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Pan-Pacific Trade Union
Secretariat**



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Trades Hall, Melbourne, Victoria.

CHINA

All-China Labor Federation; Hong Yin, Chairman.

ENGLAND

National Minority Movement; Tom Mann, President.
Harry Pollitt, Secretary; 38 Gt. Ormond Street, London,
W. C. I.

FRANCE

Confederacion Generale du Travail Unitaire; G. Mon-
mosseau, Secretary. 33 Rue Grange aux Belles, Paris X,
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INDONESIA

Indonesian Labor Federation, Batavia, Java.

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Shikokumachi 2-5, Tokyo.

KOREA

Korean Labor Federation; Seoul, Korea.

MALAYA

Nanyang Federation of Labor, Singapore, Straits Settle-
ments. (Federation covering Sumatra, Borneo, New Gui-
nea, Java, Celebes, Malay Peninsula, Burma, Siam, and
Indo-China).

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Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (Proletariat); Manila, P.I.
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UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS (USSR)

All-Russian Council of Trade Unions; Dvoretz Truda.
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Trade Union Unity League; Wm. Z. Foster, Secretary;
2 West 15th Street, New York City.

全世界工人團結起來!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

太平洋工會秘書廳

The Pan-Pacific Monthly


Official Organ of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat

Head Office: Shanghai, China

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CONFERENCE HALL, WHERE THE SECOND PPTUS CONFERENCE WAS HELD IN VLADIVOSTOK, AUGUST 15-21, 1929
Before the Revolution this was the residence of the Tsar's Governor-General. Now the International Seamen's Club.

Results of the Vladivostok Conference

by EARL BROWDER

IN the city of Vladivostok, on the Pacific Coast of the Soviet Union, the delegates from the trade unions of the various countries of the Pacific gathered to attend the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference, from August 15th to 21st, 1929. Whereas the first foundation Conference was held in Hankow, China, in May, 1927, during the period of the breakup of the "Left" Kuomintang Government and the treachery of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the Second Conference met in the shadow of war-beginnings along the Manchurian border, the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway, marking the development of the Kuomintang into the instrument of war by world imperialism against the Soviet Union.

The closing of the Manchurian border by the war developments left its mark upon our Conference in many ways. First, it enormously increased the political importance of the work of the Conference, which had placed as its first order of business the question of struggle against imperialist war. Secondly, it made impossible the arrival at Vladivostok of about half of the elected delegates, thus cutting down the organizational base of the gathering, while enhancing its political importance. Thirdly, it caused a shortening of the agenda, and the concentration of the attention of the Conference above all upon the struggle against war.

In this issue of the "Pan-Pacific Monthly" begins the publication of the Report of the Conference in Vladivostok. It is necessary here to explain, however, that another section of the Pan-Pacific Conference, composed of delegates who had not been able to come through Manchuria or Japan, were holding their sessions in Shanghai, evading the suppression of the police of the International Settlement and the Kuomintang. The report of the Shanghai section of the Conference

is not yet available. It is known, however, that it was attended by delegates from the Japanese Council of Trade Unions (Kyogikai); the All-China Labor Federation; the Philippine Proletarian Labor Congress; the Indonesian Federation of Labor (all these had delegates also in Vladivostok); and the Philippine-Chinese Labor Association, as well as the Nanyang (Malayan) Federation of Labor which, from its center in Singapore (in Straits Settlements), federates the labor movement of Sumatra, Borneo, New Guinea, Celebes, Malay Peninsula, Burma, Siam and Indo-China, and which was represented for the first time in a Pan-Pacific Trade Union meeting. The only important section of the Pacific which was not represented either in Vladivostok or Shanghai, was India, where all the militant leaders have been imprisoned and are now being tried for "sedition" by the "Labor" Government of MacDonald & Co., who continue the imperialist policy of the Baldwin-Tory Government.

The Australian delegation, having been turned back in Japan by police, who would not allow them to go on to Vladivostok, and who thereby were delayed waiting for a direct boat from Shanghai, arrived in Vladivostok the day after the conclusion of the Conference. They met with the newly-elected Secretariat, however, through which they issued a declaration approving all the work of the Conference; they later, in a series of meetings and discussions with the Secretariat, worked out two resolutions dealing with Australian problems, one referring to the necessity of struggle against arbitration, and the other to the general tasks of the Australian labor government. Both resolutions are printed in this issue of the magazine, and take on additional interest and importance in the light of the recent Australian elections, in which the Labor Party acquired office on

the issue of fighting for the Federal Arbitration Law which is denounced in the resolution adopted by the P. P. T. U. S.

These meetings of the P. P. T. U. S., like all of those which have gone before, witnesses a widening of the affiliated basis of the organization, as well as its further consolidation. The first Conference united the revolutionary labor federations of China, Japan, Korea, Indonesia, together with the trade unions of the Soviet Union, and revolutionary unions in the imperialist countries, England, France and the U. S. A. The Secretariat plenary sessions during 1928 brought the added active participation of the Australian and Filipino trade union movements. The 1929 Conferences brought the affiliation of the extremely important Nanyang Federation above-mentioned. Organizations in New Zealand and Canada support the P. P. T. U. S., but have not been represented in its meetings. The new Latin-American T. U. Federation is fraternally allied to the P. P. T. U. S.

In the face of the war-provocations of the Chinese militarist tools of imperialism, the delegations of the Chinese and Soviet Union trade unions issued a joint declaration through the Conference to the workers of the world, in which they reaffirmed the undying unity of interest and purpose of the toiling masses of the two countries, denounced the counter revolutionary Kuomintang hangmen of the Chinese masses, and called for the defeat and overthrow of the militarists and the Defense of the Soviet Union. The delegations from the imperialist countries (Britain, Japan, U. S. A., and France) also issued a declaration, which pointed out the role of imperialist governments in instigating the war provocations, and calling upon the workers in the imperialist countries to mobilize for the struggle against war, for the defeat of "their own" imperialists. In these two examples of the spirit and attitude of the Pan-Pacific Conference we have a measure of the wide chasm which separates the P. P. T. U. S. and the revolutionary working classes which it unites, on the one hand, from the reformist lackeys of imperial-

ism in the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, on the other hand, who are actively supporting and carrying through (Germany and Great Britain) the imperialist war preparations against the Soviet Union.

The resolution of the Conference on the struggle against war is a call for mass mobilization of all the oppressed, as well as a practical guide-book for the conduct of the struggle.

The conference further performed pioneer and invaluable work on the economic problems of the workers of the Pacific area. The questions of child labor, and of women and youth labor, which occupy such a prominent place especially in China and India, were given the most serious examination, and resolutions were adopted which will bring the workers' struggle on these issues to a new high level of consciousness and effectiveness.

The Conference further elaborated the Program of Action adopted at the first Conference in Hankow. This document, printed elsewhere in this magazine, is the common program of the millions of organized workers in the Far East, as well as of the revolutionary workers in the imperialist countries. For the workers of the Soviet Union it is, of course, a program of accomplished things, from the basis of which they are proceeding to further new achievements.

An especially important role in the Conference was played by the report of the delegation of the Soviet Union, on "The Role of the Soviet Trade Unions in Socialist Construction," delivered by Com. Avdeyeva. This report was the result of a special motion brought forward by the Chinese and Filipino delegates at the Third Plenum of the P. P. T. U. S. in Shanghai last year. It answered the innumerable questions which are constantly being asked by the workers, who want details of just what is going on in the Soviet Union, how the trade unions work there, what does the construction of socialism mean concretely for the working class which is carrying forward this great task. The report aroused the greatest enthusiasm on the part of the assembled delegates, and is being published in a special booklet

for wide distribution by the affiliated organizations.

The Conference marked the definite establishment of the P. P. T. U. S. as the organ of international solidarity of the workers of the Pacific. In spite of terrific police terror; in spite of reformist intrigues supported by the imperialists; in spite of the natural obstacles of dozens of different languages and tremendous distances to overcome; in spite of a thousand difficulties, the P. P. T. U. S. has reached the organized and unorganized workers of all the Pacific countries, given them a common center of information and action, worked out a common program, and begun the practical work of carrying it into life. The very existence of this organization, unique in the history of labor, is an achievement of historic importance.

At the Conference was laid down the basis for new extensions of the work of the P. P. T. U. S. Not only will the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY be continued and improved; the "Far Eastern Bulletin" issued from Shanghai will be further developed; the Australian edition of the "Pan-Pacific Worker," which has played such an important role in that country, will be improved and extended; but more important than all,

the hitherto irregular publication of the P. P. T. U. S. materials in the various native languages of the Pacific will be regularized and made permanent, at least in the Japanese, Chinese and Korean languages. In the Philippines, the existing papers in the Tagalog language are already doing excellent service in making the work of the P. P. T. U. S. available to the masses of workers.

In addition to the periodical publications, the P. P. T. U. S. is beginning the publication of brochures on the most important problems of the Pacific movement and its various sections.

By means of this wide development of publishing activities, we are secured with the guarantee that the work of the P. P. T. U. S. will not remain within the narrow confines of a few leaders, but will be infused into the mass movement, directing it in its stormy growth and guiding it toward the most effective tactics and strategy in the struggle against imperialist exploitation.

The Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference has done its work. Now the results of this work must be distributed to every country, made known to the widest masses, and become the guiding factor in the most intimate, everyday life of every working-class organization in the Pacific.

Report of the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference

Vladivostok, August 15-21, 1929

Speech of Comrade Browder, in Opening the Second Pan-Pacific T.U. Conference

COMRADES:

In opening the Second Conference of the Pacific Trade Unions, we should pause for a moment in memory of the many victims of the struggle against imperialism, who, since our First Conference two years ago have heroically given their lives for our common struggle. In Japan, in Korea, in India, in Indonesia, and especially in China — many tens of thousands of the best working - class fighters have been exterminated, murdered in cold blood by the imperialists and their native agents, and more thousands are in prison or are deported to desert islands which are worse than prisons.

Among our thousands of martyrs, we have especially to mention two of the Chinese delegates to our First Conference: Comrade Chen Fo-tah, who represented the Shanghai General Labor Union and the Seamen's Union, and Wong Ho Po, who represented the Chinese Railwaymen's Union, and was placed upon the PPTUS as one of the Chinese representatives; both these comrades were

murdered by Chiang Kai-shek, Comrade Chen Fo-tah being first arrested by the British in Shanghai and turned over by them to the militarists. Another whom we must mention is Comrade Watanabe, one of the founders of Japanese trade union movement,

who was coming to Shanghai to attend the Third Plenum of the PPTUS, when he was assassinated by the Japanese police. It is necessary to recall the vile murder of Comrade Yamamoto, who was representing the revolutionary Japanese workers in the Diet, and whose death is a symbol of that semi-fascist, semi-feudal regime by which Japanese imperialism maintains itself. And we must call to memory the brutal electrocution of Sacco and Vanzetti in the United States of America, which forever put an end to American pretensions that its bourgeois democracy is essentially

any different from the rule of a Chinese militarist. And finally we have to record with deep sorrow the loss of the Chairman



EARL BROWDER

General Secretary, Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat

of the Pan-Pacific TU Secretariat, Comrade Sou-Chao-jen, whose services to the Chinese and international labor movement are well known to all of you, and whose untimely death was the result of the enormous strain imposed upon him by his tireless underground work establishing the illegal trade unions.

Pledging this Conference to continue the work, in the same spirit in which these martyrs gave their lives, let us stand for a moment in honor of their memory.

At the moment in which we are meeting, the danger of Imperialist War has assumed very definite, concrete form. The violent seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the Chinese militarists, inspired by their masters, the imperialists of Britain, Japan, France, and the United States, can only be considered a direct provocation of war. Its purpose is clear—it is the beginning of the long-planned effort of international imperialism to crush the Soviet Union. At the same time the imperialist rivalries among themselves, especially between England and America, are reaching the point of an attempt at solution by war. The whole world stands on the brink of a new world slaughter, more destructive, than the late world war.

It is clear that we did not exaggerate the situation when we said, in our Call for this Conference, issued last October, that this will probably be the final opportunity for the Pacific trade unions to confer together and formulate their common programme before the outbreak of war. Indeed, the war moves in Manchuria, have anticipated our conference, and by closing the frontiers, have kept away from our gathering a large majority of the delegates who were elected. From Japan only 3 of the 10 elected have been able to reach Vladivostok! from China, only 5 out of 12; from the Philippines only 1 out of 6; the entire Australian delegation, after travelling for 5 weeks, reached Japan, only a few hundred miles away, only to be turned back by the Japanese police. The delegates from Korea, Formosa, Singapore, and Indonesia, with one exception, have all been prevented from reaching Vladivostok by

the war provocateurs and by the imperialist police. Only a fraction of our Congress has been able to come together, including delegates from eight countries.

These events have enormously increased the difficulties of our work. At the same time, however, they serve to emphasize the importance of this Conference and the whole work of the PPTUS. The events which have reduced the size of our Congress, have increased the necessity of its work, and make it more than ever imperative that the whole Pan Pacific trade union movement increase its activities by tenfold. Our struggle against imperialist war preparations, organized at our First Conference, will soon have to enter the new stage of struggle against the imperialist war in progress, in transforming it into a civil war of the oppressed classes and peoples. The problems of this struggle against war and imperialism becomes the whole centre of our work at this gathering! And just as the main objective of the imperialists is the crushing of the Soviet Union, just so the central point of working class policy, recognizing the Soviet Union as the only fatherland of the oppressed of the world, must be the slogan "Defend the Soviet Union"; "Down with the warmakers".

When our first Conference met at Hankow, China, more than two years ago, the first great wave of the Chinese Revolution was at its height. Our Conference then was welcomed by a representative of the Wuhan "Left" Kuomintang Government, with the slogan "Long live the World Revolution." But within two months this treasonable "left" petty bourgeoisie has not only forgotten the world revolution, but had openly surrendered the Chinese revolution to the counter-revolution of Chiang Kai-shek. But the temporary defeat of the Chinese Revolution by the combined forces of feudal bourgeoisie imperialist reaction, has at the same time profoundly hastened the maturing of the colonial liberation movement in all lands, the separation of the revolutionary masses from bourgeois leadership, the consolidation of class trade unions and Communist Parties in the various countries. In India, Indonesia,

Philippines and the other colonial countries of the East, the masses are already mobilizing their forces independently of the national-reformist bourgeoisie, so that when the coming new revolutionary wave rises, it will no more have bourgeois traitors at its head, but true revolutionary workers and peasants, the only guarantee for the defeat of imperialism and the liberation of the oppressed.

The reign of reaction throughout the East, the offensive of Imperialism and its native tools against the labor movement of all lands, and against the national liberation movement, has made extremely difficult the maintenance and development of the work of the PPTUS. Never before in trade union history has a practical attempt been made to cope with such complications and difficult problems over such a tremendous territorial area, such as the task set itself by the PPTUS. With our principal fields of work separated from one another by one to five thousand miles, most of them under the rigid rule of imperialist police or native white terror, with the most extreme diversity of economic conditions, nationality and race, with trade unions in most countries young and inexperienced, without any established traditions of international connections and action, it can truly be said that our tasks are colossal.

But in beginning our work at this Congress, we must say that in the last two years a real foundation has been laid, which will be a permanent contribution to the history of the working class of the world. With all our shortcomings and weaknesses—to which we do not shut our eyes, and to which we must direct the most severe self-criticism—in spite of all the Pan Pacific Labor Movement has been forging ahead. Where a few short years ago there was complete isolation

of the labor movement of each country, and in most countries the silence of the yet-to-be-born, there is now a vigorous rising, fighting trade union movement, a gathering army of proletarians with class conscious leadership, national organization functioning as units of an internationally organized movement. This is an achievement of which we may justly be proud, and which should give us high courage for the next period of work and struggle into which we are now entering.

For the delegates from other countries who are here in the Soviet Union, and for the workers whom they represent, one of the most important functions of this Conference, is to hear the report on the work of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, and their part in the tremendous achievements of socialist construction. Even with the meagre knowledge which the workers of the Pacific lands have been able to gain about the Soviet Union it stands out as a lighthouse of the working class movement, showing them the way and inspiring them for the struggle. There is the most intense thirst for more knowledge about the Soviet Union among these workers, for more details of the great new society which is being built here. The knowledge of these matters which will be gained by the delegates here, and taken back to their own countries, will strengthen the whole movement, increase its fighting spirit, and deepen and widen the forces consciously fighting for the Defense of the USSR, and for the international revolution.

Comrades, with these introductory remarks, I declare the Second Conference of the Trade Unions of the Pacific is now opened.

Greetings to Workers of Soviet Union

After many speeches of greetings by delegations from the Red Army, from Trade Unions of Vladivostok, and from organizations of Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, which will be published later, the first session of the Conference closed with the adoption of the following manifesto of greetings to the working class of the Soviet Union, of China, and of all lands, for the Defense of the Soviet Union.

Smash the Chinese War-Mongers! Rally to
The Defence of the U.S.S.R!

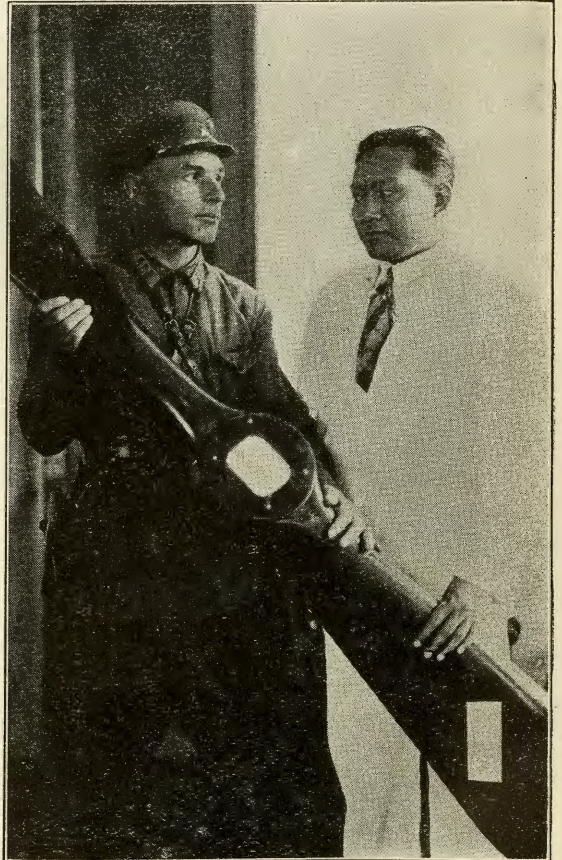
*To the Workers of the USSR, the Toilers of
China, to the Workers of All Lands!*

IN opening its deliberations, the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference sends warmest fraternal greetings to the world's workers and expresses its solidarity with the working class of the colonies and semi-colonies and with the victorious proletariat of the Great Republic of Labor.

Meeting at this Conference from all parts of the Pacific, it is with the greatest interest that we delegates have been following up the struggle waged by the toiling masses of the Soviet Union and are studying the immense work that has already been accomplished by the proletariat of the USSR. In the imperialist countries the bourgeois press disseminates its lies about the Soviet Union. Many of us have put faith in these stories, believed them until we had the opportunity to see what is going on in your country, the land of the Soviets. When we examine the intensive activities and the tremendous work of construction being carried out in the USSR, we realize the reason for the fierce hatred felt by the ruling classes towards your Workers' Republic and understand the reason for, and the sources of, the endless stream of lies about the Soviet Republic.

We delegates would not be performing our duty as workers if, on this opening day of the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference, we were not to voice our strong protest against the acts of provocation against the USSR undertaken by the venal military caste of China, and to state that we are one and all in favor of defending your free Socialist Republic. We would be betraying

our working class duty if we were not to enter our determined protest against the shameless policy that imperialist Powers are following in thus driving on the Chinese militarists in the hope of reaping some advantages for themselves from a Soviet-



Representative of the Soviet Air Fleet presenting to the PPTUS Conference a souvenir in Commemoration of the Conference. Comrade Sidin (Indonesian delegate) to the right.

Chinese conflict. We are aware that behind these mercenary Chinese generals stand the diplomacy and militarism of Britain, America, Japan and France. We know, too, that the workers of these countries have had no part in this disgraceful act of provocation, that the toilers do not want to see any sharpening of the present Soviet-Chinese dispute, nor, indeed, any clashes whatever between the nations.

On behalf of the toiling people of all the Pacific countries we declare our fraternal solidarity with you, the workers and toiling peasants of the Soviet Republic. And in expressing our solidarity with you and with the toilers the world round, we declare: Always and everywhere we will be with you, workers of Soviet Russia, will move forward shoulder to shoulder with the class-conscious workers

of the world—in the struggle against the Chinese militarists, in combatting imperialist war, in working to promote the industrialization of the Soviet Union, in fighting for the independence of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, in resisting the White Terror and the persecution of the workers, in opposing imperialism, and in fighting to advance the workers' and peasants' revolution in China and India.

Away with the war-mongers! No imperialist war!

Sweep out the Chinese militarists! Put an end to their oppression of China's toiling millions!

Forward, workers of Soviet Russia!

Long live the international solidarity of the working class!

On the Struggle Against War

The second, third, and fourth sessions were devoted to the reports on the tasks of the Trade Unions of the Pacific Countries in the struggle against war and imperialism delivered by Comrades Losovsky (U.S.S.R.) and Ting Tai-yeh (China). Comrade Losovsky's report follows:

COMRADES!

The fight against war and imperialism is one of the most important tasks of the working classes of the whole world. Moreover, it is one of the most important tasks of the trade unions of all countries, and, of course, also of the trade unions on the Pacific Coast.

