, CPUSA; Executive Secretary to Tom Lewis, June 22, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 496,l. 15, CPUSA.
149. Emanuel Levin to C. E. Ruthenberg, December 14, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 497,l. 78, CPUSA.
150. Yang and Zhao, "Shi Huang," 162.
151. Huang Shih, Tsao Shih and Yung-Ying Hen to Comrade Jay Lovestone, March 29, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1074,l. 3, CPUSA.
152. Yang and Zhao, "Shi Huang," 162; Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 10.
153. Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 11.
154. Yang and Zhao, "Shi Huang," 161.
155. The Three People's Principles were, in Sun Yat-sen's words, "the Principle of Nationalism, the Principle of Democracy, and the Principle of the People's Livelihood." Julie Lee Wei, Ramon H. Myers, and Donald G. Gillin, *Prescriptions for Saving China: Selected Writings of Sun Yat-sen* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1994), 39.
156. Yang and Zhao, "Shi Huang," 162; Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 11–12.

CHAPTER 3: "THE RED CAPITAL OF THE GREAT BOLSHEVIK REPUBLIC"

1. Katayama Sen, "Preface to My Life," translation into English, July 22, 1924, f. 521, op. 1, d. 1,l. 3, KSP.
2. Kevin McDermott and Jeremy Agnew, *The Comintern: A History of International Communism from Lenin to Stalin* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 23; Edward Hallett Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1919–1923*, vol. 3 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961), 394; Edward Hallett Carr, *Socialism in One Country, 1924–1926*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), 897–900, 911–913.
3. Peter Huber, "Structure of the Moscow Apparatus of the Comintern and decision-making," in *International Communism and the Communist International, 1919–1943*, ed. Tim Rees and Andrew Thorpe (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 41–43. Also, from 1926 to 1933 the Little (or Small) Commission and the Standing Commission assisted the secretariat in handling staffing questions.
4. Peter Huber, "The Central Apparatus of the Comintern: New Statistical Evidence," in *Politics and Society Under the Bolsheviks: Selected Papers from the Fifth World Congress of Central and East European Studies, Warsaw, 1995*, ed. Kevin McDermott and John Morison (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 263, 276.
5. The Organization and Agitprop Departments were dissolved in 1933.
6. The Information Department was dissolved in 1929.
7. The Eastern Department was dissolved and transformed into the Eastern Regional Secretariat in 1926.

8. It was also known as the International Women's Secretariat.
9. The Special Department was taken over by the Cadre Department in 1932.
10. G. M. Adibekov, E. N. Shakhnazarova, and K. K. Shirinya, *Organizatsionaia struktura kominterna, 1919–1943* (Moscow: Rosspen, 1997), 101–121, 152–169; Huber, "Central Apparatus of the Comintern," 264–267, 277. A Far Eastern Secretariat was formed in Irkutsk in 1921, but it ceased to exist by early 1922. Carr, *Socialism in One Country*, 606.
11. S. A. Smith, *A Road is Made: Communism in Shanghai, 1920–1927* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 126.
12. Adibekov, et al., *Organizatsionaia struktura kominterna*, 163, 166–167, 169–170; Branko Lazitch, "Les ecoles de cadres du Comintern: Contribution a leur histoire," in *Contributions a l'histoire du Comintern*, dir. Jacques Freymond (Geneve: Publications de l'Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales, no. 45, 1965), 231–255.
13. Carr, *Socialism in One Country*, 904–907, 909, 937–952, 987–997; Reiner Tosstorff, "Moscow versus Amsterdam: Reflections on the History of the Profintern," *Labour History Review* 68:1 (April 2003): 83–84, 88.
14. McDermott and Agnew, *The Comintern*, 10–11, 95–96; E. H. Carr, *Twilight of the Comintern, 1930–1935* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 3–5; Branko Lazitch and Milorad M. Drachkovitch, *Lenin and the Comintern*, vol. 1 (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972), 32–33.
15. For the above discussion, I am drawing on McDermott and Agnew, *The Comintern*, 143–144, quote on 144.
16. McDermott and Agnew, *The Comintern*, 58–59.
17. For an early example of this line of argument, see Franz Borkenau, *World Communism: A History of the Communist International* (1939; rpt., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), 351–352. For a more recent example drawing on the Comintern archives, see Fridrikh I. Firsov, "Stalin i Komintern," pt. 2, *Voprosy istorii*, no. 9 (1989): 7–12. On these questions, see Kevin McDermott, "Stalin and the Comintern during the 'Third Period,' 1928–33," *European History Quarterly* 25:3 (1995): 419–425.
18. Carr, *Twilight of the Comintern*, 5–6.
19. Kevin McDermott, "The history of the Comintern in light of new documents," in *International Communism and the Communist International*, 34.
20. On the relation between the Comintern and a range of European national parties, see Tauno Saarela and Kimmo Rentola, eds., *Communism: National & International* (Helsinki: SHS, 1998).
21. Matthew Worley, "Courting Disaster? The Communist International in the Third Period," in *In Search of Revolution: International Communist Parties in the Third Period*, ed. Matthew Worley (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 15.
22. Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 100–101, 116. On Chicago communists' unemployed organizing during the Third Period, see Randi Storch, "Shades of Red: The Communist Party and Chicago's Workers, 1928–1939," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1998, chapter 2.
23. On the formation of the TUUL, and its successes and failures, see James R. Barrett, *William Z. Foster and the Tragedy of American Radicalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 160, 167–171.
24. See, for example, Scott Tadao Kurashige, "Transforming Los Angeles: Black and Japa-

nese American Struggles for Racial Equality in the 20th Century," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2000.

25. [Maniwa Suekichi], "How I came to Moscow?" January 5, 1922, translation into English, f. 521, op. 1, d. 14,11. 1–2, KSP.
26. On the housing shortage, Timothy Colton writes, "*Rabochaya Moskva* (Workers' Moscow) declared tongue-in-cheek that one day Moscow might 'drop through the earth' and proposed making stretchable houses out of rubber to shelter the masses; this was in 1926, when conditions were gentle compared to later." Timothy J. Colton, *Moscow: Governing the Socialist Metropolis* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995), 173–174. On the severe shortages during the 1930s, see Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), chapter 2.
27. Jan Valtin, *Out of the Night* (New York: Alliance Book Corporation, 1941), 204.
28. Ibid., 207.
29. David P. Hornstein, *Arthur Ewert: A Life for the Comintern* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1993), 104.
30. I am indebted to Toru Shinoda for pointing out that at this time Japanese students at elite universities commonly studied German.
31. Huber, "Central Apparatus of the Comintern," 264; Mikhail Narinski and Serge Wolikow, "Piatnitski, Ossip," in *Komintern: l'histoire et les hommes: Dictionnaire biographique du l'Internationale communiste en France, en Belgique, au Luxembourg, en Suisse et a Moscou (1919–1943)*, dir. Jose Gotovitch et Mikhail Narinski (Paris: Les Editions de l'Atelier, 2001), 455–456.
32. Sen Katayama, Hanada, and Tani to Comrade Petrov, May 30, 1924, f. 521, op. 1, d. 65,1. 83, KSP.
33. Sandra Wilson, "The Comintern and the Japanese Communist Party," in *International Communism and the Communist International*, 295.
34. Alexander Pantsov, *The Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution, 1919–1927* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 173.
35. Lazitch, "Les ecoles de cadres du Comintern," 233–234; Jane L. Price, *Cadres, Commanders, and Commissars: The Training of the Chinese Communist Leadership, 1920–45* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1976), 32–33, 90. On the history of KUTV, see N. N. Timofeeva, "Kommunisticheskii universitet trudiashchikhsia Vostoka (KUTV) (1921–1925)," *Narody Azii i Afriki*, no. 2 (1976): 47–57; ibid., "Kommunisticheskii universitet trudiashchikhsia Vostoka (KUTV) v. (1926–1938) gg.," *Narody Azii i Afriki*, no. 5 (1979): 30–42.
36. Kazama Jokichi, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, *Moscow Kyousanshugi Daigaku no Omoide* [Memories of KUTV] (Tokyo: Sangen-sha, 1949), chapter 15.
37. Smith, *A Road is Made*, 119–120.
38. Lazitch, "Les ecoles de cadres du Comintern," 238; Kazama, *Moscow*, chapter 20.
39. Pantsov, *Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution*, 170–171.
40. Price, *Cadres, Commanders*, 33.
41. Jokichi, *Moscow*, chapter 16.
42. Price, *Cadres, Commanders*, 91.
43. Pantsov, *Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution*, 171.
44. Ibid., 173.

45. It is unclear when the original statement was drafted. Although a version in Russian is dated 25/VI-25, the signed Japanese version is dated 1925.8.17. For Russian version, see f. 495, op. 154, d. 256,ll. 27–32, CI.
46. Japanese Kruzhok, K.U.T.V., "Declaration," 1925.8.17, original in Japanese, f. 495, op. 154, d. 256,ll. 12, 16–17, CI.
47. Travers Edgar Durkee, "The Communist International and Japan, 1919–1932," Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1953, 129–130.
48. Yueh Sheng, *Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow and the Chinese Revolution: A Personal Account* (Lawrence: Center for East Asian Studies, The University of Kansas, 1971), 107–108; Price, *Cadres, Commanders*, 93–96; Pantsov, *The Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution*, 173, 177–187, quote on 178.
49. Kazama, *Moscow*, chapters 12, 16, 20; Sheng, *Sun Yat-sen University*, 42, 88–89; Lazitch, "Les ecoles de cadres du Comintern," 238.
50. Peggy Dennis, *The Autobiography of an American Communist: A Personal View of a Political Life, 1925–1975* (Berkeley: Lawrence Hill, 1977), 64.
51. Kazama, *Moscow*, chapter 26; Chen Chi-Shiu to Katayama-sensei, in envelope stamped Moskva 6.3.24, original in Japanese, f. 521, op. 1, d. 77,ll. 36–37, KSP.
52. Yamamoto Masami, *Gekidou no Jidai ni Ikite* [Living in an Age of Convulsions] (Tokyo: Maruju-sha, 1985), beginning of chapter 2.
53. David S. Ogino to Sen Katayama, March 13, 1927, f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,l. 48, KSP.
54. Dennis, *Autobiography of an American Communist*, 64.
55. On discrimination experienced by African American students, see Klehr, Haynes, and Anderson, *The Soviet World of American Communism*, 206–207.
56. Sheng, *Sun Yat-sen University*, 32–33.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., 120.
59. Ibid., 41n4.
60. Eastern Secretariat to Comrades Molotov, Bukharin, Krinitsky, Piatnitsky and the Rector of KUTV, September 15, 1928, original in Russian, f. 495, op. 154, d. 364,l. 26, CI.
61. Adibekov, et al., *Organizatsionaia struktura kominterna*, 154–155, 261.
62. I am drawing here on Tim Rees's insight that "perhaps, ultimately, it was not the reality of the controlling hand of Moscow that really mattered, but the power of the myth of that control." Tim Rees, "The highpoint of Comintern influence? The Communist Party and the Civil War in Spain," in *International Communism and the Communist International*, 161.

CHAPTER 4: ADVANCING BOLSHEVISM FROM MOSCOW OUTWARD AND BACK AND FORTH ACROSS THE PACIFIC

1. Otto Braun, trans. Jeanne Moore, *A Comintern Agent in China, 1932–1939* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), 3.
2. On the KMT'S campaign of "White Terror" against Communists during the Nanjing Decade (1927–1937), see Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *Policing Shanghai, 1927–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), chapter 9.
3. Vera Vladimirovna Vishnyakova-Akimova, trans. Steven I. Levine, *Two Years in Revolutionary China, 1925–1927* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), xiv.

4. Reinhart Kossler, "Revolution in a Foreign Land: Eyewitness Accounts by Soviet Advisers to China, 1923–1927," in *Internationalism in the Labour Movement, 1830–1940*, vol. 1, ed. Frits Holthoon and Marcel van der Linden (New York: E. J. Brill, 1988), 115–121, quotes on 115, 120–121.
5. John J. Stephan, *The Russian Far East: A History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 86.
6. Rodger Swearingen and Paul Langer, *Red Flag in Japan: International Communism in Action, 1919–1951* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 35; Frederick S. Litten, "The Noulens Affair," *The China Quarterly* 138 (June 1994): 499–506.
7. George M. Beckmann and Okubo Genji, *The Japanese Communist Party* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 253–254.
8. Hardy was formerly general secretary of the National Minority Movement (NMM) ("arm" of the Profintern in Britain) and organizing secretary of the Transport Workers Minority Movement (TWMM). Andrew Flinn and Kevin Morgan, "Hardy, George," in *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. 11, ed. Keith Gildert, et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 98–109.
9. Hardy left Shanghai on May 8. Phil to father, May 22, 1930, f. 534, op. 4, d. 320,l. 17, RILU. Pamphlet, *The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat: Its Origin, Program, and Work* (Shanghai: Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, 1928), f. 534, op. 4, d. 217,l. 165, RILU; Andrew Thorpe, "The Communist International and the British Communist Party," in *International Communism and the Communist International, 1919–1943*, ed. Tim Rees and Andrew Thorpe (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), 79–80 (quote); George Hardy, *Those Stormy Years: Memories of the Fight for Freedom on Five Continents* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1956), 198 (quote), 201–202; S. Stoler to Comrades, December 22, 1927, f. 534, op. 4, d. 184,l. 12, RILU; G. Mason to Sir, February 1.2.29, f. 534, op. 4, d. 283,ll. 2–3, RILU; telegram on form in German, Steinert to Alexander, stamped February 14, 1929, f. 534, op. 4, d. 283,l. 7, RILU; Alexandre to Comrade, April 19, 1930, original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 312,l. 27 (quote), RILU.
10. Lozovsky, along with many others in the Comintern and Profintern, used the alias "Alexander." Thus, it is very possible that at least some of the directives and correspondence sent under the name of Alexander (or Alex) as well as some of the reports and letters addressed to Alexander were either written by Lozovsky or directed to his attention. Pierre Broue, *Histoire de l'internationale Communiste, 1919–1943* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), 885.
11. Mason to Alexander, 19.11.29, f. 534, op. 4, d. 283,ll. 118–124, quotes onll. 118, 122, RILU.
12. Russell to Alexander, March 22, 1928, f. 534, op. 4, d. 216,l. 101, RILU.
13. Charles Sexi and Earl Russell to Alexander, June 1, 1928, f. 534, op. 4, d. 216,l. 189, RILU.
14. Aleksandr to George, 17/IX-29, f. 534, op. 4, d. 258,l. 17, RILU.
15. The complete list of aliases was as follows: "Karl Jensen; Charles Johnson; Charles Edward Scott, Jamagata, Jamazaki; Bray; Hamburger; Jamoto; Charlie Chen; Karl Stein; B. Tiefental; K. Rosenthal; El Marinero; El Capitano; Erdman; Kazis." E-mail from Peter Huber, February 3, 2002, in author's possession.
16. Travers Edgar Durkee, "The Communist International and Japan, 1919–1932," Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1953, 65–67, 104n9, 111; e-mail from Peter Huber; M. L. Titarenko, et al, ed., *VKP(b), Komintern i natsional'no-revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Kitae: dokumenty*, vol. 2, 1926–1927 (pt. 2) (Moscow: Rossiiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia

dokumentov noveishei istorii, Institut Dal'nego Vostoka Rossiiskoi akademii nauk and Vostochnoaziatskii seminar svobodnogo universiteta Berlina, 1996), 961.

