

## Comrade Yamagata's Speech

*At the Vladivostok Conference of the P.P.T.U.S.*

Comrade Lozovsky and Ting Tai Yeh have dwelt at length on the question of the imperialist war dangers, as well as on the methods that should be applied in the struggle against it. I fully agree with the reports and theses of Comrades Lozovsky and Ting-Yeh; I should like only to add a few words on this question from the viewpoint of the tasks of the revolutionary trade unions of Japan.

### THE WAR DANGER AND JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

One of the characteristic features of world capitalism at the present moment is the accentuation of the inner contradictions of stabilization, viz., the contradiction between the growing production and the shrinkage of markets. This peculiar uneven development of capitalism has been more striking since the war than before it, and so it proved fully the correctness of Lenin's words on that issue.

### THE SHARPENING OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

1. The centre of world economy at present has been transferred from the European continent and England to America and Asia. The system of world supremacy established by the Versailles Treaty no longer fits the present situation. The controversy is between England, the biggest colonial empire which is now gradually losing its predominance in its colonies, and America, which accumulates its strength in order to master the whole world, but which does not as yet possess many colonies. It is not at all accidental that the strike among the imperialist powers is now sharper in the Pacific. The problem of supremacy on the Pacific becomes now an indispensable condition of world supremacy. The strike for the re-division of the Asiatic Colonies and semi-colonies and especially the re-division of the Chinese territory is the central problem of world politics of the International Bourgeoisie at the present moment.

Japan, the only imperialist power in the Far East, having its bases of exploitation in the East, in China, Manchuria, Korea, Formosa, etc., participates in that strife. That is why the antagonism between Japan and England on the one hand, and America on the other, the antagonism known as the Pacific question, arose.

2. The enormous increase of armaments, the wonderful achievements and application of new military technique, the mechanization of armies, the application of chemistry, the building of military airplanes, battleships, mass militarization of the population, general military mobilization, the prattle about the outlawry of war, reduction of armaments, etc.,—all that proves the systematic preparations for the coming war. The Social-Democrats voting for military budgets, advocating peace in industry and class collaboration, help to accelerate the preparation for war.

In connection with the occupation of Nicaragua American Imperialism put forth a project of a new canal to seize the predominance on the Pacific. The House of Representatives and the Senate approved the plan of building a number of new cruisers. The British imperialists erected a naval base in Singapore, and Japan, too, having already its naval bases in the Pacific, cannot but accelerate the military preparations in China. And the competition in building the navy among those three countries is the best indication that there begins an active preparation of war in this area.

3. Consequently, the antagonism among the imperialist countries for a re-division of the colonies is not to be doubted. The powers make use of the various Generals' cliques in order to retain control over their spheres of influence and to struggle against each other to capture new ones.

The present war among the generals is nothing but the expression of the genuine

antagonism among the imperialist countries. The extent of that antagonism can best be shown by figures of Japanese, British and American investments in China. They are as follows:

Japan .....	\$2,500,000,000
Britain .....	1,500,000,000
U. S. A. ....	200,000,000

The weak point of American Imperialism in China lies in the fact that their investments in industry are rather small as compared with those of Japan or Britain.

The object of the American policy in China at present is the continuation of the "Open Door" policy. However, this policy inevitably clashes with the policy of Japan in China, especially in Manchuria, where their interests coincide. Yet the U. S. A. and Japan are the chief competitors on the Pacific. And the secret treaty between Japan and Great Britain, in spite of the presence of the antagonism between them, has been effected for the purpose of resisting American capitalism, the Chinese Revolution and the USSR.

4. What is the attitude of Japanese Imperialism and Reformism in the given situation?

The characteristic features of the present situation of Japanese Imperialism are, first, the want of interior markets and the aggressive "positive" foreign policy aiming at the capture of new markets, secondly, the feverish preparation for war. The prolonged financial stringency especially the crisis of 1927, and the Chinese Revolution, made the position of the Japanese Imperialists still more difficult. The contradictions between the rising productive forces and the situation of the market, the shortage of domestic resources, the critical conditions in rural economy, the rapid tempo of systematic accumulations and concentration of capital, the further strengthening of the trend towards state capitalism, all these processes could not but bring about a depression which affected the petty bourgeoisie and caused an enormous rise in the army of unemployed. The highly developed trusts, syndicates and cartels force

the peasants and workers to buy their merchandise at high prices, which results in the reduction of the purchasing capacity of the peasants and workers, and in the excessive lowering of their standard of living. The burden of military budgets falls upon the shoulders of the broad masses. Capitalist rationalization has as its effect the prolongation of the working day and the lowering of wages. Thus the working class becomes an object of merciless exploitation from both sides. Hence the rapid revolutionization of the workers and peasants.