In the course of my speech I shall direct your attention to the regions along the coast of the Pacific Ocean and to the conflicting interests of the Imperialist Powers which threaten to call forth a new imperialist world war in this region. I shall begin with the statement, easily understood by everybody, that the struggle for supremacy on the Pacific is only a part of the struggle that the imperialists are waging for supremacy the world over. I shall try to analyze the causes of those gigantic struggles that are threatening the Pacific and the roots of those conflicting interests that are causing the biggest imperialist powers to clash, and force the workers of all countries to focus their attention on the problem of the approaching bloodbath.

The chief cause for this clash of interests is the fact, that the richest colonial and semi-colonial countries are situated along the coast of the Pacific, the exploitation of which is the most essential condition for the further existence of the imperialist powers.

The greater part of humanity lives on the islands and continents surrounding the Pacific. Here we have India and China; here we have countries with a smaller population than these two giants, but of tremendous importance, e. g., the Indian Archipelago, Indo-China, the small peninsulas, the Philippine Islands, and the numerous small islands the exploitation of which is the most

important factor for the survival of imperialism. Thus we find the causes of the conflicting interests and the approaching war in the Pacific explained by the fact that all over the coast of the Pacific Ocean are situated a great number of countries, the exploitation of which has for ages been the most important profession or, one might say, the finest specialty of the ruling classes of the old capitalist countries.

The most outstanding fact of the present moment is that world imperialism after the shock of the imperialist world war, having recovered in certain of its sections and, having re-established by capitalist rationalization its industrial productive machinery—is again beginning to swamp the world with a tremendous amount of products which the world market is absolutely unable to absorb. Hence the struggle for new markets, for the elimination of competitors and for the occupation of old markets is inevitable for all capitalist countries. This struggle for markets definitely characterizes the whole policy of the biggest imperialist powers of the present day.

The endeavor to push their goods into countries where they might find ready purchasers on the one hand, and on the other hand the chase after cheap labor, the hunt for countries with tremendous stocks of raw materials, the hunt for oil, rubber, cotton, etc.—all these facts compel the old capitalist countries to strain their power to the utmost in order to penetrate into the countries of the Pacific. All this compels them to use methods and take such actions in dealing with the colonies and their competitors that would assure victory to the strongest of the powers. There is one more very important fact that

stimulates the imperialist countries to penetrate into the colonial countries. It is the extreme cheapness of labor; labor that may be used to further the interests of the ruling class, labor that in connection with up-to-date technique gives the possibility to sharpen competition on the world markets.

A very interesting process of penetration of up-to-date technique into China, India and several other countries has been taking place for the last few years.

The building of large factories, e.g. textile mills in India and China, jute mills in India, the vast rubber plantations in Indo-China, in the Indian Archipelago etc., where up-to-date technique combined with cheap labor bordering on slavery leads to unheard-of exploitation, give as much as 1000 percent profit. There is, at last, one more important stimulus for the capitalist powers to penetrate into these countries, namely the drafting of colored soldiers into their armies for the carrying on of their internal and external wars. It is well-known that during the world war England and France successfully used colored soldiers to whom big promises were made in the beginning; but when the war was finished the colored armies, of course, remained in the same position of slavery that had been their lot before the war. If in the first world war the colored soldiers were wanted chiefly as cannon-fodder to overwhelm the enemy, the problem of the colored armies is quite different and of special significance at present when social antagonism is growing rapidly, and class enmity rising from day to day. The colored armies are, at present not so much wanted for fighting in the trenches against the respective imperialist competitors, but for fighting against the workers, they are intended as a substitute for the wavering white armies, they will have to suppress the revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries, they are intended to support and to strengthen the tottering building of capitalism, because the white workers and peasants are refusing to support it any longer. All these facts form the reason why the capitalist powers are spending so much energy and

money to penetrate into the interior of the colonial countries and to push out their competitors. All this leads to a clash among the great powers and thus the menace of a war in the Pacific comes nearer with every day. The final struggle for supremacy in the Pacific, caused by the exploitation of the toiling masses in the Eastern countries, the fight for the islands in the Pacific, is coming nearer with every day, and is inevitable. The struggle in the Pacific causes the interests of great powers and first of all of the U. S. A., England and Japan, to clash, and draws, though to a lesser degree, France into the struggle because she also possesses a number of colonies in the Pacific. But the main contenders are:—the U. S. A. Japan and England, all of whom have great possessions in the Pacific and each one of whom seeks the mastery of the Pacific.

Supremacy in the Pacific is first of all based upon the supremacy of the seas because this tremendous surface of water—160 million square kilometres—requires a correspondingly huge navy to defend the main waterways and the bases of resistance as well as to take up the offensive. Supremacy of the seas sets before the competing powers the problem of corresponding armaments and is closely linked up with world economics, and, consequently, also with world politics. This is the reason why the struggle of the imperialist powers for supremacy in the Pacific is so closely connected with the struggle for world supremacy—these two facts are inseparable and form practically one goal. The struggle for the Pacific and the struggle for world supremacy are the same thing. It is evident that the countries that have at their disposal the greatest financial, industrial and military resources, that gained the most in the world war, and made the biggest profits, are at the present time fighting for world supremacy. Let us examine the relative strength of the powers in the Pacific, and let us find those fortresses which form the starting point of the attack of the powers involved.

I have said already that the champion contenders for supremacy in the Pacific are

the United States of America, Japan and Britain. Each one of these powers is striving to make its influence in the Pacific a reality by the erection of bases of defence—chiefly naval bases. The strategic points possessed by the United States are on the one hand, the fortifications along the Pacific Coast and, on the other, specially constructed bases on the islands of Guam, the Philippine Islands and on the Aleutian Islands. In order to considerably strengthen the possibilities for effective military operations in the Pacific, the United States occupied the Panama Canal so that they might speedily transfer their whole naval forces into the Pacific Ocean. The United States, moreover, have occupied Nicaragua, so that they might have one more outlet for the necessary transporting facilities, warships etc. Their tremendous financial strength and the fact that they made the biggest profits during the last world war, the favorable conditions for the erection of naval bases, all these facts favor the United States in reaching their final goal. We have noticed for the past ten years—the years after the world war,—a most feverish activity of the United States in the building of points of defence in the Pacific Ocean and in preparations for the future war for the supremacy in the Pacific.

Concerning the position of the chief competitor of the United States, *Japan*, it cannot be denied that Japan's position is more advantageous as she consists of a compact mass of islands and possesses besides, bases in Corea and China, Japan has fortified the Marian-Marshall and the Caroline Islands. She is also penetrating so-called independent Siam. Everywhere Japan is building auxiliary points of defence in the event of a conflict with the United States, and is acquiring all the strategic points where she is fortifying herself so that, in case of a struggle with the United States, they might have the advantage. Great Britain has a firm foothold in India. She has built a big naval base in Singapore; she possesses one of the best strongholds in the Pacific Ocean—Hong-kong, and is backed by her possessions in

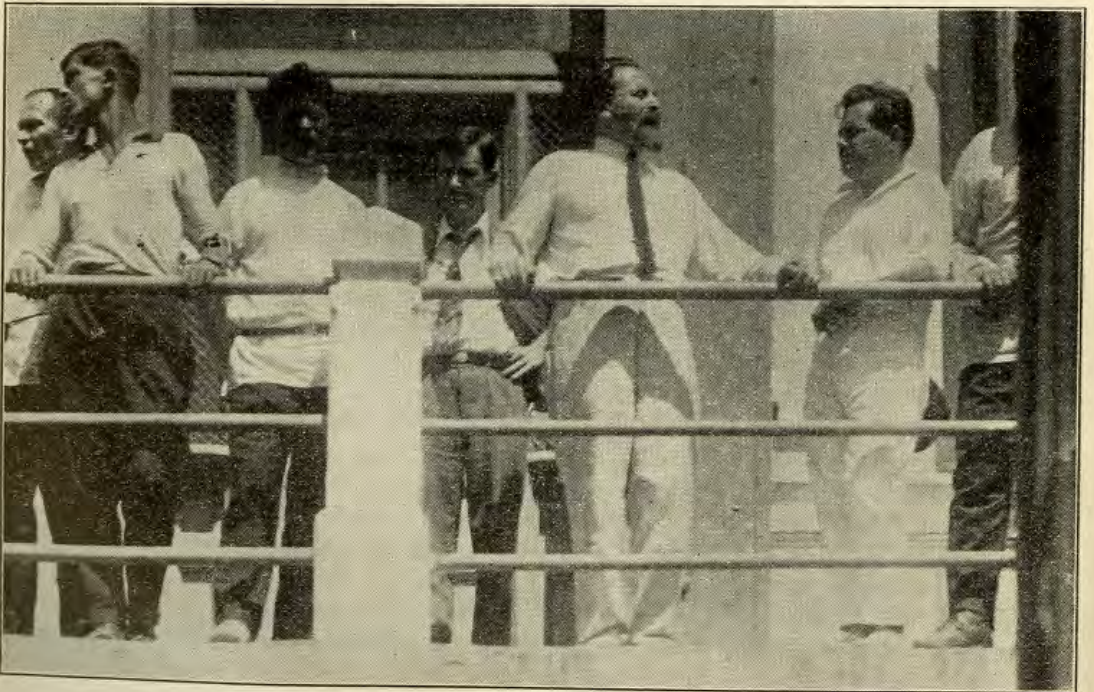
China. Thus she has the advantage both over the United States and Japan. But her biggest trump-card is the great navy; her trade will, moreover, play a very important part in the approaching struggle, and will be one of the factors to be taken seriously into consideration. If we ask ourselves what the powers are contending for and what supremacy in the Pacific means, we shall see, that the United States, as may be judged by the different measures they have been taking for the last period, are striving for economic supremacy, especially in China; they are trying to extend their influence over the Indian Archipelago, and are making preparations to take possession of India at the right moment, to wrench it from the grasp of England. The United States have set before themselves the task of occupying not only the whole of the Pacific coast—Mexico, Columbia and Chili—but of extending their influence over the whole of Central and South America, of depriving her rivals of their economic and political influence.

There was a time when the policy of the United States of America was entirely influenced by the so-called Monroe Doctrine. This doctrine was especially practised in 1923 when America resented any European interference with American affairs, and proclaimed the slogan: America for the Americans. This slogan has been dropped not long ago and America has not been using it since. But some politicians now interpret this to mean: American interference with European affairs. As a matter of fact, America has grown to such an extent and is so powerful financially and economically, that she is striving for much more: for world supremacy. The slogan: America for the Americans has changed and has achieved a much broader meaning: *the supremacy of the ruling class of the United States over the whole world.* This is the reason why America is at present struggling against Japan, and England and France, for even France possesses considerable colonies and exercises considerable influence. The slogan is now: *the whole world for the Americans.*

Japanese imperialism is setting before itself other tasks. It proclaims that Japan should extend to Sakhalin, Kamtchatka, all over the Far East to Irkutsk, all over Northern China, over Indo-China, over the Hawaiian Islands and New Zealand. Japan's appetite is good and all-embracing—to be sure. If all this came to be true Japan might really become all-embracing too. But, Comrades, Japan's stomach is too weak to bear the burden of such a big appetite. The result of all these aspirations will not be a Great Japan, but may become a great grave of the Japanese bourgeoisie, because these big aims bring Japanese imperialism into conflict with the other big powers of the present day, with the capitalist governments of the United States of America and England and others. There is one more neighbor to be considered — the Soviet Union. The nearest future will show to what extent these appetites and aspirations will be satisfied. One may be assured in any case that, if there

are so many prowling about who have as big appetites as America, Japan, England, then somebody is liable to be devoured: some of these appetites, at least, should be satisfied and the prowlers have our permission to feast upon each other.

It must be mentioned, comrades, that old, colonial England, the richest of all, because she started plundering long before the others, has also set before herself great tasks. British imperialism in its present stage of development is of course, forced to take up the defensive against the United States. It is the opinion of both England and France that no territorial changes should be made. As a matter of fact, each of them has grown so big by constant robbery, that their greed is satisfied for centuries to come. But the opinion of American imperialism—America has no colonies to speak of — is quite different. In spite of her vast colonies and the priceless resources of her territories England is reaching out her grasp to



A. Losovsky, Chairman of the Delegation of USSR Trade Unions, addressing demonstration of workers from balcony of Conference Hall. (Vladivostok, August 15-21, 1929).

Southern China and intends to add also this part of the country to what she already possesses in Central China, i. e. Shanghai, Nanking and Hankow. Her struggle with America, moreover, has spread to several of the countries in Latin America. You will agree with me, comrades, if I say that the conflict among these powerful imperialist countries is setting before us, the representatives of the Trade Union movement in the countries of the Pacific Ocean, problems of a much more serious nature than those confronting the workers of other countries. The policy of the great powers in the Pacific very closely concerns us and influences the fate and destiny of the working masses all along the Pacific Coast. Thus the Pacific problem presents itself to us in its most acute form, and is no more a theoretical problem, but one that we have to grapple with in everyday life. This topic is not to be discussed by us theoretically, but we shall have to decide upon the ways and means by which to meet the demands of the moment. We must lay down the definite plans of action so that we may avert the big catastrophe that will without doubt grow into a much more ruthless and deadly new world war. The conflict of interests of these great powers is so evident and so acute that the ruling classes of these countries are trying to mask them and to persuade the working masses that it is not war they are striving for, but peace. This veiling policy has called into life all the so-called disarmament conferences, speeches on peace programs, and all the empty talk and hallow phrases that, as you well know, have shown no results up till now. Referring to the question of naval armaments, it will be remembered that the United States were the initiators of the well-known Washington Conference. There the question of restricting naval armaments was discussed. The conference — which was of a somewhat stormy character—fixed the relative strength of the navies at the following proportion: the United States, 5; England, 5; and Japan, 3. This would, apparently, mean an equality of the forces of England and America. But the quarrels that took place during this conference

showed quite clearly how serious the problems are. They quarrelled about dreadnaughts, submarines, etc., and again they were not able to come to a definite agreement on the number of submarines, dreadnaughts and cruisers. The agreement that was at last concluded in regard to the scrapping of a certain part of the navy, proved to be more bluff, as only those units were scrapped that were too old and good for nothing. A new conference took place in Geneva in 1927 in which the representatives of the United States, Japan and England took part. This conference also proved fruitless, because the representatives of each of these three powers tried to force the other to disarm, while arming itself to the teeth. Such a task proved, of course, too big.

If we ask ourselves the question: on what points do the representatives of these angels of peace agree or disagree as the case may be, or on which points do their masters agree or disagree, we come to the following conclusion concerning all these conferences: they disagree on the tonnage of the naval units, the calibre of the guns, the number of aeroplanes, the number of airplane carriers, the number of submarines, and the construction of naval bases. On all other points they really agree. But as there is nothing left to agree upon, the result of these conferences is evident.

You know that according to the Kellogg Pact war is outlawed: it is to be regretted that we do not know by which law. We do not know who will decide upon the lawfulness or the unlawfulness of war, but we suppose the strongest country will take upon itself this mission. Just before the signing of the Kellogg Pact the naval agreement between England and France was concluded, and caused great consternation in the United States.

We have, on the other hand, the agreement between England and Japan that was annulled in 1922. It is of no significance whatever if there exists a formal agreement between Japan and England at the

present time or not. But surely, England is quite willing to let the Japanese fight the United States — and there is no doubt about England stepping in and, of course choosing the side of the stronger. England is determined to be on the winning side at any cost, and whoever the victor might be. She speculates on the weakening of the countries at war, and intends to fish in troubled waters.

The present relations between friendly nations, and they all assure each other of being "friendly," i. e. the friendly relations among Japan, England and America are built upon sand and smell of powder. Theirs is a friendship that may end at any moment, and may easily be brought to an end by any little incident that may appear to be unprofitable to one of the "friendly" powers.

One might say: but just at the present time there is so much talk going on about the restriction of naval armaments? As a matter of fact, MacDonald said that he would stop the building of two new cruisers. It is quite true that MacDonald said so, but we should like to find out if he really stopped the building of these cruisers. We shall have to verify his statement. If we want to find out with certainty, what is going on in this respect in England, America will give us best information. If we, on the other hand, want to find out what is going on in America, we shall get first rate information in Japan. And vice-versa. When they touch these topics, the style of their articles grows distinctly "revolutionary." Revolutionary in quotes of course.

The Chairman of the Commission on Naval Affairs in the United States made the following declaration: referring to the restriction of armaments, MacDonald declared that he would stop the building of two new cruisers. No sums were figuring in the budget for 1927-1928 for this purpose, and, at the same time, the Baldwin Government likewise refused to grant any credits. Consequently, England has no intention at all to build these two cruisers.

You see, they even did not intend building the cruisers. Therefore it will be very easy not to build them. The same chairman says further: if MacDonald stopped, for instance, the building of the five first class cruisers that are being built at the present time in England MacDonald would show the way to all the others towards real disarmament. Hoover, in his turn, makes the statement that there would arise a big disproportion in the relative naval forces if he, in his turn stopped the building of those cruisers the credit for which had already been granted. Just look at the poor, offended little ones. Sometimes it is possible to believe even them.

But you know, that in answer to the polite gesture of MacDonald, President Hoover, one of the most energetic American imperialists also showed that he could be polite, and also promised not to build several cruisers. Referring to this, the "Japan Advertiser" of the 31st of July writes that all the cruisers the building of which will not be continued according to the British version have not been started building, but are projected only. The United States promises not to build three cruisers, but in fact, will build twenty others. Great Britain stops the building of two cruisers, and will have nineteen cruisers, of from nine to ten thousand tons, each armed with $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 12 inch guns.

This, then, is the new parlor game, called restriction of armaments, the game that may cause the life blood of the workers of the Pacific countries to flow in streams.

The most important item of dispute between England and the United States is the "freedom of the seas." You know that England is the power that more loudly than any other is proclaiming the "freedom of the seas." Freedom of the seas is, of course, to be understood thus: it should grant everything to the British empire, but nothing to the rest of them.

The best guarantee for freedom of the seas is a powerful navy. Many pages of international law were written on the topic of freedom of the seas. Very many beauti-

ful words are printed there, but, comrades, freedom of the seas is not guaranteed by, nor is it based on, international law, but on the tonnage of the navy and the calibre of the guns. International law, too, is based upon these.

This is the real bone of contention between England and the United States of America.

If we translate the meaning of the phrase, "freedom of the seas" from diplomatic thief's slang into plain language, the meaning of it will be the following: the world's destiny is not dependent upon the freedom of the seas, but upon supremacy on the seas and who will control them entirely.

This they are struggling for. The term "freedom of the seas" is only one of the numerous expressions used by diplomacy to veil the real meaning and sinister intentions of the ruling classes.

In order to prove that diplomatic language is a language expressly used for veiling the real meaning it will suffice to cite an expression so often used by the United States with respect to China: the "open door" policy. The real meaning of this diplomatic expression is that there should be doors leading into China, and that these doors should be opened, but—only so wide as to give admission only to the United States so that they might exploit China alone and without the interference of any other imperialists.

But all this diplomatic sophistry is not very interesting to us; we are interested in the main point which is, that the conflicting forces among the three biggest powers are growing. The interests of these powers clash most of all where they concern China. China is the vast market that promises the most brilliant prospects to any of the imperialist powers; this country with its vast population, with its extremely rich natural resources, with its diligent and industrious population and cheap labor may be most profitably exploited by any of the imperialist powers. It is quite natural that the interests of the powers are clashing and will be clashing in future. The so-called "spheres of influence" are the strongholds of the imperialist powers in this country and form the base for

the continued exploitation of the working masses of China.

China is formally a whole, undivided unit; but in reality it is a country that consists of several feudal, medieval provinces, each of which has its own monetary system and its independent system of taxes, exploitation and so on. Two characteristic traits link all these provinces with one another: they agree in their hatred of the working class and the Chinese revolutionary movement, and they permit an equally easy bribing of any of the generals the prices for whom are quoted on the exchange like any other article for sale. These odd characteristics, the splitting of the country into so many separate parts, the feudal independence of the petty rulers and the medieval conditions in certain parts of the country permit us, owing to the capitalists taking possession of the whole coast of China, to find living side by side remnants of the middle ages and a modern development of capitalism with an up-to-date proletariat.

We find in China a peculiar combination of the twelfth and twentieth centuries, and this characteristic combination of different social economic conditions, caused by the exploitation of the country by imperialism has led to grand demonstrations of the working class in 1925-1927, the tremendous revolutionary spirit of whom shook the foundations not only of Chinese capitalism, but even those of world imperialism.

The revolutionary wave that flooded China in 1925-1927 was caused by the movement in the towns and the revolutionary uprisings in the villages among the peasantry.

The revolution was drowned in blood by the united forces of the Chinese militarists, the national bourgeoisie and imperialism. For their assistance to the national bourgeoisie and the militarists in suppressing the revolutionary movement the imperialist powers received additional rights and privileges. The issue now lies between England, America and Japan, and they will have to show which of them is the strongest and who will be boss in China. England possesses important bases in Southern and Central China. Japan

is master in the North, and America is proclaiming the policy of "Open doors," which means: to open the doors of China for America so that she might walk in and kick out the other competitors. The master of Mukden, at present, is Japan; England bosses the South; and America has fortified herself in Nanking.

The combination of the feudal interests of the Chinese militarists on the one hand; and the conflict of interests among the imperialists, these are the factors that determine the policy of the Chinese militarists and of the Nanking government.