17. Handwritten, Stein to Aleksandr, 1/XII, '27, original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 184,ll. 7–11, RILU.
18. Handwritten, S. to Comrade Kr——-, 29/XII/27, original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 184,l. 13, RILU; Charlie and Annie to friend & comrade Yaoki, 14/2–28, f. 521, op. 1, d. 66,l. 8, KSP.
19. Stein to Aleksandr, 1/XII, '27,l. 11.
20. Edward Hallett Carr, *Foundations of a Planned Economy, 1926–1929*, vol. 3, pt 2 (London: The Macmillan Press, 1976), 619–620.
21. Russell to Alexander, February 27, 1928, f. 534, op. 4, d. 216,l. 81, RILU.
22. On the factional struggle between Lovestone and Foster for control of the CPUSA following Ruthenberg's sudden death on March 2, 1927, see Edward P. Johanningsmeier, *Forging American Communism: The Life of William Z. Foster* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 234–247.
23. Mason to Alexander, November 19, 1929,l. 118.
24. Stein to Lozovsky, n.d., original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 216,ll. 234–235, RILU.
25. Benjamin Gitlow, *I Confess: The Truth About Communism* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1940), 536; J. Crosby and Marion to Alexander, January 30, 1929, f. 534, op. 4, d. 283,l. 1, RILU. See also James G. Ryan, *Earl Browder: The Failure of American Communism* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1997), 28–37.
26. A. Lozovsky to friends, January 10, 1928, original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 213,l. 2, RILU; signature illegible [Lozovsky] to Dear Friends, March 26, 1928, original in Russian, f. 534, d. 213,l. 7, RILU.
27. Earl Browder, "Report on the Activities of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat Since the February Plenum," stamped by Profintern Secretariat 21-I-1929, f. 534, op. 4, d. 216,ll. 102–112, quotes on ll. 106–107, 112, RILU; Frank Farrell, *International Socialism & Australian Labor: The Left in Australia, 1919–1939* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1981), 136–137.
28. Russell to Alexander, February 27, 1928.
29. Charlie Stein to Aleksandr, 27/2.28, original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 216,ll. 82, 820b, 83, RILU.
30. Philo to father, May 22, 1930, handwritten at top, "T. TOS & Lozovsky," f. 534, op. 4, d. 320,l. 17, RILU.
31. The first letter from Leon in Shanghai is dated June 24, 1930, Leon & Philo to Papasha, June 24, 1930, f. 534, op. 4, d. 320,l. 18, RILU. According to the Shanghai Municipal Police, "Leon" may have been the American journalist James H. Dolsen. Box 19, D2527/1, Records of the Shanghai Municipal Police, Military Archives Division, RG263, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as RSMP).
32. Edward to Alex, June 9, 1931, f. 534, op. 4, d. 370,ll. 45, 54, RILU. According to the Shanghai Municipal Police, "Edward" and "Alice" may have been the American Communists Charles Krumbein (aliases Kennedy and Albert Edward Stewart) and his wife Margaret Undjus. Similarly, Krumbein's FBI file reported that Charles Krumbein (among others aliases Edward Kennedy and Albert Edward Stewart) resided in 1931 in Shanghai, "where he carried on work to help organize the labor movement in that country," and that his wife was Margaret Undjus Stewart. Box 19, D2527/5, RSMP; box 20, D2527/45, RSMP. Also see Litten, "The Noulens Affair," 504n85; Charles

Krumbein, 100–17433-X2, p. 8, and 100–17433–39, FBI-HQ, 100–17433 (in author's possession).

33. Patricia Stranahan, *Underground: The Shanghai Communist Party and the Politics of Survival, 1927–1937* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998), 116(quote)-117.
34. Litten, "The Noulens Affair," 492, 506–507.
35. Wakeman, Jr., *Policing Shanghai*, 146(quote)-155.
36. Hardy, *Those Stormy Years*, 210.
37. Lozovsky to Stein, n.d., original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 213,l. 17, RILU.
38. S. to Charlie, July 21, 1928, handwritten at top, "sent through comrade K.G. (browder)," original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 213,l. 14, RILU.
39. Stranahan, *Underground*, 58; Patricia Stranahan, "The Chinese Communist Party During the Third Period, 1927–34," in *In Search of Revolution: International Communist Parties in the Third Period*, ed. Matthew Worley (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 302–306.
40. Charles Sexi and Earl Russell to Alexander, May 22, 1928, f. 534, op. 4, d. 216,l. 171, RILU.
41. Leon & Philo to Papasha, June 24, 1930; Leon to Friend, received "13/IX-30g," f. 534, op. 4, d. 319,l. 5 (quote), RILU.
42. Browder, "Report," stamped 21-I-1929,l. 107; P.P.T.U.S. to Executive Buro of RILU, March 17, 1931, f. 534, op. 4, d. 370,l. 29, RILU.
43. [Hardy] to Alex, 22.2.30, f. 534, op. 4, d. 316,ll. 25–26, RILU.
44. Central Polit-bureau of the CCP to the Profintern, November 25, 1929, f. 534, op. 4, d. 283,l. 128, RILU.
45. Browder, "Report," stamped 21-I-1929,l. 107.
46. Lozovsky, "Instructions to com. Leon and Kennedy," January 20, 1931, f. 534, op. 4, d. 360,l. 18, RILU. On Kennedy's identity, cf. n. 32.
47. Leon to Papasha, March 27, 1931, f. 534, op. 4, d. 370,ll. 34–36, RILU.
48. Aleksandr to George,l. 17.
49. Mason to A., 8.4.29, f. 534, op. 4, d. 283,l. 16, RILU.
50. Stein to Aleksandr, I/XII, 27,ll. 10–11.
51. Stephan, *Russian Far East*, 86 (quote), 163; Michael Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation: The Far-Eastern Koreans," *The Russian Review* 54 (July 1995): 396; Haruki Wada, "Koreans in the Soviet Far East, 1917–1937," in *Koreans in the Soviet Union*, ed. Dae-Sook Suh (Honolulu: Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii, 1987), 37; Walter Kolarz, *The Peoples of the Soviet Far East* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1954), 37, 45, 48, 53, 59; "Report of Vladivostok Port Bureau," April 18, 1925, original in Russian, f. 534, op. 5, d. 168,ll. 26–27, RILU.
52. J. Fineberg, "To The Eastern Department of the Profintern and Eastern Department of the Comintern. Report on the Work in Vladivostok," 15/2/24, f. 534, op. 1, d. 100,l. 12, RILU. According to Kazama Jokichi, the club was called the Seamen's Club until the fall of 1925, when it was moved to "a splendid new building . . . on a coastal road" and the "name was changed to the International Seamen's Club." Kazama Jokichi, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, *Moscow Kyousanshugi Daigaku no Omoide* (Tokyo: Sangen-sha, 1949), 61.
53. "Resolution on the Trade Union Press and Workers' Correspondence in the Countries of the Pacific," n.d., translation into English, f. 534, op. 4, d. 268,l. 159, RILU.

54. "INFORMATSIIA O DEIATEL'NOSTI TIKHOOKEANSKOGO SEKRETARIATA TRANSPORTNIKOV, C 21 avgusta 1929g. po 15 fevralia 1930 goda," original in Russian, f. 534, op. 5, d. 213,l. 43, RILU.
55. Coded communication, Lozovsky to Vladivostok-TOS, 25/X-31, original in Russian, f. 534, op. 8, d. 179,l. 83, RILU.
56. Kennedy to Johnson, December 15, 1931, f. 534, op. 4, d. 365,l. 196, RILU.
57. "INFORMATSIIA O DEIATEL'NOSTI,"ll. 48–49; K. E. Johnson to Comrade Piatnitsky, December 28, 1929, original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 283,ll. 142–145, RILU; Yano to Katayama and Omura, October 29, 1927, original in Japanese, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, f. 521, op. 1, d. 69,l. 71, RILU.
58. Johnson to Piatnitsky, December 28, 1929,l. 142.
59. "Resolution Re Publications of the P.P.T.U.S.," n.d., f. 534, op. 4, d. 280,l. 42, RILU.
60. George Barker to the Secretary, Profintern, 20.12.30, f. 534, op. 4, d. 316,l. 187, RILU; Hitomi (Tanaka) to Comrades Lozovsky, Johnson, and Yurdzik, 24/XII-1930, translation into Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 316,ll. 195–200, quotes onll. 196–197, RILU.
61. Ya. Green to Yusefovich, December 21, 1931 [1930], original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 316,l. 191, RILU.
62. Mason to Alexander, November 19, 1929,l. 121.
63. Hitomi to Lozovsky, Johnson, and Yurdzik,l. 199.
64. Leon & Co. to Friend, 19.8.30, f. 534, op. 4, d. 319,l. 4, RILU; Leon to Friend, 8/10/30, f. 534, op. 4, d. 319,l. 12, RILU. See also Aleksandr to Comrade, 10/IV-30, translation into English, f. 534, op. 4, d. 312,l. 16, and original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 312,ll. 13–15, RILU.
65. On the Comintern's regulation of information and "secret" documents in particular, see Brigitte Studer, " 'Secrets d'organisation' et acces au savoir: ce que les archives russes nous apprenent sur les pratiques du pouvoir dans le Komintern," in *Une histoire en revolution? Du bon usage des archives, de Moscou et d'ailleurs*, dir. Serge Wolikow (Dijon: EUD, 1996), 193–209, esp. 195–196.
66. Email from Peter Huber; documents in f. 534, op. 8, d. 179, RILU.
67. Peter Huber, "The Cadre Department, the OMS and the 'Dimitrov' and 'Manuil'sky' Secretariats during the Phase of the *Terror*," in *Centre and Periphery: The History of the Comintern in the Light of New Documents*, ed. Mikhail Narinsky and Jurgen Rojahn (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History, 1996), 129.
68. Yurdzik to Comrade Johnson, April 18, 1930, original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 312,ll. 22–23.
69. Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation," 398; Stephan, *Russian Far East*, 191.
70. Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 15, 19.
71. See, for example, Leon & Philo to Papasha, June 24, 1930,l. 18.
72. Yurdzik to comrades, 21–03–32, stamped "1.APR.1931," original in Russian, f. 534, op. 8, d. 179,l. 24, RILU.
73. Yurdzik to Johnson, April 18, 1930,l. 24.
74. From 1933 to 1938, Mikhelson-Manuilov headed OMS's office in the United States, where he went by the names of "Kraft," "Spector," and "Black." Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, and Kyrill M. Anderson, *The Soviet World of American Communism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 186–187.

75. Branko Lazitch in collaboration with Milorad M. Drachkovitch, *Biographical Dictionary of the Comintern* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973), 273, 334; Broue, *Histoire de l'Internationale communiste,* 958, 988, 1065, 1094; Huber, "Structure of the Moscow apparatus of the Comintern," 51–52, 55; Aleksandr Vatlin, "The testing-ground of world revolution: Germany in the 1920s," in *International Communism and the Communist International*, 118–119; Gerrit Voerman, "From Lenin's comrades in arms to 'Dutch donkeys': The Communist Party in the Netherlands and the Comintern in the 1920s," in *International Communism and the Communist International*, 139.
76. Jan Valtin, *Out of the Night* (New York: Alliance Book Corporation, 1941), 200.
77. Gunther Nollau, *International Communism and World Revolution: History & Methods* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), 141.
78. Nirode K. Barooah, *Chatto: The Life and Times of an Indian Anti-Imperialist in Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 247.
79. Email from Him Mark Lai, August 12, 2005, in author's possession; "Liao Ch'eng-chih," in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, ed. Howard L. Boorman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 363.
80. Tetsuro Kato, "A Memorandum on the Life of Mr. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya (Draft): One Historical Episode of the Relationship between India and Japan in the 20th Century," http//members.jcom.home.ne.jp/katori/Chatto.html.
81. "The Red International Program," *Labor Unity* 2:8 (September 1928): 29.
82. Quoted in Johanningsmeier, *Forging American Communism*, 164.
83. "Instructions For Work in the United States," To Comrade Cook [Foster], n.d., f. 534, op. 4, d. 18,II. 75–77, quote on1. 77, RILU.
84. Earl Browder to Comrade Lozovsky, February 18, 1929, f. 534, op. 7, d. 485,1. 36, RILU.
85. Both Browder and George quoted in Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, and Igorevich Firsov, *The Secret World of American Communism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 50.
86. Earl Browder to Comrade Losovsky, January 22, 1929, f. 534, op. 7, d. 485,1. 21, RILU.
87. Telegram, browder to losowsky, received by Profintern Sekretariat 20.II.1929, f. 534, op. 4, d. 283,1. 8, RILU; Earl Browder to Comrade Losovsky, February 9, 1929, f. 534, op. 7, d. 485,1. 28, RILU; Browder to Lozovsky, February 18, 1929.
88. Earl Browder to Comrade Losovsky, January 22, 1929, f. 534, op. 7, d. 485,1. 21, RILU.
89. H. M. Wicks to Comrade Lozovsky, received by Profintern Sekretariat 14-III/Mart/.1929, f. 534, op. 7, d. 485,1. 65, RILU.
90. Harrison to Comrade Losovsky, March 4, 1929, f. 534, op. 7, d. 485,1. 62, RILU.
91. James R. Barrett, *William Z. Foster and the Tragedy of American Radicalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 155.
92. Earl Browder to Comrade Lozovsky, March 26, 1929, f. 534, op. 7, d. 485,1. 77, RILU; Harrison to Earl Browder, April 14, 1929, f. 534, op. 7, d. 485,1. 80, RILU; "Pan-Pacific Monthly Appears in Frisco," *Labor Unity* 3:5 (April 13, 1929): 2.
93. J. L. Perilla to Dirba, October 16, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1695,1. 51, RILU; H. George to the Secretariat, CPUSA, March 25, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1966,1. 12, RILU.
94. Harrison, "Report," to American Bureau PPTUS, June 8, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 423,II. 8–10, quote on1. 8, RILU.
95. "Resolution Re Publications of the P.P.T.U.S.,"1. 41.
96. Unsigned to Com. Harrison George, [2]5/VIII-29, translation into English, f. 534, op. 4, d. 258,1. 12, RILU. See original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 258,1. 11, RILU.