The Japanese Communist Party, which is carrying on the correct policy in leading the revolutionary movement in Japan, is fighting the White Terror. On March 15th, 1928, the ruling classes ordered the arrest of the leading Communists. This is of great historical significance since the Japanese revolutionary organizations were dissolved. This also included the section of the RILU, the Kyogikai. At the same time the Government revised the law of public peace including in it a statute which threatens the revolutionary fighters with perpetual arrest and various punishments including execution. In spite of the strenuous counter-attack and the energetic fight by the Left Wing, the Right and Left Social-Democrats are not only not fighting against this evil, but are trying their best to distract the masses from the correct Leninist policy of class struggle, and in many cases, in order to achieve some successes, they are using the White Terror against the revolutionary labor movement. Notwithstanding this treacherous action of the Social-Democrats of all colors, the revolutionary workers reorganized their trade unions and are very energetically working for their consolidation.

The mainstay of reaction, Japanese imperialism, is working hand in hand with the Social-Democrats for the preparation of war and for greater exploitation of the masses not only within their own country but also on an international scale; the visit to Japan of Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labor Bureau, was arranged by the reactionary Social-Democrats of the Far

East, by order of the Japanese imperialists for the purpose of organizing the Pan-Asiatic Conference of Trade Unions to counteract the activities of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, which is the leading organ of the revolutionary trade unions in East. What will be the real function of the Pan-Asiatic Conference? The answer to this question can be found in the rules and program of this "organization," the imperialists are intensifying their work in the Far East in preparation for war and the destruction of the revolutionary movement; they are mobilizing all their forces including the Social-Democrats.

5. The military preparation of Japanese Imperialism at the present moment can be illustrated with the following figures:

Military Budgets	1923-24	1927	1928
(in millions)	187	229	235

Thus the military budget of 1928 represents 27.8% of the entire budget. The reasons are clear: while participating in navy building competition with Britain, the U. S. A. and Japan, the latter cannot afford of lesser activities. And Japan, accordingly, plans to build 90 new warships in 1931-1938 with a yearly allotment of Y180,000,000 for that purpose.

As for the application of chemistry for military purposes, the figures of enormous expenses for importations of fertilizers in 1927, amounting to Y157,072,816, of which the greater portion goes for military purposes, speak clearly for themselves.

The application of electricity is a well-established practice especially for airplanes and warships.

The mechanization of the army is characterized by the presence of 40 tanks and 1,230 units of air fleet. It must be pointed out that all military materials are being produced either directly in the state enterprises or under State control.

The Japanese imperialist hold the maneuvers of anti-craft defence force and navy with the participation of a great number of airplanes, etc.

Having taken into consideration the lessons of the world war in the matter of

not only military technique, but also in the problem of mobilizing of all forces of the country, the Japanese Government introduced in 1928 the law concerning the mobilization of industries and districts of the country to serve the needs of general mobilization. The general mobilization was practised several times, and that of Summer 1928 carried out on a big scale. It took place in a central industrial region which is to play a very important role in the future war. To assure the success of this mobilization not only the gendarmerie and patriotic bodies were attracted, but the students and juvenile and women's organizations, not to mention the various officials and private organizations of the country. In fact, there was no difference between this and any real mobilization. The very law on mobilization copied from Paul Boncour's plan includes the military training throughout the whole country. For that purpose the 2,000 military officers formally discharged from the army after the Washington Treaty are at present working in civic organizations in the capacity of military instructors for the militarization of the populace. For the purposes of fostering the patriotic feelings numerous movie theatres are used.

All these systematic activities in preparation of war have as their aim not only the preparedness for war but also to carry on among the imperialists counter-revolutionary war against the oppressed peoples and the USSR.

6. What vexes the imperialists and Social-Democrats most is the fact that the Soviet Union assist every revolutionary movement. Now the rapid rise of Socialist production in the Soviet Union cannot but bring about the further accentuation of the antagonism between the Soviet and imperialist countries; in other words the sharpening of the antagonism between the revolutionary movement and the counter-revolutionary movement in the world. The imperialists and Social-Democrats, however, are unanimous in their hatred towards the USSR, and the Anglo-French and Anglo-Japanese Pacts, as well as the projects for a Pan-Asiatic Conference, are the best proof of this.

The anti-Soviet movement in Japan has greatly intensified in the Spring of 1928 in connection with the mass arrests of the Communists. The building of five railways in China and the menacing events on the CERYS show most clearly that the Japanese imperialists are preparing a counter-revolutionary war, and more than that—at the present moment Japan has reinforced her special troops in China from 4 to 6 batallions. The same was done in Korea. What is that if not the strengthening of the frontiers against the USSR? It is worth while also to remember the tactics of the Japanese imperialists in the matter of fisheries, i. e., in the matter of concession profits. There can be no more insolent tactic than that of the Japanese imperialists. Thus we see that the Japanese imperialists are carrying out intensive preparations for war, they are carrying out an aggressive home and foreign policy.

7. Now what should be the tactics of the Japanese revolutionary trade unions? It must not be forgotten that the Japanese workers and peasants have not experienced any defeat in war, nor have they experienced the ordeal of the World War. It is, therefore, necessary for the trade union workers to carry on an energetic struggle against militarism, chauvinism, as well as a merciless war against reformism which helps the ruling classes in their warlike preparations.