The incidents that took place on the Chinese Eastern Railway are the best illustration of this. They give the finishing touch to the present stage of relations between the Soviet Union and the ruling class in China. We experienced a series of provocatory measures before the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway, as for instance, the murder of Soviet citizens, raids, etc. The Chinese Eastern Railway was seized under the pretext that the Chinese should be masters on Chinese territory.

There can be no doubt at all that the Chinese militarists took this step not of their own accord and free will. If we want to go to the bottom of the question we must ask ourselves: what role do the imperialist powers play in this district, and who prepared the seizure of the railway?

It is evident that the seizure was instigated by England and Japan, and it is as evident that the United States of America is getting the biggest profits out of this business. The United States was so clever in handling the situation that Japan is, at present, forced to retreat, because the offer of the United States to appoint an international commission for the management of the affairs of the railway means nothing less than American capital taking foothold in Northern China. But the Americans are a competitor whom the Japanese like least of all to see in Northern China. All this gives rise to an interesting piece of play-acting.

The Japanese are quite upset by the steps taken by the United States, and are trying to influence Chang Sue Liang so that he might

settle the conflict somehow or other. The Americans, on the other hand, are offering the so-called national government, through Chiang Kai shek, to exercise its influence in Mukden and advise to send troops to the North under the pretext of fighting the U. S. S. R. Chiang Kai shek, again, knows why well that his soldiers will not return as soon as they are gone to the North and that the whole business will be managed by the Americans, but not by the Japanese.

It is very difficult to find the solution of this puzzle; the Chinese are explaining the conditions on the Chinese Eastern Railway in the following manner: we, they say, have mistaken the tiger for a chicken, and can't eat it up now. The present situation in Northern China is equally disadvantageous to the bourgeoisie of the North and to the Japanese because the Americans and the French are trying to catch the fattened calf, the Chinese Eastern Railway: the French had formerly invested big sums in the railway through the agency of the Russo-Asiatic Bank. It is certain that Japan will be the loser should the railway come under international control.

It would be a great mistake to discuss the incident on the Chinese Eastern Railway separately from the incidents on the other frontiers. The incident is only a link in the chain of actions taken by the imperialists all along the line against the U. S. S. R.

In the Far East they are feeling their way, in order to test our strength for the conflict in the West. Therefore it would be a serious mistake to take events into consideration separately. The maneuver on the Chinese Eastern Railway is only a tactical measure taken against the Soviet Union; it is one of the slight skirmishes preceding the general battle. One must pay attention to a curious coincidence. The seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway took place *after* the MacDonald government came into power, and not before. This is very significant. Such things may happen sometimes accidentally and unintentionally, but, comrades, this time there lies a definite purpose behind it. The incident on the Chinese Eastern Railway was intended to take place just at the

moment when we were about to open negotiations with MacDonald. It was one of the most pressing tasks of the so-called Labor government or of British diplomacy, if you like, to create a situation that would weaken the firmness of the Soviet Union during the negotiations carried on with the Labor government. Therefore the incident on the Chinese Eastern Railway came very handy. The Labor government intended to press home its conditions concerning propaganda, and, chiefly, the conditions concerning the settlement of debts: you know quite well that propaganda is used only as a "diplomatic" ornament. Thus the seizure of the railway is only one of the moves of a preconceived plan. We notice everywhere preparations for a war against the Soviet Union. This is taking place simultaneously with preparations for a war of the powers against each other. I shall cite only a few facts to illustrate the truth of the statement that preparations for a war against the Union have gone very far already. Firstly, we must mention the French-Polish agreement that provides for assistance to Poland in the event of a war between Poland and the Soviet Union. There exists a base in the French port of Cherbourg, where all the orders are carried out and "goods" are delivered to Poland. A French Commission is busy in Poland reorganizing the Polish army and improving it. France is subsidizing the Polish army and navy which latter will be built in Poland. All these measures are being taken in order to bring the technique of the next war up to the mark.

Secondly, we must not forget the Franco-Roumanian agreement according to which France grants considerable credits to Roumania and reorganizes the Roumanian army. Roumania possesses a special base where all the military material is delivered by way of the Mediterranean Sea. France recently granted to Roumania a loan for the reorganization and modernization of the Roumanian army.

Thirdly, we know of the Polish-Czechoslovak agreement that is directed against the U. S. S. R., and a number of other minor agreements in all of which England is

actively taking part, who, as you well know, is the chief organizer of the united front against U. S. S. R.

England and France quite agree upon their respective policies concerning the U. S. S. R., and they promise pecuniary and other assistance in the event of a conflict. England, on the other hand, is continually creating defensive bases in the Near East, besides those mentioned in the Far East.

England is trying to fortify herself in Afganistan and on the Pamir, that is on our nearest Eastern boundaries, aiming at the seizure of our oil fields in the Caucasus. The policy of England will be quite clear if we take into consideration her oil interests.

To all this must be added that in almost all of our neighboring countries there exist fascist organizations whose function it is to fight the "internal enemy," i. e., the working class at home, and against the Soviet Union. We shall mention only the "Sharpshooters Union" in Poland. All these organizations have been brought into life with the special purpose of fighting the U. S. S. R., for they well know that their own proletariat will immediately rise in defense of the Soviet Union. To this must be added the tremendous growth of the war industries in Poland and several other countries and the attempts of the different powers already to distribute among themselves the booty they hope to get as a result of their participation in the united front against the U. S. S. R.

Mention should also be made of the newly organized banking corporations directed against the Soviet Unions.

Several of the countries are actively preparing war against the Soviet Union. Different methods are used in preparing this war. Thus we are surrounded by enemies who are preparing the war that will be continued and finished by the biggest enemies of the Soviet Union and the international labor movement.

Is it possible to separate the events in the West from what is taking place in the Far East? Of course not: they are links of one chain that prove to us that the menace of war is the most serious practical problem confronting us today. The Soviet Union is

threatened by war. But at the same time the ruthless war between England and France is drawing nearer. This very day, the newspapers report that Briand and Henderson were having a controversy not at all in keeping with diplomatic courtesy. The tension in the political relations between the United States of America, and France, between France and Germany, between England and the United States, is very great. The conference that is taking place at the present moment at the Hague reflects this tremendous conflict of interests that some time ago seemed to be straightened out by the Young Plan. But in reality all the existing conflicts could not be straightened out by this plan and everywhere further differences of opinion are cropping up. War at the present moment cannot be restricted to a small radius no matter whether such a war breaks out in the Far East or in the West between two of the imperialist powers, or among some of the smaller powers. This must be understood, war cannot be restricted to the Far East if it breaks out in the Far East. This means that if it breaks out in the Far East it must spread over the whole world in the same way as the first world war that began in Serajavo and came to an end only after four years when ten million men had been killed and tens of millions had been wounded. The new war will be much bigger than the last one because of the scientific progress in the methods of annihilating mankind. Chemistry and a whole series of new technical inventions are all directed towards the improvement in the methods of speedy killing. The new war will devour many more lives and it will cover a vastly bigger territory. The Soviet Union will inevitably be brought into the war too.

Comrades, this is the reason why the struggle against the menace of war in the Pacific must lead us on to the struggle against Imperialist war in general. The following question may be put before us in connection with the above.

In what way is the united front of the imperialist powers and the social democrats, who are in power in some of the countries,

connected with the preparations of a new war? We have a social-democratic government in Germany. We have one in Denmark and we have a so-called Labor government in England. We have the Socialist parties that are exercising great influence upon the government in France.

If we want to come to a correct conclusion as to the role of reformism in the preparation of the new war, we shall have to weigh carefully the different measures reformism is taking in world politics. The socialists no less than the bourgeois parties are defending the interests of their own particular capitalist government, the interests of their own bourgeoisie. Let us take as an example our nearest neighbor, Bunji Suzuki. This well known reformist and leader of the Japanese trade unions, is at the same time a well-paid tool of Japanese imperialism. I don't know how much he gets. This question will in its time be answered by the proletarian revolution in Japan when the workers will have access to the archives. But at present there is no doubt whatever about his being a paid agent of imperialism. Let us turn to the French and Polish reformists. The Polish reformists, together with Pilsudski are preparing war against the Soviet Union. The French socialists are the most fiery enemies of the Soviet Union.

It is not necessary to illustrate the role played by the German Social Democrats during the last negotiations in Paris. One of the old diplomates—Pullman—was carrying on negotiations with the English and French concerning the reward the German bourgeoisie would get if it joined the united front against the Soviet Union.

The actions of the "Labor" government in England are also quite clear. The seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway took place, quite "unintentionally" of course, immediately after the Labor government came into power; and the conditions that the Labor government set before us for resuming diplomatic relations are the same that were set up by Curzon and Baldwin. Quite "accidentally" the tone of the Labor government

in negotiating with the Soviet Union is as unfriendly as it was before and quite "accidentally" MacDonalld has stopped the building of cruisers that had not been intended to be built.

Who is Macdonald? He is the business manager of the British bourgeoisie. His Party that came into power with the votes of the workers is carrying on an imperialist policy. It will suffice to point out what is going on in India at the present moment. The Labor Party, judging from its own point of view, is of course right in its treatment of the Indian workers: it is the enemy of the workers of its own country, it is also the enemy of the workers in the colonies because it is siding with capitalism and endeavoring to retain the possession of its colonies at any cost. Reformism is attacking the Soviet Union, it is the business manager of the bourgeoisie, it is the most trusty defender of the capitalist system and is actively fighting for the principle of exploitation of man by man. Therefore reformism also helps in preparing new imperialist wars. The reformists are making their preparations for a new war in three respects. They prepare it to defend and strengthen the interests of their own bourgeoisie against the attacks of the other countries; they are preparing the attack upon their own proletariat which is beginning to shake off reformist influence and going over into the camp of the left revolutionary positions; and thirdly, they are preparing the war against the Soviet Union, because they quite well recognize the connection between the socialist growth of our country and the growth of the revolutionary movements all over the world.

Thus, Comrades, war is knocking at our door! War is confronting the working classes of the whole world, war is confronting the workers along the coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

I shall touch upon two problems that are connected with the above. The first is—how to fight war before its outbreak, and the second—how to fight war when it has broken out already.

The starting point of the struggle of our conference, which unites the revolutionary labor movement of the countries in the Pacific, must be the struggle against racial prejudice and the oppression of one race by another. Racial war must be converted into class war.

This is the slogan under which we must mobilize the working classes. Racial prejudice grew up during many years by the very process of exploitation of the workers. Racial prejudice divides the workers and is extremely dangerous. If we want to put up a powerful united front for the struggle against the approaching war, if we want to carry on this struggle efficiently, we must eliminate race prejudice first. We must bear in mind that the struggle against war is a very lasting one; war cannot be done away with by a few votes against it and by a few shouts "Down with War." The struggle against war consists of daily and persistent work of everyone of us and of every workers' organization. It is useless to struggle against war when war has come to our doors already; then it is much more difficult. Now, when war has not yet broken out, we must not lose a single moment in rallying the masses under our banner in politically uniting them and in setting before them clear and definite tasks.

Imperialism creates war, capitalism instigates war. It is useless to fight against the after-effects, one must get to the roots of the problem. Wars are inevitable as long as capitalism exists; and whoever wants to abolish war must at first abolish the cause of it—abolish imperialism. We shall be able to abolish war or at least successfully struggle against the menace of war if we, in our daily work, most energetically fight the agents of imperialism, the reformists, whose function it is to hide the real aims of the proletariat, to soften class antagonism, to bridge the chasm between the classes. They are ordered to use the workers' movement as a tool for the strengthening of imperialism.

Therefore the struggle against reformism constitutes the foundation of the struggle against the menace of war. We must form mass organizations to fight war seriously. Workers cannot defeat gigantic imperialism single-handed, but must form compact organizations numbering many thousands or millions of workers. In those countries where the workers lost many of their comrades under the whip of terrorism, and where our organizations have not the possibility to exist legally, illegal trade unions must be organized. It must be borne in mind that any screen will do as long as it affords the possibility of immediately stepping into the fight and to gather an ideologically firm army of proletarians.

We notice in the colonial countries a well-defined growth of strikes. If we fail to take the leadership of the strikes into our hands and if the economic struggles are fought without our being at their head, we shall not be able to take the leadership in the political struggles in future: we shall not be able to lead the masses against imperialism. Those of the trade union members who are unable to lead a strike, who are contemptuously looking down upon strikes,—are absolutely ignorant as to how to act, they are unfit to lead the masses into battle with our enemies.

A strike is one of the forms of mass demonstration by the workers. It is a battle in which the most backward masses are taught solidarity. We must know how to lead these strikes, we must always be at their head, and then raise them from an economic to the higher political levels. A small strike must grow into a big one and big strikes must grow into mass demonstrations where the workers have to solve all the principal problems that are confronting the working class of the different countries. We must learn to penetrate any organization where workers are to be found, even if they be yellow organizations as for instance, the Kuomintang unions in China. We must get close to them and lead them against those reformist leaders who instead to use these unions in the interests of the bourgeoisie and

Chinese militarists. We must always be with the masses no matter what the circumstances are, irrespective of our being organized legally or illegally. We must always be closely connected with the daily struggles of the masses, we must feel the pulse of the masses so that we may know exactly when dissatisfaction among the masses begins, and take the necessary steps in order to transform this dissatisfaction into real action. This is the method of struggling against the menace of war, for we shall want large numbers of fighters so that we may get appreciable results. We shall get the best results if our struggle will be based on the principle of ruthless class war. We must not make the least concession to imperialism; we must fight ruthlessly those who want to conclude peace with imperialism.

What shall we do when war breaks out? It might happen that we shall not be able to avert war. This is highly probable, as the working class is in power only in the Soviet Union and the bourgeoisie is ruling in all the other countries.

What shall we do? When war begins, every worker, everyone of the members of our Pacific family will have to bear in mind that the tasks that he had been fulfilling before the outbreak of war will have to be fulfilled to a much greater extent after the outbreak of war. We must form illegal organizations among the soldiers and sailors, and peasants.

These organizations will have to be illegal ones, because especially at the beginning of war police terror is used against workers most heavily. The soldiers of different countries and different nationalities must fraternize and organizations must be formed, especially in those parts of the army that contain the greatest number of skilled workers, as for instance, engineering corps, wireless detachments, armored cars, etc. All the most important sections of the army—and the engineering corps are the most important ones—must be brought over to the movement of war against war.

However, much terror might be raging, we must carry on our struggle under the

slogan of "The Defence of the Soviet Union, against Imperialism". We must carry on our struggle under the slogan of ruthless war of the exploited against the exploiters; we must choose the right moment to use the weapons placed in our hands by imperialism for the overthrow of imperialism itself. We, the Russians, have some experience in this kind of war and are ready to give advice. Back in 1915 Lenin wrote the following about the tasks that we had to fulfill in the case of the outbreak of war: "The proletariat must answer to war by propaganda, by the preparation and effecting of revolutionary mass action. The proletariat must shake off the rule of the bourgeoisie and create a Socialist order of society that will free humanity of wars forever."

Comrades, we have followed this advice on the territory of the U.S.S.R. Thus we are, at present able to discuss this matter not only theoretically, but are able to give priceless practical advice. Our experience of struggling against war has been exemplary and valuable. I may say that it might and should serve as an example for the working class, for the trade unions of the Pacific coast as well as those of the whole world.

Comrades, the first war, as you well know, terminated in three revolutions: The revolution in the country of the Romanoffs, in the country of the Hohenzollerns and in the country of the Habsburgs, i. e. in Russia, Germany and in Austria. Only one of these revolutions proved to be a real one; it is the revolution that took place in our country. The revolutions in Germany and in Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia and others, all of which have retained the bourgeois character.

The working classes of these countries gained very little by these so-called revolu-

tions. But, nevertheless, the first great war called into life three revolutions.

Comrades, what will be the result of the second world war? The second imperialist war, which in extent and destructiveness will by far surpass the war of 1914-18 will inevitably call into life a much greater number of revolutions; it will call into life real proletarian revolutions. Some of the bourgeois, social-democratic diplomats and newspapermen are saying: "You who are declaring that war will end in revolution, you are yourself provoking war, you want war to break out." Our answer is: NO. We do not want war, war is too expensive a thing for the masses of workers and peasants. But if we say, that in the case of war many heads will fall besides the heads of workers, and if we say that the bourgeoisie will be overthrown, this surely does not mean that we are provoking war. You would not call it a provocation if I told you that you might hurt yourself if you knocked your heads against a wall. We want to save every drop of proletarian blood. We are revolutionaries, not pacifists. We shall therefore know what to do when we are compelled to take the rifle into our fist to defend ourselves. We are against war of nation against nation, but we advocate class war; we advocate war of the exploited against the exploiters, we advocate war of the working classes against bourgeoisie. This is our creed, and I feel confident that all the representatives present here agree with me. We do not want war; but if war breaks out then let the instigators beware! The international proletariat and we, a part of the world proletariat, shall sweep from the face of the earth the horrible system of oppression and exploitation, we shall overthrow the power of capitalism and shall ourselves, with our bare fists make labor the ruler of the whole world!

Declaration of the Delegates From the United States, Japan, France and Britain

Following the discussion the delegations from the imperialist countries made a declaration as follows:

WE, delegates to the Pan-Pacific T. U. Conference from the left-wing trade union movements of the United States, Japan, France and Britain, feel it necessary to declare to the Conference and to the

an equal, voluntarily relinquished all special privileges and concessions previously established, but this is precisely the reason why the Imperialists hated the Soviet Union, because the Soviet Policy undermined the whole Imperialist structure of exploitation, special privilege, and oppression of China, because it encouraged the Chinese people to rise and throw off the Imperialist rule. That is why the Imperialists conspired to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway by using the militarists through whom they control the various governments of China.

It is a matter of public record that British advisers of Chang Tso-lin some years ago, worked out in detail the plan to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway. This plan was approved by the ruling circles of Britain. The Japanese openly endorsed the plan; the



WATKINS

British miner delegate to the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference. Vladivostok, Aug., 1929

workers of the entire world that responsibility for the war-provocations of the Chinese militarist, the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway, rests squarely upon the Imperialist governments of the four countries from which we come. We accuse these governments as the inspirers and provokers of war.

The Chinese militarists are the obedient tools of Imperialism. The Soviet Union is the only country which has treated China as



HERCLÉT

France—Representing the C.G.T.U.

Japanese government-subsidized newspaper "Manchurian Daily News" in Dairen, has been openly propagandizing for its execution for the past two years; French officers are directing the Mukden aviation corps. And now the participation of the United States, through the American advisers to the Nanking government, has brought the conspiracy into action.

This war-provocation is directed equally against the Soviet Union and against the interests of the Chinese people. So far from advancing any Chinese national interest, its whole effect is to weaken China and to re-establish the old regime of foreign oppression which had been shaken to its foundation by the combined influence of Soviet policy and the Chinese revolutionary mass movement. At the same time it is a blow against the interests of the working class of Britain, France, Japan, and United States, who have all to lose and nothing to gain by these conspiracies of reactionary Imperialism, and the war in which they must culminate.

We call upon the workers of the whole world, especially the workers of our own countries, to register their emphatic protests against the conspiracies and war-provocations of the Imperialist powers.

Down with the Imperialist war-makers and their Chinese tools.

Defend the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the toiling masses of the world!

Long live the international solidarity of the working class.

Browder, U. S. A.

Bakst, U. S. A.

Yamagata, Japan

Hercllet, France

Watkins, Great Britain.

(The report of Ting Tai-yeh and discussion speeches will be printed in a later issue of the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY.)

Report on the Work of the P.P.T.U.S.

Since the First Conference

The Secretariat Report was presented at the fifth session by the General Secretary, Comrade Browder. He said:

COMRADES:

Since the enemies of the PPTUS have concentrated their attacks upon us, which extend from the British-Indian Government's denunciation of us as a "communist conspiracy," and the Japanese and Chinese reactionaries' assassination of our Secretariat members, down to the barking of the smallest reformist trade union traitors, it will be of some value to the large masses of workers who will be watching our gathering, to give in some detail the history of the origin of the PPTUS, before proceeding to report on the work since the First Conference.

ORIGIN OF THE PAN-PACIFIC SECRETARIAT

The only predecessor of the PPTUS, was the holding, in 1924, of a Pacific Transport Workers' Conference, in Canton, China, which was attended by representatives from China, Philippines, the Soviet Union, and Indonesia. This did not result in any permanent organization, although it was of great value, both for its own work and for the resulting contacts established, especially with the Philippines which had hitherto been entirely outside the world labor movement.

The project of a Pan-Pacific labor organization was first publicly put forth by the New South Wales Trades Council in Australia. In February, 1925, this organization sent invitation to all countries of the Pacific to send delegates to Sydney, Australia, on May 1st, 1926, in order to form a Pacific central labor organization. When this date arrived, however, so few delegates had come that the meeting resolved itself into a preliminary Conference only, decided to call the Conference for one year later in Canton, China, and to invite the All-China Labor Federation to establish with the Australians a joint preparatory committee. This decision was ratified in August, 1926, by the Third

All-Australian Trade Union Congress. On September 10, 1926, the All-China Labor Federation ratified the decision; followed by the All-Union Council of TU's on October 6; and by the Japanese TU Council (Hyo-gikai) in January, 1927. The All-India TU Congress decided to send delegates, at its Congress in October, 1926, but these delegates were refused passports by the British-Indian Government. From these facts, which are all matters of public record, the origin of the PPTUS is clearly and definitely that of response to a widely-expressed and deeply felt necessity of all the most important bodies of organized workers in the Pacific area.

