

# 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.