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Why Are Doumer's Murderers not Arrested? Asks "Isvestia", the Organ of the Soviet Government.

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War and the Second International.

The Zürich Manifesto of the Labour and Socialist International.

By Jules Humbert-Droz (Zürich).

1912. The Balkan war came like a flash of lightning in the oppressive atmosphere of Europe, which was pregnant with dangers. The international proletariat was given a foretaste of the immediately approaching world war. Under the chairmanship of Vandervelde, the II. International met in Basle and took on solemn obligations, adopted resolutions, which were sacred oaths because the threatened peoples believed in their sincerity.

In August 1914, these obligations, these oaths, these promises were mere scraps of paper. All that remained was the bloody treachery, the shameful bankruptcy of the II. International which was eaten up with opportunism. Social patriotism, the policy of "seeing the war through", the President of the II. International, Vandervelde, as Minister of His Majesty the king of Belgium for the fight to the finish, and with him all leaders of the Socialist parties which were supposed to fight war.

A single ray of light, a single hope, the internationalist revolutionary minority, which in the midst of the vortex created the foundation of the III. International.

1932. War! Japan seizes Manchuria, attacks Shanghai; the international atmosphere is more oppressive, more heavily charged than ever. Everybody feels that a single spark can set the whole world in flames again.

Soviet Russia, the fatherland of the workers, is immediately threatened, provoked, violated.

Under the chairmanship of the same Vandervelde the International again meets in Switzerland in order to undertake fresh obligations.

History repeats itself. Yesterday tragedy, to-day farce? Farce for the social-democratic leaders who meet together in order to talk about "disarmament" and "fight against war". As social patriots, as reporters on the budget for military aviation in France, as restorers of the German navy, they know that their attitude to-morrow will be the same as that of yesterday; but they play this vile comedy in order to mislead the peoples among whom they have sown illusions and lies, and therefore this meeting in Zürich remains in spite of everything a tragedy. On the eve of war millions of workers still have trust in these people by whom they were so shame-

fully misled in 1914, in the people who caused them to be slaughtered for four years for the benefit of their exploiters.

Meanwhile, the resolution against war which has been adopted in Zürich must open the eyes of all workers regarding the real policy of the II. International.

It is not an appeal to the working masses to wage a bitter fight against war and against the governments which prepare it. On the contrary! Even the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International is compelled to state in its Manifesto that the "authority of the League of Nations is undermined". Nevertheless, they recommend, as the chief means, as the so-called method of fight against war and intervention, that pressure be exerted on the imperialist governments!

"The L.S.I. calls upon all its affiliated parties to exert pressure on their governments in order that the obligations into which they have entered to compel an aggressor to maintain peace shall no longer be disregarded."

The L.S.I. therefore instead of, as hitherto, expecting the League of Nations to combat war, now expects the imperialist governments to combat war and itself refrains from any action. The II. International, in its Parliamentary cretinism, in its aversion to action by the masses, in its policy of active participation in war preparations, cannot do anything else than call upon the workers to have confidence in their government, which shall declare Japan to be the "aggressor", and adopt repressive measures against this aggressor, such as "recalling the Ambassadors from Japan"!

The Zürich resolution, for obvious reasons, passes over in silence the attitude of the social democratic party of Japan, a member of the II. International which was not represented in Zürich. Japan is engaged in war, and the social democratic party of Japan, true to the policy of the II. International, supports its imperialist government; to-day it is for the policy of "holding out", just as this was the policy from 1914 to 1918 of all the big parties represented at Zürich.

How could Renaudel, Vandervelde, Wels and others condemn the Japanese social democrats or demand of them another policy! This "overlooking" of the role of the Japanese social democrats at the present moment lends to this resolution its whole political significance.

It appeals to the governments to exert influence on Japan, whilst it is known that this will not be done, and it cloaks over the war policy of the Japanese section of the II. International.

The resolution declares that, in the event of Japan continuing its aggressive actions and threats, the II. International

"will appeal to the International Trade Union Federation in order together with it, to resist with every means the production and transport of munitions, war material and goods to Japan and to boycott all ships coming from or proceeding to Japan."

This appears to be "strong language", a "policy of action." But after a moment's reflection the simplest worker will say: the production and the transport of munitions and war material to Japan has now been going on for nearly a year without the II. International and the I.F.T.U. doing anything to prevent it. This passage, which at the first moment appears to be so energetic, is only intended to mask the responsibility and the active co-operation of the two Internationals in providing Japan with weapons and munitions. This passage means that Japan can continue its war-like actions and further war preparation with full freedom of action so far as the L.S.I. and the I.F.T.U. are concerned. The call to prevent the transport of war materials — if any call is made at all, — is to be made when Japan has already received from Europe and America all that is necessary for conducting war, i.e. when it is already too late.

Finally, the II. International — which sees the growing sympathy of the masses for the Soviet Union and their determination to defend it, which, however, has not ceased to slander it by representing it as a country of a dictatorship like that of fascist Italy and to declare that the danger of a war against the Soviet Union is only a legend invented by the Bolsheviks in order to strengthen their inner position — is nevertheless compelled to adopt a paragraph regarding the immediately threatening war against the Soviet Union:

"The counter-revolution, not only in Russia but in the whole world, necessarily promotes a war against the Soviet Union. An attack by Japan on Russia can call

forth a world war. The workers will not allow themselves to be led into such a war."

Here the two-tongued trickery of the leaders of the II. International breaks their own record. Without referring to the role of the Mensheviks in the fight against the Soviet Union during the course of the last 15 years, it suffices to point to the whole campaign of the social democratic press and the social democratic leaders in all countries in order to realise that they play the chief role within the working class in the moral preparation for war against the Soviet Union. After they have done everything to draw the proletariat in the train of the imperialists and of the counter-revolutionaries of all shades against the Soviet Union, they affirm that "the workers will not allow themselves to be led into such a war."

Nothing more. They do not call upon the workers to fight against this war, to prevent it by every means; they simply say that they, the workers, will not allow themselves to be drawn into this war, whilst the workers must be brought over the side of the Soviet Union against its attackers in this war.

Here also the resolution conceals under a hypocritical formula, which appears favourable to the Soviet Union, a policy of common guilt with the imperialists.

The social democratic leaders know that the workers will not fight against the Soviet Union; but instead of calling upon them to defend the Soviet Union, they attempt to keep them away from the fight. And in the meantime they increase the campaign of moral preparation for war against the Soviet Union.

The peace policy of the Soviet Union is not recognised, but it is repeatedly declared that it is necessary to protect the Soviet Union only when it is first attacked. This means, that the Labour and Socialist International permits the assumption that the Soviet Union can be the aggressor. The resolution hypocritically states the necessity of solidarity with the Soviet Union, but does not demand that this solidarity shall be expressed in revolutionary mass actions.

Moreover, the resolution demands the legalising of the Mensheviks and social revolutionaries, and thereby the liquidation of the proletarian dictatorship as demanded by the Mensheviks. This thesis is concealed under the phrase of active participation of all socialist forces in the defence of the Soviet Union.

The Zürich resolution against war only badly conceals behind its own phrases, which are intended to deceive the masses, the policy of the II. International, which has remained the same policy as that of August 1914—the policy of betrayal of internationalism, the policy of trust in the imperialist governments, and of support of these governments. If one carefully reads the text of the Zürich resolution in the light of the facts, this policy is revealed in every line.

The real meaning of the Manifesto of the Labour and Socialist International can only be exposed to the broad masses by the Communists proposing to the socialist workers, on the basis of the united front, real revolutionary mass actions against imperialist war and against intervention, for preventing the production and transport of war material, common action against the war-mongers, common fight against the imperialist governments, against their own, against Japanese, French, British imperialism etc.

The international proletariat has not forgotten the lessons of 1914.

To-day there stands against the II. International, against the International of war, the **Communist International**, which summons the working class to the only effective fight against war, to the fight which the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin, victoriously conducted, in order

"with all their energies to use the political and economic crisis created by the war to rouse the populace from its slumbers, and to hasten the fall of capitalist domination." (Resolution of the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart, 1907.).

Correction.

In the **Open Letter to the Indian Communists**, published in our last number, there occurred a printers' error. In the first column of page 437, line 33, instead of "we find socialism, provincialism" etc., it should read "we find localism, provincialism".

POLITICS

Brüning's New Emergency Decree.

By E. Brand (Berlin).

The Brüning Cabinet had advanced so far with its discussions of the new emergency decree on Saturday, that the public were given precise information regarding the planned measures. The emergency decree, which brings into force the financial and social-political measures decided on, is to be published within the next few days.

A new direct tax is introduced in the shape of the "occupation tax", under which all persons in regular employment and in receipt of an income of over 300 marks a month have to pay a tax of 1½ per cent. on their incomes. The tax is estimated to bring in 325 million marks a year. It affects the employees and officials and has the character of a salary reduction. The Reich Government, in reply to repeated enquiries from the officials and employees, has hitherto always declared that no further reduction of salaries was contemplated. The officials must now recognise how much worth is to be attached to such promises; for the new reduction in salaries which was feared by the officials and employees and denied by the government, is now being effected by round-about means by this new tax.

The crisis tax, which was to have come to an end on 31st December next, is prolonged a further three months and will thus bring in an extra 45 million marks. This tax represents in the first place a burden on the masses. The "citizen tax", a direct poll tax which falls with particular heaviness on the poorest sections of the population, was to have come to an end on 1st of July; it is prolonged and is to bring in an extra revenue of 250 millions.

These new burdens on the working masses are all the more provocative as the Government has just reduced by emergency order the property tax and the legacy duties, which are exclusively taxes on the possessing class. The rich are given presents and the poor are robbed—that is the class character of this capitalist State.

The second part of the new emergency decree relates to the unemployed question. The Reichs Ministry for Labour now reckons with an annual average of 5.9 million unemployed. The expenditure on this enormous army of unemployed is estimated at 3018 million marks. The most important of the new measures provides that the period for which an unemployed person is entitled to draw ordinary unemployment benefit is reduced from 20 weeks to 13 weeks. As the scale of ordinary unemployment benefit is 20 per cent. higher than that of the "crisis benefit", which the unemployed will now receive after 13 weeks of unemployment, the new emergency decree means a further brutal attack on the unemployed. By a number of further regulations (tightening up of the means test etc.) expenditure on "crisis benefit" is to be reduced.

These new serious attacks on the unemployed are supplemented by a further cutting down of the social services, especially in regard to disablement insurance. It is the intention of the government to reduce the rate of benefit for incapacitated persons, now amounting to 36 marks a month, by a further 7 marks. It is already announced, however, that there is to be no reduction in the expenditure for war-purged incapacitated persons, now amounting to 36 marks a month, frightful misery and poverty, work is to be commenced on the third armoured cruiser. The reason why the final presentation of the budget has been so delayed this year is that the Brüning Cabinet is no longer capable of functioning, but is in a state of dissolution. Three Ministers have already resigned, and now two further Ministers are expected to resign: the Minister for agriculture Schiele and the Minister of finance, Dietrich. Whether the Chancellor will succeed once again in retaining these two Ministers appears very questionable.

The fate of the Reichs-Cabinet is closely connected with the solution of the government question in Prussia. The coalition-negotiations between the national socialists and the Centre have not made any progress. The national socialist "Angriff" of May 21, made the following interesting disclosure regarding these negotiations:

"They thought the matter could be simply arranged as follows: the Nazis would be given the position of Minister

for Commerce or the Minister for Public Welfare, and in return they would support Brüning in the Reich."

Because the conditions submitted by the Centre appeared unacceptable to him, Hitler, at a Conference with his Prussian Diet fraction, made a declaration which was interpreted by the Centre as meaning that he refused any coalition whatever. However, Herr Dr. Goebbels, the author of the article in the "Angriff", informed his readers that Hitler is by no means opposed to a coalition but he only makes it a condition, that this coalition shall not continue the policy of present-day Germany.

Red United Front against the Reaction in Prussia.

Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany.

The "Rote Fahne" of May 24 published under the above title an appeal to the working men and women in town and country, in which it is stated, inter alia:

"The result of the Prussian Diet elections reflects the tremendous intensification of the class struggle in Germany. But the result of the Prussian diet elections is by no means a clear expression of the formation of the class forces. However, the elections show the growing revolt of the toiling masses against the capitalist system, against the casting of all burdens of the economic crisis and of the reparations obligations upon their shoulders, against the tremendous impoverishment and the growing insecurity of existence of all sections of the toiling people.

The national socialists have been able by means of their alleged "fight against the system", to a great extent to exploit this growing anti-capitalist mood of the masses, their hatred against the Versailles system, their resentment against the anti-working class policy of the Braun-Severing government. The Hitler party is an organisation fostered and maintained by the financial capitalists in order to protect the system of exploitation and suppression from the onslaught of the masses and to pave the way to the open fascist dictatorship.

Only the Communist Party is leading the fight of the proletarian masses against fascism... The social democrats are again seeking to deceive the masses and to divert them from the extra-Parliamentary mass struggle...

The Communist Party will organise in the most energetic manner the fight of the masses against Hitler fascism, because it aims at realising the fascist dictatorship in Germany in a more brutal manner and at a still more rapid pace... The Communist Party will continue its ruthless struggle against the Braun-Severing government and not change its tactic towards the anti-working class policy of the social democrats...

Therefore the Communist Party will put forward its own candidate at the election to the Presidium of the Prussian Diet. The Communist Party will, in the Prussian Diet, confront the social democrats and the Centre party allied with them with the decision, whether they really intend by means of obstruction or other Parliamentary means to prevent the national socialists from taking over the government...

Social democratic workers, toilers! . . . We have already suggested to you to take up the joint struggle with us against the cutting down of wages and unemployment benefit. We again invite you to fight together with us against fascism, against the Versailles robber-system and the imperialist warmakers.

The Communists will conduct the fight in the Prussian Diet for the following central demands: 1. against any reduction of wages or salaries, for cancellation of all reductions of wages and salaries which have been put through; 2. against the cutting down of unemployment relief, for the extension of social insurance; 3. for the granting of means for providing work for the unemployed and their employment at full trade union rates; for the reduction of the working week to 40 hours with full pay; 4. for the abrogation of all emergency decrees; 5. for the abrogation of all prohibitions of proletarian organisations and all decrees which restrict and abolish the right of demonstrations and assembly; for the release of all proletarian political prisoners; 6. for the cessation of all payments on the basis of the Young Plan and the Dawes loans; for the cessation of

all payments to the former princes and the confiscation of their property; for the abolition of the agreements made with the Churches . . .

In view of the chauvinist wave which is sweeping over Germany, and by means of which the bourgeoisie attempts to confuse the masses and to divert them from the class struggle against the capitalist system, in view of the deadly fascist enemy, in view of the imperialist war-incitement, in view of the indescribable misery of millions, we Communists call upon the toilers in town and country:

Close the red united front against hunger and fascism!

Close the red united front for the extra-Parliamentary mass struggle against any step towards the taking over of power by Hitler-fascism.

Close the red united front for the struggle for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, for the victory of the working class, for the victory of Socialism!

**Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.
Prussian Diet Fraction of the Communist Party of Germany.**

The Fascist Heimwehr Enter the Austrian Government.

By G. Z. (Vienna).

The new Austrian Government is the result of the recent sharp turn of the Austrian bourgeoisie to fascism, which was expressed in the success of the Nazis at the municipal and district elections on April 24. The dissolution of Parliament, which would have resulted in the Nazis gaining many seats, was to be avoided in view of the foreign political negotiations being conducted by the Government. Instead, the Government was reconstituted. Due regard, however, was paid to the increased growth of fascism in that the Heimatbloc were included in the government, and in addition the governor of Styria, **Rintelen**, who has constantly promoted fascism, has been given the post of Minister of Education. As representative of the Heimwehr **Dr. Jakoncig**, an Innsbruck lawyer, takes over the post of Minister for Trade. He is a partner in business with the well-known Heimwehr leader **Steidle** and commander of the Tyrol Heimwehr defence corps. He was regarded up to now as one of the exponents of German nationalist policy in the Heimwehr, just as Rintelen was an advocate of a pro-Italian policy in Austria as a result of his connections with Italian finance-capital. It would be a mistake however, to draw from this any conclusions regarding the foreign policy of this government. This foreign policy is determined by the struggle between the big Powers, the Austrian Foreign Office playing not the slightest role. It is significant that the Christian socialists—it is true, in order not to challenge the susceptibility of the French Embassy—have not allowed Rintelen to take over the office of Foreign Minister, as was originally demanded by him and the Heimatbloc.

Dollfuss endeavoured to form a concentration government of all four bourgeois parties in the National Council, which could also reckon on the benevolent indulgence of the social democrats. The Pan-Germans have remained outside the Cabinet, mainly for reasons of foreign policy. As the government would have a majority of only one in the Austrian Parliament if the Pan-Germans really went over to definite opposition, it could not have been formed at all if it could not be certain of the support of the Pan-Germans on all important questions. Regarding the social democrats, the fact that no member of the Heimatbloc fraction of the National Council, but a person who has hitherto played no part in Parliament has entered the government, is obviously out of regard for them. On the other hand, the social democrats show their readiness to meet the bourgeois parties in that Herr **Breitner**, the head of the finance department of the Vienna municipality, announces his intention to resign at the end of the year. Breitner was the bugbear against which the bourgeois parties conducted their fight in order to frighten the electors away from the social democratic party.

Whatever the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" may write against the new government today, the work of the National Council will soon show that the social democrats are prepared to support this government which includes in it Heimwehr people. The financial situation of Austria will render necessary decisions in which the government will not be able to do without the

votes of the social democrats. If the social democrats in Lower Austria sit together with the Nazis in the Provincial Diets, they will not object to the participation of the Nazis in the national government.

In face of the more outspokenly reactionary government, the Communist Party calls for increased extra-Parliamentary mass struggle against the Rothchild salvage measures, against foreign capital, Heimwehr terror and fascism, for the red united front of all workers against the new attacks threatening them.

The Conference of the Little Entente.

By Nicholas (Bucharest).

Representatives of three of the vassal States of France—**Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia**—met in conference in Belgrade on May 15.

French imperialism found it necessary, on the eve of the reparations conference which is to begin on June 16, in Lausanne, to test the weapon of its hegemony in Central and South-East of Europe. The agent of the Paris government in the affairs of the Little Entente, the Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister **Benes**, formulated the questions to be dealt with by the Little Entente, as follows: Security, disarmament, reparations, and the Tardieu Plan. In an article which appeared in the Yugoslavian paper "**Vreme**", Benes added that the task of the Little Entente also consisted of drawing "other countries of Central Europe" into their plans of action. It was not by mere chance that Benes travelled through **Hungary**, which he had never visited since the world war, to attend the Belgrade conference.

It would be difficult to formulate more clearly in diplomatic language the tasks of the Little Entente as agency of French imperialism. Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, which are just as interested as France in the maintenance of the Versailles system, watch over the inviolability of the treaties, and in so doing enjoy the greatest support of France.

These three countries, which are very severely hit by the disastrous economic and financial crisis, are constantly resorting to the French money market. The Rumanian press has just announced the preparation for a new loan of 1000 million Francs, which is to be granted Rumania by the French government. In addition, a commission of financial experts, headed by M. Rist, is actually controlling the whole of the budget policy of Rumania. Another commission appointed by the French general staff, is controlling Rumania's armaments.

Only a few weeks have passed since the French press dealt in detail with the credits which the Paris government has granted to Czechoslovakia.

For the rest, it would be superfluous to mention again the role which France plays in the political and economic life of Yugoslavia.

In return for weapons, money and the political support of imperialist France, the three countries of the Little Entente unconditionally support the aspirations of French imperialism to hegemony in Europe. At the so-called Disarmament Conference at Geneva the countries of the Little Entente supported France unconditionally in regard to the question of security and opposed any disarmament; there is no doubt that at the Conference at Lausanne this game will be repeated in regard to the question of reparations. The Belgrade meeting has just assured France that these vassals are prepared for certain sacrifices in regard to the carrying out of Tardieu's Danube Federation project.

The "sacrifices" to which the diplomats in Belgrade alluded relate before all to the "defeated" countries of Austria and Hungary, regarding which French diplomacy has achieved considerable successes recently. The part played by France in the collapse and the "salvaging" of the Austrian Creditanstalt, and thereby of the whole of the Austrian money market, is sufficiently well known, as is also the part played by the French Foreign Ministry in the Ministerial crisis in Vienna. In return for its complete capitulation to the imperialist policy of France, Austria is to receive certain concessions on the part of the States of the Little Entente. The same offer is held out to Hungary.