The First Conference, called for Canton, China, on May 1st, 1927, found itself face-to-face there with the counter-revolutionary coup of General Li Chi-sen, and some of the delegates were arrested by the militarist. It was necessary to transfer the gathering to Hankow, which was still under the revolutionary government. A large portion of the Japanese delegation has been arrested by the Japanese police; the Australian and Indian delegations were refused passports by their governments; and the Philippine organizations were holding their own Congress at the same time, and had insufficiently close connections to follow the readjustment in plans. As a result, even our First Conference, after a year and a half of preparation, was still not fully representative of the full scope of our government. The delegates to the First Conference represented 8 countries: China, Japan, Soviet Union, Indonesia, England, France, Korea, and U.S.A.

THE WORK OF THE HANKOW CONFERENCE

It is unnecessary to review in detail the work of the First Conference. The program laid down, and the various decisions, have all been tested in the fire of two years

struggle, which has proved their essential correctness. We may characterize the results of this Conference in four points: (1) The isolation of the different national labor movements of the Pacific was finally broken, and working relationships established between the different lands; (2) The general problems of the Pacific were clarified, and the class nature of these problems clearly stated for the first time for all the Pacific trade unions; (3) A beginning made toward the international solution of the various national problems of the different countries; and (4) The establishment of a definite, recognized, center of organization and leadership for the whole movement, in the Pan-Pacific T. U. Secretariat. These were all fundamental, historical achievements.

FROM THE FIRST TO THE SECOND PLENUM

From its moment of birth the PPTUS has functioned in the midst of the most bitter class struggle. The First Plenum of the Secretariat, held immediately after the Conference, launched the "Pan-Pacific Worker," sent a delegate to Philippines and Australia to secure the approval of these organizations to the work of the Conference and affiliation to the PPTUS, and set up the Secretariat as a functioning body. But within two months the counter-revolution in China had so isolated our Secretariat, that regular connections even with the Chinese unions were broken, and the entire practical work of the period to the Second Plenum was necessarily devoted to the restoring of broken connections and adjusting the PPTUS to work under these conditions. Two definite steps forward were achieved during this period: the approval of the decisions of the First Conference by the Philippine Labor Congress, and their affiliation to the PPTUS, following the report given them by the representative of the PPTUS, Comrade Harrison George; and similar action by the Australasian Council of Trade Unions.

THE SECOND PLENUM OF THE PPTUS

The Second Plenum, meeting in Shanghai in February, 1928, opened a more advanced stage of our work. Participating for the first time were the delegates from Australia

and the Philippines. A campaign of international solidarity and aid to the Chinese Trade Unions was launched, with an appeal against the white terror, which, when taken up soon after by the Fourth Congress of the Profintern, culminated in an International Two-week Campaign for Aid to the Chinese Trade Unions. As a specific example of the practical results of this campaign, I may cite the case of the U.S.A., where the campaign extended over several months, with the distribution of 100,000 brochures on the Chinese labor movement, scores of public meetings in halls and on the streets, street collections of money, and the final remittance to the All-Chinese Labor Federation of \$1700 Mexican dollars (equal to \$850 U. S.) The small beginnings in this campaign were sufficient to show the tremendous possibilities of such international demonstrations when properly prepared, and opened up new perspectives for such work. The Second Plenum was of distinct value in eliminating the right-wing deviation in the Chinese labor movement which tended to liquidate the red unions and surrender the field to the Kuomintang semi-fascist unions; and also the beginnings of the struggle against the ultra-left tendencies of "putchism" and abandoning mass work in favor of individual terror against traitors.

The Second Plenum constituted a turning point for the development of the Philippine trade unions, which, under the inspiration of their contact with the PPTUS, began a deep process of reorientation and reorganization, which we will describe at a later point, and which our Filipino degelate here will deal with more at length. At the same time, with the participation of the Australian delegate, Comrade Ryan, it launched the two slogans which proved to be the key to immediate developments in that country. "Struggle against industrial peace" and "Struggle against race prejudice."

FROM THE SECOND TO THE THIRD PLENUM

The next period from February to October, 1928, marked a sharp intensification of the class struggle in the other countries of the Pacific, China, Indonesia and Korea al-

ready living under white terror. The imperialist offensive against the working class and against the colonial liberation movement was intensified on a large scale in all countries; and the reformists of the imperialist countries began a great campaign also, (launched in the speech of Purcell opening the Paris Congress of the Amsterdam International) to extend their activities to the Far East. This reformist invasion of Asia, typified in this period by the tour of Purcell in India, come simultaneously with the adoption of the Colonial Program of the Second International, which with the utmost cynicism denied every principle of colonial liberation and openly established in theory the established practice of international reformism, support of imperialist oppression. During this period we have the rise of the gigantic strike wave of the proletariat of India, the beginning of sharp differentiation of Right and Left wings, and the final coming into the open of the General Secretary of the All-India TU Congress, Mr. Joshi, as advocate of affiliation to Amsterdam and opposition to the PPTUS. Our Secretariat made strenuous efforts during this time to establish direct contact with India, but our delegate was deported by the British-Indian Government. However, our letter to the All-India TU Congress was widely published in the Indian press, and reached the broad masses. Our sharp attacks against the treacherous policies of Mr. Joshi were widely discussed in India; we called attention, for example, to Mr. Joshi's open justification of the government murder of railroad strikers, and his appeal for rewards for strikebreaking. Inasmuch as Mr. Joshi's friends have denounced this charge of ours as slander, it is worth while to establish the facts here for the benefit of the workers of India, who still suffer the leadership of Mr. Joshi. I have here the July, 1929, issue of the "Indian Railway Magazine," of which Mr. Joshi bears joint responsibility with his fellow-editors:

"The laborers who refused to listen to our warning have paid dearly for their foolhardiness with their lives. . . . It was a foregone conclusion that the

strike would fail. . . . The police naturally opened fire with the loss of life as aforesaid. . . . This labor trouble has served, however, to bring out two remarkable factors both of which constitute distinct assets of the South Indian Railway. The one is the great statesmanship exhibited by the Agent (British government administrator) which has won for him the warm approbation of one and all of the public and raised him considerably in the public estimation, and the second is the great, nay the intense, loyalty of the station staff who stood as their post of duty (that is, they scabbed, blacklegged, E. B.) amidst dangers and difficulties impossible to describe. . . . The Agent has rightly paid a warm tribute to the loyalty of the men (that is, the blackleg! E. B.) and we do sincerely hope that the appreciation would take a more substantial form in the shape of one month's pay as a special bonus and the redress of their long-standing grievances as to summary dismissals, excessive punishments, etc."

To our knowledge this justification of murder of strikers, praise of the imperialist murderers, and plea for reward to strikebreakers, has never been repudiated by him, and his name still stands on the cover of the "Indian Railways Magazine" as one of its editors. We here repeat in this Conference, what we said a year ago to the Indian workers, that the General Secretary of the All-India T. U. Congress has proven himself in this, as in a hundred other instances, unfit as a member, not to speak of as a leader, of the Indian trade unions.

In Australia, during this period, the employers began an offensive against the wages and living standards of the whole working class. The PPTUS actively assisted in mobilizing the working masses of Australia against this offensive. Jointly with the Australasian T. U. Council, we began publication of an Australian edition of the Pan-Pacific Worker, under the editorship of Comrade J. S. Garden, secretary of the New South Wales Trades Council, and with the

effective collaboration of Comrade Carpenter, which took the lead in this struggle which was conducted by the employers and government under the well-known hypocritical slogan of "Industrial peace." The government, employers, capitalist press, and right-wing trade union leaders immediately launched a great offensive against the PPTUS. The government announced that the Pan-Pacific T. U. Congress, which the Australian unions wished to be held in their country, would under no circumstances be allowed. The press raised a great howl about the "White Australia" policy being endangered by Australian workers associating with "Asiatics" in the PPTUS. The right-wing in the trade unions gathered their forces and tried to separate the Australian trade unions from the PPTUS at the Emergency Congress called in Melbourne in July, 1928. The climax of these attacks upon the PPTUS is found in the speech at this Congress by a delegate, Mr. Gibson, who denounced our organization because, in his words: "There are three white men on the Red Executive, and a heterogeneous mob of Asiatics, with unprouncable names, who have the impertinence to lay down a policy for the Australasian Council of Trade Unions." But three-fourths of the delegates repelled the reactionary attack, and reaffirmed the adherence of the Australian unions to the PPTUS. At the same time, however, on their domestic struggles with the employers they were not so clear, and for a time became ensnared in the "industrial peace" negotiations, on the model of Mondism, which only this year did the class-conscious workers succeed in breaking up.

In the Philippines during this period we witnessed a revival of the labor and peasant movements, the publication of two new papers, one of the trade unions and the other of the peasants, both of which reflected the policy of the PPTUS, and the stepping forward of the workers and peasants against the treacherous policy of the bourgeois-nationalist politicians who have sold themselves to American imperialism for the price of "economic development" (for American im-

perialist purposes) of the Philippines. The unions revived their activities, and also began to take the field with mass demonstrations, such as the march on the Filipino Legislature in protest against the high price of rice. At the same time, the right-wing elements began consciously to organize themselves under the leadership of the bourgeois political parties.

In Japan, this period is marked by intense white terror against the labor movement. Beginning in March, with mass arrests and the outlawing of the left trade unions and political parties, it resulted in the assassination of a member of the Japanese delegation to our Third Plenum, October 1928, Comrade Watanabe, whose memory we have honored at the opening of this Congress. During this period the PPTUS was able to serve the Japanese trade unions in their difficulties, in assisting them in working out policies and adjust themselves to new conditions of complete illegality, preserving their red union organizations and still keeping close contact with the masses. Our Japanese delegate will doubtless give us an intimate view of the situation in Japan, so this report will limit itself to the most general characteristic of the period under review.

In China, the period is marked by the revival of working class activities in a large strike movement, the continued maintenance of the peasant movement in the interior, the most brutal white terror by the militarists, and the crystallization of the factions in the Kuomintang, under the influence of the various Imperialist Powers. Within the All-China Labor Federation, the period is one of close collaboration with the PPTUS, the weeding out of the deviations of policy (both liquidationist and adventurist, right and ultra-left), and the re-establishment of mass work of the red unions. The meeting of our Third Plenum occurred at the time of the establishment of the so-called October Government of the Kuomintang, the return of Chiang-Kai-shek to power, and the consolidation of American influence in a dominating position in Nanking.

THE THIRD PLENUM OF THE SECRETARIAT

The Third Plenum met in Shanghai, on October 27 and 28, 1928. Besides registering the further growth of the PPTUS, in the affiliation of the seamen's and miners' unions of New Zealand, and the holding of a conference of Pacific countries of Latin-America, with representatives of Peru, Ecuador, Columbia, and Mexico, who pledged to work for effective affiliation of their organizations to the P. P. T. U. S., the Third Plenum also had to take up seriously the struggle against international reformism and its invasion of the East, which came up particularly sharply at this time in the visit of Mr. Albert Thomas, of the International Labor Office, to China, Japan, Indonesia, and India; and also in the announcement of the project of an Asiatic Labor Conference by the reformist imperialist tools, Mr. Bunji Suzuki of Japan and Mr. N. M. Joshi of India. The Plenum denounced this effort of the international splitters and Eastern reformists, and issued a call to the Indian workers to disavow Mr. Joshi's works. This Plenum also had to organize the Second Conference, our present gathering, decide upon its place and issue the call. It is characteristic of the whole present period of development in the East, that the P. P. T. U. S. had found its Congress prohibited in Australia, Philippines, and all other countries, with the exception of the Soviet Union. While the delegates to this Conference are all delighted to be in Vladivostok, especially for the opportunity it gives us to study the socialist construction of the Soviet Union and to meet personally our comrades who are doing such mighty work, we do not hide from our comrades of Vladivostok that we would have preferred to hold the Congress in Tokio, or Shanghai, or Manila, or Sydney, because that would have brought us closer to those million masses of still unorganized workers of the Pacific whom it is our special mission to mobilize. Nor do we hide our hope that the next Pan-Pacific Congress will find the workers in power in some other great capital of the East, such as Tokio or Shanghai, so that we may call in

such a place a greater Pacific Trade Union Congress than we have yet held.

OUR WORK FROM THE THIRD PLENUM TO THE PRESENT

Since the Third Plenum our work has been carried on under conditions of further sharpening of the class struggle, intensification of the capitalist offensive, development of imperialist rivalries, war preparations against the Soviet Union, the maturing of the differentiation in the national liberation movements, and the further rising of the working masses, especially in India. During this last period, India has come to play a more and more prominent role in the developing revolutionary wave. We must say that India is on the eve of a great revolutionary upheaval, which will have the most enormous influence upon the whole world and especially upon the East.

Our Third Plenum had commissioned Comrade Ryan, of Australia, to attend the Eighth All-India Trade Union Congress on our behalf, in December 1928. Comrade Ryan succeeded in evading the British police blockade and carrying through his mission, with the result of a crystallization of all those forces in the All-India Congress standing on the basis of the class struggle, in a fight for affiliation to the P. P. T. U. S. But while during 1928 the left-wing proletarian leadership had won over a great majority of the organized Indian workers, the petty-bourgeois nationalists and reformists still controlled the machinery of the Congress and by manipulation succeeded in blocking affiliation by a few votes, which were almost evenly divided. Even with their organizational control, however, the right wing leaders did not dare openly propose rejection of the P. P. T. U. S., but camouflaged their opposition under a plea for delay in order to study the situation, postponing the affiliation question until next year. A further indication of growing class-consciousness of the Indian trade unions is the fact that the right wing, in order to defeat the worker-candidate for President of the Congress, were forced to put forth the still-popular young "left" nationalist,

Jawaharlal Nehru (Nehru, Junior), who was elected over the worker by only a few votes.

Since that Eighth Congress of the Indian T. U. S., great strike struggles have been carried on of an extent hitherto unknown in India, and out of them have grown up new and mighty left-wing trade unions based squarely upon a program of class struggle and under left-wing leadership. Thus, the Girni Kamgar textile workers union of Bombay, has enrolled 65,000 workers this year, and led them in long and stubborn struggles. The railway men on many roads are organizing into revolutionary trade unions. The petty bourgeois nationalist leaders who have been such a stumbling block to the development of the Indian movement are now definitely in decline in their influence over the masses. We can state quite definitely that the majority of the Indian workers stand on the program of the P. T. U. S. •

In Australia, a further development of the leftward movement of the masses is evidenced in the break-up of the "industrial peace" conferences, through the efforts of our militant comrades of the New South Wales Trades Council. With a constantly sharpening offensive of the capitalists, the fighting mood of the Australian workers is necessarily increasing. It is to be hoped, and we must do everything possible to help bring it about, that this fighting mood of the masses will also be accomplished by more clarification of program, especially for the struggle against compulsory arbitration and the uprooting of racial prejudices. It is unfortunate indeed that we again miss the opportunity of discussing these questions directly with an Australian delegation, because of the actions of the Japanese police in turning them away after they had arrived at our very doors.

In Japan, the further development of the semi-fascist reaction is witnessed in the murder of Comrade Yamamoto, representative of the revolutionary Japanese workers in the Diet. Further mass arrests of left trade union leaders have taken place. In spite of all persecutions, our comrades have main-

tained their organization and their mass contacts, which facts are demonstrated by the mass demonstrations on May 1st under revolutionary slogans, etc. We must emphasize, that our Japanese comrades are living through one of the most difficult periods in their history at the present time, and the P. T. U. S. must have as one of its first tasks the giving of all possible assistance to the Japanese left trade unions. They are fighting on one of the most difficult and important sectors of our Pan-Pacific front, in the very heart of Japanese Imperialism.

In the Philippines, we must note the progress made in unifying the Filipino and Chinese labor organizations, and the conducting of successful joint strikes for improved conditions—something seen for the first time in the Islands. Further we must note a successful congress of the Peasants Confederation, and the further growth and development of the peasant movement, the raising of the slogans of struggle for practical improvements in the peasants' lot. The struggle against the traitorous bourgeois nationalist parties, and the emergence of the workers and peasants as the spokesmen and fighters for independence, has led to a section of the corrupted elements in the C. O. F. (Philippine Labor Congress) splitting the Congress when they were unsuccessful in capturing it for the bourgeois parties. We must congratulate our Filipino comrades upon their success in preserving the main body of the trade unions against the reactionary splitting elements, and must give them all possible assistance in consolidating the Labor Congress (Proletarian) upon its new course.

In China, the last period is characterized by the new militarist wars, the further consolidation of American Imperialist influence, and the resulting new series of war provocations against the Soviet Union. This we have dealt with fully in the reports and discussion of the War Danger. The growing fighting spirit of the Chinese workers is demonstrated by the growth of the strike movements and by the militant demonstrations in Shanghai on May 30th, when the Shanghai proletariat destroyed the offices of

a reactionary Kuomintang newspaper. The main problem of the revolutionary unions in China today, is that of perfecting their methods of mass work, the consolidation of the red unions and the simultaneous penetration of the "yellow" unions wherever these have masses; and the establishment of organs for leading and mobilizing the unorganized masses, in the shape of shop committees, committees of action, etc.

OUR SHORTCOMINGS AND WEAKNESSES IN INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

Undoubtedly our most serious weakness has been our lack of regular and systematic contacts with several countries, such as Korea, Indonesia, Formosa, Indo-China, etc. In these countries, white terror prevails, with the most brutal forms of imperialist exploitation, forced labor and slavery. We must at all costs find the ways of penetrating the Imperialist walls of isolation with which they endeavor to prevent the growth of trade unions and revolutionary influences in these countries. This is one of our first tasks. This weakness stands out as one of the first lessons of this brief report of our practical activities also in connection with all our work, even in those countries where we have accomplished the most. This is primarily due to lack of a sufficient number of adequately prepared comrades for the work. The systematic preparation and training of workers for the general Pan-Pacific work is one of our most pressing needs.

OUR WORK IN PUBLICATIONS AND DISTRIBUTION OF DOCUMENTS

Special attention must be directed toward our work in publishing and distributing information and documents of the Pan-Pacific movement. The central organ of the P. P. T. U. S. has had a stormy career. It has been forced to change its location and address three times. The original "Pan-Pacific Worker" was published in Kankow, in 14 issues, up to March 1928. At that time General Hu Tsung-tu, the Wuhan militarist, executed the entire staff of a print-

shop caught printing a communist leaflet, which so terrorized all printers that we could not persuade them to continue issuing our magazine. We finally resumed publication, from Shanghai, changing the name to "Far Eastern Monthly" to quiet the fears of the printers. The difficulties of issuing in Shanghai became so great, that we finally transferred the publication to San Francisco, where it is now published under the name "Pan-Pacific Monthly." In all 28 issues have gone forth, containing the most valuable and comprehensive materials on the Pacific labor and national liberation movements which have ever been made available. While exhibiting the shortcomings that might be expected from the conditions of its production, the Pan-Pacific Monthly has been a mighty weapon in the development of our whole movement.

In addition to the central organ, in English, we have issued the Australian edition of the "Pan-Pacific Worker" jointly with the Australian trade unions. In many respects this has been our most successful publication, its special merit being that it was an Australian publication with mass circulation. Issued twice a month for its first year of publication to April this year, and since as a monthly combined with the "Labor Monthly" formerly issued by the New South Wales Trades Council, it has been the fighting spokesman for the P. P. T. U. S. and for the Australian workers against the capitalist offensive. Without the Australian edition of the "P. P. W." it is doubtful if we could have registered a fraction of the successes which our work there has shown.

A press service to all the different countries, giving news and analytical articles, was maintained from Shanghai until the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY was moved to America, since then the press service has been superseded by a mimeographed "Far Eastern Bulletin" performing the same functions in a more organized manner. Pamphlets have been issued in Australia, explaining the P. P. T. U. S. and its work, which reached mass circulation, and on the struggle against race prejudice. Comrade Losovsky's pamph-

let on the P. P. T. U. S. in Russian and English reached a wide circulation.

In reaching the other languages of the Pacific countries, we have had success in mass distributions in Chinese, Japanese, and Tagalog, using the local and national publications and issuing special brochures, securing translations of at least the most important materials.

It is my opinion that in the publishing department of our work, we are only in the barest beginnings, and the results achieved by these small efforts would justify an intensified program of work along this line.

STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR AND FOR DEFENSE OF SOVIET UNION

In addition to the wide distribution of the various resolutions and manifestoes of the P. P. T. U. S. against the War Danger and for defense of the Soviet Union, the P. P. T. U. S. has been able to add concrete tasks in this field. The Far Eastern Conference Against War and Defense of the U. S. S. R., which was held in Shanghai in June, 1929, participated in by Chinese, Japanese, and Philipino delegates, was of great assistance in mobilizing the situation of the workers of the world to the menacing developments in Manchuria which culminated in the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway. In addition the P. P. T. U. S. has been instrumental in helping organize several workers delegations to the U. S. S. R., and had published and distributed reports and materials on the successful construction of socialism in the U. S. S. R., on the Soviet T. U. Movement, and on conditions of life and labor under the Soviet Power, all of which have broadened and deepened the mass movement of the workers against the Imperialist War menace which is directed against the Soviet Union.

LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES

The P. P. T. U. S. has considered that its primary task lay in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, with considerable attention also to Japan and Australia which are so closely woven into the problems of the East.

It has, however, not neglected to keep the workers of the colonial and semi-colonial lands informed of the developments of revolutionary trade unionism in the capitalist countries, of the great class battles in Europe and America, of the role of European and American reformism in the support of imperialist oppression and in misleading and corrupting the young colonial labor movements. At the same time we have given special attention to awaken the working masses of the imperialist lands to a knowledge of an interest in the rising labor movement of the East and of Latin-America, and to bring to them a full understanding of the decisive importance which the new divisions of the international labor movement have to play in the overthrow of imperialist oppression. Both these phases of our work must be developed and extended.

