

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

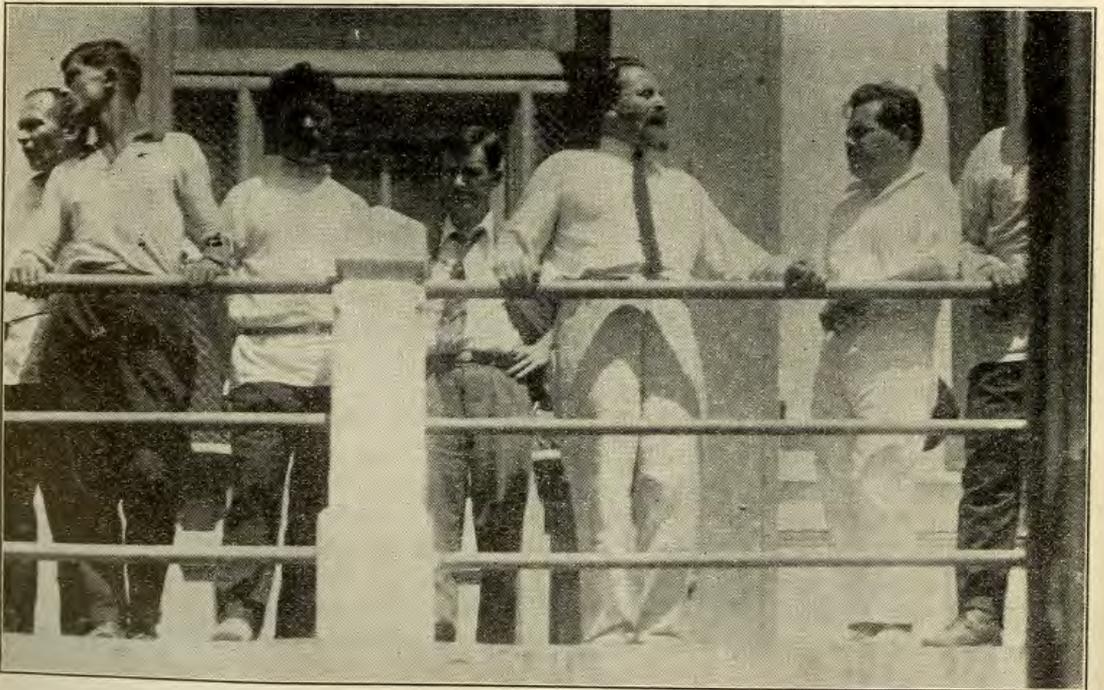
China. Thus she has the advantage both over the United States and Japan. But her biggest trump-card is the great navy; her trade will, moreover, play a very important part in the approaching struggle, and will be one of the factors to be taken seriously into consideration. If we ask ourselves what the 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!