There is one question, however, regarding which not one of the participants in the Belgrade meeting expressed a single word. It is the question of welding together that powerful counter-revolutionary and anti-Soviet apparatus of which

France is at the head, the immediate preparation of intervention against the Soviet Union.

For imperialist France it is not only a question of arming its two vassals which are destined to supply the first cannon-fodder for the imperialist war, but also of supporting their economy which is threatened with collapse. In this respect Czechoslovakia, as the chief producer of war material in Central Europe, Hungary, which by its flirtations with Italy threatened to upset the plans of French imperialism in South-East Europe; and finally Austria, whose disastrous situation involves every possible danger, play a first-class role.

The official communiqué which was published at the conclusion of the Belgrade Conference is couched in the usual optimistic tone: the three Foreign Ministers accept the French proposal of a Danube bloc and declare that the difficult economic situation of their States could be improved only by regional treaties; they at the same time emphasise the urgent monetary requirements of their countries, which are in financial difficulties and for which immediate assistance must be provided.

The most important factors, which are alone capable of determining the future of the countries of the Little Entente and of those countries at which imperialist France is casting its eyes, were not present in Belgrade. These factors are: the working class and the peasantry, the oppressed peoples of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Poland etc. Led by their Communist Parties, the working and peasant masses of these countries are conducting a persistent fight against the regime of oppression, the destruction of which is the first prerequisite for a revolutionary way out of the crisis.

INDIA

British Blood-Stained Rule in Bombay.

By Cepeda.

In the middle of May there flared up suddenly in Bombay what is described as a "communal riot", which in the course of the weekend has resulted in nearly 150 persons being killed and over fifteen hundred wounded. The disturbances are said to have begun as a clash between Hindus and Moslems arising over a trivial incident and spreading suddenly with lightning rapidity so as to produce mass conflicts, looting and arson all over the city. It is abundantly clear even from the very heavily censored news, that has been allowed to be sent out, that something very much deeper and more important is involved here than an outbreak of religious passion between members of different creeds.

In the first place, the present events have taken place in a very special situation and at a very significant time. They have taken place precisely in Bombay which is the biggest industrial city in India, where the working class movement is most developed and where the mass political struggle has reached a high level of development. Bombay at the present time is in a state of critical unrest and acute tension. The atmosphere in which the present outbreak has taken place bears considerable resemblance to that of three years ago when the last big outbreak of this kind occurred. At that time there was seething discontent among the masses after the brutal suppression of the strike movement and widespread political unrest in the period before the Indian National Congress was compelled to make its declaration of a "fight to a finish" with British imperialism. The communal riots were deliberately provoked as an attempt to divert attention from the mass struggle against imperialism and the class fight. At the present time, somewhat similar occurrences have taken place in a situation of rising political temperature and general uncertainty. A point was rapidly being reached when the existing situation could no longer be tolerated and the possibility of a mass revolutionary upheaval was becoming more and more likely.

The occasion was therefore especially appropriate for a diversion of this kind to be attempted. It is only necessary to note the main factors in the situation to understand how eagerly British imperialism would seize upon such an opportunity for attempting to drown the threatened upheaval in a sea of bloodshed. The acute economic crisis has given rise to extreme distress, unemployment and actual starvation. At

the same time the government terror regime has been intensified to an unprecedented extent, while the political struggle against British imperialist rule, although reaching a more and more critical position, has clearly come to an impasse in which the way forward is not clearly marked. **The attempt to suppress the mass movement has failed**, in spite of the mass arrests, baton charges, shootings and police terror, **owing to the growing spirit of resistance among the masses who refuse to be beaten into surrender, but at the same time the bourgeois Congress leadership has more and more obviously demonstrated its incapacity to lead the struggle.** Disillusionment with the Gandhist policy and his sabotage of the mass movement is now widespread but the only possible alternative, viz, the independent leadership of the working class, has not yet been realised in practice.

The acute unrest among the masses has been shown by the growing strike movement during recent months. Particularly important in this connection is the **Bombay dock strike** which took place during March and early April and which ended in a complete victory for the workers, in spite of the fact that the authorities attempted to provoke religious and racial conflicts by importing Muslim blacklegs from North India. Note should also be taken of the recent statements by British Government officials, including that of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons, concerning the growth of Communist activities in India and the danger arising from growing Communist influence among the masses. Finally, it is highly significant that these disturbances have taken place in Bombay at a time when the special Ordinances for the crushing of the mass movement, which were issued for a period of six months, are shortly due to expire. British imperialism will be very glad of the excuse offered to it for declaring that the maintenance of "law and order" in Bombay and the rest of India obviously demands the employment of all possible measures of repression.

The imperialist spokesmen are already using the Bombay fighting as an excuse for advocating the renewal and even the extension of the special ordinances. The Government are also seeking to justify their determination to still further postpone the granting of even the smallest measure of central self-government, by saying that the communal outbreaks show the Indians to be unfit for any degree of responsibility.

Thus, everything has been pointing to the likelihood of an effort being made to produce such a conflict as has actually occurred. The atmosphere for a Hindu-Mohammedan conflict has been carefully prepared for a long time past. It is notorious that this conflict in India has been sedulously fostered by British imperialism in the interests of maintaining power on the principle of "divide and rule". The whole history of India under British rule shows clearly that to the degree that the Indian masses unite to fight British imperialism and its reactionary allies, so does communal tension disappear. This naturally does not suit the imperialists and consequently, despite their crocodile tears over communal riots, they do all they can to divide the peoples of India. By creating separate electorates for Moslems and Hindus and promoting a competition between Hindus and Moslems for the fruits of political office, British imperialism largely succeeded in making the Mohammedan-Hindu question into a struggle for political privileges and power between the ruling elements of the two communities. Most of the communal faction fights, which have taken place in India in recent years, are known to have been artificially fermented by such political gangs. At the same time, of course, there are many circumstances, such as the existence of Hindu landlords and Mohammedan peasants, where a purely economic class struggle takes on the appearance of a religious fight.

In the present case, there is no doubt that opportunity was taken to excite religious passions in the usual way. The responsibility for this rests very heavily on the shoulders of those bourgeois national reformist politicians both inside the Congress and outside, who have combined to make the Hindu-Moslem question an "insoluble" problem. It is significant that not only was there a complete deadlock on this question at the Round Table Conference but that only a short time ago the Consultative Committee in India pronounced its inability to arrive at a solution. The vicious communal incitements contained in the speeches of **Shaukat Ali** and other so-called national leaders have played an important part in precipitating the present conflict.

The most important feature, however, about the recent Bombay events is the new character that it exhibits in comparison with previous occurrences of the kind. In the first place, it was made use of as an opportunity for instituting the most terrible massacre by police and troops. A very large proportion, if not the major part, of the victims have been struck down not by religious feudists but by the bullets of British troops. It is admitted, that the method used to restore order was by repeated firing on crowds causing numerous casualties. Big forces of troops were drafted into the city and free use made of large numbers of armoured cars. The descriptions that have been given indicate that the events took the form much more of a revolutionary mass outbreak which the British forces proceeded to drown in blood rather than of the usual sporadic individual stabbing affrays which have been characteristic of Hindu-Moslem conflicts in the past.

In the second place, the mass character of the outbreak was demonstrated in the setting fire to large parts of the city and the looting of shops on a very large scale. This betokens much more the action of starving masses goaded beyond endurance rather than anything in the nature of a religious conflict. It must be remembered that the economic crisis has given rise to mass unemployment in India for the first time and no provision of any sort is made for the unemployed.

The third new factor in the present so-called religious riot was the important part played by the working class. It is perfectly clear that the proletarian masses, instead of allowing themselves to be provoked into a religious riot, have succeeded to a large extent in converting the fight into a mass revolutionary struggle. Not only did the railwaymen and tramwaymen go on strike but a large number of the textile workers also came out. In the previous communal riots in Bombay, the fighting took place mainly in the form of individual affray and almost entirely in the middle class areas and the workers were not much affected. In this case, what has occurred has been rather a social upheaval in which the proletarian masses have engaged in fierce fighting with the British imperialist forces.

British imperialism attempted to provoke a religious conflict with the aid of its agents in the Indian bourgeoisie in order to have an excuse for repression. The present stage of the struggle in India, however, led inevitably to the development of a struggle of a different character. It is certain that in the future it will be more and more difficult to sidetrack the mass revolutionary struggle by means of religious provocation. Only the working class can show the way forward to a new social order in which religious and caste differences have no meaning and hence it is that the proletarian class movement already is able to rise above such efforts to divide its ranks. In Delhi in February Congress volunteers joined with a Moslem demonstration to protest against the N. W. Frontier Ordinance. In the N.W. Frontier elections last month, Hindu and Moslem joined to boycott the ballot box. In April Bombay dockers, mainly Moslems, fought side by side with Hindus, against Pathans, who are also Moslems. The Communist Party of India in its leadership of the mass struggle of the workers and peasants is demonstrating in practice how religious prejudices and backward social customs can be overcome and abolished.

SOVIET CHINA

Fourth Kuomintang Campaign Defeated on all Fronts.

By Wan Min.

"The fundamental problem to be solved in connection with the Chinese question is how to check the growing influence of the Communists." This is what the Japanese Prime Minister Inukai declared on March 7.

All sections of the Kuomintang are now attempting to fulfil this task. Nanking and Canton exerted their utmost efforts in organising the fourth campaign against the Chinese workers and peasants army, the armed advance-guard of the Chinese revolution.

The Chinese Red Army immediately gave a very emphatic and forceful answer to the imperialists and their lackeys. By occupying the big commercial town of Changchow on April 19,

they gained a decisive victory in South Fukien, as a result of which East Kwangtung is immediately threatened. The main front of the anti-Communist campaign was completely smashed; for the Kuomintang troops were forced to abandon the Kwangtung-Kiangsi frontier (the main front) and to retreat in all haste to the Kwangtung-Fukien frontier in order to meet the attack of the Red troops.

The Red Army has also won a decisive victory on the Hupei front along the Hankow-Peking railway line. According to reports from Hankow published by the "Manchou Pao" on April 17, the 41st, 44th and 48th divisions of the Kuomintang troops were overwhelmingly defeated by the Red Army. On the Anwei front the Red Army has occupied Liuan, the centre of the tea plantations, which means a danger to Anking, the capital town.

From North-East Kiangsi the Red Army penetrated Chekiang and is now marching on the capital town, Hangchow (Manchou Pao April 20). According to a report of the "Ta-Kung-Pao", a strong Red Army made its appearance in Mishien, near Loyang, on April 15.

Of special importance is the founding of the 26th Red Army in Sanyung, in the district of Nantung, not far from the scene of war in Shanghai. Here there have gathered together a large number of the volunteer workers and peasants troops dissolved by the treacherous Kuomintang and of the revolutionary soldiers of the 19th army. Up to the present they possess more than 3000 modern weapons.

The victories of the Red Army in the last few weeks show that they are advancing in the direction of the political centres. One can therefore reckon on a growth of the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang movement among the working masses in the big towns.

The Kuomintang issued a number of demagogic slogans in connection with the campaign against the Chinese Soviet Republic, such as: "The fight against the Communists is just as important as the fight against the Japanese", "Before commencing the fight against the outer enemy we must destroy the inner enemy". The masses of the people, however, opposed these slogans. When, at the beginning of March, the Canton troops marched to Kiangsi, not only did the workers and students of Kwangtung protest against this by strikes, but the petty bourgeoisie of Canton conducted a powerful protest movement against the misuse of the "anti-Japanese funds" for the campaign against the Communists. The Chinese in the Southsea islands, when handing over monies collected and aeroplanes for the fight against Japanese imperialism, make it a condition that they shall not be employed for civil war. The so-called iron army of Chang-Hua-Kun, which was ordered by Wan-Tsin-Wei to proceed from Hunan to Kiangsi to fight against the Communists, declared that it would not obey this order but would march to Shanghai to support the 19th army.

In order to win the favour and approval of their imperialist masters, the Kuomintang spread lying reports according to which the Red Armies in Hupei, Kiangsi and Fukien have been completely defeated. The masses of the people in China, however, know from their own experience that the more reports of victories the Kuomintang spread, the worst plight they are actually in. Even the imperialists were recently compelled to admit the victories of the Red Army. The "Ta Kung Pao" of April 22nd published the following report from Hankow:

"The newspapers are full of reports of victories in the fight against the Reds. But the English newspapers in Hankow have of late frequently published exactly contrary reports... The reports of the killing of 4-5000 Communists or the capture of 4-5000 rifles are more than exaggerated, a fact which even the military authorities admit."

A sad admission by one of the Kuomintang papers! Since the commencement of the campaign more than a hundred warships of the imperialist Powers have gathered in the Yangtse as far as Ichang. In answer to the occupation of Changchow by the Red troops, more than 20 imperialist warships have arrived at Amoy. The British have sent there not only submarines and aircraft-carriers, but also their famous flagship "Kent" with a battalion of English soldiers. The direct intervention of the imperialists against the Chinese Red Army is proceeding in the whole of China. It is high time that the international proletariat was at its post in order to defend the Chinese Soviet Republic.

The White Guardist Assassination

Why Are Doumer's Murderers not Arrested?

(Leading Article of the „Isvestia“ May 23, 1932.)

The "investigation" in the matter of the assassination of the **French President Doumer** has been going on now for over two weeks with unusual "energy". The French newspapers are full of news concerning the statements made by Gorgulov and various witnesses, concerning the results of the inquiries of the French police in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania. The police and boulevard press in France has sent its representatives out into all parts of the world and they report regularly the results of their inquiries by telegraph. And yet the result of all this investigation equals nil.

The investigation which set out to prove that Gorgulov was "a bolshevist agent" began to doubt whether Gorgulov was Gorgulov, because the white-guardist Gorgulov, a bitter enemy of the Soviet power, was personally known to thousands. Witnesses came forward one after the other and all wanted to recognise Gorgulov as Kamarenev, Solotarev, etc., who, according to the statements of these witnesses, were bolshevists. However, when the weaving is done too fine the fabric tears. Characteristics which were to prove that Gorgulov was in reality Solotarev, were missing, for instance, a characteristic scar on the hand. The statements made by Gorgulov in the presence of the Cossack Colonel Yeliseyev, according to which he had been a doctor's assistant and later on a doctor, proved to be correct. In the end the investigators were compelled to admit that Gorgulov was Gorgulov and no other.

However, even granting this point, Gorgulov might be a camouflaged red. The investigation therefore set itself to inquire into Gorgulov's past. Gorgulov had been known in the white-guardist emigration since 1921, but all the efforts of the investigators did not succeed in discovering the least trace of any relations between this arch-white and the communists. This new failure then compelled the investigation to put forward another theory, namely that the murder of President Doumer was the act of a madman. The police immediately began to inquire whether Gorgulov had spent the night before the murder in the company of a prostitute, whether he had drunk stiff doses of Henessy or Martels brandy before the murder, and finally, in order to give their new suggestion some trace of scientific credibility they order a medical examination of Gorgulov's blood. Should it now transpire that Gorgulov is syphilitic then naturally that will be taken as proof that he is insane. However, if all those emigrants who occasionally spend the night with a prostitute, drink stiff doses of Henessy or Martel, and react positively to a Wassermann test, are to be certified as insane, then the lunatic asylums of Europe would not be able to hold them all. But the French police must declare Gorgulov to be insane, and Gorgulov, when he realised that a confirmation of this theory might save him from a great deal of unpleasantness, immediately began to suffer from "hallucinations". At one time the devil had driven him to commit his crime, and at another time it was God himself.

The whole farce of this "investigation" would be laughable if it were not for the fact that it represents a direct support for the organisations of political murderers who are going their utmost to provoke war. French public opinion must itself decide whether it is prepared to tolerate such an attempt to hide the traces of the organisation which was behind the assassination of the President of the French Republic. The French government must decide whether it is prepared to tolerate its police witch-doctors protecting a group of persons who are the political organisers of the assassination. What the French Government chooses to do in this question does not concern us, but it is our business to point out to world public opinion that the attempts to cover up the tracks of those who organised the assassination of Doumer is at the same time an attempt to cover up the tracks of the provocators who are threatening the peace of the world.

All criminal codes provide punishment not only for the murderer, but also for those who instigated the murder, those who persuaded the murderer that his crime was necessary. For the sake of formality the French investigators asked the

murderer whether he had accomplices. Naturally he denied having had any. Those persons with whom he was in constant contact, his secretary and the editor of the newspaper "Nabat" were not put under suspicion, for they are all agents of the French police. However, Gorgulov was not only in connection with the little fish of the French Surété Generale; he was also in connection with the political organisations of the emigration and its organs. We are in possession of the number of the "Vozrozhdenie" of the 21st December 1931. This newspaper appears in Paris and the number in question contains the following appeal by Gorgulov:

"The slogan of the Green Nationalists is: The welfare of the Fatherland is the highest ideal! All-Russia National Peasants Green Party.

"On Sunday the 27th December the leader of the Green Nationalists, Paul Gorgulov, will address a meeting in the Café Boulevard de la Tour-Maubourg 27, First Floor, Paris VII (Metro: la Tour-Maubourg or Invalides) on the subject: "Who are the Greens? What are they fighting for? The coming National Russia". Entrance free. Party discipline permits neither debates nor protests. The programme of the Green Fascists which can be obtained free of charge answers all questions.

"Appeal!

"Tremendous events are approaching. We, Green Nationalists, sons of the hundred million headed enslaved Russians and Cossacks, appeal to you to attend this meeting, to you all who know Russia and feel its terrible sufferings, to all of you, irrespective of opinions and nationalities, for all of you love and revere your country, it is dearer to you than your life, for without a country there is no life!

"Let our enemies slander the Green Nationalists! The Green Nationalists are not fascists, but they are the enemies of socialism, for the peasant is a property owner and will never be a socialist. The Green Nationalists are Russian peasants, Nationalists, Democrats.

"Paul Gorgulov

"The Leader of the Green Nationalists."

Having read this appeal in a newspaper appearing in Paris the French police ought to have asked themselves what the "Vozrozhdenie" actually represents and whether the murder committed by Gorgulov had anything to do with the circle of political ideas represented by this newspaper.

The French police ought to know whose semi-official newspaper the "Vozrozhdenie" is. The French police ought to be aware of the close relations of this newspaper with **General Miller**, the leader of the "Military Alliance", with the "Russian Central Association" and with all the seventy-eight Russian organisations whose representatives were called together by the "Vozrozhdenie" in its editorial offices immediately after the assassination of Doumer in order to express "the general indignation of the emigration".

The French police know, as the whole world knows, what sort of organisations they are and why they enjoy unexampled privileges and unlimited protection on the territory of the French Republic. The French police are aware that these elements take part in the parades of the French army as "troop units of the Russian army", that they maintain their own Military Academy and their own military schools which are kept up with the funds provided by the French taxpayer. The French police know better than anyone else that the "Military Alliance" of General Miller, the "Russian Central Association", the "Supreme Monarchist Council", the "Trade and Industrial Party" and a series of other white-guardist organisations, belong to this group whose semi-official organisation is the "Vozrozhdenie" and which propagates war against the Soviet Union. Logical deduction and commonsense would have demanded that the French police asked themselves immediately what connection there was between the murder of Doumer and the appeals for terror against foreign statesmen which were distributed almost on the eve of the assassination in a

meeting of the "Russian Central Association" and published in the "Vozrozhdenie".

If the French police were prepared to abandon their extraordinary blindness for a moment they could read about this meeting in the "Vozrozhdenie". In the number of the 26th April 1932 containing a report of the meeting of the "Russian Central Association" in Paris, the following can be read:

"In all the speeches a new tone in the temper of the emigration could be heard, in all probability caused by the new development which began with the shots fired by Stern in Moscow. These shots are a warning to all foreigners who support the Soviet Union, of the responsibility they take upon their shoulders. Stern is close to us, just as all those who are working outside Russia for the overthrow of the Soviet power are close to us. May his shots be a sign. Stern's shots have shown that only a detonation is necessary in order to produce an explosion. It is necessary that this explosion should take place. It can only take place through an unfortunate war for the bolsheviks. Stern's shots are of historic importance. Now is the time to act, and the emigrants must be the advance guard."