OUR RELATION TOWARDS OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The P. P. T. U. S. is an autonomous organization, separate from all other international organizations. It is not an "International" itself, but a regional federation of trade unions for special purposes stated in our statutes. But from the beginning we have taken an attitude of cooperation with all international organizations sympathizing with our aims, and have stood for the program of international trade union unity. In the developments of the past two years, we must record that all international organizations have taken up an attitude towards us, some friendly other hostile, in accordance with their own attitude towards imperialist oppression and colonial liberation.

Among those which have demonstrated their enmity we must note the Amsterdam International (I. F. T. U.); the Second International (Socialist and Labor International); the Pan-American Federation of Labor; the International Labor Office, etc. These are all the agencies of international reformism, which more and more openly are coming out as the instruments of imperialism and capitalist oppression within the working class. We have nothing to be surprised about in their hostility to us.

On the other hand we have established relations of friendly co-operation with other international bodies, which truly stand against imperialism. These are, first of all, the Red International of Labor Unions, to which many of our affiliated organizations belong, and which is in full support of our work in the Pacific. Secondly, is the Latin-American Trade Union Federation, formed at Montevideo last May, which embodies the large majority of the organized workers of the Southern Americas, and with which we have a compact of fraternal collaboration, and which follows lines in Latin America similar to ours in the Pacific. And thirdly, is the Anti-Imperialist League which is a world federation of all anti-imperialist organizations and individuals, and with which our Third Plenum associated the P. P. T. U. S., and to which many of our affiliated organizations are connected. We are sure that this Conference will confirm these relationships which we have established, and will instruct the P. P. T. U. S. in future not only to consolidate more firmly the fraternal union of all organizations of struggle against imperialism, but also to intensify the struggle against all those which serve imperialism.

CONCLUSION

In concluding this report on the tasks and work of the P. P. T. U. S., let me say, that I am sure this Conference will agree that in spite of the magnitude of our tasks, in spite of the shortcomings of our work, and the difficulties which must be overcome, yet our first period of work has been fruitful and has fully justified the efforts put into it. Where a few years ago was isolation almost complete for each country, with young movements blindly struggling towards liberation with only the light of their own limited experience to guide them, there now exists an integrated international movement and consciousness, making available for all and consciously using for all the joint, collective experiences of the entire labor movement. We have laid a solid foundation for the future great structure of International Trade Unionism which will be built in the Pacific, as

a part of the greater World International. We have made a living reality for millions of workers, those aims which we set ourselves two years ago at Hankow, when we declared:

"In order:

1. To carry on a joint struggle against the dangers of war between the Powers of the Pacific;

2. To counteract the imperialist dangers that menace the Chinese Revolution;

3. To help the oppressed peoples of the Pacific to liberate themselves from the yoke of imperialism;

4. To fight against and remove all racial and national barriers and prejudices which still divide the exploited classes and oppressed peoples to the advantage of the exploiters and oppressors;

5. To cement and to maintain a real fraternal united front of the exploited classes in the countries of the Pacific;

6. To organize and to carry out joint actions of the exploited and oppressed peoples against the oppressing Powers;

7. To fight for World Trade Union Unity and for the creation of a single United Trade Union International; — the representatives of the revolutionary trade unions of the Pacific having gathered at the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference, herewith decide unanimously to create immediately an organ of connections, propaganda, and action — this organ to be called: *The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.*"

Comrades: I think we are all of one mind that this decision of our First Conference two years ago, and the fruits of that decision in the two years of work which we have experienced since then, have proved to the full the correctness of that decision and the program there laid down. It is our task to take this foundation which has been laid, and build further and better, in the full knowledge that we are making a permanent contribution to the history of the march of the working class of the world toward the defeat of its enemy, World Imperialism, and the inauguration of the World Republic of Labor.

Down with Imperialism and Imperialist Wars!

Resolution Endorsing Work of the Secretariat

THE Conference, after hearing and discussing the report on the past work and future tasks of the PPTUS approves the activity of the Secretariat, and declares:

1. That the decisions of the First Conference in Hankow have been proved correct in two years' struggle;

2. That the Secretariat executed correctly the policies laid down by the First Conference, in energetically extending the affiliations of the PPTUS, in developing its leading functions, in providing a systematic exchange of information and opinion between the various countries, and in developing international joint actions and mutual aid.

3. The Conference charges the PPTUS in the next period, to continue develop and intensify this work, paying special attention to:

(a) Develop closer connections with the workers of India and support their struggles by all possible means.

(b) Improve connections at all costs, with Korea, Indonesia, Indo-China, Formosa, Straits Settlements, etc.

(c) Special attention must be paid to support of the Chinese Trade Unions.

(d) Extend and improve the interchange of information, especially by wider collaboration in the Pan-Pacific Monthly, Pan-Pacific Worker, Far Eastern Bulletin, and by publication of pamphlets in all languages of the Pacific, (Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Annamese, Javanese, Tagalog, etc.).

(e) Develop joint actions in all countries of the Pacific, especially in mobilization of the masses for struggle against Imperialism and imperialist war.

(f) More timely and systematic participation in the daily struggles of the various affiliated bodies, and the interchange of competent workers

(g) The systematic training of workers for leading work in the PPTUS and in all countries bordering the Pacific .

4. The Conference notes many weaknesses in the work of the PPTUS, (weakness of lack of connections, insufficient active participation in current struggles, etc.), and charges the Secretariat to overcome them as soon as possible. The conference calls upon all affiliated organizations to support the work of the PPTUS, and do everything possible for its broadening and development.

Resolutions and Decisions of the Second PPTUS Conference

The Tasks of the Trade Unions in the Pacific Countries in the Struggle against War and Imperialism.

1. The struggle for domination in the Pacific and for the exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples in the countries bordering the Pacific becomes keener and keener from day to day, in connection with the increased productive capacity of the capitalist countries on the one hand and the shrinking of the markets on the other. It is in the Pacific that the interests of the USA, Japan, Great Britain and France clash more strongly, for it is in this area that we find the largest and most important colonial and semi-colonial countries, whose exploitation is the fundamental pre-requisite for the very existence of the imperialist powers.

2. The fierce struggle for domination in the Pacific is due to the fact that the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the Pacific possess huge sources of raw materials and cheap labor, and in the case of war these countries can furnish large colored armies. Such countries as China, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Indochina, etc., constitute huge human reservoirs and possess inexhaustible resources; it is this that makes them the object of the fiercest competition and rivalry. The struggle for domination in the Pacific is a struggle for monopolistic and exclusive influence in these countries, aimed at the elimination of all competitors and the subjugation of hundreds of millions of people in the interests of the ruling classes of the strongest capitalist country.

3. The central object of this intense competitive struggle among the imperialist powers, particularly among the USA, Japan and Great Britain, is China with its hundreds of millions of population, with its rich natural resources, with its diligent population and enormous market for foreign goods. In China there is a continuous and feverish

struggle among these imperialist powers for domination. Everyone of these imperialist powers supports its own particular militarist clique and its group of followers among the bourgeoisie; each one of them has its own spheres of influence, its ports, concessions and territories. The struggle between the various militarist cliques reflects the struggle between the various imperialist powers for the division of China, among themselves. Having come later than the others into China, the U. S. A. parades under the flag of liberalism; it declared itself for the open door policy solely for the purpose of winning over to its side the bourgeoisie and feudal lords of China and in order to squeeze the Japanese and British competitors out of the Chinese market. There is a vicious circle of insoluble contradictions around China.

The imperialist powers are at present involved in the most terrific struggle for the capture of the Chinese market.

4. Out of this arises the unceasing armament race, the construction of military and naval bases, the fortification of the coasts and islands lying in the Pacific. All this is done under the smoke screen of pacifist phrases about overcoming the crying contradictions, about disarmament, etc. But under the mask of naval and military conferences on the question of disarmament, the mad race in the construction of dreadnaughts, cruisers, submarines, hydro-aeroplanes and other instruments of war still goes on. The increase of production and the simultaneous contraction of the markets forces the ruling class to prepare for the use of force, in order to seize from the hands of the competitors and rivals, by military force, the most advantageous positions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

5. The sharpening struggle for domination in the Pacific reflects the regrouping of forces in world politics and world economics, for in this fierce struggle, the USA appears as the main challenger against Great Britain for world domination, and against Japan for domination in the Pacific. The new constellation of forces after the war, when the USA forces Great Britain ever further into second place, domination in the Pacific means domination of the world. That is why the struggle for hegemony in the Pacific is so bound up with the struggle for the "freedom of the seas," which in fact means freedom for one country and closed doors for all the others. Until quite recently it was Great Britain who was mistress of the seas. Now the United States is after the mastery of the seas. And while she is fighting for the "freedom of the seas" the USA is feverishly creating that force, which will guarantee her this "freedom" against all her rivals and competitors.

With the post-war crisis having become chronic, with the economic power of England dwindling, with the growing industrial and imperialist activity of Germany, with the growing contradictions between England and France, the intensification of the struggle of the colonial peoples against imperialism, with the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in all capitalist countries and the mad struggle for markets, and the venomous hatred of the whole capitalist world against the USSR, which is growing economically and politically—war becomes the only solution for the imperialist powers. The characteristic feature of this situation is the circumstance that no matter where the new war may start, whether in Europe or America, in the Atlantic or on the Pacific, the new war will become a world war, for the question of the re-division of the world will arise again.

7. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the imperialist powers, while preparing for war against one another, are also preparing for war against the USSR, for the peaceful construction of socialism in the USSR disturbs the equilibrium of the whole

capitalist system, weakening the position of the ruling classes, for it serves as a constant living example for the workers of the whole world, illustrating the possibility of doing away with the exploitation of man by man and the re-organization of society on socialist foundations. This preparation for war against the Soviet Union is carried on systematically and with the greatest determination, irrespective of which party is in power in the USA, England, Germany or France. The conservatives, liberals and reformists all equally hate the victorious proletarian revolution, and are all ready to prevent the development and the construction of Soviet Russia on a socialist basis.

8. The provocative action of the Chinese militarists on the Chinese Eastern Railway which was prepared by the imperialists proves on the one side that they are ready to use all measures in order to deal a crushing blow to the Soviet Union, and on the other hand that they are ready to start a war in any part of the world to directly or indirectly participate in the war in order to capture by force new territories and new spheres of influence. The plan of the United States to internationalize the Chinese Eastern Railway by giving over the control of the railway to an international trust is an attempt to strengthen its hold upon Manchuria, to clear the ground for its imperialist aims with the aid of the Chinese militarists. Similar provocations may take place at any moment and thus the toiling masses of the world will be faced with the war danger.

9. The pressure of the imperialist powers on the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, the preparation of war against the Soviet Union, the increasing exploitation, the stifling of the emancipation movement in all countries, the direct help extended by the imperialists to the reactionary military and feudal cliques in China, India, etc., the mass arrests and killings of workers in colonial and semi-colonial countries—all these taken together puts before the trade union organizations bordering the Pacific Ocean very serious problems. These problems are largely those of methods of struggle against im-

perialism, of struggle against the war danger, and of methods and tactics of fighting the feudal and national bourgeoisie.

10. One of the first conditions of a successful fight against imperialism and against the war danger is the necessity of transforming the existing trade unions into mass organizations and the irreconcilable fight of all these organizations against imperialism, against all the elements who are ready to collaborate with the imperialists and all those who propagate class collaboration. The struggle against war and imperialism is possible only when it is based on a merciless class fight, only when the workers and peasant organizations will be able to connect their fight against war and imperialism with their immediate interests, only if they connect their fight against imperialism with the fight against the feudal landlords, with their fight for the land, with the fight for the seven hour day, for real social legislation, for the overthrow of the feudal bourgeois reactionaries and for the establishment of a workers and peasants government.

11. Experience has shown that a successful fight against war can be carried on only when we conduct daily propaganda in educating the masses of workers in the spirit of the class struggle, explaining to them the part played by the imperialist and national bourgeoisie in the preparation of war, and we carry on steady propaganda among the soldiers and sailors, when we establish the united front between the colored and white soldiers, and between the soldiers and workers and peasants. Only by carrying on our daily and tireless work for the political unification of the working masses and for the establishment of permanent connections with the soldiers and sailors,—can we succeed to accomplish fruitful results in our fight against war and imperialism.

12. The fight against war and imperialism in the countries bordering the Pacific must be carried on under the slogan of "Down with all racial barriers", because maintaining of racial barriers is the best means in the hands of the bourgeoisie for the incitement of the colored workers against the whites and vice versa. And also of dif-

ferent colored races against each other. Not a racial war but a class war, not a war of nations, but a war of the exploited against the exploiters, not a war against the Soviet Union but a war against those who organize an attack against the Soviet Republic—this is what we stand for. Only under this slogan can we successfully carry on our work and prepare the masses for decisive action against their bourgeoisie and against the imperialists when war will be declared.

13. Of especial importance in the work of preparing the proletariat for the fight against war and imperialism is the task of uniting (organizing) the most exploited sections of the working class in the colonies and semi-colonies,—the working women and young workers. In connection with this it is necessary to fight against bourgeois pacifism, which gained a certain influence among women and young workers by means of establishing various sport organizations, beneficial and educational societies. These organizations are being rapidly spread by the imperialists and their agents in the colonies and semi-colonies. The task of the organizations affiliated to the PPTUS is to draw the women and young workers into the anti-imperialist movement and do all in their power to attract them in the fight of the working class against the danger of new imperialist wars and imperialism.

14. In order to carry on a successful fight against war and imperialism it is also necessary to carry on a merciless fight, not only against the open imperialists, not only against the bourgeois and feudal lackeys, in the colonial countries, but also against the reformists who have taken upon themselves the task of corrupting the labor movement in the colonies and to subject it to imperialism. Reformism of the imperialist countries under the mask of pacifism is the direct agency of the bourgeoisie. This is illustrated by the whole activities of the General Council of the British trade unions, as for instance by its recent action against the textile strikers in Bombay and by the whole activities of Redo Sodomei of Japan, the A. F. of L. in USA, the CGTU in France. The reformists in the colonial countries (for instance in

Inda, Indonesia and so on) are the paid agents of the imperialists and of their respective national bourgeoisie. Against all reformists we must carry on a merciless fight since they are attempting to carry out the imperialist and bourgeois reformist policy within the working masses of the Pacific countries. Every worker in the Pacific must understand that the active penetration of the reformists of the imperialist countries into the countries bordering on the Pacific, pursues the aim to perpetuate imperialist oppression and exploitation at the same time the block of reformist of imperialist countries with those of the colonial countries which is being formed by the agents of international capitalism. Mr. Albert Thomas, directly endangers the struggle for independence of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, because the main task of the native reformists is to lead the movement of the masses into the channels of class-collaboration and conciliation with imperialism.

15. War is inseparable from imperialism. Imperialism will never give up voluntarily the privileges and territories which is forcefully acquired in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. This is why the independence of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples cannot be won unless imperialism is crushed. Therefore the agitation and propaganda and the whole work of the trade unions in the countries bordering the Pacific must be carried on under the slogans: "Drive out the Japanese imperialists from Korea, China and Formosa", "Drive out British imperialists from India, China and Singapore", "Drive out the American Imperialists from China, the Philippines and Hawaiian Islands," "Drive out the French imperialists from Indo-China", "Drive out the Dutch imperialists from Indonesia"! etc. In China, where the struggle among the imperialist powers is reflected in the wars between the militarist cliques, it is necessary to issue the slogan "Down with war between the various

militarist cliques!" War by the workers and peasants of all China against the militarist cliques and their imperialist bosses!"

16. The more the struggle against war and imperialism will be carried on on an international scale—the greater will be its success. This means, that it is necessary to draw into the struggle white and colored workers to carry on agitation in the armies in the imperialist countries as well as among the occupational troops in the colonies. At the same time it is necessary to carry on anti-imperialist work among colored troops and to draw into active work the workers, women workers, and the youth of all colors and races. Those sections of the working class of all countries which had great experience in this work must render all possible help to their class brothers in order to extend and consolidate the front of the workers of the Pacific countries in the fight against war and imperialism.

17. The ousting of the imperialists from the colonial and semi-colonial countries is a question of power. It is for this reason that the main task of the trade unions in the countries bordering the Pacific is to penetrate the factories and shops, to organize the workers and peasant masses and to establish a real force for the impending fight. Without this there cannot be any real fight against imperialism. Without entrenching ourselves deeply into the masses, without the development of the work of our illegal and legal trade unions, without the daily participation of the trade unions in the economic fight of the working class,—no real fight against war and imperialism is possible. This is why all the work of sections affiliated to the trade union secretariat must be directed towards the drawing in of the masses of the trade unions, the fight for the open existence of the trade unions and for the organization of the masses in order to crush capitalism and to establish the power of labor. This is the only road leading to the ending of war and imperialism.

Concerning the Conditions of Juvenile and Child Labor in the Pacific Countries

The situation of juvenile and child labor in the colonies.

1. The employment of children and youths is widely practised in the countries on the Pacific coast and serves imperialism and the national bourgeoisie as a source of enrichment by methods of gross robbery. Juvenile labor constitutes more than one third of all the workers employed in the different industries: in many branches of industry, such as textile, tobacco and silk industries, youth labor constitutes from 50 to 60 per cent. (India, China), while the number of children employed in industry reaches 10 to 15 per cent. of the total number of workers. Young workers and children, as the cheapest labor on the market are subjected to the most extreme exploitation.

2. The position of the workers' children and juveniles is characterized by the following: They work from 12 to 14 hours a day; in home-industries, the working day knows no limitations; the wages of the juvenile reach only from one-third to one-half the wages received by adults. Childrens' wages are still lower. The decrease on the protection of child labor that exist in a number of countries do not alleviate their lot in any degree, but serve only as a ruse of the capitalists for deceiving public opinion. Even the most elementary rules concerning factory work that are put into effect in several countries (China, Japan, India) are not being adhered to and their being put into effect is not at all guaranteed by the governments. There exist, on the contrary, in all the countries of the Pacific region, laws that rob the juvenile of the most elementary human rights (as for instance, the right to be a member of a Trade Union).

3. The institution of apprenticeship is a special method of exploiting juvenile labor. The working hours of a youth are not less, but often considerably longer than those of

a grown-up worker. Their wages are exceedingly low, and in most of the cases they work only for food that keeps them barely alive: this food is supplied by the owner of the factory or the master tradesman. They have to suffer inhuman treatment, blows, tortures, fines, etc. from the hands of the foremen and the bosses of the factories and mills. The condition of the apprentices in the trades is especially difficult, where they are defenceless against the wilful acts of the petty and the bigger bosses who are using them at the same time in the capacity of home servants. These youths have up till now in China and India, more than that, even in capitalistically developed Japan, been bought like slaves from the different labor-agencies. The contracts that are concluded between the parents who are selling their children to the factories, are in reality nothing else than a veiled form of a bill of sale. The barracks that are built near the factories to house these apprentices are jails in reality. Strict rules forbidding the young workers to leave the grounds of the factories in a whole number of enterprises exist in different countries.

These conditions of slavery, of course, are the cause of the high percentage of mortality among the working youth, and children.

4. Capitalist rationalization that has been put into effect in a whole number of the countries along the Pacific coast (Japan, India, China) has increased the numbers of unqualified workers and especially the numbers of the juvenile workers and children, which in its turn worsened the economic position of the working class as a whole. The percentage of juvenile workers has increased in all of these countries if compared with the total of workers employed.

5. In all these countries the working youth is actively taking part in the political and economic struggles of the working class. We notice everywhere a violent growth of

independent strikes of the working youth that very often broaden into a general struggle of the working class; this found its expression in the organization of revolutionary-class trade unions (the All-China Federation of Revolutionary Trade Unions; the Hyogikai in Japan, the Girny-Kamgar in India, etc.) that are taking up the struggle with the reformist and yellow trade unions. The situation and the part played by the young workers in industry as well as their participation in the struggle of the working class in the Pacific countries put before the Pacific trade union movement the task of fighting ruthlessly against the exploitation of young workers and children, of sharpening the economic struggle for the special interest of the young workers and children, and of organizing the broad masses of the young workers in revolutionary trade unions.

6. The admission of juvenile workers meets with many obstacles in the different countries partly owing to the fact that the admission of youths to trade unions is prohibited, and partly because the juvenile workers are denied the right of active participation in trade union work unless they are 18 years of age (for instance, the trade union law in India).

The struggle for the right of participation in Trade Unions and for the right of membership must be carried on together with the struggle for the equal rights of juvenile and adult workers in the trade unions.

7. The experience of the working class in the economic struggles has shown that the tendency of creating juvenile trade unions (e. g. the attempt at organizing an apprentices' union in Corea, the young printers' in Corasetc), is harmful and brings unnecessary division into the ranks of the trade unions of the working classes as a whole by isolating the young workers from the struggles of the whole working class. We must determinedly oppose this tendency and fight for the dissolution of such trade unions of young workers; where general trade unions do not exist, we must use these unions of juvenile workers as a basis for the organization of trade unions founded upon the general lines of class struggle (the young printers in Corea, etc.).

8. We must create special organs for the young workers in order to draw them into the Trade Unions and into the active struggle carried out by the trade unions. Their tasks will be the practical working out of the demands of young workers, etc. The experience of the international trade union movement in its work among the young workers shows that the creation of youth sections and juvenile committees is essential. These should not be separated from the adult workers within the trade unions but on the contrary would make the drafting of the young workers into the trade unions much easier, acquainting the young workers with the everyday questions of the economic and political struggle of the working class with the actual tasks of the trade unions and the specific demands and tasks confronting the young workers.

