

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 Korea, 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 Korea, 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 Pogranichnaya.

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, Korea, 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

Amsterdama 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.

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

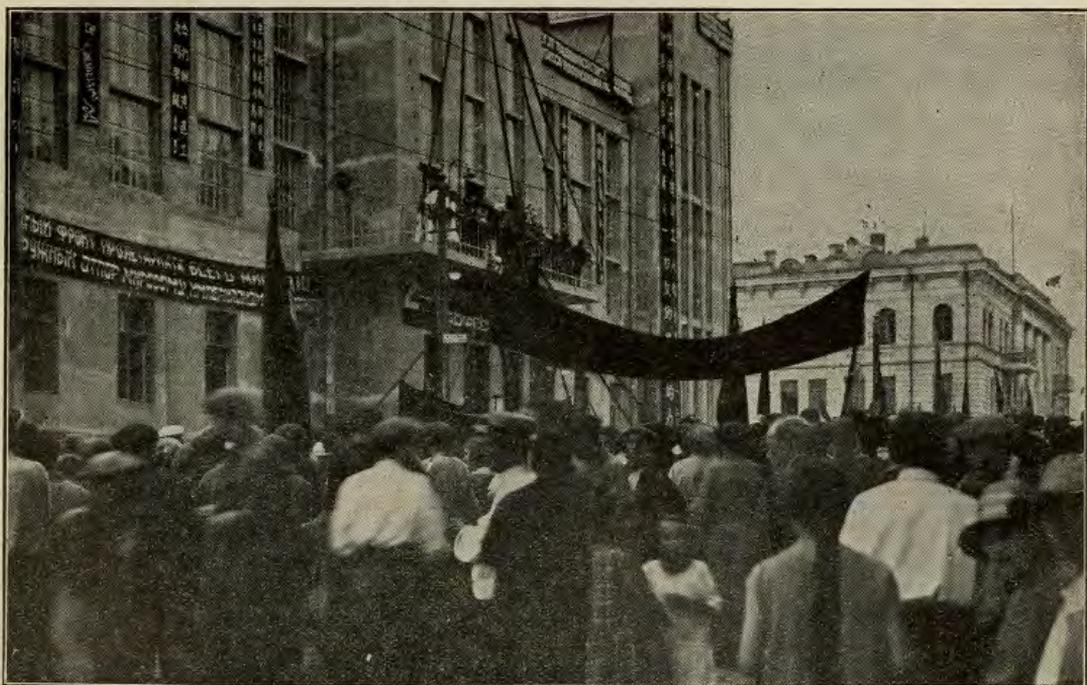
white race is superior to the colored races. On the banner of the Australian trade union movement must be inscribed the slogan: "Not race war, but class war." Under this banner it is necessary to participate actively in the work of the PPTUS and to rally the Australian TU movement to joint struggle with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