One of the pillars of the editorial board of the "Vozrozhdenie", **Yablonovski**, comes into the open quite frankly in an article in the "**Sevodnia**", which is published in Riga. He supports "the new ideology" with fiery zeal in order that there should be no doubt about the character and the intentions of the white guardist appeal. He writes:

"Stern's shots have made a deep impression. At the same time these shots represent a new departure in the tactic of the Russian terrorists, and the political significance of this change is very simple: Don't shoot at bolshevist sparrows. It is more favourable for us, in every respect more favourable, to change our target and to aim at foreigners. The 'use' of this is clear. A shot at a well-known foreigner can cause the bolsheviks great and serious unpleasantness and even cause political complications. Such a shot would cause Europe, which is not accustomed to think much about Russian affairs, to think deeply..."

On the 29th April 1932 the "Vozrozhdenie" again stresses "the historical significance of terror" against foreign statesmen, a terror which might produce a war against the Soviet Union, and writes:

"Stern's shots represent the terror in its first stages. It is a romantic terror. Stern's shots against the bolsheviks are the first directed against them, not from the fighting front, but from the Hinterland, i. e. the most terrible for them..."

On the 2nd May 1932, the "Vozrozhdenie" persists in the same strain:

"Stern's shots have been heard, and they will be repeated... Stern's shots are by no means the end, they are only the beginning".

The newspaper of General Miller is not an isolated case, however. The "Vozrozhdenie" is joined by all groups and shades of opinion in the emigration which are in favour of energetic terror. In "**Dni**" No. 151 **Kerenski** declares hysterically:

"The alarming, very alarming impression made on all Germany which favours the bolsheviks, is hardly in the interests of Stalin... Stern's shots have probably caused a very loud echo in the hearts of many foreign observers of the... Five Year Plan. May those who count listen carefully to those shots before it is too late..."

In No. 153 of "**Dni**" **Kerenski** pursues his train of thought still further:

"Here we have a classical case of a voluntary self-sacrificing terrorist act in the interests of the defence of the rights of the people. Stern has not died in vain. Stern is not alone. The sacrificial flame of individual terror has been lit..."

The "**Molva**" which is edited by **Filosov** and which appears in Poland, writes in its number of the 17th April 1932:

"It is necessary to point out the important circumstance that the whole emigration from the mensheviks to the monarchists appreciate the heroism of Stern and realise the real significance of his action. The

whole emigration realises the significance of the sacrifice made by Stern, a worthy son of Russia. Stern wished to make clear with the shots he fired at a foreigner, that those foreigners who support the enemies of the Russian people will in the future be threatened no longer with the suppressed, but the open hatred of free Russia..."

The whole white-guardist emigration has united in praising the terrorist act carried out by Stern and in appealing for the assassination of foreign statesmen. The white-guardist emigration is united from the reactionary Black Hundred groups to the so-called "Left-wing Public Opinion of the Emigration" represented by Kerensky, Argunov and their friends. The "**Socialist Messenger**" joins in the same chorus and the tone of its article is in no way different from the tone of the articles which have appeared in the "Vozrozhdenie", "**Dni**", "**Posledni Novosti**" and other white-guardist journals. The whole of the white-guardist press has appealed daily for terrorist acts against the lives of foreign statesmen.

These open appeals for terrorism, whose instigators would under normal circumstances be flung into prison immediately as candidates for deportation to the French penal settlement in Cayenne, are published with impunity, although no one any longer doubts their direct connection with the subsequent assassination of the President of the French Republic. These facts can be testified without undue effort, without resorting to the aids of anthropometry, dactyloscopy, anthropology, medicine and chemistry as used by the French police with the result that they are "searching unsuccessfully for the threads of the crime". It is sufficient to read the appeal published in Gorgulov's organ "**Nabat**" almost immediately prior to the assassination of the President of the French Republic:

"France, which has recognised the Soviets, is gradually coming to the conclusion that its previous policy in the Russian question must be altered. However, the hesitation of the French government to take decisive steps in the Russian question, a hesitation caused by tactical or diplomatic considerations, is becoming quite understandable. The Prime Minister Tardieu has declared that the communist question is a world question. The policy of France during the past ten years was conducted under the wise leadership of Poincaré. However, the achievements of the French people will always be threatened by the danger of war so long as the Russian question is not settled. There is a smell of powder in the air. The Russian people is very well aware that France is the centre of Europe, that the tone of European politics listened for by all countries, is determined by France. The eyes of the Russian people are therefore directed towards France. We cannot refrain from mentioning the leading newspapers of France, 'l'Echo de Paris' and 'La Liberté', which appeal to the French people in the press and at meetings to take the path of justice in the Russian question. We believe in the great spirit of the French people. It is for France to speak!"

Is it necessary to add anything further to these quotations? "Why does France hesitate? Why does France not declare war on the Soviet Union?" ask the white, pink and green emigrants hysterically.

The semi-official organ of the "Military Alliance", the "Vozrozhdenie", and also the "Posledni Novosti", the "Molva", "**Dni**", in short, the whole of the white-guardist press, which is supported by influential circles in France, Poland and other countries, provides the most impatient warmonger with a direct answer:

"Don't shoot at bolshevist sparrows. Attack the bolsheviks from the rear. It is more favourable for us, in every respect more favourable, to change our target and aim at foreigners... A shot at a well-known foreigner can cause the bolsheviks great and serious unpleasantness and even political complications. Such a shot would cause Europe, which is not accustomed to think much about Russian affairs, to think deeply..."

"France is the centre of Europe", seconds the "**Nabat**" "It depends on France whether there is to be war or peace."

But, according to the opinion of the white guardists, France hesitated, and therefore Gorgulov took up his revolver. He is well aware of his "target". His aim is to compel France to act. His aim is to "attack the bolsheviks from the rear" by murdering the President of the French Republic. On the 7th May Doumer was assassinated.

President Doumer was the victim of the struggle of those

dark forces and involved influences which are doing their best to drive the French Republic to war with the Soviet Union. The direct instigators and organisers of the murder were the white guardists, the Military Alliance and the newspaper "Vozrozhdenie".

This fact is no longer a secret to anyone, and it is certainly no secret to the French authorities, and above all, not to the authorities conducting the investigation.

French public opinion should have raised the question clearly and unambiguously and declared: it is not necessary to go far in order to seek the threads of the crime and its instigators and organisers. They are perfectly visible and they act quite openly on the territory of the French Republic. It should declare once and for all that an end must be made of the criminal machinations of the Russian white guardists and above all of their military organisation which inspires the terrorists and supplies them and which daily commits new acts of provocation with a view to undermining the peace of the world.

The questions must be raised: Why are not the murderers, the instigators and organisers of the assassination of President Doumer arrested? Why is General Miller and his satellite Semenov, the editor of the "Vozrozhdenie" still at liberty? Why is Kerensky, and the editor of the "Molva" Filosofov not arrested? Why are the instigators and accomplices of the criminal white-guardist machinations, the propagandists of the terror, the inspirers and accomplices of Gorgulov and all future Gorgulovs not only at liberty, in Paris, but permitted to assist the authorities who are conducting the "investigation", to stamp the white guardist assassin who murdered the President of the French Republic in order to provoke war against the Soviet Union, as a "bolshevist"?

The fact that they are not punished shows quite plainly who are behind the white guardists, who held the bomb which was to be exploded in order to confront humanity with the fact of a world historical catastrophe. It is impossible to draw any other conclusion. World public opinion should take due note of this.

THE WAR

The Result of the Shanghai War.

By Szo-Yen.

Shanghai, May 15, 1932.

The Shanghai paper "Schen Bao" of March 25, reported:

"The Japanese admiral Anbao, after viewing Shanghai, declared that the wealth of China is concentrated in the Yangtse valley. Japanese influence in the Yangtse valley, however, is still smaller than that of the other Powers. The Shanghai war, he continued, is of great importance. After this war, Japanese commerce and other undertakings will, with the aid of military forces, be able to achieve a monopolist position in the Yangtse valley."

This declaration by a Japanese admiral reveals the true aims of Japanese imperialism, in order to achieve which it has sacrificed the lives of countless soldiers. Of course, this war is of "great importance" from the standpoint of the Japanese bourgeoisie and landowners. But this war acquires a totally different importance for the workers, soldiers, and masses of the poor, to whom it has brought death, wounds, misery and increased taxes.

According to the same paper, "Schen Bao", 240,000 people in Shanghai have been rendered homeless as a result of the war. Of this number 169,000 are workers in the Chinese factories, 63,392 are workers in the Japanese factories, and 8,000 are workers in other foreign factories. If we reckon the wages of a single worker at a Chinese dollar per day, then the loss of wages suffered by the workers in the period from January 29 to March 10, amounts to over 10 million dollars. According to the figures of the social bureau in Shanghai, the number missing in this war amounts to 10,400, the number of wounded to 2,000, of killed to 6,080. As regards the number of homeless, over 17,500 people are housed in shelters provided by charitable institutions.

The village of Woosung was the main scene of the Shanghai events. It has been completely destroyed by the fire of the Japanese artillery. The damage caused is enormous. The formerly beautiful landscape of Woosung, situated on the seacoast, has been converted into a blood-drenched heap of

ruins. Here many soldiers, workers and peasants have perished in the prime of life.

The society for burying the dead in Shanghai buries 30 to 50 and sometimes a 100 corpses a day. In the period from the 10th to the 31st of March, 946 corpses were buried, including those of numerous persons who have perished in the flames, of violated women and also of many children.

These figures, which are not complete by a long way, relate only to the district of Kiangwan. How great is the number of victims in the remaining districts?

The "Schen Bao", in its issue of April 3, reports:

"Many corpses are floating in the water; they are swollen up and burial is rendered very difficult owing to the advanced state of decomposition."

The various reports do not by any means give a complete picture of all the horrors. All this suffices, however, for the toiling masses to recognise the grim features of imperialism, which seeks a way out of the crisis in war. Japanese imperialism comes forward as the advance-guard of international imperialism. It has taken the first step for a partitioning of China and is working daily in preparing intervention against the Soviet Union.

The Chinese workers and peasants have already commenced the war of national emancipation against the Japanese and the rest of the imperialists, as well as against the Kuomintang, which has capitulated to imperialism. The national revolutionary war of the toiling masses of China will be the best means for protecting the Soviet Union.

From the History of Japanese Intervention in the Far East.

By Zakhar Abramov.

As soon as the world was informed by telegraph about the October revolution, Japanese imperialism, having speedily obtained the consent of the Entente countries to an "active policy", sent several Japanese cruisers to the Vladivostok port. The arrival of the self-invited guests in the Vladivostok port was explained thus:

"The Japanese government has not the least intention of interfering with the political life of Russia; we have no annexationist plans; the presence of Japanese warships in Vladivostok aims at preserving law and order and defending Japanese subjects." (From the official statement of the Japanese consul general in Vladivostok.)

The true value of this statement the masses of workers and peasants in the Far East experienced to their cost from the end of November, 1918, up to April 26, 1922.

Soon after the "first swallows" of intervention, British, American, and French warships arrived in the Soviet Far East. Soviet Vladivostok found itself in a iron circle of internal and external counter-revolution in which Japan was playing first fiddle. To get a "public opinion" favourable to intervention, and to conceal from the mass of the Japanese workers the true aims of intervention, a famous slogan was made use of, the authors of which were none other but Mensheviks and S.R.s: the slogan "connection between the Bolsheviks and the German general staff", and on the plea "of the necessity of restarting the struggle with Germany in the Far East", Japan embarked on counter-revolutionary intervention. Public opinion was manipulated in Siberia as well as in the Far East, and in this respect the Siberian and Far Eastern organisations of the Mensheviks and S.R.s played an important part. On April 5th, 1918, after proper "artillery preparation" by the forces of the external and internal social-imperialist parties, the Japanese command put on shore a landing party. Soon after the Japanese, British and American troops made their appearance in Vladivostok. The general staff of the Japanese forces immediately established contact with the white bandits, Semenov*) and his henchman, Kalmykov**), with the Czecho Slovak legions and others. A united plan of action was put into operation. The Japanese, to-

*) Ataman (chieftain) Semenov, a cossack officer of the Tsarist army. During the pre-parliament in 1917 he was sent by Kerenski to Siberia and the Far East for the organisation of anti-Bolshevik units.

***) Kalmykov was also sent in 1917 by Kerenski to Siberia for the organisation of anti-Bolshevik detachments, and for the enlistment of counter-revolutionary forces.

gether with the Czechs, engineered an uprising in Vladivostok on June 29th 1918, and also in Nikolsk-Ussuriisk and other towns with the object of overthrowing the Soviet regime. The activities of the Japanese interventionists and white bandit corps of the Japanese general staff headed by Semenov, Kalmykov and others—constitute bloody pages in the annals of the Far Eastern Region.

The Entente governments who organised the intervention, divided the territory of Ex-Tsarist Russia into "spheres of influence". The Far East was selected by Japan as such a "sphere of influence". It fought Bolshevism in the Far East chiefly because it was afraid that Bolshevik influence would penetrate into Japan and China.

That Japanese intervention was part of the general Entente plan, is unambiguously shown, for instance, by the declaration of the Japanese government published in the beginning of August 1918.

"The Japanese government has always ardently hoped that law and order would be speedily restored in Russia, and with it, a healthy untrammelled development of its national life... Germany, Austria and others persist in their activity in the Russian Far East, and deliberately obstruct the progress of the Czecho-Slovak troops through Russia. The Japanese Government, meeting half way the wishes of the American government, and also in full agreement with all the Allies, has decided to send immediately the necessary forces for the protection of the Czecho-Slovaks, and their progress homewards. As soon as the aforesaid aim is attained, the Japanese government will immediately withdraw its troops from Russian territory."

A few days later (August 12th), the 12th division of the Japanese forces was put on shore in Vladivostok, and proceeded to Transbaikalia, to the assistance of the white chieftain, Semenov. With the help of the Japanese and Czech troops, Semenov became in December 1918 full master of Chita and the whole of Transbaikalia. The number of Japanese troops in the Far East reached 100,000. The Chinese Eastern Railway and a considerable part of the Ussuriisk Railway came under the actual control of the Japanese. Japanese troops flooded the maritime, Amur, and Transbaikalian provinces. Together with the Japanese forces of occupation, the masters in these provinces were Semenov, Kalmykov and others who were subservient to the General Staff.

When the allied interventionist forces left Siberia and the Far East, when the last transports of the Czecho-Slovaks had gone, Japan became the only master of the Far Eastern region, the centre of attraction for the forces of the counter-revolution—from the monarchists to the "social-democrats".

The occupation of the region, accompanied by savage repression with regard to the toiling population, called forth mass migration to the Taiga (marshy forest land) of the workers and peasants from whose midst guerilla detachments were formed which started under exceptionally difficult conditions the glorious, heroic struggle against the forces of occupation and their white-bandit lackeys. In their struggle against the guerilla troops, the Japanese forces flooded the line of the Ussuriisk railway where they established a brutal regime. Anyone suspected of being a guerilla fighter or a Bolshevik was shot. For the "protection and salvation of the Japanese residents", division followed division, and one district after the other was occupied.

When in the beginning of 1920 the Red Army smashed the Kolchak regime, and the Red troops penetrated rapidly into the interior of Siberia, the guerilla movement was given a tremendous impetus, and became a great menace to the forces of occupation and their lackeys, the Russian white guards. The counter-revolutionary government in Vladivostok, the chieftains, big and small, began to desert their nests in a panic and take refuge in the Japanese staff. The Japanese masters, following the example of their lackeys, began to retreat. Soon the whole of Transbaikalia was swept clean of the Japanese forces of occupation and the counter-revolutionary riff raff.

In order to prevent contact between the Far East and the Soviet Republic, to put an end to the Red guerilla movement, and to destroy the Soviets which had sprung up in a series of towns and settlements of the Far Eastern region, the Japanese resorted once more to their time honoured method—provocation. There was a particularly vivid illustration of the application of this method in Nikolaievsk-on-the-Amur. The

Japanese military clique wanted to keep at any cost Nikolaievsk in its own hands, considering that it was valuable to the Japanese as an important strategical base from which they could control the mouth of the Amur, send their warships along the whole river, and prepare the seizure of Sakhalin. To this point was directed the offensive of the guerilla troops headed by Triapitzin. After a successful attack the Shmirrakh fortress was taken, and Nikolaievsk besieged. When the siege had lasted a month, the Japanese were forced to conclude peace, they agreed to disarm the white guards, and undertook not to interfere in internal affairs. On February 24th, 1920, the guerilla troops entered the town, the white guards were disarmed, and their leaders sent to prison. A few days after the surrender of Nikolaievsk to the guerilla troops, the Japanese command ordered a surprise attack on these troops. After a two days' fight the Japanese attack was repulsed, the Japanese forces were disarmed and made prisoners. But at the end of May, under the pressure of the advancing Japanese forces, the guerilla troops were after all compelled to retreat to the Taiga.

Directly after this the Japanese army command received instructions from the War Ministry containing plans for the final seizure of the Maritime province and the Amur. Here are some excerpts:

"After the incidents in Nikolaievsk-on-the-Amur, the Japanese government is compelled to issue the following orders for the protection of Japanese interests in the Maritime and Amur provinces. We command that this territory be divided into three military districts... To make your work more easy, we shall send you with the least possible delay all the plans that have been already elaborated in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which make provision for the functions of the civic institutions in the event of an occupation. Our interests also demand preparation for an advance on Blagoveschensk which is in a district swept with irregular Bolshevik troops. Your preparations in this respect must be such as to make an advance possible at a moment's notice."

"The great tasks of the Japanese Imperial government demand that the occupation be fully effected with the least possible delay."

The declaration of the Japanese government on the occasion of the occupation of the Far East tallies almost word for word with its present declarations with regard to the occupation of Manchuria:

"No other state is so closely connected geographically with Siberia as the Japanese empire. Considering that the political situation that has arisen in the Far East of Siberia is a menace not only to the life and property of our citizens resident in Siberia, but also in Korea and Manchuria, these circumstances make it unfortunately impossible for us to evacuate immediately our forces from the Far Eastern region."

The history of the occupation in Siberia has shown that these declarations are absolutely not worth anything, that one cannot "wait" until the Japanese forces are themselves willing to withdraw from the occupied territory, and that the only thing that forced them to clear out of the Far East was the bayonets of the guerilla troops and Red Army. The toiling masses of the Far Eastern region were soon made to realise the mendacity of the last declaration, for soon after its appearance, the Japanese seized Sakhalin which led to the overthrow of the Soviet regime. The guerilla detachments and the active Soviet workers were compelled to retire to the hills. The seizure of Sakhalin, effected by the Japanese units landed there, was accompanied by the usual declarations, the usual testimony of the hypocrisy of Japanese imperialism. Here is the text of one of these manifestoes:

"The Japanese units have arrived solely with the object of ascertaining the truthfulness of the numerous rumours that Japanese citizens in this province are either killed or robbed of their property, and with the object of protecting Japanese citizens..."

Then came General Ooa's order (July 3, 1930) in which he announced the necessity of a temporary occupation of the Sakhalin province with Nikolaievsk-on-the-Amur, Khabarovsk and other towns, whereas 11 days later was published one more characteristic order in which it was said in black on white:

"In a few days time Japan will introduce military administration on the Russian territory of Sakhalin,

"Arising out of this: (1) all institutions must from July 25, hand over all their affairs to the Japanese command..."

The Japanese imperialists, having seized the Sakhalin province and established there their avowedly occupationist regime and Japanese administration, laid their bloody hands on the trade and industry of the province. First of all "persons who were not Japanese subjects" were forbidden to continue exploiting the Sakhalin mines, all the fisheries in Sakhalin and on the Amur were seized, which condemned the local population to death by starvation, as fishing in this province is the main source of income.

Simultaneously with the seizure of Sakhalin, Nikolaievsk and other towns, the Japanese seized Vladivostok. The existence of a proletarian kernel in the town made this part of the occupation more difficult for the Japanese.

White bandits became a means of the gradual occupation of Vladivostok by the Japanese. Such an obedient tool in the hands of the Japanese command prior to the beginning of 1920, was the Tsarist general Rosanov. The first attempt to overthrow the government of the Japanese hireling was made by the Vladivostok workers and soldiers in January 1920. This time, however, the Japanese sent reinforcements, and several hundred workers and soldiers were shot by machine gun fire.