The organs for the young workers in the trade unions must be founded on the industrial principles, that is they must unite the young workers of every given industry and be supported by the cadres of the young workers' representatives chosen in the factories. They must have elective representatives in the trade unions that have the right to register the juvenile workers and to issue a paper for the youth.

The young workers must be given the right to elect their representatives into all the elective organs of the trade unions (the committees, the strike committees, the factory committees); that within these organs will propose to discuss the economic demands of specific interest to the working youth and children.

9. The struggle for the drawing of the young workers into the trade unions and for their specific demands, for their drawing into the economic struggles, is decisively opposed by the leaders of the reformists and yellow trade unions. They advocate the separation of the young workers from the struggle of the adult workers and reject also any support of the struggles of the young workers (the yellow unions in China, the reformist unions in Japan). The traitorous part played by the reformist leaders must be thoroughly explained to the young workers,

as well as their ideas of "class collaboration." The young workers must also be drawn into the common struggle against the leaders of the reformist trade unions, in India, Japan and the Philippines, and the yellow unions in China.

10. The struggle for the specific interests of the young workers and against the exploitation of their labor demands the calling into life of the united front of the young and the adult workers and the drawing of the young workers into the economic struggles. The adherents of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference must, in order to reach this goal, always and everywhere defend and struggle for the interests of the young workers.

The Conference decidedly rejects the craft tendencies that prevail in a number of trade unions, which lead to an underestimation of the tremendous task of defending the interests of juvenile and child labor. The revolutionary Trade Unions must carry on an intensive propaganda among the masses of the working class explaining the great need of fighting against the use of child labor.

11. The daily struggle of the trade unions acquires a special significance where it concerns both individual and general interests of the working youths. The trade unions must take the leadership of the evermore violent struggles of the working youth into their own hands. The conference condemns those cases when certain organs of revolutionary trade unions fail to extend the necessary assistance to the struggling young workers; but went even so far as to take action against the independent strikes of the working youth. The revolutionary trade unions must give every possible assistance and support to the independent strikes of the young workers, and must lead them on the higher level developing them into a general strike of the workers of the given industry.

When the young workers declare independent strikes to fight for their own interests, being compelled to take this step by the absence of trade unions or by the refusal of the yellow trade unions (China) to take part in the struggle for the interests of the young workers, or by the refusal of the trade

unions that are led by reformists (India, Japan)—their strike must be given every possible assistance by the revolutionary trade unions.

12. The Pan-Pacific Trade Union conference, taking into consideration the tremendous political significance and the necessity of organized struggle against the exploitation of child labor and for the defence of the economic interests of children—advocates the organization of special groups for children in the trade unions; the task of these will be the organization of entertainments for children, their cultural education, the struggle for their economic interests and their education according to the principles of class struggle.

13. Taking into consideration the importance of organizing the young agrarian proletariat and the young workers employed in home industries, the conference of the Pan-Pacific Trade Unions demands that special attention should be directed towards the organization of these most backward and least organized section of the workers.

14. The Pan-Pacific Conference of Trade Unions accepts the following program of the demands for young workers and children which should be fought for by the trade unions in the countries bordering the Pacific:

(1) Child labor must be abolished. The employment of children under 14 years of age should be prohibited. The drafting of children for work in factories by labor agents and other representatives of the owners should be forbidden.

(2) Equal right to trade union and political activity for young and adult workers.

All decrees according to which young workers are denied the right of trade union and political activity should be annulled. Young workers should be drawn into all political and economic struggles, and should enjoy the full right to strike.

(3) Equal wages for equal labor. The conditions of labor and rates of wages of the young workers must be regulated in the same way as the wages of adult workers on the basis of collective agreements.

Young workers should be employed only six hours a day and should enjoy a yearly leave of four weeks.

(4) Young workers less than 20 years of age are not to be employed in work harmful to their health.

Night work and accord work of workers under 18 years of age should be forbidden. The sweating system for young workers should be abolished.

(5) Fines and punishments of young workers should be prohibited (deductions of wages, bodily punishment); violations of the Child Labor Protection Laws are to be fined.

(6) A two years' apprenticeship should be established and compulsory board and lodging with the bosses abolished. Bodily punishments should be prohibited. The use of apprentices for work not connected with their profession should not be allowed. Individual agreements on training should be annulled. A sliding scale of wages for the time of the training of apprentices to be instituted. The workers and the represen-

tatives elected by the apprentices themselves must exercise strict control on the institution of apprenticeship.

(7) A weekly day of rest should be fixed.

(8) The use of child labor in industries that are harmful to health, in hard labor, in underground work, in mines and on dangerous machinery should be prohibited.

(9) Young workers should be given the possibility of receiving professional and technical training.

(10) The Pan Pacific Trade Union Conference decides to set up a commission of young workers as part of the Pan-Pacific Secretariat. The Conference charges the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat with the task of concretely working out the questions raised by the conference concerning the working conditions of juvenile and child labor, and to organize in all of its press organs special studies on questions dealing with labor conditions of juvenile and child labor.



From left to right: *Losiev, from Soviet Buriat-Mongolia; Loktiev, Council of T. U. of Soviet Far East — Delegates to the Second PPTUS Conference held in Vladivostok August 15-22, 1929.*

Immediate Tasks of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat

I.

THE Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference reaffirms the Economic Program adopted by the First Conference in Hankow, May 20th, 1927, which declared as follows:

(1) "In all the colonial and semi-colonial countries, we witness an unlimited exploitation of labor. The working day is as long as sixteen and eighteen hours; the workers slave away the whole year round without holiday or vacation; the wages received by the workers do not secure for them even the barest existence; there exists no labor legislation whatever to protect the workers; in many of these countries corporal punishment is still practised, etc., etc."

(2) Women and children are subjected to extremely inhuman exploitation. Their wages are considerably lower than those of the male workers; they often receive less than one dollar a month for the very same work performed by men. They work as long as men, and because of their physical weakness and defenseless state they are very often subjected to insults and corporal punishment. In China, Indonesia, India, Corea, Indo-China and on the islands of the Pacific Ocean the very same conditions prevail as prevailed in the early period of primitive capitalist accumulation. At the same time the cruel and brutal exploitation is intensified by a highly developed system of racial oppression on the part of the imperialist powers.

(3) National capitalism which is developing in all the colonial countries takes advantage of the system of exploitation introduced by the imperialists and cloak the unheard-of slavery with patriarchal and nationalistic phraseology. The imperialist and national bourgeoisie have formed a strong united front against the most elementary economic demands of the workers by force and cunning they prevent the rising of the living standard of the toiling masses.

(4) This condition by which the cheap slave-labor power is applied to an ever-greater extent because of the phenomenal profits it brings, causes one section of the working class to be turned and used against another section of the working class. The bourgeoisie, in investing capital in colonial industries and in building factories and shops, not only pursues the aim of reaping high profits, but also that of lowering the living and working standards of the workers in the capitalist countries. This they achieve by exploiting the cheap labor of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

(5) This difference in living and working conditions puts the greatest obstacles in the way of creating a united front of all the workers of the different races and nationalities of the Pacific. These obstacles and difficulties are increased and complicated by the bourgeois ideological influence over the masses, which encourages racial hatred and prejudices in respect to the colored races which are considered "inferior." These artificially-created prejudices are intended by the imperialists and capitalists to render an understanding and agreement between the exploited of all races against their exploiters impossible.

In order to put an end to such a state of affairs, in order to do away with restrictive legislation directed against colored labor, in order to deprive the imperialist-bourgeoisie of their most important weapon which is used to lower the standard of living of the working class, and in order to liberate the toiling masses in the colonial countries from medieval slavery, the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference hereby decides to carry on a determined struggle in all colonial and semi-colonial countries for the following ten demands:

1. Introduction of the 8-hour day.
2. Introduction of a regular, continuous 42-hour weekly rest for all workers.

3. Introduction of social insurance in case of illness, accident, incapacitation and unemployment. The whole burden of social insurance to be borne by employers and government.

4. Prohibition of night work for women. Eight weeks of paid vacation before, and eight weeks after confinement.

5. Absolute prohibition of sale and purchase of children for purposes of exploitation. Prohibition of child labor for all persons under 14 years.

6. Equal wages for equal work.

7. Freedom of organization; freedom of assembly and the press; freedom to organize and carry on strikes.

8. Introduction of a Labor Inspection whose organs are to be elected by the trade unions.

9. Abolition of corporal punishment, fines, the practise of docking off wages or of paying wages with products from factory stores.

10. The organization of labor pickets for struggle against fascism and blacklegging.

II.

The Second Conference declares that the struggle for the 8-hour day must now be supplemented by the slogan of "The seven-hour day," which is already achieved for a large section of the workers of the Soviet Union. The following points must be added to the program:

1. The establishment of a minimum wage in each country, and constant struggle to raise this minimum to the level of the highest standard obtaining in the Pacific.

2. Absolute equality of working conditions for all workers of different races and nationalities working in the same enterprises.

3. The abolition of forced labor and of forcible recruiting of labor, as it is practised by French imperialism on Indo-China, by Dutch imperialism in Indonesia; and the abolition of contract labor which makes strikes impossible and ties the worker to the employer as a slave to his master. Struggle against the slavery methods of French imperialism in Indo-China (forcible transportation of coolies from Tonkin to the New Hebrides, etc.), also against corporal punish-

ment and the tortures practised by the imperialists against the workers of all colonial countries.

III.

The Conference declares that one of the first tasks of the trade unions, especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, is the systematic training of new cadres of leaders in economic struggles, taking into consideration the best experience of the national and international movements. Especially is it necessary that the questions of strike strategy, of independent leadership of conflicts with the capitalists shall be studied. The conference emphasizes the necessity and great importance of creating in every strike and in every economic conflict special leading organs (strike committees, anti-lockout committees, etc.) elected by all workers, men, women and youths, involved in the struggle, and serve to draw in the masses to active participation. The strike committees must conduct the struggles in such manner as to dissolve the "Yellow" and governmental organizations among the workers, and break up all so-called conciliation schemes and compulsory arbitration, brought forward by the capitalist agents in order to strangle the working class struggle. Struggle against the indirect forms of forced labor (poll taxes, house taxes, etc., designed to force native peasants on to the capitalist plantations).

IV.

The Conference recognizes that in the different countries of the Pacific the utmost variety prevails in the stage of development of trade unions, in economic development of industry and in forms of imperialist oppression and the struggle for national liberation. This variety of conditions reflects itself in putting different phases of our general program into the foreground of practical struggle. The Secretariat is charged, as one of its principal duties, to maintain and establish contact with the organizations in each country, and work out in connection with them, concrete directives for the development of the programs of economic struggle, for the solution of political and organizational problems and for concentrating attention in each

country upon the most important and pressing questions of the moment.

V.

The Second Pan-Pacific Trades Union Conference, approving the economic program, passed by the First Conference in Hankow, declares that the fight for these demands is part and parcel of the general fight for the common aims and tasks, decided upon by the first and second Conference of the Pan-Pacific Trade Unions. The work of the class labor organizations in the Pacific must be permeated with the spirit of internationalism. It is necessary to mobilize the masses of the colonies and imperialist countries for a decisive and irreconcilable fight for national and social liberation of the exploited peoples and exploited classes in the countries of the Pacific. Such a class organization, as

the Pan-Pacific TU Secretariat, must co-ordinate and connect its struggle with those organizations in the various countries and with the international organizations, such as the Latin-American Confederation and the RILU, which have as their aims and are really carrying out a decisive struggle against imperialism, against racial barriers, against colonial oppression and exploitation of man by man. The Second Pan-Pacific TU Conference will call upon all organizations affiliated to the PPTUS to co-ordinate all of their activities in the fight for the immediate and general demands of the working class with all the organizations, which recognize the principles of the class struggles and which pursue the same aims and tasks as the PPTUS.



A group of delegates to the Second PPTUS Conference, held in Vladivostok August 15-22, 1929, fraternizing with the Red Army on the Manchurian border near Pogradichnaya.

Resolution of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference on the Question of Women's Labor

WOMEN'S labor is being widely employed by imperialist and national capital in industry and in big agricultural enterprises in the countries of the Pacific. As the cheapest labor power thrown on the market by the peasantry in the Pacific countries, which is being proletarianized, woman's labor as the cheapest labor power is subjected to the most terrible exploitation.

The carrying out of capitalist rationalization and the preparation of the capitalists of all countries for new wars leads to an increase in employment of unskilled women and to an intensification of exploitation of the working class as a whole, and women in particular, worsening the general conditions of labor and increasing the already great reserves of unemployed. Capitalist exploitation of women in the Pacific countries, as well in the East as a whole, where remnants of feudal customs still prevail is worsened by the complete lack of any rights for women in the political field and in home life. In connection with this, it must be stated that the revolutionary trade unions in the Pacific countries have not carried on sufficient work among the women workers. The revolutionary unions underestimate the importance of women workers in industry and the need of organizing the broad masses of women workers and of drawing them into the general class struggle of the working class for the immediate economic demands of the working women. This struggle must be connected with the general political tasks, with the fight against imperialism and new imperialist wars. All this, considering the present day international situation, is of great importance.

The percentage of women workers employed in industry and in capitalist plantations in the Pacific countries reached in re-

cent years from 40 to 50 percent of, and in some industries (textile, silk, and on plantations)—up to from 70 to 80 percent.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the most ruthless exploitation of women workers is taking place, and the practise of signing contracts, which bind women workers to the place of employment for certain terms and for a miserly wage, leads to conditions bordering on slavery. On the other hand, wages of women in the colonies are only a small fraction of the wages received by men and women workers in the capitalist countries. The long working hours, reaching from 14 to 15 hours a day, along with the complete lack of any protection of the labor of women and protection of maternity and the unsanitary conditions of work,—lead to a high percentage in the number of sicknesses and deaths among women workers.

The carrying out of capitalist rationalization at the present time leads to still greater exploitation, to a decrease in wages, to worsening of the general labor conditions, to an increase in the already high percentage of deaths among women workers.

The spontaneous participation of great masses of women workers in the strike struggles of recent years is steadily growing. In Japan, we have the strike of textile workers in the years 1923, 1925, 1927: the active participation of women in a number of strikes in Tokyo (1925-1927), which were carried out and led by women workers.

In spite of the growing participation of women in the strike movement, women workers in Japan are very weakly organized in the trade unions (12,000 women are members in the trade unions; the total number of women in industry is 308,900); the majority of them are textile workers, organized in the reformist unions.

Still greater in extent, activity and heroism was the participation of women workers in the revolutionary struggles of recent years in China; in the economic and national-emancipation movements. Thousands of women workers participated in the movement, particularly in Shanghai, Canton, Tientsin, etc. Their historical role can be judged by the uprisings in Shanghai and Canton in 1927, and by their great heroism shown in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, the traitorous Chinese bourgeoisie and the Kuomintang. This led to the great number of victims among women workers when white terror began to reign. During the revolutionary upheaval in China, the number of organized women workers had greatly increased. In 1927 in the four most important provinces there were 325,000 organized women workers.

In British India recently we also notice the growth in the participation of women workers in the strike movement. In the strike of the textile workers (1928-1929) thousands of women alongside the men, participating in strike committees and in picketing. Nevertheless, great numbers of women workers in India are not organized and the greatest part of women workers (including the most exploited, employed in plantations), are not drawn into the class struggle.

In the uprisings of 1926 in Indonesia, in the labor movement of Korea, and in the strikes in the Philippines, there has been witnessed the spontaneous participation of broad masses of women workers unorganized in most cases.

While the organizational and ideological influence of revolutionary class organizations upon the industrial female workers and working masses in general is as yet quite insufficient, the imperialist and national bourgeoisie strives for influence on the most backward masses of working women by means of reformist and centrist trade unions, different women's leagues and various other organizations. In order to cope with these efforts of the reformists who organize the working women into special women's leagues

and societies which isolate them from the general class proletarian movement, we should carry on systematic and efficient work among the broad unorganized masses of the working women.

4. To secure the basis for their agitation and propaganda work for the drawing of the broad masses of working women into the trade unions, the revolutionary organizations have to work out in detail and make popular a special programme of demands concerning the essential social, economic and general working conditions of the working women. In view of the difference in the living and working conditions in different countries these demands have to be worked out correspondingly and put forth in the time of economic struggles of the working class. The following are the most important and basic demands:

Programme of demands:

Economic:

1. Equal wages for equal work irrespective of sex and nationality.
2. The 7-hour working day in industry, and 8-hour day in rural economy, a weekly day of rest and a yearly leave of absence with regular payment.
3. Abolition of corporal punishment for the working women.
4. Complete abolition of night work for women. An active enforcement of such abolition.
5. Prohibition of employment of women in harmful enterprises, underground and by dangerous machinery.
6. Inspection of sanitary conditions in factories, workshops and factory hostels.
7. Motherhood protection. Eight weeks' paid leave before and eight weeks after confinement and free medical assistance at the expense of the enterprise.
8. The establishing of nurseries for the children of the working women in enterprises at the expense of employers.
9. Abolition of labor contracts for women.
10. Political and legal equality for woman workers.

11. Abolition of different religious and daily-life restrictions for women.

Besides that, it is necessary to work out a series of special demands with regard to the needs of women workers employed in industry in different countries, for instance, against prison regime of factory hostels in Japan, against cruel treatment, etc. The immediate and fundamental tasks of the Pacific trade unions amongst the women workers for the time to come is the organizing of women into revolutionary trade unions.

The trade unions should carry on:

a) Organization of broad masses of industrial and rural women workers on the basis of unified general class trade unions. The present isolation of women proletariat in the East must be brought to an end.

b) The drawing in of the women workers should be effected in the very enterprise, through special work by a comrade, preferably by a woman, from the rank of the revolutionary shop nucleus or shop committee.

c) In order to more successfully draw women workers into the unions, it is necessary to put out demands of especial interest to the women workers in general, and to the given enterprises in particular.

d) Women workers should be elected to all leading trade union organs from top to bottom on an equal footing with men.

e) The organization of trade union work among women workers can be successful only when we recognize the great importance of this work and create a special cadre of militants, able to carry on this work.

f) Propaganda for the admission of women into trade unions should be carried on at factory meetings. During big economic conflicts it is necessary also to call special meetings of women workers. It is very useful to call from time to time special conferences of women workers, organized as well as unorganized.

g) Taking into consideration the low level of cultural and political development of the broad masses of women workers in the countries of the Pacific the great percentage of illiterates and semi-literates, the

revolutionary trade unions must pay special attention to work out special forms of propaganda methods of agitation, and cultural work among women workers. Educational work must become one of the most important methods of drawing women workers into the trade unions.

The organization of workers' clubs, wherever possible, is one of the best methods of drawing in women workers. In these clubs it is necessary to organize special lectures, courses and schools for women workers, corners and rooms; it is not advisable to organize special and separate women's clubs.

The most active women should be drawn into the work of the clubs, and into the workers' correspondence movement. The trade union press should devote special articles to the question of women's labor and to the demands of women workers.

h) The active drawing of the masses of women workers into the strike struggle requires various forms, but the most important form is the participation of women workers in all committees, preparing and leading the strike struggle, in strike committees, in picket committees, etc.

The trade unions should counteract every attempt aimed at considering a strike for women's demands as a pure women's strike. Every strike in an enterprise is a strike of all workers of the given enterprise whatever the demands may be.

The trade unions should struggle against all attempts of a capitalist making use of old survivals in the matter of interrelations between man and man in the oriental countries to crush the united front of proletariat, which survivals lessen the activity of women in the cause of a general class struggle.

The trade unions should carry on the struggle against strike breaking on the part of women in the time of strikes which frustrates the class struggle of the proletariat.

The trade unions should pay attention to drawing the women into the struggle against unemployment, on equal footing with men.

For the purposes of organizational guidance among the women in revolutionary trade unions it is necessary:

a) For every shop committee or revolutionary trade union nucleus or for every group of enterprises to appoint a special comrade, if possible a woman, for conducting the work among women workers.

b) The industrial trade unions also appoint a special comrade heading a commission.

c) The same commissions are to be organized at the industrial confederations of trade unions.

d) Ideological guidance is to be placed into the hands of revolutionary executives of trade unions before whom the above named committees are responsible.

e) The committees should form bodies of active representatives of most important branches of industry and biggest enterprises; the body of active workers is to participate in the activity of commission and performs some specific tasks.

f) The scope of the activity of such commissions should include: actual working out of programmes of demands for women workers, participation in strike leadership, in conducting educational activity among women workers, active participation in cultural, economic and organizational activity of trade unions, in convoking and working out agenda for women workers conference in collecting materials and data on working and living conditions of working women, on their needs and demands, their feelings etc., selecting the most revolutionary elements from rank and file woman workers, publishing, distributing and popularization of leaflets, pamphlets, newspapers, etc., among women workers. The commission works under the control of executive committees of the trade unions and is responsible to them.

The work in reformist unions.

The adherents of revolutionary minority of reformist unions should conduct a systematic activity among the woman workers, members of unions; in order to win them for their own camp. Here it is espe-

cially necessary to begin from the very bottom of an enterprise. Where the reformist unions have women's sections and commissions we should work in those organizations, keeping a proper political line and disclosing at every opportunity the reformist actions of the leaders. It is of great importance, too, to take part in conferences of woman workers, convened by reformist unions in order to struggle for all conciliatory attempts, for a correct political line. The work among the woman workers of those unions is very complicated and requires working out a special plan of action, taking into consideration the surroundings, yet it is the more necessary as in many unions (Japan) the number of woman workers organized into the reformist unions is far greater than that of the members of revolutionary unions.