97. "Resolution Re Publications of the P.P.T.U.S.,"1. 41.
98. Earl Browder to Comrade Alexander, July 4, 1930, f. 534, op. 7, d. 491,11. 149–150, RILU.
99. Harrison to Earl Browder, April 14, 1929, f. 534, op. 7, d. 485,11. 81–82, RILU.
100. Brown to Secretariat C.C., CPUSA, July 16, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2768,1. 1, CPUSA; minutes of Language Fraction Secretaries meeting, October 26, 1931, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2502,1. 30, CPUSA. He may have been the same individual as K. Yano who in 1926–1927 headed the Port Bureau in Vladivostok.
101. [Harrison George] to Comrade, February 2, [1932], translation into Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 423,11. 1–2, quotes on1. 1, RILU.
102. For another example of George repeating the Party line and demonstrating little concern for the particular circumstances of Japanese immigrant activists, see Harrison to Jim Randolph, April 11, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,1. 8, RILU.
103. Minutes No. 4, San Francisco Bureau of the PPTUS, March 2, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,1. 1, RILU.
104. Minutes No. 6, San Francisco Bureau of the PPTUS, March 14, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,1. 2, RILU.
105. Minutes No. 8, San Francisco Bureau of the PPTUS, March 28, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,1. 9, RILU.
106. Minutes of CCC meeting, July 3, 1933, f. 515, op.1, d. 3190,1. 29, CPUSA.
107. "Instructions about the Immediate Practical Work of the Bureau of the TOS in San Francisco," 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 421,11. 3–50b, RILU. Also see earlier handwritten version, by Aleksandr, dated 16/II-'32, f. 534, op. 4, d. 421,11. 1–20b, RILU.
108. Harrison to Comrade, March 29, 1932, reproduced in Klehr, et al., *Secret World*, 51.
109. Ibid.
110. "Instructions," 1932,11. 3–5.
111. Report of the American Bureau PPTUS, stamped 8.DEZ.1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 423,11. 51–64, quote on1. 61, RILU.
112. "Instructions," 1932,11. 3–5.
113. Harrison, "Report," June 8, 1932,11. 8–10.
114. Ibid., 11. 9–10.
115. Minutes No. 8, American Bureau PPTUS, July 27, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,1. 35, RILU.
116. Minutes No. 9, American Bureau PPTUS, August 3, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,1. 38, RILU.
117. Eddy may have been Charles Krumbein who in China went by the aliases of Edward and Kennedy and whose wife was Margaret Undjus (cf. n. 32). In a letter from C. to Friend, with handwritten note in Russian, "Letter comrade Kennedy to comrade Browder," urging Browder to intercede on his behalf and obtain his release from his present work, C. notes that "Margaret would be of considerable use, therefore, in my coming back you would get two people." Also, in a signed statement to an FBI Special Agent on May 21, 1953, former Japanese CPUSA member Ukai Nobumichi (alias Joe Koide), reported, "While in San Francisco, I received the impression (possibly but not certainly from HARRISON GEORGE) that CHARLIE KRUMBEIN (whom I had seen in Russia and who I knew as a Comintern representative or CI rep) with two others whose names I never knew, had converged in San Francisco and probably in January or February of 1933 had set up the PPTUS and put out one issue of 'The Pacific Worker.' . . . and I recall that later SAM D'ARCY [*sic*] told me KRUMBEIN had been in San Francisco in connection with the PPTUS." C. to Friend, December 17, 1932, f. 534,

op. 4, d. 423,II. 79–81, RILU; L.A., 100–30303, pp. 36–37, Ukai, Nobumichi, FBI-HQ, 100–230765 (in author's possession).

118. Minutes No. 1, American Bureau PPTUS, June 8, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,I. 12, RILU.
119. Minutes No. 14, American Bureau PPTUS, August 31, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,I. 47, RILU.
120. Minutes No. 16, American Bureau PPTUS, September 21, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,I. 59, RILU.
121. Harrison, "Report," June 8, 1932,I. 9.
122. Report, stamped 8.DEZ.1932,II. 51, 62.
123. Report, stamped 8.DEZ.1932,I. 51; American Bureau PPTUS to Alex, August 10, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 423,II. 30–31, RILU.
124. Ibid.,II. 58–59; Jones to Alex, October 1, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 423,I. 47, RILU.
125. Harrison to Jim Randolph, April 11, 1932,I. 80b; Garrison to Mr. Jim Randolph, April 23, 1932, f. 534, op. 8, d. 215,I. 15, RILU.
126. Eddy to Alex, June 11, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 423,I. 11, RILU.
127. Report, stamped 8.DEZ.1932,II. 61, 63.
128. "PLAN FOR WORK AMONG THE PACIFIC MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS," "For Earl," [1933], f. 515, op. 1, d. 3350,I. 41, CPUSA.

CHAPTER 5: FROM EAST TO WEST AND WEST TO EAST

1. "De La Presse Revolutionnaire," unsigned, [1925], translation into French, f. 534, op. 5, d. 165,II. 154, 156–57, RILU.
2. "Russie. Le Congress de la Federation des Transports Par Eau," [1925], translation into French, f. 534, op. 5, d. 165,I. 152, RILU.
3. Geoffrey Swain, "Was the Profintern Really Necessary?" *European History Quarterly* 17:1 (1987): 73.
4. On the early years, see also Albert Resis, "The Profintern: Origins to 1923," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1964.
5. Edward Hallett Carr, *Socialism in One Country, 1924–1926*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (London: Macmillan & Co., 1964), 938–939.
6. Reiner Tosstorff, "Moscow Versus Amsterdam: Reflections on the History of the Profintern," *Labour History Review* 68:1 (April 2003): 79–97; Reiner Tosstorff, *Profintern: Die Rote Gewerkschaftsinternationale: 1920–1937* (Paderborn: Schoeningh, 2004); Michel Dreyfus, "Syndicalistes Communistes," in *Le siecle des communismes*, ed. Michel Dreyfus, et al. (Paris: Les Editions de l'Atelier, 2000), 465–475; Michel Dreyfus, "1924–1927: un moment privilegie de l'histoire de l'Internationale syndicale rouge," in *Centre and Periphery: The History of the Comintern in the Light of New Documents*, ed. Mikhail Narinsky, and Jurgen Rojahn (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History, 1996), 89–101.
7. Dreyfus, "Syndicalistes Communistes," 469–471.
8. Don Mitchell, *The Lie of the Land: Migrant Workers and the California Landscape* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 65–66.
9. Nelson, *Workers on the Waterfront: Seamen, Longshoremen, and Unionism in the 1930s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 2, 35.
10. Peter Kwong, *Chinatown, N.Y.: Labor and Politics, 1930–1950*, rev. ed. (New York: The New Press, 2001), 117.

11. Tosstorff, "Moscow Versus Amsterdam," 81–82; Edward Hallett Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917–1923*, vol. 3 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961), 203–207, 398–401(quote); Edward Hallett Carr, *Socialism in One Country, 1924–1926*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), 531–532; Resis, "The Profintern," 204(quote)-206.
12. Carr, *Socialism in One Country*, vol. 3, pt. 1, 541–542(quote); Carr, *Socialism in One Country*, vol. 3, pt. 2, 608–610, quotes on 609; Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution*, 20.
13. Carr, *Socialism in One Country*, vol. 3, pt. 2, 620.
14. Secretary, Interclub, to Japanese Comrades. Japanese Seamen's Union, 6/VI-1923, copy, f. 495, op. 154, d. 191,l. 6, CI.
15. "Organization Resolution Passed By The Organization Commission of the Transport Conf. Of Orient," 23/VI-1924, copy, f. 495, op. 154, d. 233,l. 32, CI; Eudin and North, *Soviet Russia and the East*, 268; Carr, *Socialism in One Country*, vol. 3, pt. 2, 621–623. According to Carr, while the Profintern called for the conference, none of its representatives appears to have attended it.
16. William W. Weinstone, General Secretary, District 2, to C. E. Ruthenberg, January 7, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1024,l. 15, RILU; Meeting of Executive Bureau of RILU, January 8, 1929, translation into English, f. 534, op. 5, d. 207,l. 15, RILU; Vernon L. Pedersen, "George Mink, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and the Comintern in America," *Labor History*, 41:3 (2000): 312n14; Bruce Nelson, *Workers on the Waterfront: Seamen, Longshoremen, and Unionism in the 1930s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 78–80.
17. George M. Beckmann and Okubo Genji, *The Japanese Communist Party, 1922–1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 363–364; Xenia Joukoff Eudin and Robert C. North, *Soviet Russia and the East, 1920–1927: A Documentary Survey* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), 457; J. Feinberg, "Report on the Work in Vladivostok," 15/2/24, f. 534, op. 4, d. 100,l. 11, RILU; "List of Individuals," n.d., original in Russian, f. 495, op. 154, d. 218,l. 11, CI.
18. "Minutes of Meeting of Port-Bureau, July 27, 1923," 20/VIII-23, f. 495, op. 154, d. 191,l. 12, CI; "Minutes of Meeting of Port-Bureau, August 5, 1923," 20/VIII-23, f. 495, op. 154, d. 191,l. 15, RILU.
19. Feinberg, "Report," 15/2/24,ll. 3, 13–15.
20. According to Russian graduate and China advisor Marc Kasanin, the Oriental Institute in Vladivostok was the place "where future diplomats, civil servants, missionaries and research Orientalists received their training." Marc Kasanin, *China in the Twenties* (Moscow: Central Department of Oriental Literature, 1973), 86.
21. Unsigned to Comrade, August 29, 1925, original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 132,ll. 2–20b, RILU.
22. Feinberg, "Report," 15/2/24,ll. 10–11.
23. Pierre Broue, *Histoire de l'internationale communiste, 1919–1943* (Paris: Fayard, 1997) 1092.
24. Avon Rachmanoff to Comrade, January 15, 1925, f. 534, op. 4, d. 133,ll. 1–2, RILU.
25. Feinberg to Comrade Geller, January 7, 1924, f. 534, op. 4, d. 100,l. 1, RILU.
26. Rachmanoff to Comrade, January 15, 1925,l. 2.
27. Eudin and North, *Soviet Russia and the East*, 150–151.
28. Rachmanoff to Comrade, January 15, 1925,ll. 1–2, 5.
29. Jean Chesneaux, *Le mouvement ouvrier Chinois de 1919 a 1927* (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1962),

409–444; Jean Chesneaux, trans. H. M. Wright, *The Chinese Labor Movement, 1919–1927* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), 290–318.

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31. Executive Committee of the Chinese Seamen's Union, "DECLARATION OF THE CHINESE SEAMEN'S UNION TO THE CHINESE SEAMEN," stamped 25.VIII.1928, translation into English, copy, f. 534, op. 7, d. 347,l. 29, RILU.
32. "Report of the General Seamen's Union," July 1928, translation into English, f. 534, op. 7, d. 347,l. 48, RILU; "The Report of the Seamen's Federation (August 1928)," translation into English, f. 534, op. 7, d. 347,l. 87, RILU; "Report by the Chun Hwa Seamen's Federation," November 1928, translation into English, copy, f. 534, op. 7, d. 347,ll. 137–138, RILU.
33. Carr, *Foundations of a Planned Economy*, vol. 3, pt. 1, 185; Georg to Comrades, 16–2-29, f. 534, op. 5, d. 207,ll. 76–80, RILU; "Resolution on the Reports to the Third Plenary Session of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, Shanghai, October 27–28, 1928," f. 534, op. 4, d. 214,l. 182, RILU; Earl Browder, "Third Plenum of the Pan-Pacific T.U. Secretariat," f. 534, op. 4, d. 216,ll. 225, 228, RILU.
34. Chinese Delegates to the R.I.L.U. to the E.C. of R.I.L.U., January 7, 1928 [1929], stamped 10.YNR.1928, f. 534, op. 7, d. 346,ll. 23–26, 33, RILU.
35. All-China Federation of Labor to the Seaman Federation, December 21, 1928, translation into English, f. 534, op. 7, d. 346,l. 21, RILU.
36. "Report of the General Seamen's Union," July 1928,ll. 46–48.
37. "Questionary," issued by the Language Department, C.C., and completed by the Chinese bureau by May 15, [1930], f. 515, op. 1, d. 1684,ll. 21–22, CPUSA; Thesis and Report of the Buro adopted of the Chinese Fraction of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, February 19–21, 1929, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2159,ll. 17, 21, CPUSA.
38. K. Yano to Katayama, July 12, 1926, original in Japanese, f. 521, op. 1, d. 69,ll. 27, 270b, KSP; Yano to Brother Katayama and Mori, July 10, [1927], original in Japanese, f. 521, op. 1, d. 69,ll. 54, 540b, KSP; Yano to Katayama and Mori, July 27, [1927], original in Japanese, f. 521, op. 1, d. 69,ll. 55–570b, KSP; Ichibayashi to comrade Katayama, October 14, [1927], original in Japanese, trans. Masako Nakamura, f. 521, op. 1, d. 66,ll. 24–31, quotes onll. 26, 29, KSP; Yano to Katayama and Omura, October 29, 1927, original in Japanese, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, f. 521, op. 1, d. 69, quotes on ll. 71, 710b, KSP; Kazama Jokichi, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, *Moscow Kyousanshugi Daigaku no Omoide* [Memories of KUTV] (Tokyo: Sangen-sha, 1949), 61(quote).
39. M. L. Titarenko, et al., *VKP(b), Komintern i natsional'no-revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Kitae: dokumenty*, vol. 2, 1926–1927 (pt. 2) (Moscow: Rossiiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii, Institut Dal'nego Vostoka Rossiiskoi akademii nauk and Vostochnoaziatskii seminar svobodnogo universiteta Berlina, 1996), 1009.
40. "Protokol Soveshtaniya po voprosam ob organizatsii yaponskikh moriyakov i negrityanskikh moriyakov, ot 14 dekabriya 1928 g.," original in Russian, f. 534, op. 5, d. 195,l. 78, RILU; Beckmann and Okubo, *Japanese Communist Party*, 389.
41. Comrade Achkanov, "THESES OF REPORT ON ACTIVITIES OF ICP&A OF TRANSPORT WORKERS," January 8, 1929, translation into English, f. 534, op. 5, d. 207,ll. 12, 16–18, RILU.
42. Ford, "The 'Vestris' Disaster and Coloured Seamen," *International Press Correspondence* 9:4 (January 18, 1929), 63–64.

43. *Ashu Sekishoku Kaiin Shimbun* (The Red Seamen of Asia) 4:18 (54) (November 1928): 1–4.
44. These included brochures and booklets on such topics as the resolutions adopted at the Second Conference of Transport Workers and the tasks of the trade unions in pan-Pacific countries, to be translated into Chinese, Japanese, and Korean.
45. "INFORMATSIIA O DEIATEL'NOSTI TIKHOOKEANSKOGO SEKRETARIATA TRANSPORTNIKOV, C 21 avgusta 1929g. po 15 fevralia 1930 goda," original in Russian, f. 534, op. 5, d. 213,ll. 44–46, RILU.
46. Johnson and Rosskina to comrade Pukke, June 17, 1930, original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 318,ll. 20–22, RILU.
47. As a result of a bitter conflict between Katayama and Yamamoto, Yamamoto was dispatched from Moscow to Vladivostok, where he arrived on or shortly before October 17, 1930. Khitomi (Tanaka) to Comrades Lozovsky, Johnson and Yurdzik, 24/XII-1930, translation into Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 316,l. 198, RILU; Tetsuro Kato, "The Japanese Victims of Stalinist Terror in the USSR," 2–3, at //members.jcom.home.ne.jp/katori/spurge.html.
48. [Harrison George] to Comrade, February 2, [1932], translation into Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 423,l. 1, RILU.
49. Minutes No. 8, San Francisco Bureau of the PPTUS, March 28, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,l. 9, RILU.
50. Minutes No. 4, American Bureau PPTUS, June 29, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,l. 18, RILU; minutes No. 8, American Bureau PPTUS, July 27, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,l. 35, RILU.
51. Minutes No. 6, American Bureau PPTUS, July 13, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,l. 24, RILU.
52. Karl Yoneda, "A Brief Summary of the Political Activities of Japanese Refugees and Japanese Socialists in America (1880–1934)," 3/26/65, pp. 3–4, folder 9, box 13, KGYP.
53. Minutes No. 20, American Bureau PPTUS, November 9, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,l. 70, RILU.
54. Minutes No. 6, American Bureau, July 13, 1932,l. 24.
55. Minutes No. 8, American Bureau, July 27, 1932,ll. 35–36.
56. Minutes No. 9, American Bureau PPTUS, August 3, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,l. 38, RILU.
57. "DRAFT OUTLINE OF WATERFRONT SECTION OF THE PARTY IN THE PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO," attached to Minutes No. 21, American Bureau PPTUS, November 23, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,ll. 80–81, RILU.
58. Minutes No. 8, American Bureau, July 27, 1932,l. 37; Minutes No. 9, American Bureau, August 3, 1932,ll. 38–39.
59. Report of the American Bureau PPTUS, stamped 8.DEZ.1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 423,ll. 62–63, RILU.
60. Minutes No. 20 American Bureau, November 9, 1932,ll. 70, 73.
61. Minutes No. 22, American Bureau PPTUS, December 7, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,l. 79, RILU.
62. Minutes 29, AB-PPTUS, March 3, 1933, f. 534, op. 4, d. 473,l. 8, RILU.
63. Eddy to Alex, April 22, 1933, f. 534, op. 4, d. 488,l. 107, RILU.
64. Minutes No. 20 American Bureau, November 9, 1932,l. 71.
65. "PREDLOZHENIE VOSTOCHNO-KOLONIAL'NOI SEKTSII OB ULUCHSHENII RABOTE AMERIKANSKOGO BIURO TOS'a." November 27, 1932, original in Russian, f. 534, op.