Again, our struggle against the menace of war must not be an abstract affair. It should be closely connected with the daily economic struggle for the interests of the working class and for the defense of the trade unions and other revolutionary organizations against the attacks of the ruling classes, for only such skilful struggle would render it possible to draw in, notwithstanding all kinds of reformist efforts, the broad organized as well as unorganized masses of workers.

In our daily agitation and propaganda activities we should now and then explain to the masses that the capitalist offensive on the working class peasantry, the offensive of the reaction against the trade unions, aim at the retention of the present capitalist yoke.

Now, we should continually expose the es-

sence of capitalist rationalization as an indispensable condition of preparation for war, the essence of the idea of industrial peace and class collaboration, the many talks on the company unions emanating from the reformist leaders from Sodomei, Kaiji Kiodokai (an arbitration body for marine transport), and the leaders of the "Japanese Seamen's Union," as well as on the Pan-Asiatic Conference. We must remember that similar talks aim only at depriving the workers of their only weapon in struggle, the class struggle. At the same time it is necessary to explain that the bourgeoisie deprives the workers of the most elementary liberties, such as the right of meetings, press and organization in order to be able in case of war to mobilize the whole working class without any delay. It is absolutely necessary to closely connect the daily struggle of the workers with the struggle against the war menace. We should adopt the tactics of the united front, we should organize committees of action against the war, the issuing of shop paper and the carrying on of propaganda and agitation work. This kind of activity should also be carried on in close contact with the trade unions.

In that connection the drawing in of new masses of workers into the reformist unions and the driving out of their leaders is of great importance. We should always point out that it is only the trade unions standing on the basis of the class struggle that are capable of being the instrument of revolutionary class struggle. And the revolutionary unions and militant minorities should always keep contact with the workers mobilized in the army, leaving to them the right of being members, so that these workers might be the backbone of the revolutionary activity.

We should also point out to the workers in the language clear to them, the effects which the increase of armament, the rise of the military budget, etc., have on the interests of the workers. Besides that we should support the struggle for reducing the term of service as well as fight for other important privileges for the soldiers. It is necessary to expose the nature of the aggressive policy of Japanese Imperialism in a more energetic way than

it was done until now. Concurrently with that it is absolutely necessary to expose the role of the opportunists as the lackeys of Imperialism.

The struggle against the war attacks on the USSR is at present of utmost importance. We must put forth the slogan: "The defense of the Soviet Union, the only fatherland of the international proletariat." At the same time the struggle against Fascism should not be neglected.

Now one of the most important tasks is the winning of the working women and youth. These elements in Japan are organized now only to a small extent, and the drawing of them in the revolutionary trade unions is our immediate task. The work for organizing the youth and women must be connected with the struggle against the war menace.

Generally speaking the Japanese workers are in need of international education. Without that it is impossible to carry on the struggle against chauvinism amongst the workers and for fraternization on the fronts.

The PPTUS being the centre of the revolutionary movement in the Pacific Basin must play a specially important role in the anti-war struggle under the slogan "Wage War Against War." But this transformation of an imperialist war into a civil war requires careful and steady preparations, and can be achieved only as a result of incessant daily struggle of the workers.

In realizing these tasks we follow the teachings of Lenin unlike the reformists of the West who preach class collaboration. And it is only this fact that determines to what extent we can drive out the reformists and guide the economic struggles of the proletarian.

8. We should pay special attention to the following important branches of industry:

(a) To the transport workers who in case of war should detain the transportation of military materials. For that purpose it is necessary to organize transport workers into a single industrial union, to create special vigilance committees on the railways, in the ports, on the ships, etc., to watch the move-

ment of troops and the transportation of munitions. In all principal ports there should be organized port committees.

(b) The same work must be done amongst the workers engaged in the aviation industry.

(c) To the chemical workers who are to play one of the most important roles in the next war it is necessary to explain the essence of the imperialist war and, besides, to organize special committees to conduct activities against the transportation of the chemical plants into military and, finally, the chemical workers should closely connect themselves with the transport workers in order to detain the transportation of chemicals.

(d) In the metal industry it is necessary to organize committees of action against the production of military munitions.

(e) As coal and other ores are to play an especially important role in the coming war, the work among the miners is of great importance. We should do all in our power to draw the miners into the struggle against the war menace.

(f) The struggle against the imperialist war is closely connected with the struggle for the liberation of the colonial countries. Therefore, it is necessary to establish and consolidate the relations with the workers and peasantry of the colonies, striving for the united front.

(g) Under the present circumstances we deem it necessary to put forth for Japan the following slogans:

1. Down with Imperialist War!
2. Defend the USSR!
3. Defend the Chinese Revolution!
4. Long live the Emancipation of the Colonies!
5. The immediate withdrawal of troops from China!
6. Struggle Against War Budgets!
7. The Self-Defense of the Workers and Peasantry!
8. Down with the Social-Democrats!

In case of the actual declaration of a war, we should get ready to turn the imperialist war into a civil war for the overthrow of Imperialism and for the establishment of the Soviet Power in the whole world.