By this time a "buffer state" was established between the R.S.F.S.R. and Japan in the form of the Far Eastern Republic. The establishment of the "buffer state" upset the game of Japanese imperialism. Internal contradictions in the imperialist camp made themselves also felt. There appeared on the scene America which had also aspirations with regard to the Far East. Japanese imperialism had to curb its appetite somewhat.

In a telegram to the commander in chief of the Siberian expeditionary army from Tokio, the War Ministry sent the following instruction:

"Our political plans in Siberia not to be fully carried out. The U.S.A. demands re-immediate evacuation of Siberia by the Japanese troops is a very serious question. . . . The present situation compels us to relinquish for a time occupationist plans in Siberia, while keeping our positions in territories where we have troops. Operations against the Amur province must be stopped, but the troops must be kept in readiness."

The troops were kept in readiness, because the Japanese command was preparing in a hurry another provocation for the seizure of Vladivostok. Troops from Amur were drawn into the Amur province. Trenches were dug around Vladivostok, and wire entanglements were erected. Ships carrying Japanese troops arrived in the port in quick succession, fortifications and radio stations were occupied. Then the Japanese troops occupied the town, arrested and shot a number of prominent revolutionists. For two days the town was in the hands of Japanese soldiers. Hundreds of inhabitants suffered severely at their hands, even people who had nothing to do with politics were killed, among them women and children. Even more vile was the conduct of the Japanese forces of occupation in **Khabarovsk** where a coup d'Etat was effected on the same day (April 5). This coincidence in the date shows that there was concerted action. In Khabarovsk, the Japanese organised a blood bath. 400 people were killed, including many women and children; 1,500 people were arrested, very few of whom remained alive.

In all these interventionist activities the white bandit organisations participated. Great Britain and France tacitly sanctioned the actions of Japanese imperialism, the only protest came from the U.S.A.—the constant rival of Japanese imperialism in the Far East. Partly under the influence of U.S.A. protests, but chiefly under the threat of the approaching Red Army Japan beat a retreat, and consented to settle its demands in a peaceful manner. There was a temporary respite, conciliatory commissions were set to work. From direct action by their own military forces, the Japanese began to resort more and more to the utilisation of their lackeys—the white bandit chieftains.

When the Semenov bands were completely disintegrated owing to drunkenness and plundering, Baron Unger* was patronised: he was instructed to organise detachments out of the Kolchak bands who had retreated to Mongolia. The Japa-

nese imperialists intended to convert Mongolia into a colony of Japanese imperialism, and make it a rallying ground for an attack on the Far Eastern Republic and on the Soviet Union. An enormous quantity of arms and ammunition, as well as instructors and Japanese officers, went to the assistance of Unger. Baron Unger began his activity by proclaiming the "independence of Mongolia from China". At first, he succeeded in driving out the Chinese forces, re-establishing Khutukhta's nominal power, and starting preparation for an invasion of Transbaikalia.

Regarding his connection with and direct subordination to the Japanese command, an enormous number of documents found on him when he was taken prisoner, bear eloquent testimony.

Apart from the organisation of the Unger bands, the Japanese command (in the person of General Ooa) sent its subordinates directives to the following effect:

"To do their utmost to influence internal affairs in Khabarovsk, so as to constantly interfere with the activity of the Khabarovsk administration, and prevent the representative of the Far Eastern Government attaining anything in his work. Give full support to the Town Party*, but do it so that it cannot be noticed by the population". (From General Ooa's secret instruction to the commander of the 14th division, August 12th, 1920.)

Alongside of such actions, the Japanese command, in order to divert the attention of public opinion and dull the vigilance of the various governments of the Far Eastern region who aspired to unification with the Far Eastern Republic, published the following declaration, as if in answer to the proclamation of the independent Far Eastern Republic:

"The Japanese command which sympathizes sincerely with the Russian population of the Far East in its present plight, ardently wishes a speedy stabilisation of the political situation of the region, and restoration of law and order. It has no designs whatever, nor any desire to encroach on the territorial rights of Russia.

"Now that the transport of the Czechoslovak troops is finished, I openly declare that the Japanese command will evacuate its troops with the greatest pleasure, as soon as a stable situation is established in the Russian territories of the Far Eastern Region, as soon as any possibility of a menace to Korea and Manchuria is excluded, and the safety of the life and property of Japanese citizens is guaranteed.

"The Japanese command, together with the Russian people, welcomes wholeheartedly the formation of an autonomous territory out of parts of the Far Eastern region, and the adoption of a political form of administration that will be compatible with the will of the people . . ." (declaration of May 12, 1920).

The Japanese government published such declarations to divert attention from its real aims, while in the meantime it prepared the destruction of the Far Eastern Republic by forming again and again white guard detachments and carrying on negotiations with the French government regarding another decisive attack on the Far Eastern Republic.

The preparation of another provocation on the part of the Japanese general staff went on throughout 1920.

By the Spring of 1921, the Japanese had set up the following plan: Baron Unger was to strike a blow in Transbaikalia, Semenov was to land in Vladivostok and occupy Khabarovsk, General Sychev—Blagoveschensk, etc. In a word, the plan was to bring to naught the People's Assembly in Vladivostok which aimed at uniting the region with the Far Eastern Republic. And there was also another attempt to tear the "Buffer state" to pieces and create between the Far Eastern Republic and Japan a military and political base of Japanese imperialism. That such a plan had been drawn up, is shown by a series of documents. Here is, for instance, a secret instruction to the Japanese gendarmerie department in Vladivostok.

"The Japanese command, on the strength of a secret agreement made in Port Arthur, has undertaken to help Ataman Semenov in his attempt to land in Vladivostok, so that he should proclaim himself commander in chief of all the armed forces of the Far East, and start mobilisation."

One of the paragraphs of the secret agreement made in Port Arthur with Semenov, is as follows:

*) Monarchist and white bandit Party of Japanese orientation.

* Unger, the henchman of Ataman Semenov, distinguished himself by particularly Sadist tortures and murder of the workers and peasants of Transbaikalia.

"Par. 4. As soon as the Russian troops begin the offensive, the Japanese command is to give them financial help."

The Japanese did not succeed in carrying out this plan. Baron Unger was defeated by the joint forces of the Red Army and revolutionary units of the Far Eastern Republic, taken prisoner and shot, whereas his troops were dispersed. A terrible disintegration set in in the Semenov detachments, which developed into mutual attacks and fights. The Japanese, and the white bandits succeeded in carrying out only one part of the sanguinary enterprise—to effect a monarchist coup d'état in Vladivostok (May 26-27), and to establish the so-called "Merkulov government". Merkulov handed over the whole administration of the province to the Japanese, and brutally killed workers and all who were suspected of being in sympathy with guerilla troops and Communists.

The rule of the white nominees of Japanese imperialism continued for another year and more. The local guerilla movement, reinforced by F.E.R. troops, drove the whites from one position after another, and the Japanese there followed in the footsteps of the whites. In February 1922, the people's revolutionary army occupied Khabarovsk. However, the Japanese occupation of Vladivostok went on right up to October 21st, 1922, i. e. until the regular units of the Red Army entered the town. The final evacuation of the Northern territory by the Japanese did not take place until May 1925, when the Japanese evacuated North Sakhalin.

The troops of Japanese imperialism remained on the territory of the Soviet Union longer than the troops of the other imperialist countries. The toiling population of the Far Eastern region paid a heavy price, for this occupation cost dear. Thousands of people shot and tortured to death in the dungeons of the Japanese secret police, in those of the white bandits, the hirelings of the Japanese. Hundreds of villages and settlements burned to the ground, terrible economic ruin throughout the region—such was the price paid by the workers and peasants of the Far Eastern Region for this occupation.

But the workers of the U.S.S.R. have learned a lesson. And not only the toilers of the Far Eastern region have fully realised the essence of Japanese politics. What is happening now in the Far East, in Manchuria and Shanghai has brought it home to the toilers of the whole world; they know what follows the "concern" felt by Japanese imperialists regarding the "life of their subjects".

INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

International Congress against War in Geneva.

Paris, 21st May 1932.

On the initiative of **Romain Rolland** and **Henri Barbusse** an International Committee against war has been formed. This committee is to organise an **International Congress against War** and to unite all persons, tendencies and organisations prepared to fight against the threatening war.

Amongst the members of the committee are: Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Maxim Gorki, Upton Sinclair, Madame Sun Yat-Sen, Theodore Dreiser, Professor Albert Einstein, Professor Paul Langevin, John Dos Passos, F. Masereel, Eleonore Despard (Ireland) and Jane Devanny (Australia). The international congress will take place in **Geneva** on the 28th July. The bureau of the committee has drawn up and issued the following appeal calling for the congress.

"For months the disarmament conference of the League of Nations has been sitting in Geneva and at the same time a bloody war is going on in the Far East. The Japanese robber war against China is being continued. Aeroplane bombs and artillery shells have killed thousands of Chinese citizens, including workers and peasants, old men, women and children. Japan has fallen upon China and massacred the unarmed civil population in Chapei. Japan has seized Manchuria. Under the

clumsy mask of an independent republic Manchuria is being made into a strategic basis for war against the Soviet Union."

"For fifteen years the Soviet Union has been striving to build up a new world, based on a community of toilers and on a rational distribution of production on the principle of the interests of the community, co-operation, the abolition of exploitation and oppression of man by man, principles which are sharply opposed to the anarchy of capitalism. For months the Soviet Union has heroically resisted all the provocations of Japan and concentrated all its forces on the great work of socialist construction. In Europe and in particular in Rumania, Poland and the Baltic and Balkan States feverish war preparations are being made under French leadership. The armament budgets are rising to fantastic heights, the war expenses of all countries are rising immeasurably, the production of the war and chemical industries in France (Schneider-Creuzot, Rebauld, Kuhlmann), in the Ruhr district, in Czechoslovakia (Skoda works), in Rumania and Poland are rapidly increasing. The preparations for the destruction of whole continents with the horrible means of chemical and air warfare are being made now."

"A new world war is threatened!"

"The war is directed against China and with the assistance of the imperialist States it is to be waged against the Soviet Union. The authors of this plan are leading capitalist concerns and the big banks in western Europe, the heavy industries, the industrial and finance capitalists and the governments of the capitalist countries are their instruments. It is clear that a war against the Soviet Union would be a new, second world war bringing with it mass misery on an unexampled scale for the working people of all countries, and resulting in the deaths of millions of men and women.

We must fight against this insane and criminal activity with all possible clarity and energy. Ways and means must be found of preventing this planned insanity, this imperialist war crime.

The undersigned men and women are determined to do everything in their power to prevent this new war crime and they are convinced that no right-thinking man and woman can stand aside in view of this threatening gigantic conflict, but must line up in the front of those men and women who have already begun the struggle against war. We appeal to all men and women, irrespective of their political parties, trade unions, cultural, political or social and political organisations, to unite with us in a great fighting international congress against war."

"This congress will demonstrate the fighting will of millions of working men and women all over the world to fight against the war crime if necessary at the cost of their own lives. At this congress the best ways and means of fighting against imperialist war will be discussed. It depends of the workers whether the war which has already begun in the Far East against China develops into a war of intervention against the Soviet Union."

"We appeal to all men and women of good-will to participate in our congress which will take place on the 28th July 1932 in Geneva in order to make the congress a powerful international demonstration against the war criminals."

"Let us not run the risk of failing to understand, or of understanding too late! Let us awaken the conscience of the world in order to steel its will against war! Let us organise an iron resistance to war! Let us form a mighty wave of all those men and women who are unwilling to be the victims of the second world war!"

Demonstration before Japanese Embassy.

Berlin, 21st May 1932.

This morning a lightning demonstration of several hundred young workers took place in front of the Japanese Embassy in Tiergarten Strasse in Berlin. The young workers shouted slogans against Japanese imperialism and in defence of the Soviet Union and smashed the windows of the Embassy with stones. The police arrived on the scene in motor-tenders, but too late to make any arrests. A large force of police then made an idiotic raid on the Tiergarten and succeeded in arresting a number of perfectly harmless pedestrians who had nothing whatever to do with the demonstration. The demonstrators had long ago disappeared.

How the First World War was Prepared

Peace Talk as a Cloak for War Preparations.

Documents from the Period Preceding the First
Imperialist World War.

The First Balkan War.

Before Tchataldsha.

Sofia, November 5, 1912. The Bulgarians have continued the pursuit of the Turks on the river Tchorlu. The main portion of the army, regardless of the Turkish forces in the South, are proceeding directly to Strandsha in the direction of the Derkos lake and Tchataldsha, whilst the Southern army are directing their main attack along the railway via Fenarkadiköj against Tchataldsha. (Bulgarian army report.)

The Big Battle near Lüle Burgas.

Constantinople, November 6. From the reports of war correspondents and military attaches who have returned here, it is now possible to form a picture of the course of the battle near Lüle Burgas-Visa on the left flank of the Turks. All reports agree in stating that the Turkish troops fought with great bravery; Mamut Mukhtar himself with three battalions captured two Bulgarian batteries. ("Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung.")

The Casualties.

Sofia, December 10. According to the list of casualties submitted to the Ministries up to December 1, the allied Balkan armies have lost 143,000 men. ("Grazer Tageblatt.")

*

Vienna, January, 1, 1913. It is a well-known fact that in war the losses caused by infectious diseases exceed those caused by the weapons of the enemy. The Bulgarian army have lost more than 20,000 men as a result of cholera.

*

Constantinople.

The Balkan War Threatens to Develop into a European War.

Zürich, November 8. A completely new situation has arisen as a result of the victory of the allied Balkan countries. It was always assumed that Turkey would not be able to stand the attacks, but the victories of the Bulgarians and Serbs have surprised even those who knew the situation. The result of the three-weeks campaign is that Constantinople is seriously threatened.

If the Bulgarian advance is not held up at Tchataldsha, it is to be feared that English and Russian warships will before long land troops in Constantinople. This, however, in view of the complicated system of alliances, would lead to a European war. War for the possession of the Balkans will thus become a war for the redistribution of the world. ("Züricher Neueste Nachrichten.")

And Now the Big Powers Interfere.

Paris, November 5, 1912. This evening, the Turkish Ambassador has handed to the Prime Minister Poincaré an official request by Turkey for mediation. The request reads: "The Ottoman government requests the joint mediation of the Big Powers for the immediate ending of hostilities and the laying down of peace conditions." Poincaré pointed out to the Ambassador that the request for mediation must exclude any idea of pressure on the belligerents, and added that the Powers could only mediate if all the belligerents agreed thereto. He has caused all the Powers without exception to be informed that France would be inclined to enter into discussions with them regarding Turkey's request. (Havas.)

"Nobody wishes to Coerce the Balkan States."

London, November 6. In the House of Commons yesterday Sir Edward Grey took the opportunity of giving a detailed reply to questions regarding the situation in the Balkans. He stated:

"So far as I know nobody, having regard to the result of the war, wishes to dispute the right of the Balkan States to put forward conditions under which they are prepared to conclude peace. (Ministerial applause.) And I do not think that the big Powers have been or will be slower than anybody else in adapting their own views to the course of events. It is true that the Porte has appealed to the Powers, but I would like to emphasise, that although the latter are exchanging views at the present time, it is a very delicate business for them to mediate between two belligerents, unless they do so at the request of both parties. ("Times.")

The Meaning of Poincaré's Mediation for Peace.

Whilst in public and in the columns of the press the European diplomats, on the initiative of Poincaré, talked of peace, Isvolski, the Russian Ambassador in Paris, sent to his chief Sassoanov the following secret information on November 7, 1912:

"Poincaré's proposal was made after the question had been discussed by the Ministerial Council. Whilst France had hitherto declared to us that local events, so to speak, purely Balkan affairs, would give rise only to diplomatic measures but could not lead to active intervention, France now appears to recognise that a territorial conquest by Austria would question the general European equilibrium and thereby France's interests. I did not fail to point out to Poincaré that by his suggestion to examine with us and England the means for preventing such a conquest, he thereby at the same time raised the question of the practical consequences of the agreement proposed by him. From his answer I gathered that he was perfectly aware that in this sphere France could be induced to proceed to military operations."

How they Preserve Peace.

Berlin, November 3. The cruisers "Hertha", "Vineta" and "Geier", which are at present in the Mediterranean, have received orders to proceed to Turkish waters in order to protect the lives and property of Germans. In addition, two further cruisers are to be sent shortly from Kiel.

*

Constantinople, November 5. The British cruiser "Weymouth" has arrived in the Dardanelles and will this evening, as the first foreign warship, arrive in the Bosphorus.

*

Smyrna, November 5. Three French warships arrived here yesterday. They are awaiting further orders.

Peace Demonstrations of the Social democracy.

The Balkan war and the diplomatic complications among the imperialist Powers alarmed the European proletariat. It reacted to the threatening danger of a European war, which

was connected with the general intensification of the class struggle, with mass demonstrations and in some cases bloody strikes (France).

So long as the war was raging "far away in Turkey", the leaders of the II. International and its Sections had no objection to convening demonstrations against war. On October 28, there took place a special meeting of the International Socialist Bureau. On November 17, big peace demonstrations were held in all European countries.

A Quarter of a Million Workers Demonstrate in Treptow.

Berlin, October 21, 1912. The demonstrations on Sunday brought masses of Prussian electors on to the street such as the bourgeois parties would hardly be able to muster. And what applies to Berlin applies also to the demonstrations in the whole of Prussia, in whole of Germany. ("Vorwärts")

A Hundred Thousand in Paris.

Paris, November 17. At least 100,000 persons took part in today's meeting. ("Humanité.")

30,000 in Budapest.

Budapest, November 17. The protest meeting in Budapest was one of the most powerful and imposing gatherings that has ever been held in this town. The meeting was preceded by a procession in which more than 30,000 persons took part. ("Nepszava.")

Scheidemann as a "Revolutionary".

Paris, November 17. At a socialist protest meeting against war held today before the gates of Paris in St. Germain, the German Reichstag deputy Scheidemann declared that in the event of a war the German proletarians would not fire at their French brothers. (Havas.)

Viktor Adler Threatens with Revolution.

Vienna, November 17. On Tuesday the proletariat of Vienna held a powerful demonstration against war. Viktor Adler stated:

"We do not prophecy, but the others had better learn from history what we have learned from history: that there are moments in the lives of the peoples when automatically—revolutions are not announced and revolutions are not made—they tug at their chains until they finally break them." ("Vorwärts".)

When Mussolini was still

Rome, beginning November 1912. The executive of the Italian Socialist Party, at its last plenary session, after a long discussion, unanimously adopted the following resolution introduced by Comrade Mussolini:

"After hearing the report of the Italian representative in the International Socialist Bureau, which at its recent meeting furnished fresh proof of the unanimity of the ideas and aims of the Socialist International, the Executive of the Italian Socialist Party enthusiastically endorses the slogan of the Austrian socialists: 'The Balkans to the Balkan Peoples', with the inclusion of Albania and without excluding Turkey.

The Executive Committee calls upon the Italian socialists to intensify their anti-military agitation for simultaneous disarmament, and finally instructs its delegates to advocate the ideas laid down here at the approaching International Congress at Basle." ("Avanti.")

Kautsky: No Mass Actions!

Kautsky wrote in the "Neue Zeit" of November 8, 1912:

"In this connection we must be quite clear now regarding what way we can and wish to oppose war.

One thing is certain: to-day, at a time of general compulsory military service and the increasing strength of the revolutionary proletariat, no government will venture to embark on a war unless it has previously succeeded in rousing general enthusiasm for war among the population.

On the other hand, however, it is equally certain that it would be hopeless, in fact directly harmful, when the population are swept off their feet by general war-enthusiasm, to seek by mass action or even by a mass strike to prevent the government from waging a war.

Our task, therefore, is essentially a propagandist task. Mass actions, as planned actions of our Party, can only be considered insofar as they are of a propagandist nature.

It would be still worse if we sought now to persuade the non-proletarian sections of the people that imperialism and the fight for the Turkish booty is a vital necessity for bourgeois society, and if we opposed war and demanded peace, it is merely because we wished to destroy bourgeois society.