4, d. 421,I. 8, RILU; Friends to [TOS Frisko], [ca. early January 1933], translation into English, f. 534, op. 4, d. 465,II. 4–6, RILU; Stevens to Aleksandr and Mif, 14-VII-33, original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 466,I. 36, RILU.

66. K. Johnson, Instructions, approved May 4, 1933, original in Russian, f. 534, op. 4, d. 465,I. 15, RILU.
67. "O REORGANIZATSII TIKHOOKEANSKOGO SEKRETARIATA IMPR," 27/VII-33, original in Russian, f. 534, op. 5, d. 236,I. 94, RILU.
68. Pol.' to Fisher in San Francisco, "poslano ECCI, II/V, za N. 418/3," re "Budget for 1933," original in Russian, f. 534, op. 8, d. 217,I. 5, RILU; Fisher to Alex, September 28, 1933, f. 534, op. 4, d. 473,I. 36, RILU.
69. Minutes 26, AB-PPTUS, January 25, 1933, f. 534, op. 4, d. 473,I. 3, RILU.
70. Minutes 29, AB-PPTUS, March 3, 1933,I. 8.
71. According to historian Norio Tamura, "the Japanese section of the American Communist Party assumed the role of the JCP to some degree as fascism spread in Japan between 1930 and 1937." Norio Tamura, "Japanese American Leftist Literature Sent to Japan: *Kokusai Tsushin*, *Pan Pacific Worker*, *Kaijo Tsushin*, *Taiyo Shimpo*, and Others," unpublished conference paper, folder 7, box 6, KGYP.
72. Report of the American Bureau, stamped 8.DEZ.1932,I. 62.
73. M. James, for the Chinese Bureau, to Central Committee, CPUSA, May 14, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2756,I. 2, CPUSA.
74. Minutes No. 9, American Bureau, August 3, 1932,I. 38.
75. S. Takeda to Com. Borisoff, December 24, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2995,I. 40, CPUSA.
76. D., District 13 District Committee, to Central Committee Secretariat, November 17, 1933, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3295,I. 57, CPUSA.
77. S. Takeda, "Report of the 1st meeting of the N.B.A.C.," [December 1932], f. 515, op. 1, d. 2995,II. 41, 48–49, 62–63, CPUSA.
78. Minutes No. 9, American Bureau, August 3, 1932, 1, 139.
79. Minutes No. 16, American Bureau PPTUS, September 21, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,I. 59, RILU.
80. Eddy to Alex, January 26, 1933, f. 515, op. 1, d. 473,I. 20, CPUSA.
81. Minutes of meeting of C.C., Chinese Buro, January, 20, 1933, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3181,I. 1, CPUSA.
82. Minutes 26, AB-PPTUS, January 25, 1933,I. 2.
83. AB-PPTUS to Alex, November 20, 1933, f. 534, op. 4, d. 473,I. 41, RILU.
84. Fisher to Alex, September 28, 1933, f. 534, op. 4, d. 473,I. 39, RILU.

CHAPTER 6: LEFT-WING CHINESE IMMIGRANT ACTIVISTS

1. Huang Shih, Tso Shih, and Yung-Ying Hsu to Comrade Jay Lovestone, March 29, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1074,I. 3, CPUSA.
2. Zhang Bao, trans. Yu Chunmei, "Er-Sanshi Niandai zai Meiguo de Zhongguo Gongchandang ren [Chinese Communists in the United States during the Twenties and Thirties]," in vol. 7 of *Guoji gongyunshi yanjiu ziliao* [Historical research materials on the international communist movement] (Beijing: 1982), 151–152.
3. General Secretary to W. Weinstone, January 11, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1024,I. 32, CPUSA.
4. Him Mark Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China, to Build a Better America: The Chinese

Marxist Left in America to the 1960s," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives 1992* (1992): 15.

5. For an insightful discussion of the issue of Party membership in relation to the Communist literary left, see Alan M. Wald, "Culture and Commitment: US Communist Writers Reconsidered," in *Writing from the Left: New Essays on Radical Culture and Politics* (New York: Verso, 1994), 67–84.
6. E. Levin to Comrade Lovestone, April 26, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,l. 59, CPUSA.
7. Paul C. Reiss to C. E. Ruthenberg, January 8, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1045,ll. 9–10, quotes onl. 9, CPUSA.
8. Circular issued by SF KMT headquarters, with note in English at top by F.T.D., original in Chinese, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1219,l. 18, CPUSA.
9. Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 10–11; Anti-Imperialist Department W(C)P, "MEMORANDUM ON SITUATION AND TASKS IN THE KUO MIN TANG OF CHINA IN AMERICA," n.d., f. 515, op. 1, d. 1110,ll. 37–38, CPUSA.
10. Reiss to Ruthenberg, January 8, 1927,ll. 9–10.
11. On Dolsen and the book, see James H. Dolsen, *Bucking the Ruling Class: Jim Dolsen's Story* (published by James H. Dolsen, 1984).
12. Paul C. Reiss to C. E. Ruthenberg, January 8, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1045,l. 4, CPUSA.
13. General Secretary to Paul C. Weiss, January 13, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1045,l. 12, CPUSA.
14. E. Levin to Comrade Ruthenberg, March 1, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,ll. 15–16, quotes on l. 15, CPUSA.
15. E. Levin to C. E. Ruthenberg, February 17, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,l. 12, CPUSA; E. Levin to Comrade Lovestone, March 21, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,l. 23, CPUSA.
16. Alice Sum to Friend, February 28, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1219,l. 6, CPUSA; "Work with the Chinese and Kuomintang," n.d., f. 515, op. 1, d. 1110,l. 45, CPUSA.
17. Shih, Shih, and Hsu to Lovestone, March 29, 1927.
18. Minutes of meeting of District 12 PolCom, January 10, 1027, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1166,l. 2, CPUSA; minutes of meeting of District 12 PolCom, March 14, 1927, f. 515, op 1, d. 1166,l. 12, CPUSA; minutes of meeting of District 12 PolCom, March 28, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1166,l. 16(quote), CPUSA; minutes of meeting of District 12 PolCom, April 4, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1166,ll. 17–18, CPUSA; Aoron [*sic*] Fislerman to Comrade Lovestone, April 12, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1042,l. 23(quotes), CPUSA; minutes of meeting of District 12 PolCom, April 18, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1166,ll. 19–20, CPUSA.
19. Tontien to Comrade, December 11, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1111,l. 19, CPUSA.
20. [Aaron Fislerman] to Jay Lovestone, May 14, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1042,l. 37, CPUSA.
21. Minutes of meeting of Sub-committee of D.E.C. on Imperialism, January 14, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1212,l. 7, CPUSA.
22. David S. Ogino to Sen Katayama, March 13, 1927, f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,l. 48, KSP.
23. William W. Weinstone to c.e. Ruthenberg, January 7, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1024,l. 16, CPUSA.
24. General Secretary to Weinstone, January 11, 1927.
25. However, following the April Twelfth Coup in 1927, the ECCP underwent reorganization. Among other changes, "the Chinese Communists in France became subsumed under a Chinese-language section of the PCF [French Communist Party]," while the headquarters of the European Branch of the Chinese Communist Youth Corps (ECYC)

and the ECCP appear to have been transferred to Germany. Marilyn A. Levine, *The Found Generation: Chinese Communists in Europe during the Twenties* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993), 3–4, 160.

26. Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 12; "MEMORANDUM ON SITUATION AND TASKS IN THE KUO MIN TANG OF CHINA IN AMERICA,"11. 37–38.

27. [Levin] to Comrade Ruthenberg, March 1, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1074,1. 2, CPUSA.

28. Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 12–13, 35; M. James to Secretariat, CPUSA, July 5, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2756,1. 7, CPUSA.

29. H. M. Lai, "A Historical Survey of Organizations of the Left Among the Chinese in America," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 4:3 (Fall 1972): 12; Lai, "A Historical Survey of the Chinese Left in America," in *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America*, ed. by Emma Gee (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1976), 67; Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 12–13.

30. "Work with the Chinese and Kuomintang,"1. 45.

31. Leong Gor Yun, *Chinatown Inside Out* (New York: Barrows Mussey, 1936), 153–154.

32. *The Chinese Guide in America*, Weekly [English Supplement], No. 11, February 12, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1219,1. 5, CPUSA.

33. Transcript by Gomez of conversation between Fook Zoo Wu and Jay Lovestone, April 13, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1110,1. 3, CPUSA.

34. E. Levin to C. E. Ruthenberg, February 17, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,1. 12, CPUSA.

35. H. T. Tsiang to Comrades & Fellow-workers, March 2, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1219,1. 7, CPUSA.

36. *The Chinese Guide in America*, [English Supplement], No. 11.

37. Malcolm Bruce, E. Ettlinger, Manya Reiss, E. Owens, T. Fleming, A. Lovrin, and V. Dart, Members of DEC District 13, to CEC, W(C)P, n.d., f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,11. 70–73, quote on1. 72, CPUSA; "Work with the Chinese and Kuomintang,"1. 46.

38. "American Imperialist Aggression in China and the Tasks of Our Party," n.d., f. 515, op. 1, d. 1110,11. 29–36, quotes on11. 33–35, CPUSA.

39. Central Committee, W(C)P, "HANDS OFF CHINA! NOT A MAN, NOT A DOLLAR—FOR THE IMPERIALIST WAR!," n.d., f. 515, op. 1, d. 975,1. 580b, CPUSA.

40. William W, Weinstone to Comrades, National Office, February 21, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1024,1. 100, CPUSA.

41. Vivian M. Wilkerson to M. Bedacht, June 3, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1025,1. 84, CPUSA.

42. "Hands Off China, Kuo-Min-Tang Mass Meeting," to be held March 27, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 976,1. 33, CPUSA; "Phila. Chinese Protest," *Philadelphia Daily News: Philadelphia's Pictorial*, March 28, p. 1; "U.S.—'Hands Off,'" *Philadelphia Daily News: Philadelphia's Pictorial*, March 28, p. 2(quote); "U. S. Bombardment of Nanking Denounced by Chinese Nationalists in This City," *Philadelphia Daily News: Philadelphia's Pictorial*, March 28, p. 17(quote).

43. Lai, "Historical Survey of Organizations of the Left," 12.

44. Acting General Secretary to E. Levin, April 22, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,1. 55, CPUSA. See also "MINUTES OF POLCOM 4/8/27," Series 2–40, Earl Browder Papers, microfilm edition (hereafter cited as EBP).

45. Levin to Lovestone, April 26, 1927.

46. E. Levin to J. Lovestone, April 27, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,1. 63, CPUSA.

47. Minutes of meeting of District 13 Political Committee, May 4, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1169,l. 11 (other pages of minutes missing), CPUSA.
48. Acting General Secretary to E. Levin, DO#13, May 9, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,l. 77, CPUSA.
49. Organizer, District 13, to Max Bedacht, May 27, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,ll. 86–87, CPUSA.
50. E. Levin, Organizer District 13, to Max Bedacht, June 15, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,l. 93, CPUSA. There is little known about Gertrude Haessler, other than the fact that she was the sister of independent labor activist and Federated Press managing editor Carl Haessler and that in 1919 she was "the secretary of the Industrial Workers of the World's Defense Committee in San Francisco." Stephen J. Haessler, "Carl Haessler and The Federated Press: Essays on the History of American Labor Journalism," M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1977, 43.
51. Acting General Secretary to E. Levin, June 23, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,l. 97, CPUSA; minutes of PolCom meeting, May 9, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 983,l. 14, CPUSA.
52. E. Levin to Comrade Lovestone, March 24, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,ll. 26–27, CPUSA.
53. E. Levin to Comrade Lovestone, March 24, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,ll. 28–29, CPUSA.
54. Minutes of meeting of District 13 DEC, April 9, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1169,l. 3, CPUSA; minutes of Meeting of District 13 DEC, April 10, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1169,ll. 4–5, CPUSA; minutes of meeting of District 13 DEC, April 13, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1169,l. 6, CPUSA; minutes of meeting of District 13 DEC, April 17, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1169,ll. 7–9, CPUSA.
55. Bruce, et al. to the c.e.C.,l. 71.
56. Ibid.,l. 72.
57. Huang Shih to Comrade Lovestone, April 22, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1074,ll. 5–6, CPUSA.
58. H. T. Tsiang, "Foreword," December 25, 1928, in Hsi-Tseng Tsiang, *Poems of the Chinese Revolution* (New York, January 1929); Floyd Cheung, "Introduction," in H. T. Tsiang, *And China Has Hands*, ed. Floyd Cheung (1937; reprint, New York: Ironweed Press, 2003), 9. On Tsiang's conflicts with the left- and right-wing factions of the KMT, see Leong, *Chinatown Inside Out*, 154. On Tsiang's life in China and the United States, see Cheung, "Introduction."
59. Transcript of conversation between Jay Lovestone and Fook Soo Wu, with annotations by Gomez, April 13, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1110,l. 3, CPUSA.
60. Edgar Owens to CEC, May 2, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,l. 75, CPUSA.
61. Ibid.,ll. 75–76.
62. Minutes of meeting of District 13 DEC, May 7, 1927, 515, op. 1, d. 1169,l. 17, CPUSA.
63. Minutes of meeting of District 13 DEC, May 18, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1169,l. 13, CPUSA.
64. E. Levin to Comrade Bedacht, July 22, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1044,l. 6, CPUSA.

CHAPTER 7: CHINESE WORKERS IN AMERICA

1. Minutes of meeting of District 13 DEC, May 9, 1928, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1435,l. 85, CPUSA; Him Mark Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China, to Build a Better America: The Chinese Marxist Left in America to the 1960s," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives 1992* (1992): 13.
2. J. Loeb to Central Committee, C. P., April 10, 1933, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3181,ll. 6–8, CPUSA; "GOVERNING PRINCIPLES FOR THE PROGRAM," attached to letter from J. Loeb, April

10, 1933, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3181,I. 17, CPUSA; Philip J. Jaffe, "Introduction," to *China Today*, Series 1, Numbers 1–8 (1934) (New York: Greenwood Reprint Corporation, 1968), [2 pages] no page number.

3. Minutes of meeting of District 13 DEC, April 13, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1169,I. 6, CPUSA; Tontien to Comrade Gomez, November 26, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1111,II. 12–14, CPUSA; minutes of meeting of District 13 DEC, May 9, 1928, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1435,I. 85, CPUSA; Benjamin Fee, "Report on the work of the Chinese Fraction," January 27, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1791,II. 45–49, CPUSA; "Thesis and Report of the Buro adopted at the Second National Conference of The Chinese Fraction of the Workers' (Communist) Party of America, February 19–21, 1929," translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1814,I. 24, CPUSA; Tontien to Comrade, December 11, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1111,I. 18, CPUSA.