The work in women's leagues and societies.

The work among the woman workers of certain branches of industry, who were drawn into, strictly speaking petty-bourgeois women's and feminist leagues (Japan, India), special women's societies of mutual help (such as waitress' union, union of petty clerks of Japan, etc.) and into every other women's supposed-to-be-"non-party" societies, pursuing the ends of narrow feminist pacifist, chauvinist, nationalistic or religious character (Y.M.C.A.) in China, Federation of Buddhists in Japan, numbering more than a million of women members, women section of national party "Sarekat Islam" in Indonesia, etc.

These organizations should be fought with all energy, it is necessary to struggle against the influence of their ideology on the masses of women workers, to disclose the cases of their conciliatory politics, pseudo-pacifism, and, in many cases utter reactionary nature of those societies pointing out to the women workers that the only way of getting political and civil rights lies in the participation in the revolutionary struggle of their class.

International Agencies of Imperialism

1. The last imperialist world war, has brought about a deep-going organic crisis in world capitalism. It has at the same time wrought deep-going and organic changes in the relation of classes; it has intensified the class struggle not only in the individual capitalist countries, but also internationally. The creation and constant growth and development of the USSR, the awakening of hundreds of millions of oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples against the imperialist yoke (China, India, Corea, etc.), the growing internationalization of the class struggle and of the class-consciousness of the working masses throughout the world, the existence and activities of such truly international labor organizations as the Red International of Labor Unions, the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, the Latin-American Trade Union Confederation, etc.—all of these facts compel the bourgeoisie and the various imperialist governments to seek new, more modern methods of combating the growing activation of the international working class, and newer weapons for counteracting the activities of such organizations as the PPTUS.

2. While in the individual capitalist countries the capitalist class with the combined force of its State apparatus, the press, the pulpit and military and police, do their utmost to keep the workers "in their place" (from "democratic" England and Australia, with their anti-trade union laws, Crimes Acts, etc.—to the openly fascist Italy, Spain, etc.) the leading imperialist powers co-operate in the creation and development of special organs, or support those already created by the reformists, whose function it is to mislead, disorganize and demoralize international working class forces. Such organs are for example (a) the International Labor Office (Geneva); (b) the Amsterdam Trade Union International; (c) the Pan-American Federation of Labor and the proposed Pan-Asiatic Labor Conference; (d) the British Empire Labor Conferences; (e) the Institute of Pacific Relations (Honolulu); (f)

the Spanish-American Trade Union Confederation, etc.

3. In view of the fact that all these organizations seek to win over to their side the labor movement in the various countries of the Pacific, and in some of these countries (e. g. Australia) they have actually succeeded in getting official trade union representatives to attend their conferences, the Second Conference of the PPTUS considers it necessary to characterize each of these agencies in order to warn the workers of the Pacific not to lend themselves to the pernicious anti-labor plans and designs carried out under the flag of labor by the imperialists.

a) The International Labor Office (Geneva) is nothing more or less than the open agency of the imperialist League of Nations. Its original function immediately after the war, when the revolutionary wave was at its height and the position of capitalism very dangerous, was: to create among the working masses the illusion that the ruling classes were ready to fulfill their promises made by them during the war, i. e., promises of justice and reform. Now, after 10 years of existence barren of all benefits to the workers, the I.L.O. has sufficiently unmasked itself before the workers of the world. It was, is, and remains the tool of the imperialists. In these circumstances it becomes the duty of the Chinese, Indian and Japanese workers constantly to unmask the so-called "labor" representatives to Geneva, who are sent there at the expense of the capitalist governments and who speak at the I.L.O. sessions in the name of the organized workers of China, Japan, India, etc. We greet the repeated decisions of the New South Wales Labor Council to have nothing to do with the ILO, and urge the ACTU to follow this example. The purpose of the recent visit of the ILO director, Albert Thomas, to the Far East, was not only to strengthen the reformist position generally, but specifically to establish ILO offices in India and China,

to serve as the organizing centers of imperialist influence among the colonial toiling masses. This work is being conducted in alliance with the Kuomintang murderers of Chinese workers, and with the national reformists and bourgeoisie of India and other countries.

b) The Amsterdam Trade Union International, which very modestly styles itself "the only true" trade union International, very openly and cynically defends the Geneva Labor Office. It approves of the activities of all the enumerated agencies of the bourgeoisie, for the simple reason that it itself fulfills its historical function of labor agent for capitalism, for the purpose of stabilizing and saving capitalism. Its basic policies are those of class collaboration ("industrial peace", etc.), the stifling of all militant activities of the working class in the struggle against capitalism, the mobilization of all forces for the stabilization and perpetuation of capitalism. It fights openly against every attempt to organize the international working class; it fosters national and racial prejudices, and welcomes the division of the workers along national and continental lines. The Amsterdam International fights against the national independence movements in the colonial countries, and together with the imperialists it seeks to divert the attention of the colonial workers from the struggle against imperialism. The imperialist character of the Amsterdam International was glaringly revealed when the refusal of this organization to aid the Chinese Revolution and the revolutionary trade unions in China, and in their fraternization with Chiang-Kai-Shek and other hangmen of the Chinese workers and peasants. Of late, the Amsterdam International is striving to get a foothold in the countries of the Pacific. A very fitting answer was given to these attempts by the NSW Labor Council in its open letter to the Amsterdam International (1928). The workers of China, India and Japan know too well the counter-revolutionary role of Amsterdam to fall for such bait.

c) Different in form, but essentially the same in purpose, aims and character, are such organizations as the Pan-American Federa-

tion of Labor and the proposed Asiatic Labor Conference.

The purpose and function of these organizations is simply to split and isolate the workers of one or another continent from the International labor movement, and to carry out the more easily the specific plans of this or that imperialist power.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor is the agency of American imperialism, created with the aid of the Gompers—Woll clique of the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of making the working class of Central and South America more docile and amenable to plans of American imperialist penetration. The Latin-American Trade Union Confederation is a splendid answer to such an attempt.

The proposed Pan-Asiatic Labor Conference is sponsored by the Japanese Gompers—Bunji Suzuki. In this effort he is aided directly by the same Japanese imperialist government, which aids Suzuki to smash the militant forces of the labor movement at home. The Asiatic Labor Conference is to do in Asia what the Pan-American Federation of Labor is trying to do in America. The reformist trade union leaders of India, while combatting the Pan-Pacific TU Secretariat and preventing affiliation of the Indian trade union movement with the PPTUS, readily fall for Suzuki's Pan-Asiatic scheme.

d) A special tool of British imperialism revealed in the British Empire Labor Conferences, which are held in London from time to time under the auspices of the trade union and labor imperialists (Henderson, Purcell and Co.). The purpose of these Conferences is to utilize the idea of labor solidarity and the prestige of the British proletariat among the toiling masses of the colonies in order to perpetuate the rule of British imperialism in the colonies and dominions.

e) The Institute of Pacific Relations (Honolulu) is a more recent creation. It is purely a bourgeois outfit, under the domination of American imperialist pacifists. Its sphere of work is the Pacific. And under the mantle of "pacifism" and "friendly relations among the people of the Pacific," an attempt is being made to drag in as many

labor organizations of the Pacific countries as possible, in order to open new channels for the dissemination of the bourgeois pacifist dope. At their congresses appear "unofficial" representatives of American, British and Japanese imperialism, who propound their imperialist doctrines to the YMCA secretaries and similar "representatives" of China, Corea, Formosa, Hawaii, Philippines, etc.

It is with regret that we learn that the Melbourne Labor Council (Australia) has financed and sent a delegate to this purely capitalist outfit, at a time when certain of the trade union leaders in Melbourne fought bitterly against the affiliation of the ACTU to the PPTUS. We warn the workers of the Pacific against this new agency of American imperialism.

f) The Spanish-American T.U. Confederation is a recently formed organization, which as yet exists only on paper, and which is an attempt on the part of the Amsterdam International to extend its influence in Latin America, where it possesses only one affiliated organization—the Argentine Confederation of Labor. In creating this organization, the

Amsterdam International, working in conjunction with the Geneva Labor Office, hopes to utilize the Spanish Trade Union Federation in order to establish contact with the reformist trade unions in Latin America, and thereby to counteract the growing influence and success of the Latin-American Trade-Union Confederation formed recently at a congress held in Montevideo. The Latin-American Trade-Union Confederation has already succeeded to a large extent in rallying around it the militant trade unions of Latin America. For a characterization of this organization, it suffices to recall the fact that one of its founders is a certain Dr. Manriquez, agent of the General Electric Company of Central America and president of the Chamber of Deputies of the Venezuelan dictator Gomez.

5. The second PPTU Conference calls upon the workers of the Pacific to combat all these agencies of capitalism and imperialism and to rally to the PPTUS, the only trade union organization in the Pacific, which has and carries out a consistently militant working class program and which leads the struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

Compulsory Arbitration and So-Called "Industrial Peace"

(Adopted at the first Secretariat meeting after the Conference).

COMPULSORY arbitration originated in Australia. Only after the war was compulsory arbitration introduced into Europe. Experience, in Australia as well as in Europe and America has shown that the systems of compulsory arbitration is an important and effective weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie for disorganizing the trade union movement and for weakening the economic struggles of the working class. In this respect the Australian experience is particularly instructive because in this country compulsory arbitration has for decades received paeans of praise from the reformists and the Labor Party, who advertised it as an important achievement of the proletariat. While during the pre-war period the Australian working class experienced more than once the disorganization of their economic struggles through the arbitration courts, this experience has been enriched during and since the war by a large series of facts, which make it clear that the whole system of arbitration, from top to bottom, serves the interests of the capitalist class. Whenever the workers were in a militant mood and the employers themselves were convinced that some concessions had to be made to the workers, the arbitration courts reduced such concessions to a minimum.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat considers as one of the most important tasks of all its affiliated organizations, an energetic and systematic struggle against compulsory arbitration. Only the direct struggle of the working masses through strong and consolidated trade union organizations based on the class struggle and on militant tactics, can gain for the workers the realization of their demands. That is why all the sections of

the PPTUS must carry on a consistent and systematic struggle under the slogan: "*away with compulsory arbitration*" in its various forms, including the so-called Conciliation Tribunals. The logical consequence of compulsory arbitration is the theory and practice of "industrial peace", the essence of which is the voluntary renunciation of the class struggle by the workers and the surrender of the labor movement into the hands of the ruling class. The rich experience furnished by industrial peace in England, Germany and in other countries show clearly that under the banner of "industrial peace" there is carried on the most intensive capitalist offensive on the existing working and living conditions of the working masses.

Under the mask of industrial peace the capitalist class utilizes the trade union leaders of many countries in its own class interests.

Those who stand for industrial peace are against the class struggle and help to substitute the interests of the bourgeoisie for the interests of the working class. This hypocritical and anti-labor policy, carried out in many countries by the reformists, must meet with the most determined and ruthless opposition on the part of every class-conscious worker and every working class organization. All hypocritical phrases about "peace in industry", all empty talk about "harmony between labor and capital" should be unmasked as mere capitulation before our class enemies. This does not mean of course that the labor organizations refuse any and all negotiations with the employers. Negotiations are possible and even necessary in the course of the class struggle for the purpose of concluding a definite and temporary agreement for a

short period. But negotiations between two constantly fighting armies (a sort of temporary armistice in the form of a collective agreement, which enables us to collect our forces), are not to be confused with complete disarmament and surrender to our class enemy.

That is why the struggle against industrial peace constitutes an organic part of the pro-

gramme and tactics of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

Tyn Yu-Lin (Chairman)
Browder (Gen. Secretary)

Australian Delegation:

F. Roels
F. Walsh
P. Geo. Hannett

Important Announcement

Thru arrangements just completed the WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, 39 East 125th Street, New York City, becomes the American distributor for the Pan-Pacific Monthly. All subscriptions or orders for bundles of this magazine should be forwarded to them at the address above mentioned.

THE PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY.

The Tasks of the Trade Unions of Australia

1. In the struggles against the offensive of capital of the past two years, the Australian working class and particularly the trade union movement have revealed all the strong and weak points in their own ranks. The Australian working class has displayed a splendid spirit of class solidarity and fighting tenacity, once they are aroused and forced into a fight. The recent timber workers' struggle is a classical example. However, at the same time, the weaknesses of the Australian trade union movement have also been clearly revealed. These are of two-fold nature: organizational and ideological.

Organizationally, the Australian trade union movement is divided both nationally (ACTU, AWU, Independent unions), and industrially. There exist hundreds of autonomous craft unions, with dozens of them competing with each other and fighting each other in one and the same industry or shop. Industrial unionism is practically non-existent; factory and shop committees are equally rare.

Ideologically we find a certain section of the Australian trade union movement steeped in illusions of class peace, arbitration, on white chauvinism, which is nurtured by capitalists and imperialists and their agents: and a very dangerous racial prejudice based not only on the fear of economic competition from lower-paid labor from this or that country, but also the false doctrine of the superiority of the white or "Nordic" race, a doctrine which is deliberately being fostered by the imperialists in their own interests and in preparation of coming imperialist wars.

2. The experience from the struggles which the Australian working class has carried out during the last two years against the capitalist offensive, (which was carefully and planfully developed by the Australian capitalist class)—is already beginning to show some encouraging signs for the future. The

ruthlessness with which the Australian capitalist class have launched their offensive (anti-Trade Union Law, Crimes Act, Transport Act, Beeby Award, Lukin Award, attack on the miners, ect.) could not but shake large sections of the Australian working class from their faith in strictly "constitutional" and "democratic" methods, from their belief in and dependence on the "sense of justice" of this or that Arbitration Court judge. The best proof of this was furnished in the truly historic action of the NSW timber workers, when they burned the ballots of the Arbitration Court together with the effigy of Judge Lukin also when the mockery of the Industrial peace conference was brought to a well-deserved end by the more advanced section of the trade union movement.

The dawning class-consciousness of the Australian working class also finds its expression in the affiliation of the ACTU to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, in the splendid fight of the more advanced elements in the ACTU against the reactionaries, who are blinded by their own craft spirit, by their national and racial prejudices against international working class solidarity, not only in words but in deeds. In this connection the Pan-Pacific TU Secretariat expresses its gratification at the action of the ACTU in formally approving their affiliation to the PPTUS, at their last National Congress, and also in their sending duly accredited representatives to take an active part in the work of the Vladivostok Conference. The ACTU executive is also to be congratulated on its efforts to counteract the despotic ban by the Bruce Government of the PPTUS Congress from being held in Australia.

3. The PPTUS is of the opinion that the ACTU can and must become the leading central body of the Australian working class. But the history of the trade union movement has taught us that this is possible

only on one condition, namely, that it must work out and base all its activities on a definite, clear and consistent program, founded on the principles of the class struggle, and fighting for the interests of the working class. Such a program is absolutely incompatible with the policy of class or industrial peace, compulsory arbitration and also so-called conciliation tribunals, etc.—which rob the trade unions of their freedom of action and deprive the workers of their most effective weapon of self-defense, namely, the right to strike. Nor is such a policy compatible with the fostering or maintaining of national or racial prejudice, which are in crying contradiction to working class solidarity and true internationalism.

4. In order that the Australian labor movement may be able to withstand the capitalist offensive and eventually take up the counter-offensive it is necessary to take energetic steps for the amalgamation of the many small craft unions into large and compact industrial unions. These industrial unions will represent a strong force only if they are formed in each enterprise, if factory and Shop Committees are elected by the workers themselves—(whether organized or unorganized) and if these committees consistently fulfill their function of defending the interests of the workers, at the same time serving as the basis for the corresponding industrial unions. Only by taking the initiative of reorganizing the Australian trade union movement on the principle of industrial unionism and Factory and Shop Committees, will the ACTU be able to become the leading organ of the Australian trade union movement.

5. However, the consolidation of the trade unions is but a first step on the way to strengthening the fighting capacity of the working masses. The organizations carry on a most ruthless struggle against class collaboration, against compulsory arbitration and against industrial peace. Only a policy based on uncompromising class struggle and aimed at the unification of the working masses against the bourgeoisie, can give positive results and lead the Australian working class out of their present difficult position.

6. The solution of the problems facing the TU movement requires most careful attention and sensitiveness to the mood of the masses and the ability to mobilize them for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Hence it is necessary on the eve of conflicts to form Strike Committees, Vigilance Committees, etc. elected by all the workers of a given enterprise and to pay special attention to the participation of the unorganized, women and youth in these struggles. Otherwise, an effective struggle against concentrated and consolidated capitalism is impossible.

Special attention must be paid to the study of the experiences of strikes and economic struggles, of the weak and strong sides in such struggles. Strict self-criticism of our own weaknesses and errors, is the best means of educating the masses and of avoiding the repetition of mistakes in new struggles.

7. The struggle against the capitalist class will be successful if the Australian trade unions get out to liquidate the reactionary clique of leaders at the head of the AWU, to organize and develop the rank and file movement within the AWU, chase the reactionary and mercenary leaders out of this organization, and unify the membership of the AWU with the entire trade union movement on the basis of industrial unionism. This work must be carried out parallel with the purging of the trade unions affiliated to the ACTU of any reactionary leaders. The greatest danger for the TU movement in Australia, as well as in other countries, is the demoralizing influence of the reactionary leaders, whether of the trade unions or the Labor Party, who carry out the policy of the bourgeoisie in our ranks. He who does not fight against these reactionaries, helps in the defeat of the labor movement and the victory of the capitalist class.

8. The ACTU which through its affiliation to the PPTUS has inaugurated a new era of working class internationalism for the Australian working class, is however, still connected, through its annual official representations, with the international "Labor" Bureau in Geneva. This organization has time and again unmasked itself as the agency of the imperialist League of Nations, for

misleading and demoralizing the workers of the world. The reports of the ACTU delegates to the Geneva Labor Office contain sufficient material to substantiate this fact. Another such agency of international capitalism and imperialism is the so-called Institute of Pacific Relations (Honolulu), with which the Melbourne Trades and Labor Council has taken up connections by sending a delegate to their recent sessions. The PPTUS urges the ACTU, in the interests of the working class of Australia and of the Pacific, to effect the severing of all connections of the Australian labor bodies with these open and disguised agencies of capitalism.

9. The struggle against the Australian bourgeoisie must be carried on parallel with the struggle against British and world imperialism and against those traditions and ideas disseminated by imperialism, which have a poisoning influence upon the workers. The most dangerous of these ideas is that of race prejudice and the false assertion that the

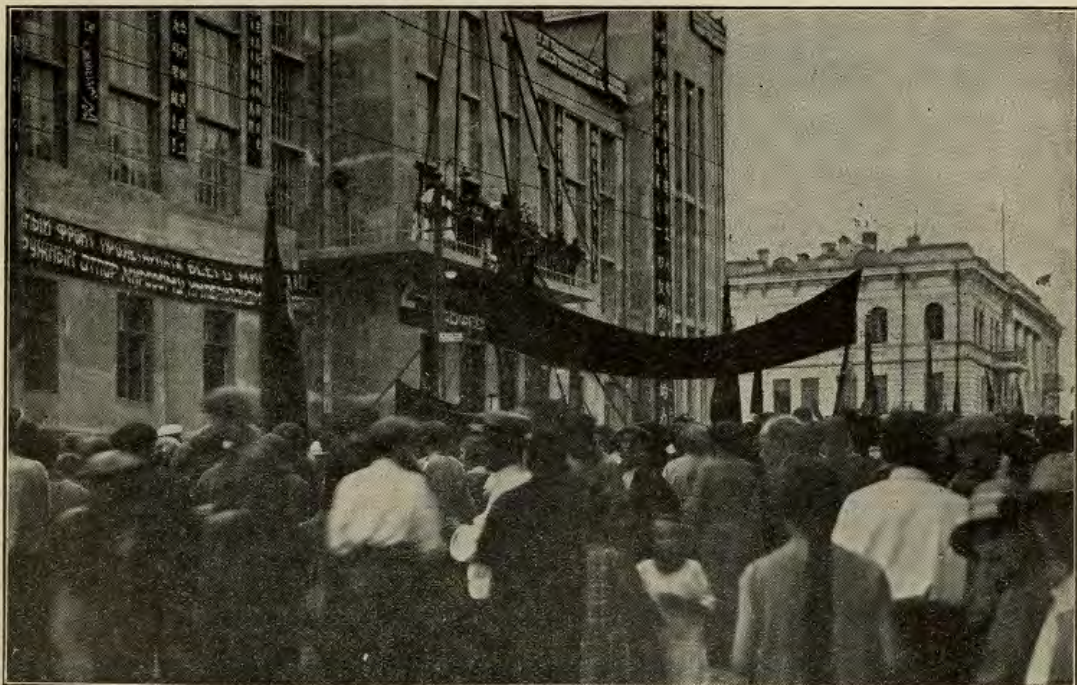
white race is superior to the colored races. On the banner of the Australian trade union movement must be inscribed the slogan: "Not race war, but class war." Under this banner it is necessary to participate actively in the work of the PPTUS and to rally the Australian TU movement to joint struggle with the international proletariat against the national and international bourgeoisie.

TING-YU-LIN (Chairman).
BROWDER (Gen. Secretary).

Australian Delegation:

F. ROELS.
F. WALSH.
G. HANNETT.

Additional Resolutions of the Conference will be printed in the next issue of PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY.