To preach such nonsense means today to commit a crime against world peace. Our tactics are directed towards winning all sections of the people who are not interested in the war, by the strength of the proletarian opposition to it, by isolating the war-inciters and thereby rendering them impotent in face of the phalanx of the masses who stand for peace."

Lenin against Kautsky.

In a letter to Plechanov, dated November 17, 1912, written in Cracow and recently published for the first time, Lenin opposed the above statement of Kautsky. He wrote:

"Kautsky's article in No. 6 of the "Neue Zeit", after the October meeting of the International Socialist Bureau, clearly represents the official standpoint of the Germans, Austrians and others. We do not agree with the main point, especially pages 191-192.

"Kautsky wishes to repudiate the revolutionary mass strike. This is insufferable both from the Russian and general European standpoint..."

(Lenin-Almanach, Russian volume XIII. Page 208.)

Revolutionary Fight against War.

In October 1912, shortly after the outbreak of the first Balkan war, the (Bolshevik) C.C. of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, published a manifesto which was reprinted by some socialist papers abroad. In this manifesto it was stated, inter alia:

Wars, with all their horrors, are a product of capitalism which enslaves millions of workers, intensifies the competitive struggle between the nations and converts the slaves of capital into cannon-fodder. Only the international socialist army of the revolutionary proletariat is able to put an end to this enslavement of the masses, these slaughters in the interests of the slave owners

Only the revolutionary overthrow of Tsarism can secure the free development of Russia and also of the whole of Eastern Europe. Only the victory of the Balkan Federal Republic along with the victory of the Republic in Russia can free hundreds of millions from the horrors of war and from oppression and exploitation in so-called peace times.

In the first five months of the year 1912, more than half a million Russian workers took part in the political strike and proved their strength after the difficult years of counter-revolution. In a number of places the soldiers and sailors rose against Tsarism. Therefore we call for the revolutionary mass fight, for further and more energetic preparation for the decisive common action of the workers, peasants and the advanced elements among the military.

Therein lies the only salvation of Russia, which is plundered and trodden under foot by Tsarism.

Japanese Stretch their Hands to C.E.R.

Peking, 21st May 1932.

The Japanese military authorities in Harbin have decided to take over police functions on the Harbin-Tsitsikar section of the Chinese Eastern Railway, giving as their reason that an attack is threatened on the part of General Ma's troops.

The Harbin correspondent of the "Peking and Tientsin Times" declares that there is not the least basis for this suggestion. He points out that the Siberian express regularly passes this section of the line without the least interference and that the presence of Japanese troops can only cause trouble.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Scottsboro Mother Fights.

By J. Louis Engdahl (New York).

The Scottsboro Negro Mother, **Ada Wright**, fighting not only for the lives of her two sons but for the nine Negro boys facing the electric chair in Alabama, has completed her tour of Germany.

Before the eyes of great masses of German workers, the mask of so-called democracy has dropped from the face of capitalist class tyranny and there has been revealed the hideous features of lynch-murder, lynch justice, of the class and national oppression of 13,000,000 Negroes, workers and poor farmers in the United States.

The Negro Mother had never been beyond the confines of the state of Tennessee, in which she had lived all her life, until the judicial lynchers in Alabama sought to legalize through the electric chair the originally attempted mob murder of her two sons, and the seven sons of six other Negro mothers. But she possessed the proletarian instinct of class resistance and appeared continuously throughout the past year in the great cities of the United States, raising the banners of the Scottsboro campaign.

Hers is a background of Negro slavery days in the United States, her own grandmother not long dead having been the human slave of the plantation taskmasters in "The South" of the United States, torn from her own mother at six years of age and sold on the auction bloc for \$300.

The right of the slaveowner to murder his own slaves lives in the lynch murder today. The struggle to root out this class and race oppression, that continues to take its huge toll of human blood and agony through frightful lynching horrors, burnings, hangings, floggings, shootings, brought the Negro Mother across the Atlantic Ocean to present the true picture of American class justice to European labour.

This is the first time that such a spokesman has come from America although the world-wide struggles for Sacco and Vanzetti, for the victims of Gastonia, and for Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings have mounted high in Europe. It is peculiarly fitting that a Negro Mother should have been the first to be invited to Europe by the German International Red Aid, raising sharply the actual picture of class oppression and mass misery in the United States against the usually accepted and rainbow hued glories of "the land of prosperity and democracy".

The Negro Mother, **Ada Wright**, might have spoken before huge audiences in 17 cities during her two week's stay in Germany. But the Scottsboro demonstrations were completely forbidden in three cities—Cologne, Frankfurt and Muenchen. The police of Leipzig and Hannover adopted the policy initiated and carried out by the socialist police president of Berlin, Grzesinski, that the Scottsboro Mother was not to speak, appear at or send a message to the meetings. But the meetings were carried through just the same. In the three cities of Altona-Hamburg, Halle and Stuttgart the police stood by to keep her from speaking as she was allowed to sit upon the speakers' platform. She spoke in eight cities including Zoergiebel's Dortmund and Noske's Darmstadt.

It was the declaration that the social-democratic police regime worked hand in glove with the Alabama lynchers that caused **Grzesinski's police in Berlin** to break up the Scottsboro demonstration when it was about to conclude. But this proved more than ever the police tyranny that sought everywhere to gag and silence the Negro Mother, a policy of the central government at Berlin that feels and knows its class interests with American capitalism in spite of Dawes and Young Plans, reparations demands and war debt payments.

Everywhere, however, it may be said, that attempted suppression of the Scottsboro Negro Mother's appeal only won for it increasing mass support.

The Fascist press did team work with the Socialist police as in Berlin, where the Nazi organ "Angriff" sought to denounce the Negro Mother's tour as a "theater coup" of the International Red Aid, and to denounce **Dr. Albert Einstein**, leading member of the Committee for the Liberation of the Scottsboro Negro boys as a Jew, and to attack the author, **Thomas Mann**, demanding that he forget about conditions in America and confine himself solely to Germany. But even the

liberal "Fremdenblatt" of Hamburg sought to dismiss the whole question as merely "Communist agitation".

The total result has been, however, to set all Germany thinking about the Scottsboro case to the extent that on trains, in street cars and even on the public highways, the Negro Mother, her likeness being made familiar by pictures published everywhere, was continually asked by those interested, "What can we do to help?"

From all the meetings and from many individuals there went the demands to the police-guarded embassy of the United States in Berlin, that the Scottsboro Negro boys be immediately and unconditionally freed, a protest that included the pledge to develop greater activities with the rapid approach of June 24th, the date now set for the electrocution of seven of the boys while the other await new trials that, threaten to bring for them similar sentences. Germany develops the campaign against the fiendish Scottsboro judicial lynching.

The Terror against the Revolutionaries in Palestine.

By H.

The situation in Palestine has been greatly complicated by the tremendous oppression by British imperialism of the fellahs, Bedouins and the working population of the towns, by the intensified attacks of the Zionist colonisers and by the resistance and the counter-attack of the Arab masses. It is only by employing the whole of their military forces that the English are able to prevent an open mass insurrection.

The influence of the Communist Party among the working masses is growing. The Communist Party of Palestine is not only gathering round it the best elements of the Arab working class; it is also coming forward with its slogans at the head of the movement of the fellahs against their oppressors. In addition, the activity of the Communists among the Jewish working population is able to record considerable successes. More and more Jewish workers are turning away from Zionism and coming over to Communism. Sympathy for the Soviet Union is increasing among the Jewish elements, and hundreds of workers' families have expressed the desire to join the Jewish settlement colony in Birobidjan, in order to take part in the work of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, which means the solution of the national and social question.

On the eve of May 1, which synchronised with „Nebi Mussa“, the Arab national festival, the situation was particularly tense. It came to bloody collisions between the fellahs and the police in the Arab villages near Jerusalem. The demonstrations were held under anti-imperialist slogans.

In order to stop the growth of the revolutionary movement, the British government and its Zionist agents have again resorted to increased terrorist measures. Immediately before the 1st May, over 80 revolutionary Arab and Jewish workers were arrested in various towns of Palestine. Innumerable house-searches were carried out.

The arrested workers were not brought before an ordinary court, but before the so-called administrative court consisting of British officials. The accused were deprived of the right to defend themselves, and when they protested against this, the "judge" declared that their rebellious behaviour was itself the best proof of the correctness of the charges brought against them. All the accused were sentenced to terms of imprisonment averaging one year, the majority were ordered to be deported from Palestine after serving their sentences.

These terrorist measures are accompanied by the fiercest persecution on the part of the Zionists, especially the Zionist Histadruth leaders. The Zionists in general are conducting a savage incitement against Communism and the Soviet Union. **The Zionist papers are openly discussing the question of the participation of the Zionists in the coming war of intervention against the Soviet Union.**

As regards the Communists in Palestine the social fascist Zionists make use of any calumny and lie against them, no matter how great. With the catchword, "The Communists incite progroms against the Jews", not only are the government oppressive measures approved but the Histadruth paper demands in addition that the Communists be outlawed.

The Left Poale Zion play a particularly despicable role. Together with the Histadruth leaders they carry on a campaign of slander and incitement against the Communists. In

addition, they deliver over to the police those workers who come to the anti-Communist meetings in order to expose the blackguardly actions of the Poale Zionist leaders—they play the part of denouncers and informers.

The sharpest protest must be raised everywhere against this terror. Solidarity with our fighting Palestine comrades and with the fight against the imperialists and their Zionist agents must be considerably increased.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Development of Soviet Trade in Agricultural Products.

Leading Article of the "Pravda" of May 22, 1932.

In accordance with the recent decisions of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union on the procuring of grain and cattle, these two bodies have issued an order regulating afresh the trade of the collective farms, of the collective peasants and of the working individual peasants. According to this order all previously mentioned categories of peasant farms are granted a number of new, considerable facilities for developing trade in the agricultural products produced by them.

There is no doubt that this measure of the government will increase the goods' turnover in the country and promote the production activity of the collective peasants and the working individual peasants.

In accordance with a number of decisions passed by the Central Committee already in the year 1931 and with the decisions of the XVII. Party Conference, the Party is consistently and firmly pursuing a line aiming at an all-round increase of the goods' turnover, in order thereby to improve the material and social conditions, and especially the food supply, of the working class and all toilers. This line serves at the same time to mobilise fresh means of socialist accumulation for the further development of socialist industrial construction, especially the building up of heavy industry.

Under conditions in which the socialist sector has obtained absolute preponderance in the whole of the national economy, when the question "who will beat whom?" has already been decided in favour of socialism both in the town and in the village, when, in particular, the kulaks have been liquidated as a class in the most important agricultural districts, to increase the trade turnover, to develop Soviet trade, becomes one of the most urgent tasks and an indispensable, integral part of the whole of socialist construction.

To this there is further added the circumstance that today there exists a broad economic basis for the development of collective trading. As a result of the successful realisation of the Five-Year Plan in industry, the production of industrial goods is steadily increasing, and as a result of the successes in the setting up of collective farms, there is an increase in agricultural production. All this enables us to develop collective trading as an additional source for the supplying of the towns with agricultural products.

In developing trade, however, we encounter, and will in the future encounter, the resistance of different elements which are infected by the petty bourgeois ideas of vulgar "consumers' socialism". These elements opposed the introduction of business methods and the abolition of equalitarianism. They are the same elements which attempted to abolish the money system already now, and still believe that the direct exchange of commodities and the centralised distribution of the whole production are the foundation of the economic policy of the Party.

Therefore, the fight against the "Left" underestimation of the importance of the goods' turnover, against the "Left" restriction of the trade of the collective farms, the collective peasants and working individual peasants, must be conducted with the same consistency and irreconcilability as it is being conducted against equalitarianism, for business methods etc.

The decision of the Central Committee and of the Council of People's commissars of the Soviet Union expressly states:

"All existing provisions in the Republics and localities regarding taxation and dues imposed on the trade of the collective farms, collective peasants and working individual peasants in their own agricultural products (bread, meat, poultry, eggs, milk products, vegetables, fruit etc.) in the markets, public places, at railway stations, landing places of steamers etc. are abolished." The income of the collective farms and collective peasants derived from the sale on the market of their own agricultural products is, in accordance with this decision, exempted from the agricultural tax. At the same time the taxes on the income of the working individual peasants derived from trade are considerably reduced.

Some organisations regard it as their task to compel the collective farms, the collective individual peasants to sell their products at the prices fixed by these organisations, and not at the market prices, as is plainly declared in the order issued by the government. An end must be put to all these distortions.

The development of the goods' turnover, especially the development of the trade of the collective farms and collective peasants in agricultural products, is also of tremendous importance for the economic and organisational consolidation of the collective farms. The appearance of the collective farms on the market will greatly promote their economic independence; in particular it will play a very big role in successfully carrying through the sowing campaign and, what is particularly important, in the successful bringing in of the harvest. On the collective farms it will provide an incentive to economise, to reduce the costs of production and to utilise various auxiliary sources hitherto not fully utilised.

Both the forms and the character of our trade have changed. The big collective farms are placing their products on the market. We are interested in these products being placed on the markets in the industrial centres. For this purpose it is necessary to set up store-houses with refrigerators, places where the cattle can be fed, etc.

A number of new questions also arise for co-operative trade. The opportunist short-sightedness which in many co-operative organisations has not yet been overcome, must not be tolerated any longer. The co-operative employees must realise the exceedingly great responsibility which rests upon them at present in connection with developing the trade of the collective farms, of the collective peasants and of the working individual peasants. The level of prices on the market will depend to a great extent on the work of the co-operatives. The success achieved in the fight against speculators will depend to a great extent on their work. Upon their work will to a great extent depend the further improvement of the standard of living of the workers.

This organisation of trade must in the first place be directed towards an all-round improvement of the material situation of the working class, the further economic-organisational consolidation of the collective farms, the socialist education of the collective peasants and the consolidation of correct relations with the working individual peasants.

It is necessary to continue the determined fight against the kulaks by **exterminating their remnants**, overcoming the agency of the kulaks within the Party, Right opportunism which continues to be the chief danger.

The Party demands of all its organisations, especially of the Party organisations in the areas and districts which are behindhand in sowing, and mainly from the Ukrainian organisations, that they bring about a decided change in their work among the masses of collective peasants and also of the poor and middle peasants, and liquidate the backwardness in the sowing.

The Soviet Union's Struggle to Break the Rubber Monopoly.

Moscow, 19th May 1932.

With the increasing industrialisation of the Soviet Union the role played by rubber is becoming more and more important. For instance, the rapid development of the production of motor-cars puts increasing demands on the rubber-working industry.

As early as 1925 scientific investigations and experiments began with a view to making the Soviet Union independent of the capitalist (chiefly British) rubber monopoly. Scientific expeditions were equipped and sent out in order to study the

vegetation of the Soviet Union with a view to discovering plants containing rubber. Such plants were found in Aserbaïdjan and along the shores of the Caspian Sea. However, the rubber content was not very high and the Soviet scientists were not satisfied.

Their efforts have since met with success. They have found what they wanted in **Kasakstan**, a plant named Tau-Sagy which contains forty percent of raw rubber, an extremely high content. This plant is now being cultivated systematically and this year 1,000 hectares will be planted. Experiments have shown that the Tau-Sagy can grow and thrive not only in the Far Eastern districts, but also in North Caucasia and even in the neighbourhood of Moscow. The second Five Year Plan contains provisions for planting the Tau-Sagy on no less than 570,000 hectares of land in suitable districts. A hectare of land will yield about 440 kilograms of rubber annually, and in the final year of the Five Year Plan approximately 88,000 tons of raw rubber will be obtained in this way. The Tau-Sagy will cover about twenty-five percent of the rubber requirements of the Soviet Union.

Investments totalling six hundred million roubles are to be made in order to carry out the full programme of making the Soviet Union independent of capitalism with regard to raw rubber. The second Five Year Plan provides for the building of nine new rubber-working factories to take the Tau-Sagy raw material. During the course of the second Five Year Plan the technical high schools of the Soviet Union will train 1,150 rubber specialists. Socialism will solve the rubber problem as it has solved all other problems which were presented to it.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY DAY

Day of Struggle against Hunger, War and Fascism.

By Martha Arendsee (Berlin).

June 12, W.I.R. solidarity day, will be a day of fight against hunger, war and fascism. Out of the chaos of the world crisis, out of the brutal fight of the possessing class to maintain their position of power to save capitalism and to shift all burdens on to the working class, there is developing the world disaster of starvation. Wage cuts, wholesale unemployment, cutting down of social insurance and all other social institutions, have already brought about a state of wholesale misery.

Hunger and famine are reported from Indonesia, Brazil, Bulgaria, China and Carpatho-Ukrainia; but also in America, Germany and Austria actual starvation prevails in many districts. In **Sweden** a W.I.R. delegation found a state of affairs among the striking street workers similar to that obtaining in Carpatho-Ukrainia. Here too meat is never seen on the tables of the workers all the year round; they eat bread made out of meal obtained by grinding the barks of trees. Children can no longer be sent to school because they are absolutely without clothing.

It is reported from **America** that 60 per cent. of the children of New York are underfed. In **Germany** the government is compelled to admit that already in the year 1930, 530,000 school children in Prussia were undernourished. In the meantime there is recorded everywhere an **increase in tuberculosis and rickets**. As a result of the cutting down of health insurance, according to the judgement of school doctors, 50 per cent. of the children are without medical treatment and attention. The W.I.R. in Berlin has ascertained by means of a number of medical investigations among the unemployed, that 95 per cent. of the unemployed are already suffering from chronic diseases.

As a result of an investigation of the social and health conditions of the inhabitants of a tenement building in the proletarian district of **Wedding** in Berlin, it was ascertained that out of 25 persons in 13 families only 3, and out of 26 children only 7, could be described as normally healthy. Of families with 3 and 4 children, five cases of tuberculosis were recorded.

The mass murderer capitalism, which claimed over 41 million victims in the world war, is not only about to slaughter further millions in the new imperialist war, but is threaten-

ing humanity today with further wholesale victims through starvation.

In Soviet Russia alone, in the country of victorious socialism, the country without unemployment, is the well-being of the working class increasing and a strong healthy generation growing up.

The working class in all capitalist countries is faced with the great historical task of overthrowing capitalism and creating a free path for Socialism, for the advance of the working class in the whole world.

The W.I.R. is mobilising the masses for this fight on International Solidarity Day. The joint demonstrations of the factory workers and unemployed, of the victims of war and industry, of peasants and members of the middle classes, of all mass organisations will bear witness to the broad fighting front of international solidarity.

International Solidarity Day must prove to fascism that the toilers of the whole world stand prepared by solidarity actions to conduct the fight against hunger, war and fascism.

By the children's aid work carried out by the W.I.R. and the support of the fight of the unemployed, the idea of proletarian solidarity is at the same time spread among the proletarian children. The W.I.R. is also mobilising sections of the intellectuals for the fight of the working class. In the last few months in particular the W.I.R. has succeeded to an increasing extent in winning the support of doctors, who give their services to the relief work of the W.I.R., who collect material and undertake medical researches in order to show to the whole public the extent of the misery and suffering of the working class, especially of the children. International Solidarity Day must become an instrument for increased activity on all these fronts of the class struggle; it must lead to the organisational strengthening of the W.I.R. It is necessary to win new masses for the intensified fight against hunger, war and fascism.

J. T. Murphy in the Ranks of the Enemy.

London, May 26.

J. T. Murphy has quickly found his spiritual home. This week's **"New Leader"**, the organ of the I. L. P. allows him a full page in which to state his "case" against the Communist Party.

The article is preceded by an editorial note, saying: —

"In printing this we take the opportunity of endorsing Murphy's appeal for united working-class action against war with Russia."

Never has a renegade so quickly exposed himself as does Murphy in this article. He starts: —

"The violence of the denunciation of myself should at least cause every decent person to ask what I have to say about it. The answer is simple. I refuse point-blank to declare publicly in terms, which I cannot accept, that I am wrong on a question of policy."

He goes on to boast that in 1925 he was the first of the Communist prisoners then in the dock at the Old Bailey to be asked by the Judge to leave the C. P. under threat of imprisonment. "I led the refusal. I refuse today to be coerced by the P. B. of the C. P.," says Murphy.

Actually the whole of the prisoners acted as one man in refusing to accept the attempted bribe of the Judge. But the impudence of the man, attempting to draw a parallel between the threat of a capitalist judge to imprison class-enemies, and the honest attempt of his own colleagues to persuade him to do what thousands of Communists have done before him, to correct a wrong political line.