4. For list of aliases of Chinese immigrant Party members in San Francisco in December 1927, see Huang Shih to Comrade Gomez, December 13, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1111,I. 22, CPUSA.

5. Yang Zuntao and Zhao Luqian, trans. Jin Yaliang, "Shi Huang," in vol. 45 of *Zhong gong dangshi renwu zhuan* [Personages in the party history of the CCP], ed. by Hu Hua, et al. (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1990), 164.

6. "Thesis and Report of the Buro," II. 5, 20; minutes of meeting of Political Committee, November 2, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 984,I. 67, CPUSA.

7. This "Chinese comrade" may well have been Benjamin Fee since he had already begun to take a prominent role among Chinese activists, especially in relation to the Party leadership, and as a member of the YCL he would have been especially qualified to speak about their activities. FBI report, FBINY 100–98894, 6/1/53, p. 1, Fee FBI file; Gil Green to Party Org. Dept., September 28, 1931, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2326,I. 9, CPUSA.

8. Minutes of meeting of District 13 DEC, May 9, 1928,II. 85–86.

9. There is some question about exactly when ACWP was founded and *Xianfeng Zhoukan* was first issued. Writing in 1982, Zhang Bao states "The Alliance was first established . . . in 1927." However, The Chinese Buro's Special Resolution on publication of the paper's successor *Xianfeng Bao* in April 1930, stated, "The Alliance was organised [*sic*] by the Party in January 1928 and the Vanguard was published at the same time." Other sources indicate that the latter first appeared in April of that year, and that sometime in 1930 during the period following the transfer of the ACWP headquarters to New York, *Xianfeng Zhoukan* was published in Philadelphia. Zhang Bao, trans. Yu Chunmei, "Er-Sanshi Niandai zai Meiguo de Zhongguo Gongchandang ren [Chinese Communists in the United States during the Twenties and Thirties]," in vol. 7 of *Guoji gongyunshi yanjiu ziliao* [Historical research materials on the international communist movement] (Beijing: 1982), 154; "THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 'CHINESE VANGUARD WEEKLY' AND OUR TASKS," April 5, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2159,I. 38; Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 34; Leong Gor Yun, *Chinatown Inside Out* (New York: Barrows Mussey, 1936), 154.

10. Notably, left-wing activists formed a branch in Philadelphia, to be led by former KMT member P.T. Lau. Minutes of meeting of District 13 DEC Political Committee, May 27, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1139,I. 45, CPUSA; M. James to the Central Committee, CPUSA, May 14, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2756,I. 3, CPUSA; Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 14.

11. Minutes of meeting of District 13 DEC, May 9, 1928,II. 85–86.

12. "Workers and Farmers of China, Japan, and America!" [May 1928], f. 515, op. 1, d. 1438,I. 76, CPUSA; minutes of meeting of Polcom, May 19, 1928, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1435,I. 95, CPUSA.

13. Yang and Zhao, "Shi Huang," 160–161(quotes); and Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 10.
14. In his study of the relationship that formed between left-wing Chinese students and Chinese hand laundry workers in New York in the 1930s and 1940s, Renqiu Yu points out that just as the activists held an elite status as university students, upon joining the KMT in America they also became members of "the elite within the KMT." Renqiu Yu, "To Merge with the Mass: Left-wing Chinese Students and Chinese Hand Laundry Workers in New York City in the 1930s," in *Asian Americans: Comparative and Global Perspectives*, ed. by Shirley Hune, Hyung-chan Kim, Stephen S. Fugita, and Amy Ling (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1991), 50. See also Renqiu Yu, *To Save China, To Save Ourselves: The Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 58.
15. Letter to Comrade Gomez, December 29, 1927, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1111,l. 26, CPUSA.
16. FBI Investigative Summary Report, FBINY 100–98894, 12/14/51, p. 4, Fee FBI file; M. James to Secretariat, CPUSA, July 5, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2756,l. 7, CPUSA.
17. Letter to Comrade Gomez, December 29, 1927; "Thesis and Report of the Buro,"l. 25.
18. Tontien to Gomez, November 26, 1927,ll. 12–13.
19. "Thesis and Report of the Buro,"ll. 20–21, 25, 30.
20. Tontien to Comrade, December 11, 1927,l. 18.
21. Tontien to Gomez, November 26, 1927,l. 12.
22. Regarding the relationship between the two bodies, the central Anti-Imperialist Committee ruled at a meeting in late October 1927, "That the structure of the Anti-Imperialist Department be as follows: CEC sub-committee (the present committee), District Anti-Imperialist Committees (sub-committees of the DECs), City Anti-Imperialist Committees (except in residence city of DEC), and special committees (such as the sub-committee in California working in connection with the National Committee of the Kuo Min Tang of China in America, etc.); no anti-imperialist committees to be elected in sections, sub-sections or nuclei." Minutes of meeting of Anti-Imperialist Committee, October 31, 1927, signed by Manuel Gomez, d. 515, op. 1, d. 1110,l. 9, CPUSA.
23. Minutes of meeting of Anti-Imperialist Committee, December 27, 1927, signed by Manuel Gomez, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1110,l. 22, CPUSA.
24. E. Levin to Comrade Lovestone, April 26, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,l. 59, CPUSA.
25. Acting General Secretary to E. Levin, May 9, 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1043,l. 77, CPUSA.
26. "Thesis and Report of the Buro,"l. 19.
27. One should not assume, however, that Chinese immigrant Communists had established formal or even informal ties with the CCP. In January 1929, Fee stated: "We have had no contacts with the Chinese Party until recently. It is hard to get but we need it." Fee, "Report," 1.47.
28. This made sense since one of the "five routes" established by the KMT's Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission (OCAC) for monitoring matters overseas "covered Hawaii, America, Canada, Mexico, Central America and South America." Douglas W. Lee, "The Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission and the Politics of Patriotism in Chinese America in the Nanking Era, 1928–1945," *Annals of the Chinese Historical Society of the Pacific Northwest* (Bellingham, WA, 1984): 211.
29. Tontien to Comrade, December 11, 1927,l. 18.

30. Huang Shih to Comrade Gomez, December 9, 1927, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1111,11. 16–17, CPUSA.
31. As recounted by Shi in mid-December 1927, the paper "was first published in Seattle" and then later "adopted by the Left wing organization as its official organ and . . . removed to San Francisco with Tontien [Shi] and Suarez [Fee] as editor and manager respectively." Financing came from "free contribution, by the left wingers [*sic*] in America." Tontien to Comrade, December 11, 1927,11. 19–20.
32. Minutes of meeting of Anti-Imperialist Committee, December 27, 1927,1. 22.
33. "Questionary," issued by the Language Department C.C. and completed by the Chinese Bureau by May 15, [1930], f. 515, op.1, d. 1684,11. 21–23, CPUSA. At a meeting of the Anti-Imperialist Committee, held in late December 1927, Gomez refers to "the Provisional Committee for an American Section of the I.L.A.I." Minutes of meeting, December 27, 1927,1. 22. See also "Proposal for Building American Section of the International League Against Imperialism—Submitted by M. Gomez," ca. late 1927, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1110,11. 18–20, CPUSA.
34. This was the Second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence, held in July 1929, in Frankfurt, Germany.
35. "Summary of Recent Activities in the All-America Anti-Imperialist League," ca. January 1929, f. 542, op. 1, d. 35,11. 13–14, CPUSA; call for a national convention of the U.S. section of AAAIL, to be held April 20–21, 1929, in New York City, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1840,1. 12–15, CPUSA; "Memorandum Concerning Anti-Imperialist League," [1929], Series 2–13, EBP; "ANTI-IMPERIALIST TOUR," *Labor Unity*, August 24, 1929, p. 3; Scott Nearing and William Simon to Fellow Member, August 27, 1929, Series 2–13, EBP; P. Smith to all Language Buro Secretaries, August 19, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1682,1. 29, CPUSA; minutes of meeting of District 13 Secretariat, October 13, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1795,1. 45, CPUSA.
36. Fee, "Report,"1. 46.
37. Soon after the National Conference held in February 1929, the headquarters of the Chinese Buro was transferred from San Francisco to New York City and plans were initiated to relocate the offices of ACWP, although by the time of the fifth meeting of the Buro, held on March 25, 1929, the transfer was not yet "complete," and it was decided that "Com. Tontien should be still responsible for the Agi-prop [*sic*] department and take care of the 'Vanguard,' the official organ of the Alliance." Minutes of the fifth meeting of the Chinese Buro, March 25, 1929, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1814,1. 33, CPUSA.
38. Lai writes that toward the end of 1927 left-wing students "gained control of the national student organization," and two former "Chaotao members Mei Ruao (Mei Ju-ao) and Hu Dunyuan (Thomas T. Y. Hu), now CPUSA members, held posts as two of the next three chief editors of the Alliance's publication." Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 15.
39. "Members of the General Council," ca. August 1929, Series 2–13, EBP; Zhang, "Chinese Communists in the United States," 150–151.
40. Fee, "Report,"11. 46, 48. Also see "Thesis and Report of the Buro,"1. 23.
41. Tontien to Comrade Bittelman, November 28, 1928, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1368,1. 15, CPUSA; Tontien to Comrade Bittelman, November 26, 1928, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1368,1. 14, CPUSA.
42. Tontien to Comrades, January 16, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1662,11. 23–24, 31, 33.
43. Tontien to Comrade Foster, December 24, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1814,1. 54, CPUSA.
44. Sadaichi Kenmotsu to Katayama, [ca. beginning 1930], f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,1. 120, KSP.

45. Call for a national convention of the U.S. section of AAAI,I. 14.
46. The "Far Eastern Anti-Imperialism Conference" was held on May 30, 1929 in New York. Apparently, the Chinese Buro along with "the Japanese comrades" had organized what was described by Secretary of the Chinese Buro as a "MASS MEETING" on China. Minutes of the ninth meeting of the Chinese Buro, May 15, [1929], original in Chinese, trans. Zhenlin Rang, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1814,I. 37, CPUSA; Toddy to Acting Executive Secretary, C.P.U.S.A., May 31, 1929, f. 515, op. 1,d. 1656,I. 71, CPUSA.
47. L. Gibarti to Secretariat, CPUSA, June 7,1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1658,II. 17–18, CPUSA.
48. Minutes of District 13 DEC, May 14, [1929], f. 515, op. 1, d. 1793,I. 20, CPUSA; minutes of meeting of District 13 DEC, May 21, [1929], f. 515, op. 1, d. 1793,I. 23, CPUSA; E. Gardos to L. Gibarti, May 23, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1799,I. 24, CPUSA.
49. Regarding the mobilization of Mexicans, Gardos himself admitted in another letter to Gibarti, "unfortunately we have very few connections here in San Francisco; and the Los Angeles comrades, where there are over 200,000 Mexicans living, somehow didn't secure so far any endorsement." Organizer, District #13 to L. Gibarti, June 14, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1799,I. 30, CPUSA.
50. Gardos to Gibarti, May 23, 1929,II. 24–25.
51. Oddly, given the prominent role he played in mobilizing support for the conference among Asian party members, Kenmotsu was not a member of the proposed Presidium. See Chapter eight.
52. Minutes of the Western Regional Conference of the U.S. section of AAAIL June 30, 1929," f. 515, op. 1, d. 1840,II. 16–18, CPUSA.
53. In 1935, Ming Hua Wei would be recommended for transfer to the CPSU. List of CPUSA Party members recommended for transfer to the CPSU, f. 495, op. 1, d. 289,I. 50, CI.
54. Minutes of the Western Regional Conference,II. 16–17.
55. "Bulletin for League Workers. Building the All-America Anti-Imperialist League," [1929], f. 515, op. 1, d. 1840,II. 38–39, CPUSA.
56. Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 17; Him Mark Lai, "A Historical Survey of the Chinese Left in America," in *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America*, ed. by Emma Gee (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1976), 66; "Thesis and Report of the Buro,"I. 21.
57. There is some confusion about when Fee changed his membership from the YWL to the Party. According to a Certificate issued by the Secretariat of the CPUSA, before Fee departed from the United States in September 1930 to attend the Lenin School in Moscow, he was a member "in good standing of the Communist Party, U.S.A." However, correspondence between Gil Green of the YCL National Office and W. Weiner of the Organization Department CC indicates that not only was Fee "a very active League member before he left" but further that he was ordered "to remain a Y.C.L. member" following his return in September 1931. Certificate issued by the Secretariat, [CPUSA], September 19, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2266,I. 68, CPUSA; Green to Party Org. Dept., September 28, 1931; Org. Dept. CC to Gil Green, Youth Dept., October 1, 1931, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2326,I. 8, CPUSA.
58. Fee, "Report,"I. 45; Minutes of the meeting of the NEC of TUEL, February 16, 1929, f. 534, op. 7, d. 488,II. 19–20, RILU; remarks by Emanuel Levin, District 13 Convention, January 27, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1791,I. 68, CPUSA.
59. Fee, "Report,"I. 46.
60. Minnie Carson, "Report," District 13 Convention, January 27, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1791,I. 49, CPUSA. In this regard, Renqiu Yu calls attention to the "left's dogmatic

application of the CPUSA's theories to overseas Chinese," and to the "quandary" in which "[f]ollowing the theoretical guidance of the CPUSA" placed the Chinese leftists insofar as "there were few Chinese industrial workers in the United States." Yu, *To Save China, To Save Ourselves*, 60.

61. Carson, "Report,"II. 49–50.
62. "Thesis and Report of the Buro,"I. 21.
63. In January 1929 Fee reported, "We sent 10 comrades last year to Russia to study and when their studies are completed they will go to China to spread propaganda." Fee, "Report,"I. 46.
64. Ibid.,II. 20–21.
65. Ibid.,I. 21.
66. Before the strike, the workers were members of the "Shih-Fook Tong (Tong for the 'Good of the Workers')." The day after the workers began their strike, they decided to change the name of the Tong to Chinese Laundry Workers Union. "Report to the District Plenum, District #13, On the Chinese Laundry Workers Strike," February 10, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1791,I. 95, CPUSA.
67. The strikers' other demands were: "1—One day off in seven. 2—Quitting time Saturday 5 PM. Recognition of the Union. Pay for lost time . . . Recognize as a holiday the Strike Day." "On the Chinese Laundry Workers Strike,"I. 97.
68. Here, Manus added the jarring parenthetical comment, "(This committee is in the form of a shop delegation and is formed in a crude manner)," which simply didn't make sense unless he was referring to the fact that the committee numbered a somewhat unwieldy 65. Ibid.,II. 95–96.
69. "On the Chinese Laundry Workers Strike,"II. 95, 98; minutes of meeting of Chinese Fraction, S. F. Branch, February 5, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1814,II. 1–2, CPUSA; minutes of meeting titled "Chinese Strike of Laundry Men," [February 1929], f. 515, op. 1, d. 1793,I. 85, CPUSA; Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 17. I have been unable to identify "Billy." Whereas my sources identify Billy as representative of the Kung Yu Club and Wood as representative of the ACWP, Lai identifies Dea as the former.
70. I have been unable to find any further mention of such meetings in the archival record.
71. "On the Chinese Laundry Workers Strike,"I. 96; minutes of meeting of Chinese Fraction, February 5, 1929,I. 1; "Chinese Strike of Laundry Men"; minutes of "Enlarged District Executive Committee Meeting," February 10 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1793,I. 1, CPUSA.
72. "Our Chinese Neighbors," *The Seamen's Journal* 43:3 (March 1, 1929): 73; minutes of meeting of Chinese Fraction, February 5, 1929,I. 1.
73. In January Fee reported, "Up to the present the whole Fraction consisted of about 32 members, half students, half workers. 2/3 Cantonese, 1/3 Non-Cantonese." Fee, "Report,"I. 45.
74. For instance, the report noted, "The C.E.C. of our Party did not give adequate political guidence [*sic*] and financial assistense [*sic*] [to] the Fraction." "Thesis and Report of the Buro,"II. 25, 26.
75. In his January report, Fee gave details on the CEC's failure to provide financial assistance. For instance, Fee offered this assessment regarding the sending of delegates to the National Conference: "The CEC promised to give $250 for the comrades to make the trip across the US, three were to go." In the end, they only received $100. Fee, "Report,"II. 47–48; "Thesis and Report of the Buro,"I. 26.