Vladivostok workers demonstrating their welcome to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference, Aug. 1929

Tools of the Capitalists Within the Filipino Labor Movement

By HARRISON GEORGE

READERS of the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY will recall that in the July issue (No. 28) an account appeared of the split in the Congreso Obrero Filipinas (Philippine Labor Congress), which was followed by the formation of the "Proletarian Labor Congress" and a struggle between the two bodies.

The article, which came from the Secretariat at Shanghai, recounted how the right-wing, with Isabelo Tejada as its leading spirit, was: (1) Opposed to the C. O. F.'s affiliation to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat which had been effective since June 1927, and favored as against such an international alliance of workers, a narrow and self-defeating nationalist-reformist isolation of the Philippine unions; (2) opposed the Unity Pact between the C. O. F. and the Chinese Laborers' Association of the Philippines as signed before the split and carried out with mutual benefit; (3) favored the Bureau of Labor of the Philippine "government" (the instrument of U. S. imperialism and the Philippine bourgeoisie) which intervenes in labor disputes invariably to break up strikes, betray the workers' interests and to propagate at all times the poisonous doctrine of class collaboration.

On the other hand, the Proletarian C. O. F. stood four-square for the P. P. T. U. S. and its basic principles: (1) Trade union unity, nationally and internationally; (2) against race prejudice and all immigration restrictions; (3) against the menace of a new imperialist war; (4) for a policy of class struggle and against class collaboration; and naturally for affiliation to the P. P. T. U. S. as the instrument for putting such principles into practice in the labor movement of the Pacific countries.

However, for two months or more, some of the leaders of the right-wing have been writing to the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY, asserting with considerable heat that the above interpretation is all wrong. They declare that they are just as much or even more devoted to the principles of the P. P. T. U. S. as is the Proletarian C. O. F., and that the split and the differences which brought it about, are solely a matter of personal dislike on their part to the Secretary of the Proletarian C. O. F., Comrade Crisanto Evangelista.

A long letter to this effect sent us from Manila by Domingo Ponce on August 4, concludes as follows:

"On reading your letter and the pages of No. 28 issue of the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY, I get the following conclusion: That you are entirely influenced by the informations given out to you by Evangelista."

Unfortunately, this is not true; for the simple reason that the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY has never received even one line from either Evangelista, personally, nor from the Proletarian C. O. F., officially. Indeed if we have any complaint against the Proletarian C. O. F., it is that it does not send sufficient information to the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY; a bad habit, it must be said which afflicts many other organizations affiliated to the P. P. T. U. S.—an attitude which should be corrected.

If, however, we suffer from the failure of the Proletarian C. O. F. to supply us with sufficient information and analyses, we have the joint service of its enemies, the right-wing and the imperialist press of Manila, though the former tells us that the latter "are

twisting the facts and information." This seems a rather ungrateful remark of the "C. O. F." right-wing leaders in view of the fact that the imperialist press of Manila constantly approves of their split, applauds its leaders as "conservatives" and attacks the Proletarian C. O. F. for being all things which imperialist press prostitutes think a colonial labor union should not be.

Domingo Ponce tries to strengthen the right-wing position on this point by reminding us, as follows:

"Kindly note that you are abroad and on the other side of the seas, you do not know the true situation of the laboring class of the country. You are simply guided by what the newspapers say. . . ."

This is the ancient argument of all opportunists against critics of their opportunism, their nationalist-reformism, that the critic is completely ignorant of the situation because he is on "the other side of the seas". This always sounds unanswerable to provincial minds, and to provincial minds only, who themselves never think as internationalists. Moreover, how do the leaders of the reactionary C. O. F., account for the fact that there are plenty of Filipino workers right in Manila, who stand with the Proletarian C. O. F. against Tejada & Co.?

For example, Cirilo Bognot wrote us on June 3, as follows:

"Evangelista and I, are now carrying on a polemic in the papers of Manila against the reactionary leaders on the question of internationalism. We are carrying on a tremendous fight against the conservative leaders. These conservatives are supported by the bourgeois politicians."

There is nothing unequivocal about the above statement, although it appears there is something wrong with its writer from what he wrote only six weeks later, on July 16, a letter in which, after quite a contrary account of the nature and scope of the split which took place on May 1, Bognot says:

"Since then (May 1) until this date, I have been making all efforts to reunite the two wings, because I see that the difference is not a question of principles, but only of personalities."*

The "tremendous fight" and the "question of internationalism" thus disappeared for Bognot between June 3 and July 16. This is all the more mysterious, seeing that on July 14, only two days before Bognot's last letter, the reactionary C. O. F. held a convention, whose reactionary decisions were correctly forecast by the news columns of the Manila "Tribune" of July 9, as follows:

"Following the severance of all connections with the Pan-Pacific Labor Union Secretariat and other radical labor societies, the Philippine Labor Congress shortly will declare a peaceful fight against all forces of labor internationalism in the islands, Secretary Cristobal of the Congress announced yesterday."

The July 14th convention measured up to this prognosis fully, the "Tribune" of July 16 (the same date as Bognot's letter) giving a summary of 16 resolutions adopted, the first one being a resolution to break away the C. O. F. from the P. P. T. U. S., and the fifth resolution being one to "sponsor stricter measures against Japanese and Chinese immigration" into the Philippines.

Notwithstanding this frontal attack on labor internationalism, Bognot found it possible to write us, on the same day, that there are no differences of principle between the old C. O. F. and the Proletarian C. O. F. What seems to be meant is that there was no

*A later letter from Bognot indicates, however, that he has finally recovered his balance and now discerns some difference of principle between the C.O.F. and the Proletarian Labor Congress. He says:

"I have arrived at the conclusion that, really, the Tejada faction is mixed up with bourgeois politics, because one day recently, they invited me to be candidate of the Democrata Party, of the bourgeoisie in the coming election. At seeing such attitude as that, what I have done is to ignore them." Bognot further tells how, in Cebu he is working to unite the unions there under the Proletarian C.O.F.

differences of principle between the reactionary C. O. F. and Cirilo Bognot.

Further, in spite of the flatly anti-P. P. T. U. S. action of the July 14 convention, Bognot writes us, and asks us to believe the following:

"Some days ago I spoke with Isabelo Tejada, Domingo Ponce and others of the second wing, asking them if they wished to affiliate to the P. P. T. U. S. All answered me 'Yes', but not in company with Evangelista. Also they are disposed to begin an intense propaganda campaign for the principles of the P. P. T. U. S., but not in company with Evangelista."

One can certainly understand from the foregoing that principles have nothing at all to do with the actions of Tejada, Ponce & Co., who, while privately asserting undying loyalty to the principles of the P. P. T. U. S., are publicly attacking its principles before the Filipino masses and searching for the flimsiest excuse to break off any remaining connection with the P. P. T. U. S.

We can only attempt to fathom the measureless capacity for deceit of Tejada, Ponce, Bognot & Co., by quoting and commenting upon some of the resolutions of their C. O. F. convention of July 14, as shown by the Manila "Tribune" of July 16. Among "resolutions approved" was:

"1. Empower the executive council of the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas to make the necessary investigation into the cause of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat's failure to communicate with the Congreso for a long time, the Congreso having been a member since 1926; and to authorize the executive council to prepare in proper form the application for separation of the Congreso from the Union."

Although containing some errors customary to news reports, this follows the line of a copy of an official communication received by the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY, dated July 6, signed by Tejada, Ponce and Cristobal, and formally protesting—"we have not re-

ceived any letter nor copies of the issues of the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY," and complaining at this because. . . "in the bottom of our hearts there lives and shall always live our sacred ideal and wishes so ardent to establish in the Philippines a Government of the Workers and Peasants."

Yet one may look in vain through the 16 resolutions of this gang taken at their convention eight days after they wrote the above, to find any mention of a government of workers and peasants, nor is there even one word spoken by them for the cause of all causes to Filipino workers—the complete and immediate independence of the Philippines!

As to not receiving the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY, that is just an ordinary lie, a poor excuse to camouflage the break away from the P. P. T. U. S., not only organizationally, but in policy. This is clear. But why, then, do these people who turn away from the P. P. T. U. S., keep soliciting "communications" and "connections" with the P. P. T. U. S.? The P. P. T. U. S. exists illegally in Shanghai, and that, it seems, explains much. What is not explained is the fact that when the Korean revolutionist, Lyuh, was in the Philippines, he foolishly went about with Tejada, Ponce & Co., was detained by U. S. imperialist authorities who held his passport and sent him to China, where he was arrested at Shanghai for having no passport, and turned over to the Japanese for prison or death. Again, what is not explained is how, with these facts in mind, Domingo Ponce could write us on July 28, as follows: "It was due to the activities of Tejada that Lyuh left the country of the Philippines without any trouble carrying along with him his passport." This is written to us "on the other side of the seas," and we are asked to believe it, but from this and other circumstances as well, we are inclined to warn everyone that connections with Tejada & Co., are taken at their own risk.

Not only is there no word in the reactionary C. O. F. program in favor of Philippine independence, but also no word of one of

the greatest menaces to the Philippine people—the danger of an imperialist war in the Pacific; nor a word defending the peasantry from evictions; nor a word for defense of the Soviet Union—the one true ally of all oppressed peoples—which was in the very hours the C. O. F. convention met, being viciously attacked by imperialist tools in Manchuria.

Among the 16 resolutions there is nothing on these vital points; but there are numerous reformist stupidities designed to distract workers from these important points; such as “more hospitals for the poor” (Why not resolutions for a fight to improve conditions that make the poor both poor and sick?), for “reduction to two years of the high school course” (Where children of the poor cannot ever go!), for “making the daily school session once a day only,” and such rot.

Then, although there is nothing for a Workers’ and Peasants’ Government, their Resolution No. 12, calls for “a clean, efficient and economic government,”—a capitalist government, of course—and undoubtedly through elevating these crooks and their superiors in the Nacionalista and Democratic capitalist parties, both sold to U. S. imperialism, to political position.

Again, Resolution No. 5: “Sponsor stricter measures against Japanese and Chinese immigration here.” This, the official action on July 14, though Ponce has the effrontery to write us on July 28:

“Neither it is true that Tejada and his group are against the Unity Pact between the C. O. F. and the Chinese Labor Association.”

None of the 16 resolutions mention the Unity Pact, and if the reactionary C. O. F. is for it, it is a queer way of exhibiting solidarity with Chinese workers in the Philippines by remaining silent on it and passing a resolution to bar Chinese immigrant workers.

About the Bureau of Labor, Resolution No. 2 sets for C. O. F. Tejada policy to be:

“To ask the Philippine legislature to enact a law making elective the post of labor commissioner in Hawaii, and providing that only members of labor organizations and unions duly recognized by the Bureau of Labor be given vote.”

So we see that Tejada & Co., do approve and seek approval of the Bureau of Labor. But that is not all, they want the Bureau of Labor to have greater powers (which it always uses against labor) and Resolution No. 14 therefore states that the C. O. F. is: “In favor of a Department of Labor.”

Again we remind the reader this was the official action of the C. O. F. on July 14, but Domingo Ponce writes us on July 28, as follows:

“It is absolutely true that all of us, including Evangelista himself, have been in favor of the Bureau of Labor formerly. But the time has changed. And as Evangelista does not favor now the Bureau of Labor, neither Tejada nor his group do the same and are not therefore under the guidance of said Bureau. That charge against the Tejada group has absolutely no ground or foundation in fact.”

What things have a foundation in fact, one certainly cannot learn from Ponce’s letters, except that some misleaders of the Philippine workers entertain the illusion that they can lie most unblushingly to workers on “the other side of the seas.”

Naturally, the question arises: Why? Why should some of the C. O. F. leaders so anxiously seek to “explain” to the P. P. T. U. S. that they “in the bottom of their hearts” are loyal to its principles, meanwhile they are doing everything against its principles and “explaining” to their honest working class rank and file members fictitious and lying excuses for breaking the last organizational bond with the P. P. T. U. S.?

The reason is that Tejada, Ponce & Co., are in a dilemma. They not only are not workers themselves, but they are bound closely in their economic interests and in their

political ambitions, to the Philippine bourgeoisie. Since the Philippine bourgeoisie has surrendered to American imperialism, so the reactionary C. O. F. "forgets" the cause of national independence. Since the Philippine bourgeoisie hates all labor solidarity, so the C. O. F. opposes unity between immigrant workers and native workers, and moves to break away from the P. P. T. U. S.

But the reactionary C. O. F. leaders are compelled to be circumspect, as the Philippine workers have learned that the P. P. T. U. S. expresses their own class aspirations and leads in the fight for national independence of all peoples oppressed by imperialism. So these leaders must "explain" to the workers how they "have made every effort" to stay with the P. P. T. U. S.; so they are compelled to deceive their followers into believing that the fault for the break does not rest upon them, but on Evangelista, on the P. P. T. U. S. itself, on anyone anywhere except on Tejada, Ponce, Bognot & Co. They must carry on a diplomatic, a very diplomatic correspondence with the P. P. T. U. S. and its organ, the PAN-PACIFIC MONTHLY. They must keep a double set of books, and stand half in the light and half in the dark, to conceal the fact that they stand with one foot in the ranks of the workers and the other in the camp of the enemy of the workers, the Philippine bourgeoisie.

But the time is past when the Philippine proletariat can be endlessly deceived. The Philippine bourgeoisie and its lackeys in the reactionary C. O. F., both dancing to the tune of American imperialism, will be exposed. And neither any persecutions which American imperialist police, helped by these traitors, may lay upon the real and loyal class leaders of the Proletarian C. O. F., nor any web of diplomatic evasions, lies and subterfuges, can prevent the growth and action of the Filipino workers and peasants movement that daily rallies larger masses of the Philippines around the banner of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

But deceiving comrades "on the other side of the seas" is not all. The C. O. F. reac-

tionaries had a strike on their hands when their convention met on July 14. Transport workers of the Pacific Commercial Company, 600 of them, whose organization is affiliated to the reactionary C. O. F., had gone on strike with wage demands, and 200 automotive workers, truck drivers, etc., of the company struck in solidarity the next day. The police chief put policemen in plain clothes to scabbing as truck drivers. The workers showed magnificent militancy on the picket line, and besieged the city hall, forcing the Municipal Council to protest to the (American imperialist) Chief of Police at the official scabbing.

But what did Tejada & Co., do for these good fighters of the working class? The Manila "Tribune" of July 16 shows the C. O. F. Resolution No. 4:

"Express general sympathy and give financial aid to the members of labor unions and organizations who are affected by the P. C. C. strike while the strike is on."

But the C. O. F. took good care to see that the strike would not remain on. The Manila "Herald," also of July 16, tells how the traitorous leader of the automotive workers, J. Romero, stood up in the meeting of strikers and declared his 200 men were going back to work, regardless of the interests of the 600 striking laborers. We will let the "Herald" tell the rest:

"The 600 shipping men were angered and caused considerable commotion until it seemed that a general free-for-all was inevitable. It was at this momentous instant that Attorney (What was an attorney doing among workers?—H. G.) Gregorio Perfecto rose above the tumult and counselled moderation. As a result, consent was given to the automotive workers to return to their post. It was said that they were not primarily concerned with the strike, anyhow, since they did not sign the memorial for an increase in wages sent to the officials of the company prior to the walkout."

This is a fine way the C. O. F. upholds the interests of the Filipino workers! No wonder Tejada and his ilk are opposed to the Proletarian C. O. F., which, based on class solidarity and with some centralized authority, would never permit such official scabbery by subordinate bodies, nor allow a lawyer to use judical palaver to justify strike-breaking and crush the militant unity of the rank and file!

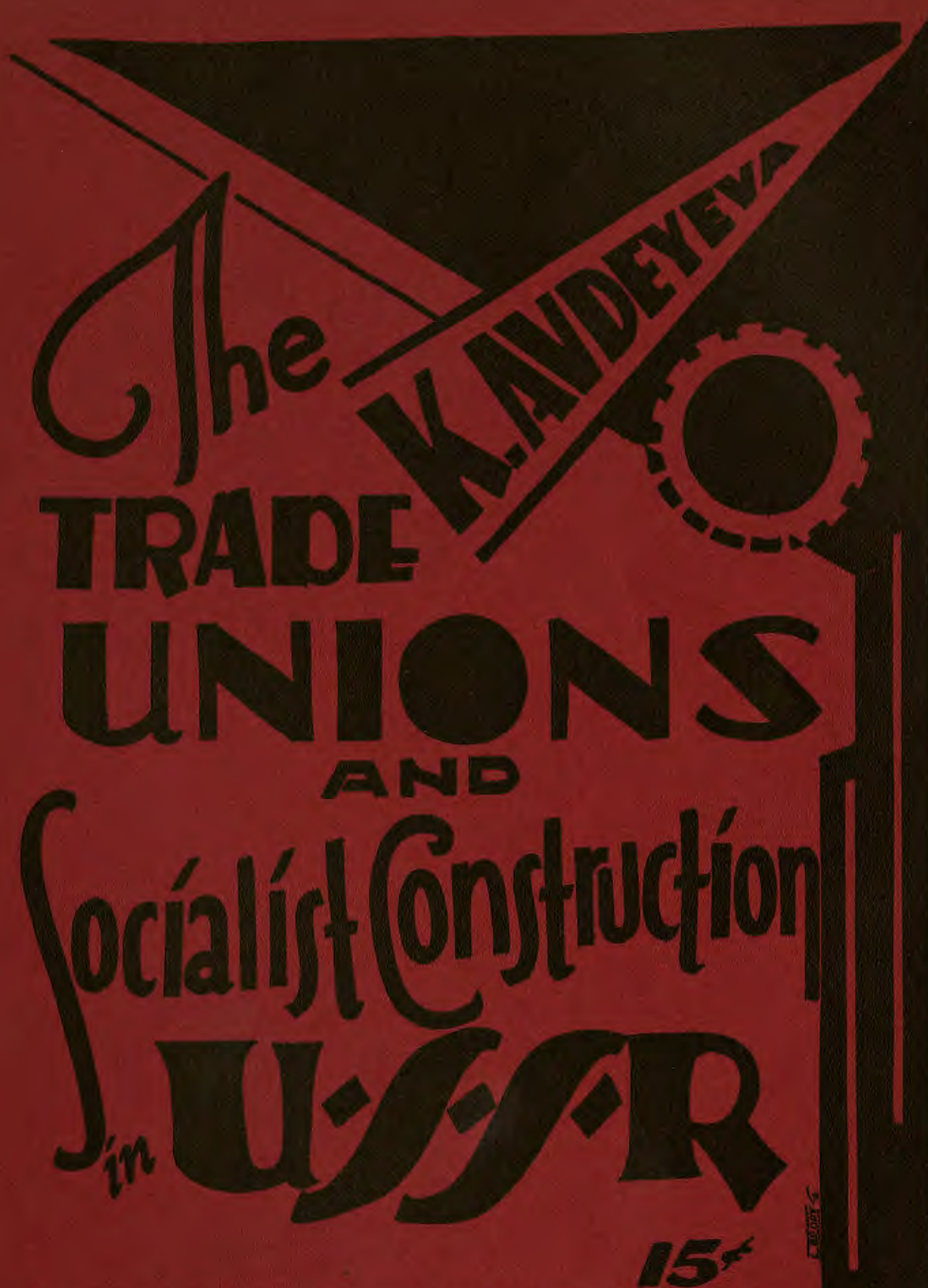
But this was only the beginning. The C. O. F. also went through the motions of "supporting" the strike all reformist traitors do. It "protested" at police scabbing—but sent its own members of the automotive division, as noted above, to do the scabbing themselves. It asserted "its desire to help organize a boycott against the company"—to which futile gesture the company replied with silent indifference.

Then, when the strike was nearly a month old, the workers having resisted with splendid spirit all attempts of H. Cruz, the director of the Bureau of Labor, to cajole them back to work. Tejada, who had been waiting for them to get tractable through starvation, advised the strikers to accept the terms which Cruz said he, Cruz, had been authorized by

the company to offer them. Always Cruz has one proviso to tack on to terms that sound attractive: "The strike must end and the men go back to work *first*."

The strikers trusted Tejada and went back to work on August 13, with the lying promise of Cruz that the company would not discriminate against any militants and would consider wage increases demanded in their "petition." But, as usual, Cruz lied, as Tejada knew he would lie. Not all strikers were reinstated, and as for the wage increase, Mr. Madsen, the company manager calmly disavowed everything Cruz had said, by remarking that "The company held this strike to be unreasonable, because of the high wage scale in effect at the time the strike was called." Thus Tejada helps the Bureau of Labor, which helps the imperialist exploiters.

But the exploited will have the last word, and, learning from these treacheries of Tejada, Ponce, Bognot & Co., that those who oppose the PPTUS do so in order to be able to betray the Filipino workers, will make clear to all traitors that those who sever connections with the P. P. T. U. S. at the same time sever connections with the workers and peasants of the Philippines.



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Extract from the Statutes of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat:

In order:

1—To carry on a joint struggle against the dangers of war between the Powers of the Pacific.

2—to counteract the imperialist dangers that menace the Chinese Revolution;

3—to help the oppressed people of the Pacific to liberate themselves from the yoke of Imperialism;

4—to fight against and remove all racial and national barriers and prejudices which still divide the exploited classes and oppressed peoples to the advantage of the exploiters and oppressors.

5—to cement and to maintain a real fraternal united front of the exploited classes in the countries of the Pacific;

6—to organize and to carry out joint actions of the exploited and oppressed people against the oppressing Powers;

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

—the representatives of the Trade union movements of Australia, China, the Philippines, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, Japan, Java, Korea, France, England and the United States of America, having gathered at the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference, herewith decide unanimously to create immediately an organ of connections, propaganda and action—this organ to be called: The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.