After a long tirade against the leadership of the Party, Murphy concludes in typical I. L. P. fashion, by asking for the "mobilisation of the sum total of the social forces available" against the war-makers and the Government of War and Starvation. "This is the appeal that Brockway endorses. A year ago Murphy wrote: —

"Every honest worker who will examine the record of the I. L. P. on India will decide that the I. L. P. is not the place for him."

Now Murphy has decided that the I. L. P. organ is the place for him. His treachery and cowardice in deserting at this crucial moment in the affairs of the whole working-class shows that he is correct in this, if in nothing else.

In the International

Theses on the Situation in Japan and the Tasks of the Communist Party.

I. Japanese Imperialism and War.

The war of plunder which has been commenced by Japanese imperialism, is dragging the nations into a new historic crisis—the greatest since the end of the world war. The seizure of Manchuria, the bloody attack on Shanghai and other parts of China, together with the other military operations of the Japanese bandits represent the first military act of one of the biggest imperialist powers during the time of the present world economic crisis. The imperialist war which has commenced, is a reflection of the depth of the general and economic crisis in the capitalist world, of the tremendous sharpening of all the contradictions of world imperialism. It opens up an era of new political upheavals of terrific importance. As the result of the latest clashes between China and Japan, there has arisen an international situation of an unusually complex character. In connection with this, all Sections of the Comintern and above all the Japanese revolutionary proletariat with their Communist vanguard are faced with tasks of the greatest responsibility.

1. The present war of expansion of Japanese imperialism is the direct outcome of all preceding stages of its development. Japanese imperialism, predatory by nature and distinguished by particular aggressiveness, has made colonial plunder and military loot the chief sources for the accumulation of capital and its consolidation.

When Japan went over to capitalism, the victory of the monarchy, the reactionary semi-feudal bureaucracy and the landlords produced an initial struggle against the unequal status of Japan in relation to the imperialist Powers (unequal treaties) which took the form of a struggle to plunder the neighbouring weaker nations and laid the road for the present imperialist brigandry. In 1895 Japanese imperialism grabbed Korea from China, annexed Formosa and exacted indemnities of 350 million yen from China. Japanese imperialism again took advantage of the crushing of the Boxer rebellion for its own policy of plunder. Following on the war of 1904, it took away the leased territory of South Manchuria from Tsarist Russia, seized the South Manchurian railroad, etc. Later it converted Korea absolutely into its own colony, the outpost from which it could penetrate far into the Continent of Asia. Its expansion increased during the world war, and in particular in 1915 it presented the notorious 21 demands to China which aimed at reducing China to the role of a Japanese colony. At the Washington Conference in 1922, Japanese imperialism, under the pressure of the U.S.A., was compelled to abandon many of these demands, to evacuate Shantung, etc. But Japanese imperialism had not given up its plans. It was gathering its forces and awaiting an opportune moment to carry out its programme of plunder.

The growing aggressiveness of bourgeois-landlord Japan was continually upsetting the plans and aspirations of other imperialist Powers. The war which Japan has commenced against China will sharpen these contradictions still further. The Pacific Ocean and particularly China, where the contradictions of world capitalism have become most entangled since the world war, is now becoming the scene of sharp clashes of the interests of the imperialist bandits. From its very commencement, the war in China has released forces which make more real than ever before the menace of a new world war, the menace of direct military clashes or intensified war preparations for such a clash between Japan and America and other big imperialist Powers, if not all of them.

2. At the same time, an important fact in the policy of international imperialism at the present time is its great efforts to form a united front of imperialist powers for war against the U.S.S.R. There exists a direct danger of armed intervention by the world imperialists against the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The League of Nations is an instrument for this war. By means of war against the U.S.S.R., the international bourgeoisie and their social-democratic agents are above all trying to break up the struggle of the international proletariat for freedom, for a revolutionary way out of the crisis. Before the eyes of the workers

of all countries, there is developing the struggle of two worlds—decaying and dying capitalism on the one hand and triumphant socialism, ever gaining in vigour on the other hand. On the background of the present severe world crisis, all the advantages of the Soviet system become particularly plain, especially the astounding advances of socialist construction. The industrialisation of the country of the proletarian dictatorship is taking place at an unprecedented speed. Tremendous successes have been achieved in the socialist construction of agriculture, in widespread collectivisation and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class on the basis of the latter. The construction of the foundations of socialist economy is complete. The preconditions have been created for the completion of the second Five-Year Plan which will fully ensure the setting up of classless socialist society, which opens up a new epoch in the history of mankind.

For the working classes of the capitalist countries who especially in the present economic crisis are doomed to mass unemployment, indescribable misery and ruthless exploitation, the U.S.S.R. serves as a clear example and plain proof of the necessity to fight for a revolutionary way out of the crisis, for the overthrow of capitalism. At the same time, the plans of the imperialists are calculated to destroy socialist construction, to strangle the U.S.S.R. and to prepare the way for still more merciless exploitation of the workers and peasants in all countries, to strengthen the regime of economic and political slavery. Of special interest is the alliance of the two international gendarmes—imperialist France, the gendarme of Europe and imperialist Japan, the gendarme of the East, who are acting as initiators in the drive against the Soviet Union.

By making an attack in the Far East, Japanese imperialism is to create the necessary conditions for a simultaneous or subsequent attack by France and its vassals (Poland, etc.) on the U.S.S.R. from the West. It is these anti-Soviet plans which best explain the support given to Japan by the other imperialist Powers and the League of Nations as a whole in its war of plunder against China. Great Britain is prepared to cooperate in the dismemberment of China, and so does not oppose the seizure of Manchuria by Japan, thus partly settling accounts with American imperialism but chiefly acting as a participator in the Anti-Soviet front. The U.S.A. is trying to obtain complete domination over China and is therefore openly at loggerheads with Japanese imperialism, although it has not yet openly taken active steps against Japan. On the one hand it is waiting for Japan to become weaker as the result of a long drawn out war, but on the other hand, it fears a rapprochement between England and Japan. But like the other imperialist Powers, the U.S.A. chiefly sets its hopes on Japanese imperialism undertaking the task of being the vanguard in the anti-Soviet war.

3. Bourgeois-landlord Japan takes on itself the role as war inciter owing to the very character of Japanese imperialism. The aggressiveness of monopolistic capitalism in Japan is enhanced by the military adventurism of absolutist military and feudal imperialism. "In Japan and (Tsarist) Russia, the monopoly of military force, endless territory or the special convenience of plundering foreigners, China, etc., partly replace and partly supplement the monopoly of modern finance capital" (Lenin in 1916). By means of war against China Japanese imperialism tries to use its monopoly of military force so as to form a starting point for an attack on the U.S.S.R., to crush the Soviet movement in China, to convert a large part or even a greater part of China into its colony, to secure for itself a more stable economic foundation, to seize the sources of raw material, particularly for the war industry and the war requirements, to secure a footing on the Continent of Asia and thus to prepare for new wars for the supremacy of the Pacific.

The military adventure of Japanese imperialism is directly connected with a sharp aggravation of all its internal contradictions which have deepened as the result of the severe economic crisis. Monopolist capitalism in Japan is wrapped

in a specially thick web of pre-capitalist relations. This explains the relative economic weakness of Japanese imperialism and the exceptional sharpness of its internal contradictions. There are many survivals of feudalism in the country, the peasants are plundered in the manner of semi-serfs, the proletariat is exploited on a colonial level; these conditions, which limit the home market have brought about a combination of the industrial crisis with the agrarian crisis and an unprecedented acuteness of the economic crisis in town and village. The landlords and the capitalists of Japan are attempting, by means of war in China, to find a way out of the crisis, to crush the growing revolutionary mass movement, to extend their colonial possessions and to open up new sources for the additional plunder of the toiling masses of China.

4. The Japanese Communists must understand the inseparable connections between the aggressiveness of Japanese imperialism abroad and its policy at home, the inseparable connection between the bandit imperialist war in other countries for the enslavement of colonial peoples and reaction at home. By means of this war, the Japanese imperialists are striving to preserve and strengthen the regime of the military-police monarchy, the regime of savage terror and violence against the workers, to strengthen the oppression of the landlords and to force down still further the standard of living of the masses.

The war will inevitably greatly sharpen the class contradictions in the country. It sets the task to the Japanese proletariat and the Communist Party to combine the struggle against war with the struggle for the vital interests of the workers, the peasants and all the toilers against their economic and political enslavement, for the purpose of converting the imperialist war into civil war, of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord monarchy. Revolution in Japan is not put off by the war of plunder, but on the contrary is brought nearer. The beginning of the war showed that in addition to the stubborn resistance and the self-sacrificing struggle of the Chinese people for the integrity and independence of China, there has commenced a ferment against the imperialist war in the Japanese army and inside the country. This indicates the possibility of a big failure in the adventurist plans of Japanese imperialism. Under such circumstances, the **Communist Party of Japan** is called on to play a very responsible role. The course of further events and the subsequent development of the revolutionary movement depends to a great and decisive degree on the strength, the solidarity of the Communist Party, on its ability to mobilise the millions of workers around its slogans and to lead their struggle. For this reason, the question of the ideological and organisational strengthening of the Communist Party of Japan becomes of primary importance. The present conditions imperatively demand that the Communist Party should strain every effort to extend and strengthen its present extremely weak contacts with the broad masses of workers, peasants and other sections of the toilers. At all costs, the Party must cease to lag behind the growing activity of the masses and must become a real mass party, marching confidently to meet the coming revolution.

II. The Character of the Coming Revolution.

5. The C. P. of Japan must realise clearly and correctly what are the relations of class forces in the country and what is the character and what are the tasks of the forthcoming revolution in Japan. It must do away with the mistaken ideas which exist in its ranks on these extremely important questions. The relationship of class forces at the present time, the character and the tasks of the coming revolution in Japan cannot be properly estimated without an analysis and without taking into consideration the peculiarities of the ruling system in Japan, which is a combination of very strong elements of feudalism with a far advanced development of monopolistic capitalism.

1. The first starting point to estimate the concrete situation in Japan consists of the character and the relative role of the **monarchy**.

The absolute monarchy which was formed in Japan after 1868 has maintained its full power in spite of all changes of policy, and has all the time increased its bureaucratic apparatus of coercion and oppression of the working masses. It based itself chiefly on the feudal parasitic class of landlords on the one hand and on the rapacious bourgeoisie who were rapidly becoming wealthy, on the other hand. It was constantly in a close bloc with the upper ranks of these classes and represented the interests of these two classes in a fairly

flexible manner. At the same time it maintained its independence, its relatively great role and its absolute character, only slightly concealed by pseudo-constitutional forms. In order to protect its power and income, the monarchist bureaucracy exerted every effort to maintain in the country the most reactionary police regime, to preserve everything which was most barbarous in the economic and political life of the country. The monarchy is the main pillar of political reaction and all the relics of feudalism in the country. The monarchist state apparatus forms the firm backbone of the present dictatorship of the exploiting classes, and its destruction must be looked on as the first of the fundamental tasks of the revolution in Japan.

Previously in the C.P.J. the role of the monarchy was underestimated and its was contrasted with parliament and the Party Cabinet of bourgeois state forms "independent of the monarchy". This idea is completely incorrect. The extension of election rights for the male population which was carried out in 1925 from above under the pressure of a popular movement, was a political bargain with the monarchy by the landlords and the imperialist bourgeoisie, a bargain which was calculated to strengthen the monarchist bourgeois-landlord regime for the exploitation and suppression of the workers and peasants, to trick the people by increasing their parliamentary illusions and to bring about a closer unity between the monarchist bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie under the new circumstances of the rule of decaying monopolist capitalism. This unity was achieved in the form of an increase in the number of voters, the formation of a Party Cabinet of Ministers and an increase in the role of the financial oligarchy in the government, but without any limitation whatsoever in absolutism or any restriction of the rights and powers of the monarchist bureaucracy.

The war still further increases the role of the bureaucracy and especially its most aggressive and reactionary part—the military. The result of this is an increase in the role of the military leaders in the government, which means that intervention against the U.S.S.R. is brought still nearer and the police terror and violence against the Japanese workers and peasants is enhanced. It is not correct to contrast the military to the bourgeois-landlord monarchy, and it is particularly dangerous to divert the mass struggle against the monarchy in the direction of a struggle against the danger of a fascist coup which is allegedly approaching.

A few historical peculiarities must not obscure the chief and decisive fact that the absolutist regime which exists in Japan is a form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the landlords over the workers which is quite as oppressive as fascism in other countries. The Party must expose the manoeuvres of the ruling classes and the social-democrats, consisting of the fact that the existing monarchist regime and the growing reaction is cloaked behind the bogey of a fascist menace, to make light of the growing pressure of reaction and thus to preserve and strengthen the dying monarchist illusions among the masses and to divert them away from the struggle against the chief enemy under modern conditions—the bourgeois landlord monarchy.

2. The second of the main component parts of the ruling system of Japan consists of **big landownership**, this backward, Asiatic, semifeudal system in the Japanese villages which fetters the development of productive forces and increases the degradation of agriculture and the pauperisation of the basic masses of the peasants. The Japanese landlords, as a rule, do not cultivate the land directly, but the landlord class has in its hands over 40% of the best land in Japan. The regime of exploitation and oppression of the peasants in industrially developed Japan resembles that in the most backward colonial country. The tenant has to hand over 50–60% of his harvest for the mere right to use the land. Oppression by the landlords is supplemented by the monstrous oppression of money-lending capital, mortgage debts and the monopolist prices of the trusts.

There is no possibility that the ruling classes of Japan will make any serious alterations in the feudal basis of the agrarian system of the country. The **agrarian revolution** should be looked on as one of the fundamental tasks of the Japanese revolution, and a determined struggle should be carried on against any underestimation of this task.

3. The third of the basic elements of the ruling system of Japan consist of predatory **monopolist capitalism**. The centralisation of capital in the hands of a small group of financial magnates was greatly assisted during the last imperialist war by feverish profiteering. The capitalist concerns

monopolised a large part of the national wealth of the country. Bank capital and industrial capital amalgamated in the form of gigantic vertical concerns. The biggest concerns—Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda, etc.—obtained a dominating position in the capitalist economy of the country. The financial oligarchy became closely interwoven with the whole system of the bureaucratic monarchy which is carrying out its policy.

The Japanese bourgeoisie increased and grew wealthy through the intense exploitation of the Japanese workers, the continual plunder of the peasants, military loot, the appropriating of state funds and the plundering of colonial peoples. Japanese capitalism developed under circumstances of military and police reaction and on the basis of feudal survivals in the country. The predominance of light industry is characteristic, above all the predominance of the textile industry, while metallurgy and particularly machine construction are comparatively weak. Having attained a high level of development, Japanese capitalism was and continues to be reactionary and monarchist. This is chiefly expressed by the fact that the Japanese working class, whose efficiency of labour is as high as that in Europe, is still on the level of the workers in colonial countries. Their wages are equally low and their working day just as long. The widespread system of barrack slavery exists for textile workers, miners, etc. Contract labour is used on a large scale and there is barbarous exploitation of child labour and the labour of youth. There are no social laws. **The workers of Japan have no economic or political rights whatever.** Finance capital systematically and widely uses the relics of feudalism, home industry, small handicraft production in order to maintain its particularly severe exploitation of the working class.

6. The above analysis shows that the whole of the political and economic circumstances in the country will drive the revolutionary movement first of all to a struggle against imperialist war, against the police and monarchist regime, against the colonial standard of life for the workers and their lack of political rights, and against the landlords and money-lending capitalists in the villages.

The Communist Party sets itself the basic task of attaining Socialism and must clearly understand that the path to the dictatorship of the proletariat in present Japanese conditions can only pass through the bourgeois-democratic revolution, i. e. through the overthrow of the monarchy, the expropriation of the landlords and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants. The power of Soviets of Soldiers, Workers' and Peasants Deputies will be the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants and the form of the growth of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

Consequently, **the main tasks** of the coming phase of the revolution are:

1. The overthrow of the monarchy.
2. The abolition of parasitic landownership.
3. The establishment of a 7 hour day and—in the conditions of a revolutionary situation—the fusion of all banks into one national bank and the introduction of control over this bank and over the big capitalist enterprises, above all, over the concerns and trusts, by the Soviets of Workers' Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies.

This determines the character of the forthcoming revolution in Japan as a bourgeois-democratic revolution with a tendency to grow rapidly into a socialist revolution.

At the present time the chief slogans of action must be the following:

1. Against imperialist war, for the conversion of imperialist war into civil war.
2. The overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord monarchy and the establishment of a workers' and peasants' Soviet government.
3. Confiscation without compensation of the land of all landlords, the emperor and the churches for the benefit of the peasants. The annulment of all the peasants' debts to the landlords, moneylenders and banks.
4. The 7 hour day and a radical improvement in the conditions of the workers. Freedom of organisation and action for class trade unions.
5. The liberation of the colonies (Korea, Manchuria, Formosa, etc.) from the yoke of Japanese imperialism.

6. For the defence of the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese revolution.

In the struggle for these slogans, the C.P. can and must rouse all the revolutionary-democratic forces of Japan, i. e. the workers, peasants and the city poor. Therefore, the central agitational slogan of the C.P. must be the slogan:

"People's revolution against imperialist war and the police-monarchy. For rice, land, freedom and the workers' and peasants' government."

The struggle for the workers' and peasants' Soviet republic must be closely connected by the Communist Party with the systematic propaganda of socialism, widely using the successes of the U.S.S.R. for this purpose.

The capitalist way out of the crisis by means of a further lowering of the standard of life of the workers and the ruin of the peasants by foreign military adventures and increased political reaction inside the country must be opposed by the Communist Party by means of widespread agitation and a mass struggle for the revolutionary way out of the crisis by the workers and peasants, winning the power, by the abolition of landed estates, by a radical improvement in the life of the workers and by a series of measures which are transitional to socialism, carried out under the conditions of a revolutionary situation; the amalgamation of the banks and the introduction of control by the soviets of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies over the banks and the big factories of the capitalists and first of all over all concerns and trusts.

In Japan the revolution may tremendously accelerate and assist the victory of the international proletarian revolution, above all the victory of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in the Eastern countries near to Japan (China, Korea, India, etc.). The economic and political brotherly alliance of Soviet Japan with the countries where the proletariat have been victorious will completely ensure the successful socialist development of Japan and of the East in general. These prospects of the socialist prosperity of Japan in close collaboration with the liberated peoples of the East must be systematically contrasted by the Party with the bourgeois and social democratic propaganda of a military and imperialist way out of the crisis.

7. The main driving force of the revolution consists of the proletariat and the poor and middle peasants.

It is not correct to say that the middle peasants are incapable of a revolutionary struggle against the landlords and the police monarchy. If the revolutionary possibilities of the middle peasants and toiling fishermen are ignored, this may lead to a break of the alliance between the workers and peasants and is extremely dangerous for the revolutionary movement. The kulaks (the village bourgeoisie) are on the side of the existing regime, being connected with them by participation in money-lending and taking advantage of land shortage and the lack of rights of the peasant masses. It is not correct to put forward the slogan of confiscating the land only from the big landlords. Failure to demand the confiscation of the land of all the parasites of the landlords is still more mistaken because at the present time the majority of peasant conflicts are directed against the middle and small landlords. Vacillations on this question will isolate the Communist Party from the rapidly developing struggle of the peasants.

Two blocs are fighting in Japan — the allied workers and peasants against the allied landlords and bourgeoisie. The workers' and peasants' revolution in Japan is directed at the present stage chiefly against the bourgeois landlord monarchy and is likewise directed against the bourgeoisie.

The successful development of the revolution can only take place if there is a close alliance of workers and peasants under the hegemony of the proletariat. The winning and consolidation of the hegemony of the proletariat is the main condition for the victory of the revolution. The workers' and peasants' revolution in Japan can only be successful if, in addition to overthrowing the military-police, bureaucratic monarchy, it removes all the exploiting classes (including the bourgeoisie) from political power in the centre and the provinces.

8. The workers' and peasants revolution can only win when it establishes the power of the workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies.