76. "Thesis and Report of the Buro,"l. 26; Levin, District 13 Convention,l. 59.
77. The criticism was not directed solely at the Chinese Buro but rather was part of a broader directive to all language bureaus to "immediately reorganize" and thereby move towards "speedier liquidation of all remnants of federationalism." In this regard, the Language Department's instructions noted, "Not only have we in our Party had the wrong habit of local language membership meetings, we have even had National conferences of certain language groups with delegates from these local 'fractions'!" P. Smith to all District Organizers and Language Bureaus of the Central Committee, July 19, 1929, with "Instructions For Our Work In Non-Party Language Organizations," f. 515, op. 1, d. 1682,l. 20, CPUSA.
78. Minutes of twelfth meeting of the Chinese Buro, July 11, 1929, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1814,l. 42, CPUSA.
79. Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 22.
80. Yang and Zhao, "Shi Huang," 168; minutes of seventh meeting of the Chinese Buro, April 5, [1929], original in Chinese, trans. Zhenlin Rang, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1814,l. 34, CPUSA; minutes of twelfth meeting of the Chinese Buro.
81. This may have been Hartman Liu, who according to the national leadership was a "Food worker, [and] member of the Genral [*sic*] Council of the Alliance." "For Anti-imperialist League," Series 2–13, EBP.
82. Minutes of meeting of the Language Department, October 22, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1680,l. 15, CPUSA.
83. Toddy to Comrade Smith, October 25, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1683,ll. 45–46, CPUSA. In line with the move to reevaluate the ACWP, the Buro also decided "to openly declare the dissolution of the SUN Yat Sen Society [Students' Society for the Advancement of Sun Yat-senism in America], and point the reactioary [*sic*] character of the Sun Yat Seninsm [*sic*]."
84. Minutes of tenth meeting of the Chinese Buro, June 2, [1929], original in Chinese, trans. Zhenlin Rang, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1814,l. 39, CPUSA.
85. Toddy to Smith, October 25, 1929,l. 46.
86. Toddy, "Party Recruiting Drive: Instruction of the Chinese Buro, Language Depar't, CC, CPUSA," ca. December 14, 1929, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1682,l. 51, CPUSA.
87. Ibid.,ll. 52–54.
88. Toddy to Acting Executive Secretary, May 31, 1929,l. 71.
89. Minutes of seventh meeting of the Chinese Buro,l. 35.
90. Zhang, "Chinese Communists in the United States," 161; questionnaire issued by the Central Committee, CPUSA, and signed by Henry Hahn, Chinese Buro, C.C., November 23, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2747,ll. 89, 91, CPUSA; M. James to Comrade Browder, August 25, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2706,l. 23, CPUSA; Toddy to Acting Executive Secretary, May 31, 1929,l. 71.
91. Yao Xiaoping, trans. Jin Yaliang, "A Red Revolutionist Seldom Known to Others—Xu Yongying, Founder of China Bureau, U.S.C.P. and Director of English Translation of The Selected Works of Mao Zedong," *Zheng Tan Feng Yun*, 12–13.
92. Lai, "A Historical Survey," 12. See also "Chinese Rout Reds But It's in Mott St.," *New York Times*, July 29, 1929, p. 1.
93. Sometime in the first months of 1930, the *Chinese Students' Monthly* was "stopped." "Questionary,"l. 23.

94. On the formation of the FWIU, see Matthew Josephson, *Union House, Union Bar: The History of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union* (New York: Random House, 1956), 174–175.

95. Toddy, "Party Recruiting Drive,"I. 53; "Questionary,"II. 21–23.

96. In fact, nine days after the appearance of the first issue of *Xianfeng Bao*, Li sent a brief note to Comrade Campbell declaring that the "great problem before us is financial" and "immediate practical help from the Party and the Eastern Department is very urgent." In spite of such pleas for assistance, the financial situation deteriorated further to the point where *Xianfeng Bao* was "suspended for three months in the summer of 1930 due to lack of finance." T. H. Li to Com. Campbell, April 12, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1961,I. 15, CPUSA; M. James to Central Committee,I. 3.

97. "THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 'CHINESE VANGUARD WEEKLY,' "II. 1, 38–39; Secretary, Chinese Buro, to M. Alpi, Language Department, April 11, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2021,I. 74, CPUSA; Leong, *Chinatown Inside Out*, 150.

98. Lai, "A Historical Survey," 67.

99. "THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 'CHINESE VANGUARD WEEKLY,' "I. 2.

100. Ibid.,I. 2. The Chinese Bureau purchased "Three sets of Chinese types" ordered "from China" through a "contribution" of $900 from Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D.D. Brown had promised Lovestone at an "election campaign meeting in Harlem" in 1928 that he would "do whatever is deemed necessary by him as representative of the Party, in respect to the finance of obtaining the types" in return for their use in printing a Chinese-language edition of his "booklet, Communism and Christianism." Yung Ying Hsu to Bishop Wm. Montgomery Brown, May 25, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1658,I. 96, CPUSA; Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D.D., to Mr. Robert Minor, May 27, 1929, f.515, op. 1, d. 1658,I. 97, CPUSA; "THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 'CHINESE VANGUARD WEEKLY,' "I. 39; Zhang, "Chinese Communists in the United States," 156.

101. "THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 'CHINESE VANGUARD WEEKLY,' "II. 2, 38; Secretary, Language Department, CC, to Secretariat, CPUSA, May 6, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2017,I. 4, CPUSA.

102. "THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 'CHINESE VANGUARD WEEKLY,' "I. 1; minutes of the meeting of the Agit-Prop and Language Departments and the Chinese Buro, November 4, [1930], f. 515, op. 1, d. 2003,I. 5, CPUSA.

103. L. Kovess, "Report on the Influence of the Party trough [*sic*] Language fractions and Language papers," May 19, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2016,I. 9, CPUSA; "Shortcomings of Party Fractions in Language Work," *The Party Organizer* 3:4 (June-July 1930): 10; "THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 'CHINESE VANGUARD WEEKLY,' "I. 39.

104. Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 18; M. James to Secretariat, July 5, 1932. See also Xie Chuang, "Meiguo Jiujinshan Huaqiao fandui shiye de douzheng [The anti-unemployment struggle of overseas Chinese in San Francisco, USA]," in vol. 15 of *Guangzhou wenshi ziliao*, ed. Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Guangdong Sheng Guangzhou Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1965), 147–156.

105. Lai, "A Historical Survey," 67; questionnaire that was probably prepared by the Language Department, C.C., CPUSA, and completed by the Chinese Buro, ca. after July 1933, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3181,II. 14–15, CPUSA.

106. M. James to CC, CPUSA, May 14, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2756,I. 2, CPUSA.

107. Based on his interview with Fee, Him Mark Lai writes that the newly reissued

Resonance was intended "to serve the same function for the Chinese Marxist Left in the West that *Chinese Vanguard* did for the Left in the East." However, in mid-May 1932, the Chinese Bureau described it thus: "A monthly published by the Resonance Ass'n in S.F. essentially for the Chinese youth." Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 35; M. James to CC, May 14, 1932,l. 3.

108. Questionnaire issued by Language Department CC, CPUSA, and completed by Chinese Buro, [February 1931], f. 515, op. 1, d. 2337,ll. 52–53, CPUSA; M. James to CC, May 14, 1932,ll. 2–4; "Thesis and Report of the Buro,"ll. 17–18. The Chinese Bureau also oversaw publication of the mimeographed "The Seamen Monthly" in New York, and "The Chinese Unemployed" in San Francisco. However, the former was still fledgling, and the latter was no longer issued regularly.

109. Questionnaire, ca. after July 1933,ll. 14–15.

110. Minutes of meeting of District 13 Language Buro, January 7, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2135,l. 30, CPUSA.

111. Questionnaire, [February 1931],l. 49; M. James to CC, May 14, 1932,l. 3.

112. M. James to CC, May 14, 1932,l. 2; Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China," 22.

113. Questionnaire, [February 1931],ll. 49–50; questionnaire, November 23, 1932,l. 89.

114. Beatrice Siskind to Earl Browder, December 20, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1966,l. 153, CPUSA; J Mo to Comrade Browder, ca. late 1930, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1961,l. 92, CPUSA; M. James to George Maurer, C.P. Fraction, I.L.D. National Office, May 11, 1931, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2351,l. 105, CPUSA; John Lewey to Hon. Mr. Doak, Secy Dept. of Labor, May 12, 1931, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2531,l. 106, CPUSA; "Deportation of Aliens," under "CURRENT LEGAL NOTES," *The Seamen's Journal*, vol. 45, no. 8 (August 1, 1931): 243; Zhang, "Chinese Communists in the United States," 159.

115. M. James to Comrade Goodman, [1931], f. 515, op. 1, d. 2531,l. 107, CPUSA; M. James to Comrade Brown, June 30, 1931, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2336,l. 86, CPUSA; M. James to Comrades, July 5, 1932; "Wei Wins Fight in Deportation Plot; To Go To U.S.S.R.," *Western Worker*, May 1, 1932, p. 1; handwritten notes about "MING HUA WEI, USC student," folder 3. box 14, KGYP.

116. Anglo-American Secretariat, ECCI, to Central Committee, CPSU, September 21, 1932, f. 495, op. 72, d. 289,l. 16, CI; Zhang, "Chinese Communists in the United States," 159.

117. H. Hahn to Comrade Browder, September 1, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2756,l. 9, CPUSA.

118. Hahn to Browder, September 1, 1932; minutes of meeting of "Chinese Buro, Language Dept. CC," [ca. August 15, 1932], f. 515, op. 1, d. 2756,l. 20, CPUSA.

119. The spelling of "Hwin" is unclear.

120. Chow En Len, Wong Hwin [sp?], and Lee Chen to Comrade Han [*sic*], July 10, [1931], translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1841,ll. 117–119, CPUSA.

121. Ibid.,ll. 117–119.

122. In some instances, when dealing with allegations of Trotskyism or other so-called deviations from the correct ideological line, the bureau expelled or forbid interaction with the parties under criticism. See minutes of the fifth Meeting of the Chinese Buro, March 25, 1929; "Statement of the Chinese Bureau, C.C., C.P.U.S.A. On T. H. Tsiang and His Book 'Red China,'" [1931], translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1814,l. 46, CPUSA.

123. Chinese National Bureau to Comrade, [mid-July 1931], translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1051,ll. 48–50, CPUSA; "The decision of the Chinese Bureau on the problem," [July 1931], translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1814,l. 47, CPUSA.

124. Minutes of meeting on January 18, [1933], translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3181,l. 12, CPUSA; "Outline For Program of 'Friends of Chinese People,'" attached to above minutes, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3181,l. 13, CPUSA.

125. Xiaoping, "A Red Revolutionist Seldom Known to Others," 15. For a fuller discussion of Xu Yongying's criticisms, see Yu, "To Merge with the Mass," 50.

126. The press should include *Xianfeng Bao* and "The Unemployed," which should be given "a name similar to 'Breadless Chinese,'" and "Tchuin Chin (voice of the Masses) . . . as a trade union organ."

127. "Campaign for the Defence [*sic*] of the Chinese Revolution," [ca. early 1933], translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3123,ll. 231–233, CPUSA.

128. Ibid,l. 233.

129. Minutes of meeting of Chinese Buro, CC, January 20, 1933, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3181,l. 1, CPUSA.

130. J. Loeb to Central Committee, April 10, 1933,ll. 6–8; "GOVERNING PRINCIPLES FOR THE PROGRAM."

131. J. Loeb to Central Committee, April 10, 1933,l. 7.

132. Questionnaire, ca. after July 1933, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3181,ll. 14–15; J. Loeb to Central Committee, April 10, 1933,l. 7. In the "opinion" of the author of these responses, "the lack of collective leadership of the Buro" was hurting "work as a whole."

133. "1500 AT CHINESE CONSULATE PROTEST HUANG PING ARREST" *Western Worker*, January 30, 1933, p. 1; "2500 AT JAPANESE, GERMAN CONSULATES OF S. F. PROTEST FASCIST TERROR AND WAR PREPARATIONS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION," *Western Worker*, February 20, 1933, p. 1.

134. Zhang, "Chinese Communists in the United States," 157–158; "GOVERNING PRINCIPLES FOR THE PROGRAM"; "Statement on the expenses of the $200.00 received from the C.C.," by J. James, [1932], f. 515, op. 1, d. 2756,l. 17, CPUSA.

135. Zhang, "Chinese Communists in the United States," 158; minutes of meeting of Chinese Buro, CC, January 20, 1933,l. 2.

136. Untitled statement, unsigned, included in a file of documents from the Chinese Buro, C.C. in New York, [1933], translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3181,l. 16, CPUSA.

CHAPTER 8: FORMATION OF THE ORIENTAL BRANCH OF THE ILD

1. "Appeal to Comrade Brothers and Sisters in America," 3/1/1927, original in Japanese, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, folder 4, box 1, KGYP.

2. Eichiro Azuma, "Racial Struggle, Immigrant Nationalism, and Ethnic Identity: Japanese and Filipinos in the California Delta," *Pacific Historical Review* 67:2 (May 1998): 167–168, 172. The only evidence I have found of such a belief comes from statements by the national party leadership. For example, in response to a report submitted by the Japanese Buro the CC declared, "There are still strong chauvinist remnants which prevent an adequate fight against chauvinism and nationalism among the masses generally." CC, CPUSA, to Japanese Buro, June 5, 1934, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3451,l. 64, CPUSA.

3. On the growth of nationalism in the Japanese immigrant community, see Brian M. Hayashi, *"For the Sake of Our Japanese Brethren": Assimilation, Nationalism, and Protestantism among the Japanese of Los Angeles, 1895–1942* (Stanford: Stanford University

Press, 1995); Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

4. Sandra Wilson, "The Comintern and the Japanese Communist Party," in *International Communism and the Communist International, 1919–1943*, ed. Tim Rees and Andrew Thorpe (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 289.
5. Dorothy Healey and Maurice Isserman, *Dorothy Healey Remembers: A Life in the American Communist Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 42–44.
6. Los Angeles Japanese Fraction to Comrade Sen Katayama, May 23, 1929, original in Japanese, trans. Masako Nakamura, f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,l. 82, KSP.
7. Shinichi Kenmotsu to Katayama, January 5, [1928], original in Japanese, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, f. 521, op. 1, d. 75,l. 91, KSP.
8. [Ogino] to Comrade Katayama, n.d., handwritten in German "received 14.VII.28," original in Japanese, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, f. 521, op. 1, d. 77,l. 101, KSP.
9. Kenmotsu to Katayama, January 5, [1928],l. 92.
10. Sasaki (Shinichi Kenmotsu), "Personal History," [ca. April 1936], original in Japanese, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, f. 495, op. 280, d. 188,l. 34, CI.
11. Sasaki, "Autobiography," April 28, 1936, "Copy," translation into English, f. 495, op. 280, d. 188,l. 3, CI.
12. Karl Hama, JWA membership book, folder 8, box 2, KGYP; Karl G. Yoneda, *Ganbatte: Sixty-year Struggle of a Kibei Worker* (Los Angeles: Resource Development and Publications, Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1983), 15–16.
13. Karl G. Yoneda, "Radical Nikkei Press during the '20s and '30s," ca. September 1985, unpublished paper, p. 2, folder 7, box 6, KGYP. Teruya wrote that the *Kaikyusen* "was changed to Rodo Shinbun [*sic*] (Workers' News) in 1928." Oki Tadashi (Goro Ota), autobiography, January 18, 1933, translation into English, f. 495, op. 154, d. 524,l. 13, CI.
14. April 5, 1927 issue of *Kaikyusen*, quoted in Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 20.
15. Branch Organizer to District 2 DEC, April 17, 1925, f. 515, op. 1, d. 550,l. 12, CPUSA.
16. Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 20.
17. [Ogino] to Comrade Katayama, "received 14.VII.28,"l. 100.
18. Ibid.,ll. 100–101.
19. "Miyagi Yotoku's Notes," p. 4, folder 4, box 13, KGYP. He writes, "Party members who participated in the planning were Yoshioka and Akagi Tetsu with Higashi and Miyagi Yotoku participating under their leadership. The members were mainly friends of mine: Yabe Kenden, Matayoshi Jun, Matsuda Jinkichi (the English language poet) and Tsuyuko, Hama, Mori Hyakutaro, Ishizuka (a woman), Kitabayashi Tomo [a woman], Yamaki Chiyo, etc. [emphasis in original]."
20. See copies of May and June 1927 issues in folder 5, box 5, KGYP.
21. [Ogino] to Comrade Katayama, "received 14.VII.28,"l. 101.
22. Ibid.,l. 101.
23. Nishimura to Hisomu Katayama, November 1, [1928], original in Japanese, trans. Mariko Izumi, f. 521, op. 1, d. 75,ll. 101–101ob, KSP. Nishimura uses the words "Shina" and "Shinajin" to refer to China and the Chinese. Given the fact that these terms are now considered derogatory, Mariko uses the term "Chinaman" in her translation.

24. Sen Katayama to Comrade Tom Belli, 18/IV/29, f. 521, op. 1, d. 77,l. 102, KSP; L. Savelev to Comrade Katayama-Sen, October 12, 1930, f. 521, op. 1, d. 77,l. 118, KSP.
25. Minutes of meeting of Los Angeles Sub-District, May 8, [1928], f. 515, op. 1, d. 1439,l. 29, CPUSA; minutes of meeting of Los Angeles S.D.E.C., May 29, 1928, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1439,ll. 33–34, CPUSA.
26. Miyagi Yotoku gives the following list of new members who joined in Los Angeles in 1928–1929: "Hama Kiyoshi, Shima Seiei, Miyagi Yosaburo, Kochi Shinsei, Yoshimoto Juki, Teruya Chusei, Matayoshi Jun, and 2 or 3 others." "Miyagi Yotoku's Notes," p. 4.
27. Seki Goto (Hakomori Hydo), "Autobiography," January 17, 1933, translation into English, f. 495, op. 154, d. 524,l. 18, CI. According to Yoneda, "the Musansha Shimbun (Proletarian News), [was] the underground Japan CP weekly." Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 33.
28. Yokei Fukunaga (Rokuichi Kita), "Autobiography," January 18, 1933, translation into English, f. 495, op. 154, d. 524,ll. 16–17, CI; Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 23.
29. When the bylaws were revised in October, a somewhat changed slate was elected, consisting of "Education (Yamaguchi); Propaganda (Hama); Correspondent (K. Hakamori); Treasurer (Yoshimoto); Organization (Yanai)." Revised Bylaws of the Los Angeles JWA, 10/13/1928, folder 4, box 2, KGYP.
30. Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 23.
31. Ibid., 23.
32. See, for example, "Let's Get Down to Work," *The Party Organizer* 1:2 (December 1927): 3–6. Heading the list of "Our Central Tasks," were "1) A campaign for a Labor Party . . . in the 1928 elections," and "2) A campaign for recognition and defense of the Soviet Union."
33. Cletus E. Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers, 1870–1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 110–111. See also Lowell K. Dyson, *Red Harvest: The Communist Party and American Farmers* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 84–85.
34. Minutes of meeting of Sub-District Secretariat, May 8, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1800,l. 18, CPUSA; Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 32. The minutes only name Yanai as the delegate chosen to represent the "Japanese Section." However, Yoneda names both Yanai and Hakomori.
35. Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 23–26.
36. Ibid., 25–26.
37. Los Angeles S.D.E.C., May 29, 1928,l. 35.
38. Second Session of District 13 Convention, January 27, 1929, f. 515, op. 1., d. 1791,l. 42, CPUSA.
39. J. Louis Engdahl to Comrade Katayama, June 14, 1928, f. 521, op. 1, d. 77,l. 93, KSP.
40. Sen Katayama and J. Louis Engdahl to the Small Commission of the Comintern, 8/5.28, f. 521, op. 1, d. 65,l. 128, KSP.
41. Ibid.
42. First session of District 13 Convention, January 26, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1791,l. 73, CPUSA.
43. Sadaichi Kenmotsu to Sen Katayama, April 22 [1929], original in Japanese, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,l. 740b, KSP.
44. Los Angeles Japanese Fraction to Katayama, May 23, 1929,l. 79.

45. On the strike led by the left union, the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, see Matthew Josephson, *Union House, Union Bar: The History of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union* (New York: Random House, 1956), 171–172.
46. Uchida to comrades, December 1, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1817,ll. 7–8, CPUSA.
47. Ibid.,ll. 8–9. D.
48. The apartment was at 10 East 15th Street. Fifteenth Manuscript Census of the United States: 1930 Department of Commerce, Borough of Manhattan, E.D. 258, Sheet 1B.
49. "A Report to the Hotel Restaurant and Cafeteria Workers Branch of A.F.W. Union," December 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2162,l. 13, CPUSA.
50. Uchida to comrades, December 1, 1929,l. 11. As of February 1930, the membership included: "Y. Chiba, N. Kochi, F. Tokuchi (Went to California), M. Yokouchi, D. Toshiro, T. Hori, S. Takizawa, T. Ikeda, K. Hori, G. Fukuba, U. Sato, K. Nenomeya [sic], T. Okamoto, S. Ishigaki, T. Nomura, H. Anada, S. Takahisa, Sano, Saiki, Miyagi." "The members of the Japanese Groupe. Hotel Restaurant & Cafeteria Workers," February 22, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2162,l. 12, CPUSA.
51. K. Nishino to Language Department, September 14, 1929, original in English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1683,l. 30, CPUSA.
52. Uchida to comrades, December 1, 1929,l. 10.
53. See, for example, untitled leaflet, June 1929, folder 7, box 1, KGYP.
54. Minutes of the meeting of the District 13 Committee, April 10, 1929, f. 515, op.1, d. 1793,l. 8, CPUSA.
55. See, for example, "Against Imperialist War, Come To Plaza," 10/20/29, original in Japanese, folder 1, box 1, KGYP.
56. See, for example, "Appeal to Sailors and Firemen of the Japanese Imperial Navy Training Ships!" issued by the Japanese Fraction, August 1929, original in Japanese, folder 4, box 1, KGYP.
57. "Questionary," issued by the Language Department CC, and filled out by the Japanese Buro, by May 15 [1930], f. 515, op. 1, d. 1684,l. 50, CPUSA; Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 30–33; *Hokubei Mainichi*, 12/13/71; Shinichi Kenmotsu to Katayama, June 21 [1929], f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,l. 85, KSP; admission tickets to the "Proletarian Posters of Japan" exhibits, 1929, folder 4, box 2, KGYP.
58. Kenmotsu to Katayama, April 22 [1929],ll. 72–73.
59. Los Angeles Japanese Fraction to Katayama, May 23, 1929,l. 78. On Yamakawa and Inomata's leadership of the Rono-ha faction, see chapter one. Yanai was Secretary of the Los Angeles Japanese Fraction at that time. Minutes of meeting of District 13 Committee, May 14, [1929], f. 515, op. 1, d. 1793,l. 20, CPUSA.
60. Kenmotsu to Katayama, April 22 [1929],ll. 73–730b.
61. Kenmotsu to Katayama, June 21 [1929],ll. 85, 87–88.
62. Uchida to comrades, December 1, 1929,l. 10.
63. Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 30–31.
64. Nishino to Language Department, September 14, 1929.
65. "Agenda," n.d., translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1683,l. 110, CPUSA; "Proposed Program of the Japanese Workers Ass'n Of America," n.d., translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1817,l. 45, CPUSA.
66. "THE LINE OF WORK TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE JAPANESE WORKERS ASSOCIATION IN THE FUTURE," adopted at the National Conference of the JWA's, October 23–24, 1929,

translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1817,l. 18, CPUSA; "RESOLUTION REGARD ING [*sic*] THE TUUL," adopted at the National Conference of the JWA's, October 21–23, 1929, f. 515, translation into English, op. 1, d. 1817,l. 5, CPUSA.

67. "THE LINE OF WORK TO BE FOLLOWED,"ll. 18–19.

68. "STANDARD POLICIES FOR RE OR GANIZING [*sic*] THE ASSOCIATIONS," October 23, 1929, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1817,l. 3, CPUSA.

69. K. Hama to Comrade Katayama, November 6, [1929], f. 521, op. 1, d. 75,ll. 109–1090b, KSP.

70. "INSTRUCTIONS TO THE JAPANESE MEMBERS OF THE C.P. USA, in the Pacific Coast from the Special Commission, elected at the meeting of November 12, 1929, of the Language Department of the CC," f. 515, op. 1, d. 1682,ll. 32–34, CPUSA.

71. Ibid.,l. 33. The paper was to be supported first by the JWA's in New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco but "in the last case, by the Japanese party members, to be exact." "THE LINE OF WORK TO BE FOLLOWED,"ll. 18–20

72. For a more detailed, albeit ""crude translation" by Uchida, of the minutes of the meeting in which this discussion occurred, see "Minute of the fraction meeting," October 21, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1817,ll. 14–17, CPUSA.

73. Uchida to comrades, December 1, 1929,ll. 10–11.

74. Ibid.,l. 12.

75. Minutes of meeting of Language Department of the CC, November 21, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1680,l. 22, CPUSA; "THE STATUTE OF THE JAPANESE WORKERS CLUB OF NEW YORK," November 21, 1929, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1817,ll. 21–22, CPUSA.

76. For translation into English of draft constitution of the JWA's, see f. 515, op. 1, d. 1817,ll. 41–42, CPUSA.

77. "ABRIDGED MINUTE OF THE BURO MEETINGS, December, 1929," translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1817,ll. 43–44, CPUSA.

78. Uchida to Comrades, December 1, 1929,ll. 11–12. According to Yoneda, the struggle among Japanese communists merged with the factional struggle among American communists insofar as "this 'Rono faction' is supporting the opposition (Foster or [Alexander] Bittelman faction)." K. Hama to Comrade Katayama, March 3, [1929], f. 521, op. 1, d. 75,l. 98, KSP.

79. "Minute of the fraction meeting," October 21, 1929,l. 15.

80. Wm. Simons to Comrade, Language Department, November 22, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1683,l. 48, CPUSA.

81. Ibid.

82. Wm. Simons to M. Alpi, December 31, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1683,l. 69, CPUSA.

83. Wm. Simons to M. Alpi, December 31, 1929, f. 515, op. 1, d. 1683,l. 68, CPUSA.

84. Horiuchi recalled that in January 1930 he "was sent to the Imperial Valley as a TUUL organiser . . . However, after seven days I was arrested and charged for deportation by the Immigration Authority." This is not to be confused with his arrest in April along with eight other Communist organizers sent to the Imperial Valley. Tetsuji Hariuchi [*sic*], "Autobiography," n.d., translation into English, f. 495, op. 261, d. 716,l. 30b, CI; Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 38.

85. Language Department CC to District Language Department, January 31, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2021,ll. 42, 420b, CPUSA.

86. Kenmotsu's case is richly documented in the KGYP, esp. Box 1.

87. D. Uchida to the Oriental Cabinet, February 1, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2162,ll. 2, 6, CPUSA;

88. Unsigned to Comrades, January 30, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2021,l. 41, CPUSA.

89. Minutes of meeting of District 13 Organ Yoneda, "Racism and its Relation to Evacuation," 1/27/70, Box 18, Folder 2; Organization Committee, January 5, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2135,l. 1, CPUSA; minutes of "Special Meeting" of District 13 Organization Committee, CPUSA, January 22, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2135,l. 6, CPUSA. However, by mid-March, District 13's Anti-Imperialist Committee was functioning again, "now consisting of Kenmotsu, Wood, Simons, Whitney, Fee." Minutes of meeting of District 13 Buro, March 17, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2131,l. 38, CPUSA.

90. J. W. Ford to Chas. Johnson, April 18, 1930, f. 534, op. 7, d. 491,l. 86, RILU; minutes of meeting of International Department, April 19, [1930], f. 534, op. 7, d. 494,l. 23, RILU.

91. See, for example, J. W. Ford to RILU Organization Department, "*Losovsky*—Heller," April 30, 1930, f. 534, op. 7, d. 491,ll. 117–118, RILU.

92. Sadaichi Kenmotsu to Katayama Hisomu, April 6, [1930], original in Japanese, trans. Mariko Izumi, f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,l. 128, KSP.

93. By mid-May 1930, there were forty-four Japanese party members out of one hundred members in "Org. controlled by the Party." L. Kovess, "Report on the Influence of the Party trough [sic] Language fractions and Language papers," May 19, 1930, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2016,l. 9, CPUSA.

94. For copy of the issue, dated January 10, 1930, see f. 515, op. 1, d. 2159,ll. 32–330b, CPUSA.

95. Uchida to the Oriental Cabinet, February 1, 1930,ll. 2, 5–7.

96. Sadaichi Kenmotsu to Katayama, [ca. beginning 1930], original in Japanese, trans. Mariko Izumi, f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,ll. 121, 1210b, KSP.

97. Shinichi Kenmotsu to Comrade Katayama, December 4 [1929], original in Japanese, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,ll. 110–111, CPUSA.

98. Ibid.,l. 4. In retrospect Horiuchi wrote, "In 1929, I was sent to California by the Japanese National Bureau and the Communist Party to straighten out Japanese fractions in the Western Coast." Hariuchi, "Autobiography,"l. 30b.

99. "Analysis of Work of Japanese Language Buro & Fractions in America and Outline of Future Task[s]," December 1, 1930, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2162,ll. 26, 28, CPUSA.

100. On the Soviet Party practice of criticism and self-criticism and its merger with the practice of purging, especially during the Great Purges of 1937–1938, see Berthold Unfried, "Foreign Communists and the Mechanisms of Soviet Cadre Formation in the USSR," in *Stalin's Terror: High Politics and Mass Repression in the Soviet Union*, ed. Barry McLoughlin and Kevin McDermott (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 175–193; Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 199–200; Oleg Kharkhordin, *The Collective and the Individual in Russia: A Study of Practices* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 133–163.