Under the conditions of a revolutionary revolt, the Communists have the imperative task of forming everywhere Soviets of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies in the period of a revolutionary situation, and especially at the

moment of the overthrow of the monarchy. Their tasks are to fight for the complete destruction of the government apparatus of the bourgeois-landlord dictatorship (disarming of the police, the gendarmes, the officers of the Army and the navy, and the arming of the workers and peasants, the formation of a proletarian red guard, the dispersal of parliament and the central and local organs of government officials to be elected by the workers and peasants, etc.).

Only the revolutionary substitution of the whole state apparatus of the bourgeois-landlord reactionaries by the Soviets and the winning of the leading role in them by the Communist Party will prevent the Japanese bourgeoisie, especially its left social-democratic wing—Rono-Taisuto, etc.—at the moment of revolutionary mass and to a great extent spontaneous actions, from limiting the revolutionary revolt by concessions in the sphere of forms of government (declaring a bourgeois republic) while preserving the basis of the bourgeois-landlord dictatorship—the police-bureaucratic apparatus for the oppression and enslavement of the people.

After the overthrow of the monarchy by the victorious peoples' revolution, the main task of the Communist Party will be the struggle for the rapid growth of the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. Only the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat will guarantee the solution of the bourgeois-democratic tasks and will carry them to the end—(the confiscation of the land of the landlords, etc.). In Japan where the material prerequisites for socialism exist and the necessity for the destruction of the capitalist system of exploitation is mature, the formation and the strengthening of the power of the Soviets in the course of the workers and peasants revolution and as a result of it, and also the winning of the leading role of the Communists in them is a necessary and sufficient condition to pass on to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to a power which will guarantee the carrying out of the fundamental aim of the proletariat—the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the construction of Socialism.

III. The Present State of the Revolutionary Movement and the Immediate Tasks of the Party.

9. Under conditions of the deepening of the economic crisis the commencement of war and the development of the attack of the capitalists and landlords against the workers and peasants, the economic struggle of the proletariat and the struggle of the peasants against the landlords becomes sharper.

The workers movement in Japan has reached a turning point in its development from a scattered defensive struggle to mass revolutionary actions. The process of the radicalisation of the masses is accelerating. The strike movement is steadily growing. It has seized all branches of industry. The widest sections of the proletariat have been drawn into the strike struggle and the activity of the most backward men and women workers is growing (increase of textile strikes). The strike struggle is taking on a more distinct class character. Strikes are becoming more stubborn and long drawn out, while the number of repeated strikes is increasing and the level of the demands is rising. Up to 1929, strikes very rarely went beyond the limits of police legality, but at the present time they are more and more frequently turning into fierce street fights against the police and they show the fighting revolutionary tendency of the movement which testifies to the attempts of the Japanese proletariat to pass on to a counter attack against the capitalists and the police regime which suppresses and hinders the struggle of the working class for its vital interests.

Previously, the majority of conflicts in the villages took place in peaceful legal forms and usually ended with peaceful arbitration or a court decision, but now the number of revolutionary clashes between the peasants and the landlords is rapidly growing everywhere. There are more frequent cases of setting fire to the houses and property of the landlords and smashing up courts and police institutions (Tochigi-Nihigata, etc.) In some places the discontent of the peasants and fishermen takes the form of spontaneous revolts against the local government (Tsiba, Toyama, etc.).

The popularity of the slogans "Land to the Peasants" and "The Alliance of Workers and Peasants" is growing. The idea of an alliance of workers and peasants is beginning to be carried into practice in the mass movement. There are increasing numbers of cases in which peasants movements are

headed by city workers and cases in which the peasants help the striking workers.

The changes which are taking place in the masses are also expressed by the fact that the patriotism and monarchism cultivated by the ruling classes which have up to the present been one of the chief means of dulling the class consciousness of the broad masses are being swept away. This is shown in particular by the unprecedented cases of protest against the coronation celebrations and cases in which crowds of peasants destroyed the shrines and with "holy" pictures of the Mikado. The old paternalist traditions and the whole patriarchalism are rapidly fading away. Anti-monarchist revolutionary feelings are penetrating into the army and navy, among the students, etc.

The correct position taken by the Communist Party towards the war has already brought about symptomatic although weak actions by various groups of the advanced workers, peasants, soldiers and students against war (anti-war demonstrations in Tokyo on October 17th with the participation of 1,500 workers, demonstrations in a number of towns on Nov. 7th, repeated anti-war demonstrations of thousands of students, individual peasant anti-war meetings in the province of Toyama etc., unrest among the soldiers and the formation of revolutionary soldiers groups in some of the military units, such as the telegraph battalion, the Himeidzi division, in some parts of the occupation army).

Revolutionary changes are taking place among the masses of the people at the turning point of the development of the class struggle in the country, when, on the one hand, the process of the accumulation and sharpening of the internal and external contradictions of Japanese imperialism is taking place at a rapid pace, but on the other hand, the influence of the bourgeoisie on the proletariat, which in the past was unusually strong, has only just begun to disappear on a large scale. The swing of the masses to the left is taking place under the heavy pressure of the white terror and the unbridled tyranny of the police. On the whole it is taking place spontaneously and the role of the Communist Party is extremely weak in the mass movement and the social democrats of all kinds are using the strongest opposition.

The discontent of the masses has not yet shown its real force. The social fascists, especially the lefts (Rono-Taisuto, the police agent Kaitcha) still have the leadership of strikes and peasant conflicts in their hands in order to betray them.

10. The policy of the bourgeois-landlord dictatorship is carried out with the active assistance of the social democrats who have formed an alliance with the police, which puts into the hands of the bourgeoisie such a weapon as the combination of left democratic phraseology and police clubs, mauser pistols and poison gases. Acting under the flag of "unity" of the labour movement, the social democrats in reality are splitting the masses. The unity of the workers is understood by them to consist of "workers' clubs (Rodo Kurabu), which are associations of the upper, trade union bureaucrats against the workers, against the left trade unions and the Communists. They break up the united front from below against the employers, they keep the working class in a scattered organisational state, split into hundreds of little trade unions. The bought social democratic leaders Soho-Gikai and Toitsu-Kio-Gikai, the leaders of the yellow trade unions (Kavin-Kumiai, Sodomei, Zenkoku-Domei, etc.) utilise this scatteredness in the interests of a shameless selling of the interests of the working class and betrayal of its struggle for vital needs. The more radical the phraseology of the social democrats in the press, especially the lefts, the more base becomes the role of the social traitors in the workers conflicts in the factories where they come forward as the organisers of compulsory police arbitration, the organisers of strike breaking, selling the interests of the workers to the capitalists for bribes, actively supporting capitalist rationalisation and the mass dismissal of the workers and entering into agreements with the police to betray the active workers to them.

The Japanese social democrats of all kinds have taken up the imperialist position in the present war. They are completely in the camp of the organisers of the war against the Chinese people and the U.S.S.R. and are the most active agitators for it (chauvinist agitation against the U.S.S.R., the designation of intervention in China as a "national" and "socialist" war, patriotic demonstrations, particularly under the slogan of "down with currency speculators, make use of the speculators' profits for carrying on the war and for the

benefit of the soldiers at the front", the collection of money among the workers for the war, etc.).

The social democrats and the leaders of the reformist trade unions are the chief danger for the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants. The most dangerous are the left social democrats (Rono-Taisuto, Ronoha, which was organised from police agents by renegades from the Communist Party and called itself the "Workers' Group of the C.P.J.") who use revolutionary phraseology, including abstract discussions on the proletarian revolution (Inomata, Jamakawa, etc.), so as to hide their treacherous role in the war and the workers' movement, their cringing to the monarchy and their faithful service to Japanese imperialism.

11. The circumstances in Japan are such that it is very possible for the Communists to draw very wide masses of workers, peasants and the poor of the towns into the revolutionary movement so as to revolutionise them rapidly in the course of the struggle by developing all the mass forms of struggle and protest that are possible at the present stage—mass strikes, peasant activity, mass demonstrations, etc.

As a result, big revolutionary events may take place in the near future. Many facts already show the possibility of spontaneous explosions of mass protest and struggle in the near future.

These spontaneous actions may easily be diverted from the revolutionary line if the Communist Party does not at the present time explain to the masses the causes of their misery and who is responsible for them, if it does not expose the true character and the aims of the present war, and if it does not carry out in all parts of the country a systematic exposure of the policy of the government and the ruling classes and every step they take, if the Party does not undermine the influence of the social fascists and become in practice the real leader of the everyday struggle of the masses and if it does not show the masses the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

12. The tasks of the Party in the struggle against war are as follows:

1. Unceasing spoken and written agitation and propaganda against the imperialist and counter revolutionary war. The exposure of its predatory character and the role of the social democratic leaders and the leaders of the reformist trade unions in this war.

2. Exposure of the counter-revolutionary imperialist and anti-national significance of the war slogans put forward by the ruling classes and the social-democrats—"national interests", "protection of the life and property of Japanese subjects", "defence of the prestige of Japanese imperialism", etc., and irreconcilable exposure of the provocative story of "the red imperialism of the U.S.S.R."

3. A resolute struggle against the policy of the bourgeois-landlord monarchy and the social democrats for the establishment of class peace inside the country. Stubborn and painstaking efforts to overcome the chauvinist intoxication of the masses, untiring enlightenment regarding all the misery and suffering which the war and its consequences will bring to the masses.

4. Widely developed propaganda of the successes of socialist construction, the achievements of the workers and peasants in the U.S.S.R. and the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union. Propaganda of the successes and the aims of the Soviet movement in China.

5. The C.P.J. must be guided by the aim of converting imperialist war into civil war, and must put forward its slogans and carry on the anti-war struggle according to the character of the war. The slogan of fraternising, imperative in imperialist war, must unquestionably be linked up under the conditions of the present war of imperialist Japan against the Chinese people with the demand for immediate recall of the troops from China, with appeals to the Japanese soldiers to refuse to fight, to leave the front without giving up their weapons and form soldiers committees. The slogan of fraternisation in the event of a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. and against revolutionary Soviet China must be linked up with agitation for the soldiers to desert to the side of the Red Army.

6. In a reactionary war, the revolutionary class cannot help hoping for the defeat of its own government. The defeat of the government army weakens the monarchist government of Japan and assists the civil war against the ruling classes.

In the present war of Japanese imperialism for the colonial enslavement of China, the slogan of action for the Japanese Communists must be "the struggle for the complete independence of China". Under conditions of imperialist war against China or the U.S.S.R., the Japanese Communists must not only be defeatists but must actively fight for the victory of the U.S.S.R. and for the liberation of the Chinese people.

7. Strikes must be brought about by all means on the railroads, sea transport and in armament factories. Mass actions and revolutionary anti-war movements must be energetically developed, with a view to bringing about the proclamation of the general strike and its conversion into an armed rebellion.

8. In order to mobilise the widest possible masses in the struggle against war, the Party must carry on special work among the youth, war invalids and women, especially among the wives and mothers of soldiers.

9. The Communists must support the partial demands of the soldiers and sailors, such as the improvement of the material situation of the soldiers and for better treatment, upkeep of their families, increased leave, commanders to be elected, the formation of soldiers committees, political rights, etc. The Communists must suitably react to the discontent in the army and help the soldiers in their conflicts with the officers. Work must be carried on to disintegrate the mass patriotic organisations of the reservists, youth, etc.

13. The Japanese Communists must clearly realise that the main centre of the struggle against war lies in the mass movement, in the mass struggle. It is only by working among the masses in the factories and military units, in the trade unions and the villages, that imperialist war in practice will be converted into civil war. The success of the mass struggle against war will depend entirely on the extent to which the C.P.J. carries on work at the present time among the broad masses of workers and peasants for their urgent demands, takes over the leadership of strikes and peasant struggles and wins the confidence of the masses by its practical revolutionary activity. **The development of the struggle for the urgent demands of the masses in close contact with the struggle against war and the monarchy must be at the basis of all the work of the Party.** The practice of leading this struggle will enable the C.P.J. to train its own members for leadership of the big revolutionary events which are approaching.

The immediate tasks of the Party are:

1. **All-round strengthening of the Communist Party and the extension of its contact with the workers.**

2. **Development of the economic struggle of the proletariat for the urgent demands of the workers, the unemployed and of the clerks on the basis of the united front from below.** The winning of the independent leadership of this struggle against the social traitors and the leaders of the "yellow trade unions. The strengthening of the revolutionary trade union movement.

3. **The incitement and organisation of the Peasant struggle against the landlords.**

4. To lead all expressions of discontent, protest and struggle of the masses of the people into the channel of a political struggle against war and against the ruling monarchy.

14. The Communist Party has begun to turn to work among the masses, but the contacts of the Communists with the masses and their role in the mass movement are still unpardonably weak. A radical change must take place in the mass work of the Party and the everyday struggle of the workers, peasants and soldiers must be actually led by the Party. The Party can only bring about this change if it finally removes from its own ranks the relics of sectarianism and opportunist passivity in practical mass work, if in practice it establishes indissoluble contacts with the broad masses of workers. The elementary basis of contacts between the Party and the masses must be created—systematic personal contacts of each individual Communist with the non-party workers. The existing Party forces should be concentrated on the work of forming strong Party committees and the largest possible number of nuclei in the factories, especially in big factories. Finally unhesitating recruiting work must be carried on among workers who have been tested in the struggle. It is necessary to fight against the fear of getting workers into the Party, as this is a very dangerous symptom of opportunism. Workers must be energetically promoted to leading posts in all Party and mass organisations. Farm-labourers and

poor peasants should be recruited into the Party and Party nuclei should be formed in the village.

The Party must carry on an irreconcilable struggle against all manifestations of Right and Left opportunism in its own ranks. The process of Bolshevisation of the Party which is going on now and which is strengthening, will be accompanied by an activation and sharpening of the struggle of opportunism against the Party and by a still great concealment of it. In the present pre-revolutionary period, the chief danger inside the Party is the Right opportunism. The most outstanding manifestations of this opportunism during the latest period are the instances of participation in money collections for the war under the pretext of preserving contacts with the masses, attempts to conceal the tasks of struggling for the defence of the U.S.S.R. on the grounds that the masses are not yet mature enough to understand it, etc. Left opportunist mistakes consist of tendencies to give up the struggle to win freedom of speech, the press, assembly and organisation for the workers, sectarianism in the left trade unions, which recently has been expressed by the fact that instead of recruiting and in every way drawing the workers into the trade unions, they are presented with demands to recognise the R.L.L.U. and other political principles, etc.

It is necessary to learn to combine revolutionary illegal work with legal work in the spirit of the Communist Party among the broad masses and to take advantage of every legal possibility (every kind of open mass organisation, the press, every kind of activity by the workers, peasants, students, etc., cultural and educational work, etc.) for the class education and organisational consolidation of the masses for increasing their activity and intensifying their struggle, for winning the leadership for the Communists over all forms of the organisation and the struggle of the broad masses.

All Communists must learn to win over the masses and organise them, to lead, extend, and sharpen conflicts, to lead struggles, guided by the experience of the mass movement, the practice and lessons of individual strikes, to lead the peasant conflicts, student risings, etc. If such training does not take place, there will be a continuation of the present condition in which everyone realises the correctness of the tasks, such as, the slogan "To the Masses in the Factories", but insufficiently carries them into practice.

Special attention should be paid to tirelessly improving the methods of conspiracy, to studying the causes when the police make successful raids, so as to take steps of precaution and especially in order to assure the continuity of the work of Party organisations in case of future raids.

At the same time a ruthless struggle must be carried on against converting conspiracy into an aim in itself and against any other tendency likely to isolate the organisation from the non-Party workers.

The character of the legal and illegal revolutionary press must be radically changed and it must be made interesting and understandable for the rank and file workers and peasants both in language and contents.

15. The methods of Party leadership in the trade unions and all other non-Party organisations must be completely changed. Dictatorial methods must be removed and these organisations should not have the same character as the Party. This leadership should only consist of the fact that Communists will win the leading role in them by their energy and their ideological influence and not by claiming to be Party members, etc. In every case they should win over the members to the side of revolutionary propositions by convincing them and in no other way. In order to ensure a correct line of conduct for Party members working in mass organisations, efficient Communist fractions should be formed in the mass organisations and the Party leadership over them and their Party discipline improved.

The extremely harmful identification of the Communist Party with the left Peasant leagues was expressed very crudely in the fact that at the Congress of the "Dsenno" Peasant Leagues, the Communists carried on a struggle against the social democrats, not on the question of the struggle for land and against the monarchist regime, but on the question of "a legal or illegal Party".

At the present stage of the peasant movement, in addition to increasing the work in the peasant leagues and recruiting the broad masses, especially the poor peasants, for them, it is extremely necessary to carry on a wide agitation for the formation of revolutionary peasant committees of struggle and

for the formation of detachments of revolutionary self defence.

A trade union should be formed for the workers in the fishing industry and also energetic work should be carried on among the large number of toiling fishermen in Japan. A programme of partial demands should be worked out and, by leading the struggle of the small working fishermen, they should be won over to the side of the revolutionary slogans of the Communist Party.

The tremendous proportion of the youth and the women in the factories makes it necessary for the Communist Party to pay particularly great attention to the strengthening of the growth of the Y.C.L. and the all-round improvement of the work among women.

16. A struggle must be carried on for the masses against the social democrats of all shades. This struggle has not been successful in the past, chiefly because it has not been concrete and has either not been sufficiently linked up with the direct struggle of the masses for their vital needs and with the experience of this struggle, or it has in some cases been replaced by calls for a physical struggle against individual social fascists. Neither of these has anything in common with the tasks of the Communist Party.

The essence of the struggle against social fascism consists of the struggle for the masses against the influence of the social fascists on them. The decisive task of the Communist Party and of all its organisations, of its press and of every individual Communist, is to expose systematically, day after day and in simple popular language the treacherous and imperialist nature of social fascism to the workers and peasants and to tear off its mask of "friend of the people" so that in this way the masses will be wrested from its influence and won over to the side of the Communist Party. It is necessary to show up the treachery of the social fascists, to deprive them of the confidence of the masses, not on the basis of abstract questions, but on the basis of the experience of the everyday struggle of the working class to improve its material and political situation. Only on such a basis and in close connection with the struggle for the concrete needs of the workers and peasants is it possible and necessary to expose the bourgeois nature of social fascism on all questions of internal and international policy.

In the struggle against the ideology of social fascism, the Party must concentrate its fire of criticism against those manifestations which are most dangerous for the revolutionary movement at the given time, which have a most disastrous effect on the minds of the masses and which hinder their activity—against chauvinism, legalist illusions, etc.

17. The C.P.J. must become the Party of mass political action. For this purpose, in all its daily revolutionary practical work, it must base itself on the task of initiating, organising and leading all expressions of discontent against the war, against the police-bureaucratic regime of the bourgeois-landlord monarchy. The Japanese Communists must respond to every political event, drawing a contrast between all the bourgeois-landlord parties or social traitors and its own revolutionary estimate of these events and its revolutionary reply to all questions which agitate the masses.

In drawing up its partial political demands, the Party must clearly understand that the Japanese parliament is an integral part of the present monarchist dictatorship. While fighting by every means for partial political demands, including the fight against the existing restrictions for women and youth, the Party must not under any circumstances put forward such partial political demands as would direct the attention of the masses to the struggle for improving the parliamentary system and would sow parliamentary illusions among them. On the contrary, while making full use of parliamentary elections and parliamentary work, and where possible taking part in them for the purpose of revolutionary agitation, the Communist Party must direct its work towards dispelling the parliamentary illusions of the masses. It must completely abandon the incorrect slogan of "Dissolving parliament".

The programme of partial economic and political demands, put forward by the Communist Party, must be a programme calculated above all on the non-parliamentary struggle against war, against the present police monarchist regime, against the capitalists and landlords, for the most burning demands of the working class, the working peasants and the poor of the towns.

18. The Party must prepare a programme of partial demands which can be changed to suit the concrete political

conditions of the moment, carefully taking into account all the matters which may assist in the rapid radicalisation of the masses.

The programme of action of the Communist Party should include the above mentioned anti-war demands and also demands of the following nature:

1. Against the crushing of strikes and peasant activity by the military and the police; for the right to strike and the freedom of the peasant struggle; for unlimited freedom for trade unions, peasant unions, and all other forms of organisation of the toilers; against arbitration and inference by the government—law courts, police, ect.—in the struggle of the workers against the capitalists and the landlords.