101. Ibid.,ll. 45, 50–51.

102. "Analysis of Work of Japanese Language Buro CC & Fractions in N.Y.C. and Outline of Future Tasks," n.d., translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2162,ll. 53–58, CPUSA; "Work of Japanese Language Buro & Fractions in America,"ll. 30–31.

103. "Work of Japanese Language Buro & Fractions in America,"II. 53, 58; "Work of Japanese Language Buro & Fractions in America,"II. 29, 44; Sadaichi Kenmotsu to Hisomu Katayama, July 19, [1930], original in Japanese, trans. Mariko Izumi, f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,I. 139, KSP.

104. "A REPORT TO THE HOTEL RESTAURANT AND CAFETERIA WORKERS BRANCH OF A.F.W. UNION," February 22, 1930, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2162,II. 15–16, CPUSA.

105. Sadaichi Kenmotsu to [Katayama], October 29. [1930], original in Japanese, trans. Mariko Izumi, f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,I. 152, KSP.

106. "Work of Japanese Language Buro & Fractions in America,"II. 31, 34, 48; "Work of Japanese Language Buro CC & Fractions in N.Y.C.,"II. 57–58.

107. In 1927, Borisoff was included in a list of foreign communists to be utilized for work in China. Then, in may 1931 he was appointed representative of the Language Department of the CC to the Japanese Language Bureau CC. "Spisok inostranneikh kommunistov ispolzovaniya rabotu v Kitaie," 3.X.29, original in Russian, f. 495, op. 154, d. 294,I. 21, CI; minutes of the meeting of the Language Department, May 11, 1931, f. 515, op.1, d. 2332I. 1, CPUSA.

108. Brown to Secretariat C.C., July 16, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2768,I. 1, CPUSA.

109. Unsigned to EB, May 20, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2916,I. 119, CPUSA.

110. In his autobiography, Hakomori states, "From May 1931 to January 1932, I was organiser of the Japanese Language Bureau," and after being arrested and bailed out "I was organiser of Language Bureau again until I was deported from USA." His alias was Seki Goto. Also recall that he was secretary and treasurer of the Los Angeles JWA. Seki, "Autobiography,"II. 18–19.

111. "Miyagi Yotoku's Notes," 8.

112. Japanese National Language Buro to CEC, October 6, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2768,I. 5, CPUSA; "Japanese N.L.B. Self Criticism of N.L.B.," December 5, 1932, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2768,I. 35, CPUSA; Sec'y Seki to Comrade Borisov, December 5, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2768,I. 22, CPUSA.

113. Secretary of the Japanese National Language Buro to Central Committee, October 17, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2768,I. 6, CPUSA.

114. Minutes No. 20, American Bureau PPTUS, November 9, 1932, f. 534, op. 4, d. 422,I. 73, CPUSA. In return for doing their "special work" for the American Bureau, they received $10.00 a month, "mainly for the use of their auto."

115. Secretariat, District 13 to Secretariat CC, March 1, 1933, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3295,I. 12, CPUSA.

116. Questionnaire issued by the CC, CPUSA, completed by T. Hori, Local Japanese L.B., N.Y. District, November 23, 1932, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2747,I. 61, CPUSA.

117. D.[arcy] to CC Secretariat, November 17, 1933, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3295,I. 57, CPUSA.

118. Eastman to E., October 31, 1933, f. 534, op. 4, d. 490,I. 58, RILU.

119. S. Takeda, "On a change or organization of Japanese language buro and present problems," May 23, 1933, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3189,I. 9, CPUSA.

120. F. to Secretariat, May 28, 1933, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3189,I. 12, CPUSA.

121. Karl Hama to Sen Katayama, June 19, 1933, f. 521, op. 1, d. 75,I. 80, KSP.

122. Japanese NLB to Language Department CEC, June 7, 1933, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3189,I. 19, CPUSA.

123. Eastman to E., October 31, 1933,I. 58.

124. D.[arcy] to CC Secretariat, November 17, 1933,I. 57.
125. Ibid.,I. 58; Org. Commission CC to Sam Darcy, December 8, 1933, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3151,I. 364, CPUSA.
126. See article titled "New York Restaurant Workers (Japanese) Win Demands. FWIU leads," *The Rodo Shimbun*, No. 108, 1933/10/5, p. 1, original in Japanese, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3189,I. 32a, CPUSA.
127. They were: *The Press Worker* (SF), the Japanese-language organ of the CAWIU, *Agricultural Worker* (Sacramento), *The Restaurant Worker* (LA), *Fruit Stand Workers* (LA), and *Food Worker* (NY). Japanese Buro, CC to CC, CPUSA, March 21, 1934, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3505,I. 8, CPUSA.
128. "Report of the J Buro, CC," March 13, 1934, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3505,II. 3–5, CPUSA; Japanese Buro, CC to CC, March 21, 1934,II. 7–8.
129. CC, CPUSA to the Japanese Bureau, June 5, 1934, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3451,II. 63–65, CPUSA.
130. Secretary, CPUSA, to Japanese Buro, August 23, 1934, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3451,I. III, CPUSA.
131. The Language Commission CC forwards letter to Takeda, referring to author as a male Japanese worker. Language Commission CC to Comrade Takera [*sic*] (Japanese Buro), May 31, 1933, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3172,I. 49, CPUSA.
132. "A copy of critics on local column of Rodo Shimbun" to "all local branch," November 1, 1932, translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2768,II. 7, 17, CPUSA.
133. Unsigned to Editor, the Rodoshimbun, [ca. 1932], translation into English, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2768,II. 51–52, CPUSA.
134. The IWO was a New York-based fraternal organization founded in 1930 and that was designed to offer all workers regardless of occupation, nationality, and ethnic background affordable life and sickness insurance. Roger Keeran, "The International Workers Order and the Origins of the CIO," *Labor History* 30:3 (Summer 1989): 385–408. I have found no other mention of a Japanese group in any of the IWO materials. Nor do the archivists familiar with the IWO papers housed in the Labor Management Documentation Center at the New York School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University know of any materials that discuss involvement of Japanese members.
135. Questionnaire issued by the Language Department CC, CPUSA and completed by the Japanese Buro no later than February 20, 1931, f. 515, op. 1, d. 2337,II. 120–124, CPUSA.
136. Questionnaire, November 23, 1932,II. 59, 61.
137. Imai to Comrade Katayama, December 13, [1931], f. 521, op. 1, d. 75,I. 90, KSP. The Los Angeles Japanese Restaurant Employees Union was organized in September 1933. According to Yoneda, Kentaro Abe took a leading role in its formation. Karl G. Yoneda, "Racism and its Relation to Evacuation," 1/27/70, folder 2, box 18, KGYP; Japanese Buro, CC to CC, March 21, 1934,I. 7. See also Yoshokuten Jugyoin kimiai kessei shuisho (Prospectus on the Formation of the Restaurant Employees Union), September 18, 1933, folder 2, box 1, KGYP.
138. Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 54.
139. M. Inoue to Hisomu Katayama, June 15, [1931], original in Japanese, trans. Mariko Izumi, f. 521, op. 1, d. 75,I. 8, KSP.
140. From list of reports on language groups, probably compiled by the Language Commission CC, February 24, 1933, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3172,II. 22–23, CPUSA.

141. In the autobiography she wrote shortly after her arrival in the Soviet Union, she also noted that she "wanted to come to USSR to study the revolutionary movement and to help construction of socialism." Nami Yama, "Autobiography," January 17, 1933, f. 495, op. 154, d. 524,l. 15, CI. The fifteen including Kenmotsu, Horiuchi, John (Isamu) Kobayashi, Nishimura, Yamaguchi, Hakomori, Fukunaga, Shimo Masao, Yamashita Sho, Yamashiro (Sakiyama Seicho), Shima (Nagasaki Matsukichi), Yoshioka Seiichi (Suzuki Nangoku), Teruya (Oki Tadashi), Nagahama (Hideyoshi Toyo), and Mrs. Nagahama. "A Brief Summary of the Political Activities of Japanese Refugees and Japanese Socialists in America (1880–1934)," 3/26/1965, pp. 3–4, folder 9, box 13, KGYP; Jack Yamashiro, "The Long Beach Incident and the Southern California Branch of the Okinawan Kaigai Kyokai," in *History of the Okinawans in North America*, compiled by The Okinawan Club of America (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, UCLA, and The Okinawan Club of America, 1988), 524.

142. Shinichi Kenmotsu to Katayama, November 25, [1931], original in Japanese, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, f. 521, op. 1, d. 74,ll. 150, 150ob, KSP.

143. [Kenmotsu] to Katayama, ca. late 1931, original in Japanese, trans. Kurt Zumbahlen, f. 515, op. 1, d. 75,l. 89, KSP. The new person's address was that of H. Nagura.

144. Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 46.

145. Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 46–47; Karl G. Yoneda, "U.S. Japanese Socialists-Communists in the 1930s and 1940s," unpublished paper. 1/11/77, p. 7, folder 1, box 13, KGYP; "Japanese News Workers Strike on West Coast: Japanese Boss Lines Up Consul, Police and the Bankers," August 7, 1931, folder 10, box 2, KGYP.

146. "Japanese News Workers Strike on West Coast."

147. Flyer announcing Nagura Memorial Meeting, August 12, [1932], original in English and Japanese, trans. Kurt Zumbhalen, folder 4, box 1, KGYP.

148. Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 47.

149. "Get Behind the Vacaville Strike!" *Western Worker*, December 5, 1932, p. 4.

150. Many Workers Organizations Rally Support to Strikers: A.F. of L. in Whitewash Role," *Western Worker*, December 19, 1932, p. 1.

151. "Strawberry Fields Organize for Strike," *Western Worker*, April 16, 1933, and "'Build Union!' Is Cry as 2nd Crop of Strawberries Due," *Western Worker*, May 1, 1933, folder 10, box 2, KGYP.

152. "Japanese Agricultural Workers Issue New Bulletin," *Western Worker*, May 21, 1934, p. 2.

153. Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 64. See also article in *The Rodo Shimbun*, No. 107, 1933/9/25, p. 1, original in Japanese, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3189,l. 31a, CPUSA.

154. "Japanese Workers Join C. & A.W.I.U.," *Western Worker*, December 4, 1933, p. 3.

155. "Sick? 'Go home?' That's our lot," *The Rodo Shimbun*, No. 107, 1933/9/25, original in Japanese, trans. Mariko Izumi,l. 31c.

156. "Women's Column," *The Rodo Shimbun*, No. 108, 1933/10/5, original in Japanese, trans. Mariko Izumi,l. 32d.

157. Ibid.,l. 32.

158. "Women's Column," *The Rodo Shimbun*, No. 109, 1933/10/20, original in Japanese, trans. Mariko Izumi, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3189,l. 33d, CPUSA.

159. "Women's Column," *The Rodo Shimbun*, No. 111, 1933/11/30, original in Japanese, trans. Mariko Izumi, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3189,l. 34d, CPUSA.

CONCLUSION

1. For George's full account of the 1934 maritime strike and his battle with Sam Darcy, see Fisher to Alexander, August 2, 1934, f. 534, op. 4, d. 496,II. 7–19, CPUSA. For Sam Darcy's account, see Sam Darcy, "The Great West Coast Maritime Strike," *The Communist* 13, No. 7 (July 1934): 664–686; idem., "The San Francisco Bay Area General Strike," *The Communist* 13, No. 10 (October 1934): 985–1004.
2. Fisher to Alexander, March 25, 1934, f. 534, op. 4, d. 496,l. 2, CPUSA.
3. Secretary, CPUSA, to Japanese Buro, August 23, 1934, f. 515, op. 1, d. 3451,l. III, CPUSA.
4. See, for example, Al Richmond, *A Long View from the Left: Memoirs of an American Revolutionary* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973); Dorothy Healey and Maurice Isserman, *Dorothy Healey Remembers: A Life in the American Communist Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
5. See, for example, Bruce Nelson, *Workers on the Waterfront: Seamen, Longshoremen, and Unionism in the 1930s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Nancy Quam-Wickham, "Who Controls the Hiring Hall? The Struggle for Job Control in the ILWU During World War II," in *The CIO's Left-Led Unions*, ed. Steve Rosswurm (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992).
6. See, for example, Huping Ling, *Chinese St. Louis: From Enclave to Cultural Community* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004); Arif Dirlik, ed., *Chinese on the American Frontier* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001; Xinyang Wang, *Surviving the City: The Chinese Immigrant Experience in New York City, 1890–1970* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001); Mitziko Sawada, *Tokyo Life, New York Dreams: Urban Japanese Visions of America, 1890–1924* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).
7. See, for example, Lucy Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Charles McClain, *In Search of Equality: The Chinese Struggle Against Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of Carolina Press, 1994); Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1988).
8. See, for example, Madeline Hsu, *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration Between the United States and South China, 1882–1943* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); Yong Chen, *Chinese San Francisco, 1850–1943: A Trans-Pacific Community* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); Hua Liang, "Fighting for a New Life: Social and Patriotic Activism of Chinese American Women in New York City, 1900 to 1945," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 17:2 (Winter 1998): 22–38.
9. See, for example, Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
10. See, for example, Chris Friday, *Organizing American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870–1942* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 135–136, 152–158; Azuma, *Between Two Empires*, 196–198. For an example of earlier scholarship in U.S. history that looks at the work of American Communists in farm labor organizing but at times treats minority farm workers as faceless masses, see Cletus E. Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers, 1870–1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981).

11. See, for example, Chief of Police, Department of Interior Ministry, to the Chiefs of Prefectures, re Japanese Communists in California, August 31, 1938, folder 8, box 13, KGYP; N.Y. Consul, Sawada Kenzo, to F. M. Hirota Tsuyoshi, 10/22/1935, re Japanese Communists in New York, folder 8, box 13, KGYP.
12. H. Mark Lai, "China Politics and the U.S. Chinese Communities," in *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America*, ed. Emma Gee (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, 1976), 152–159; Brett de Bary and Victor Nee, "The Kuomintang in Chinatown," in *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America*, ed. Emma Gee (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, 1976), 146–151.
13. Richmond, *A Long View from the Left*, 202–203; Steve Nelson, James R. Barrett, and Rob Ruck, *Steve Nelson: American Radical* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1981), 245.
14. As seen earlier, in at least one case Chinese Communists outside China received permission to form a branch of the CCP, namely, the European Branch of the Chinese Communist Party (ECCP). Marilyn A. Levine, *The Found Generation: Chinese Communists in Europe during the Twenties* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993), 3–4, 160.
15. For a succinct overview of the project, see Donna Gabaccia, Franca Iacovetta, and Fraser Ottanelli, "Laboring Across National Borders: Class, Gender, and Militancy in the Proletarian Mass Migrations," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 66 (Fall 2004): 57–77.

INDEX

Note to index: Personal names within parentheses are aliases.

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JOSEPHINE FOWLER grew up in cities across North America, including San Francisco, Chicago, Brooklyn, and Toronto. After receiving her M.F.A. in writing from Columbia University, she combined writing of fiction and drama with social activism. She later obtained an M.S. in historic preservation from Columbia University and more recently a Ph.D. in American studies from the University of Minnesota, and then she worked for two years as an independent scholar in Cambridge Massachusetts. Josephine Fowler died from breast cancer at age forty-nine, not long after the completion of this book.