2. For the immediate liberation of all victims of police violence and all political prisoners:—trade union leaders, strikers, participators in peasant conflicts, members of the Communist Party, Korean and Chinese revolutionists.

3. Unlimited freedom of assembly, speech and press for the workers; complete freedom for political meetings and demonstrations. The formation of factory committees in all factories regardless of formalities, and their recognition; the organisation of proletarian self-defence.

4. For non-payment of rent and against the robbery of the peasants by landlords and capitalists. For the annulment of all debts of the peasants to landlords, money-lenders, trusts and banks. Refusal to pay these debts or to pay taxes.

5. For the repeal of all anti-worker and anti-peasant laws. For really equal rights for Suheis, for equal rights for women.

6. Against semi-slavish conditions of labour, against servitude in barracks, against contract labour, which is a hidden form of slavery for workers and youths; against the double exploitation of women, youth, Koreans and Formosans. Equal pay for equal work. Criminal prosecution for open or concealed forms of the sale of women and children, etc.

7. Against capitalist rationalisation; for the 7 hour day for adults, the 6 hour day for youths from 16 to 18 years old and the 4 hour day for all below 16; the prohibition of child labour; the 40 hour week (but in branches of small and medium industry where the working day at present is particularly long, the 46 hour week at first). A weekly rest day with full pay and a yearly vacation of two weeks with pay.

8. A general rise of wages, the establishment of a compulsory minimum for wages based on the cost of living of a workers family. Prohibition of deductions from wages. Criminal prosecution for failure to pay wages in time.

9. Immediate introduction of government insurance against unemployment, sickness, accidents, and old age at the expense of the employers. Free and full control of the funds of state insurance by the workers and the unemployed. Reduction of rent for houses and the cost of electricity for workers, with the complete exemption of the unemployed for such payments. The formation of a Tenant's League for the struggle for lower rent.

10. Against the regime of economy and inflation carried out by the government at the expense of the workers. Against high prices. For a regime of economy by cutting down the expenditure of milliards of public money for armaments, the police, subsidies to the capitalists and landlords, big salaries for the emperor and the nobles. For heavy taxation of banks, corporations and trusts, the confiscation of speculators' profits and the transfer of these funds for the assistance of the unemployed and the poor in the towns and villages. For increased taxation of the rich and exemption from taxation for the workers, small peasants, poor handicraftmen and the poor in the towns.

11. For the liberation of Korea, Formosa, Manchuria and other districts annexed from China. For the immediate withdrawal of Japanese forces from these countries. The defence of the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese people.

The whole struggle of the Communist Party for partial demands must be directed towards winning over the working masses for the basic slogans of the revolution.

By developing the struggle for partial demands and winning over the masses to its side, the Communist Party will bring nearer the outbreak of revolution. War and crisis have extremely sharpened the class contradictions in the country. The mass revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the C.P.J. will lead to the growth of a revolutionary crisis in which a crushing blow will be dealt the monarchy, and workers and peasants Soviets will be formed, under the flag of which the C.P.J. will lead the working class and all the toilers to final victory.

West European Bureau of the E.C.C.I.

Draft Programme of the C.P. of Egypt.

This Draft Programme, sent by a group of Egyptian Communists, has been submitted by them to the Parties of the Communist International as a basis for discussion.

1. National Oppression, the Enslavement of the Workers and the Economic Crisis.

Egypt is in reality a colony of British Imperialism, although the latter conceals its domination by the screen of a reactionary and decaying monarchy. The monarchy of King Fuad, supported by the officials and police, the big landlords and the comprador capitalists, assists British imperialism to strangle and plunder the country. With this assistance, British imperialism hides its claws. The British military fist hangs over the head of the Egyptian people. The British plunderers keep the Suez Canal in their hands. They hold the key to all the wealth of the country. On the neck of Egypt they have put a noose of heavy debts. They have seized the Sudan. They own the banks. They have converted Egypt into a slave cotton plantation. Egyptian industry is developing only to a very slight degree and very slowly. The overwhelming mass of the population are tied to the land, to the production of cotton, which is not manufactured in Egypt but goes to British factories so that it can afterwards be sent back to Egypt in the form of high priced cloth. The Egyptian lackeys and toadies of foreign imperialism are petty pawns in the game. The British masters give their orders openly to Fuad and his servants, appoint and dismiss ministers, and control the whole of the state apparatus. The Egyptian people carry on their shoulders a **double oppression—British imperialism and a servile, violent and bandit monarchy.**

It is worst of all for the workers, peasants and city poor. The inhuman exploitation and oppression of the workers is supported by this system of national disgrace and oppression, slavery and poverty. The **Egyptian workers** work 11–12 or 14 hours a day. For this exhausting labour they receive five or six piastres. Women and children work under still worse

conditions. The autocracy of the bosses is without limit. The whip of the overseers hangs constantly over the workers, driving them like slaves. The labour agents—"mekauls" hire the workers and plunder them. The murderous "rais firka" (overseers) beat and maim the workers, rob them of their wages and treat them like dirt. Their criminal violence to the women workers and their brutality is not punished. At every step, the workers are faced with fines. Work is carried on in the most terrible insanitary conditions, and in a few years the worker becomes invalid. The workers are robbed in the factory stores. They live in tents, 15 to 20 persons in each. Where the Arabs receive a miserable pittance, the European workers receive five times as much. All the laws are against the workers. For "incitement" against the autocracy of Fuad and the British oppressors, the punishment is five years in jail, for organising a strike—2 years, for taking part in a strike—six months to one year. There are no laws on insurance against illness, disablement, unemployment and the protection of labour. Police spies everywhere are hunting for class conscious workers. The workers' organisations which are independent of the police and capitalists are mercilessly persecuted.

The fate of the peasant masses, the fellahs, is equally hard. They work from sunrise to sunset, and they have to give their very last to pay rent and taxes. They produce cotton, but the price of cotton is dictated by foreign bosses in Egypt and by the world market. The fellah goes barefoot, is poor and hungry. The very "highest" prices cannot give him anything except an increase in the wealth and strength of his exploiters and the bloodsucking landlords and money lenders, speculators and middle men, officials and police. Over 4/5 of Egyptian exports consist of cotton produced by the convict labour of the poor fellahs. More than half of the

cultivated land is in the hands of the big landlords and more than seven-tenths of the fellahs possess only $\frac{1}{10}$ of all the land. The fellahs are driven by ruin to abandon their land and seek any other district. But in the towns they cannot find either work or food. At the small number of factories and workshops which exist, there is always a long line of people looking for jobs. People without passports are deported from the town, to the slavery of their previous exploiters. The fellahs are under the orders of the landlords. Any policeman or official is all powerful over them. They are harassed by the omda—both as an administrative official and as a money lender—who fixes himself firmly on the backs of the fellahs. He controls the seed reserve credits, fertilisers. He is kind to the kulaks but he has no mercy towards the poor and middle toiling fellahs. While the masses of fellahs are struggling and starving on petty strips of land, getting ever deeper into the toils of the money lender and landlord, the big land areas and all the big irrigation plants are the property of the imperialist plunderers. There is no right or national freedom in Egypt. The Egyptian people are in subjection to foreign imperialism and its agents. It is worst of all for the poor working people who have no limits to their hours of labour, who never have vacations, who live half starved and have not even the right to say a word.

The severe economic crisis has been raging for three years. Tens of thousands of unemployed have neither food nor work. Every worker on the railroads, in the ports, the factories or the plantations is threatened with dismissal. Everywhere there is severe unemployment, but the mass of unemployed cannot be fed by the few crumbs which are given in a few so called charitable dining rooms in Cairo and Alexandria, which have been opened to distract attention. The last insignificant bits of land, together with all property, right down to the last shirt, are taken away from the fellahs. The capitalists, landlords, money lenders, the police and official gang and the imperialists make use of the crisis in order to rob and strangle the workers, peasants and city poor even more. They are trying to transfer all the burdens of the crisis on to the shoulders of the workers; cotton is sold for next to nothing, but the noose of taxation and debts is tightening ever more round the necks of the peasants. Fuad temporarily reduced rent by one third, but the price of cotton fell by half. The property of the fellahs is being sold up everywhere. Whole villages are being deserted. In the cities there are new masses of fugitives asking for charity. In the villages, as in the towns, there is neither work nor food. For the impoverished and ruined toilers there are no rights, no laws. The judges work for the landlords and money lenders and squeeze out taxes which go to pay tribute to the imperialists, to support the gang of police and officials, to give sinecures to concessionists, to the big landlords and money lenders. British imperialism wrings out a contribution in gold from Egypt, demanding the payment of debts in gold while the value of the English pound has dropped by almost a third. Taxation and impoverishment are growing.

The enslavers of Egypt—British imperialism and its servants, the police-bureaucratic monarchy of Fuad, the big landlords and merchants who are getting rich by bargains with foreign capital — **are trying to find a way out of the crisis by an unprecedented impoverishment and enslavement of the workers of Egypt.** They are trying to cut down the price of Egyptian cotton still lower, so that the British cotton manufacturers, the bankers and the limited companies and the owners of the irrigation works can rake in profits. The fellahs will pay ruinous tribute to the landlords, moneylenders, the foreign oppressors and the government gang. They will have to pay still more than they are paying now. Their families will have to suffer and starve still more, working for the parasites and the oppressors. This is what the enslavers of Egypt are aiming at.

They are trying to make the whip of the „Rais-firka“ swing over the heads of workers in the cotton ginning mills, the tobacco and cement works. They are trying to make the labour power of the workers cheaper than it is now. They wish to ridicule the national and political life of the Egyptian people still more. Egypt under their heels will become more and more a workshop for the preparation of a new bloody imperialist war, for new murderous attacks of the imperialists on the enslaved peoples (above all, on the Arab peoples), **for an attack on the Soviet Union**, the land of complete national freedom and victorious socialism. Once again they will drive the fellahs by force into labour battalions, once

again they will requisition the cattle and grain of the fellahs, once again there will be forcible collections for the English Red Cross. British bombing planes will fly from Egypt to the borders of the fatherland of all the workers and enslaved peoples, the U.S.S.R., raining death and destruction.

This is the way out of the crisis which is being sought for by **imperialism.** This is being sought for by the fawners who are grouped round the Fuad and Sidka Pasha gangs. The Party of the palace lackeys, the higher bureaucracy and the big feudalists—“El Ittihad”—the party of the millionaires, compradores and cotton exporters—“Hizv El Shaab”—the party of the merchants and usurious bourgeoisie and the stock exchange speculators—“Ara Vdestur”—all these parties conceal behind their public programmes their slavish service to British imperialism and the blackest reaction.

Wafd is the party of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, counter-revolutionary national reformists. It unites the rich capitalists, lawyers, speculators and liberal landlords, whose policy is to bargain with the enslavers of Egypt out of fear of a national revolution and in hopes of small concessions for themselves. It is the party of national deceit and national treachery. It bargains with imperialism and the Fuad gang for small and unimportant concessions so as to strengthen the situation of the capitalists and landlords at the expense of the workers and peasants. It keeps itself apart from the camp of Fuad and Sidki Pasha, but in practice it utilises the national liberation movement of the people so as to disorganise the revolutionary struggle and to bargain for concessions for the bourgeoisie and landlords. It not only works against any real struggle for the independence of Egypt, for the overthrow of the monarchy, for the confiscation of big estates and for the eight hour day. Nay more, it tries to lead the mass movement so as to weaken and crush this movement, to betray and sell it. The whole history of Wafd from 1919 onwards is the history of the struggle of Wafd against the revolutionary workers, peasants and the toilers in general. When Wafd was in power, all the independent class workers organisations and all the revolutionary organisations were broken up. Wafd bargained with English imperialism, sold the freedom and independence of Egypt in 1930, and the agreement was not signed only because of formalities which had not been agreed on regarding the Sudan. Wafd is prepared to make any bargain with imperialism so long as it is decorated with a constitutional appearance. It is an anti-national party with a counter-revolutionary policy, a party which stated through the mouth of Nahas Pasha that it was ready to fight against the U.S.S.R. in the interest of British imperialism. The lying phrases of Wafd assist imperialism and the monarchy to crush and strangle the national movement. For many years, Wafd pretended that it was striving for the independence of Egypt, attempting to trick the masses with promises. When British imperialism put forward the Fuad monarchy as a screen for itself, Wafd began to shout that it would fight for “constitutional freedom”. It did not dare to call on the masses even for a struggle for the overthrow of the rotten monarchy. Now, Wafd is again pretending to act against British imperialism. In reality, **together with imperialism and its lackeys in Egypt**, it is seeking for a way out of the crisis by the further enslavement and oppression of the people. It is just to conceal this that it uses its “oppositional” phrases.

The party, “Hizb El Watani” in 1919 expressed the dissatisfaction of the lower ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, and slipped into supporting the Fuad gang, losing all its previous influence.

The toiling masses of Egypt, headed by the working class, must now more than ever before ask themselves: why have the innumerable sacrifices made by them in the struggle for the liberation of Egypt from imperialist slavery and the oppression of the landlords and usurers, in the struggle for the radical improvement of the position of the workers and peasants, not given the desired results? There can be only one correct answer. The masses of workers, peasants, and working people in the towns went into the struggle honestly and sacrificed themselves, but they were dragged along by hostile, treacherous, counter-revolutionary forces which on every occasion diverted their blows away from imperialism, which on every occasion exposed them to the blows of their enemies.

The workers can only find their own **revolutionary way out** of the present difficult situation by a revolutionary struggle against imperialism, against the reactionary monarchy, against the landlords and moneylenders, against the counter-

revolutionary bourgeois national reformists. They can find their revolutionary way out by rallying and uniting all working people under the leadership of **the revolutionary proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Egypt.**

2. The Struggle for a Revolutionary Way Out of the Crisis.

The national reformist bourgeoisie, of course, have contradictory interests with British imperialism, to the extent that they conflict with imperialism on the matter of dividing up the plunder squeezed out of the working majority of the country. But the national reformist bourgeoisie, headed by Wafd, completely support imperialism in the struggle against the revolutionary movement of the working class, the peasants and the toilers in the towns. Wafd fears the revolutionary victory of the workers and peasants, and with all its force and means it tries to interfere with it. It looks on this as the chief danger, because this victory would signify the overthrow of the yoke of imperialism and the confiscation of all the land of the imperialists, the king, the landlords and the Wakufs (Clurch) for the benefit of the peasants and farm workers who cultivate it. It would mean the 8-hour day and a considerable improvement in the standard of life of all the workers. The fat incomes from speculation in cotton and from the shares of companies would disappear. The power of the landlord would be swept away. The strength of the moneylenders would be broken and the influence of the Omde would disappear, and on these, not only the Fuad gang but also Wafd are fully dependent. The Egyptian capitalists and the "liberal" landlords wish for the kind of "freedom" for Egypt which would not be freedom for the workers and fellahs. They need that kind of "independence" for Egypt under which they could play the role of buffer and at the same time agents between imperialism and the oppressed and exploited masses.

There cannot be a successful and victorious revolutionary struggle without a complete and irrevocable break with Wafd, without a merciless and stern struggle with it. **Between the camp of Wafd and the camp of the national anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution there is an impassable gulf.** In order to throw off the imperialist yoke, we must smash and destroy the influence of Wafd among the masses, its influence on the workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie. Between the camp of Wafd and the camp of imperialism with its monarchist agents there is a firm contact, which is increased by its efforts to be of service to British imperialism.

The working class—the foremost and most revolutionary class of the Egyptian people, is united by the very work it performs in the big capitalist factories. It is becoming a conscious revolutionary class because the class struggled against wage slavery, against capitalism, trains and teaches it. This struggle puts it in the front rank of the struggle against foreign enslavers and the oppression of landlords and moneylenders. Over its head hisses the lash of the overseers and the police. It has not even the most elementary human and civil rights, because the whole country is pining in colonial slavery, because its brother—the fellah—has no other lot but slavish labour for the landlord. The working class is not scattered like the peasant masses. It alone is able to lead the working majority of Egypt onto the independent road of revolutionary struggle, welding it together and uniting it under the banner of revolution. It alone can finally and completely expose the counter-revolutionary policy of the capitalists who are exploiting it and who at the same time hide under the cloak of Wafd and call themselves "friend of national freedom". The working class is the class which throughout the world is leading all the toilers not only to liberation from the power of imperialism, the monarchy and the landlords, but to the complete abolition of all exploitation of man by man. The working class has formed the first socialist government in the world—the U.S.S.R.—where the right of all nations to self-determination has been absolutely realised, where tens of millions of the workers have driven out the capitalists and landlords and are building the new life—socialism.

Only an unbreakable fraternal **alliance of the working class and the toiling peasants under the leadership of the proletariat** can assure the victory of the national revolution. In the struggle against imperialism, against the landlords and the reactionary monarchy, against the counter-revolutionary policy of Wafd, the workers and peasants have common interests.

The direct and immediate aim of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in Egypt is the overthrow of the yoke of imperialism and the reactionary monarchy, the winning of

complete independence for Egypt, the peasant agrarian revolution, the 8-hour day and a radical improvement in the position of the workers, the establishment of a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasants in the form of a Soviet Workers' and Peasants' Government. This revolutionary victory will promote the further struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, for the destruction of classes and complete social ownership of all the means of production. In all parts of the world there is going on the **struggle of two systems**—the bloody, rotting and dying system of capitalism, and socialism which has obtained an indestructible foundation in the U.S.S.R. The present world economic crisis is striking with special force at the countries enslaved by imperialism, which will in turn still further deepen and sharpen the crisis of world capitalism which cannot exist without the colonial enslavement of the majority of the human race. In contrast to this world of exploitation, oppression, parasitism, speculation and colonial plunder there is the U.S.S.R. which in 1931 completed the construction of the foundations of socialist economy. The example of the U.S.S.R. rouses the working masses in the imperialist countries and the enslaved toiling masses of the colonial peoples to a revolutionary struggle. The U.S.S.R. shows to all the revolutionary way out of the contradictions of imperialism.

Imperialism is seeking for a way out by means of an attack on the working class, by a new enslavement of the colonies, by provocation of war against the U.S.S.R. The seizure of Manchuria by Japanese imperialism and the general attack of the imperialists on China signifies an attempt at a new division of China and the complete enslavement of the country, together with preparations for intervention against the U.S.S.R. The Chinese workers and peasants, led by the Chinese Communist Party, have already established a number of Soviet districts and have formed their Red Army. Their example is being followed by the toilers of Indo-China and India, who are preparing for a decisive struggle against the imperialists.

The Egyptian workers and peasants do not wish to carry the chains of slavery any longer or to live in a half starved condition. Their struggle for freedom and independence, for land for the peasants and the eight-hour day for the workers is an inseparable part of the general struggle of all the toilers and oppressed peoples against imperialism, against a new enslavement of colonial peoples, against new threats of a new world war, against the danger of anti-Soviet intervention. While struggling for their own cause, the workers and peasants of Egypt are fighting for the liberation of all Arab peoples from imperialism, for a fighting alliance with them.

A successful struggle of the working class of Egypt is only possible by the advance guard coming together in the ranks of the Communist Party of Egypt. Only when all workers support their class party will the Egyptian proletariat be able to obtain the leadership of the majority of the toilers. Owing to the temporary weakness of the workers' movement in Egypt, to police provocation, petty careerists succeeded in disorganising the activity of the Egyptian C.P., separating it from the workers and from the revolutionary mass struggle. Communists who stand aloof from the workers out of fear of arrest are not Communists but pitiful cowards and traitors who disgrace the cause of the workers.

But the cause of the workers, the cause of the Comintern is dear to Egyptian workers. The workers of Port Said, Suez, Cairo and Alexandria, the workers of Bulak who built barricades in 1931, the thousands and thousands of proletarians, farm workers and class conscious poor fellahs cannot do anything else but seek to organise a strong militant proletarian party for the leadership of the struggle for the anti-imperialist and agrarian peasant revolution, for the Soviet power of the workers and peasants, which will create the conditions for a further deepening of the revolution, for a further struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and Socialism.

They need a fighting mass Communist Party. They need a fighting programme of the national revolution. We call on them to raise the banner of their Party, and headed by their select Communist vanguard composed of the most self-sacrificing proletarians and poor fellahs, to work among the masses for the organisation of the resistance of the workers and peasants to predatory imperialism, the landlords, money-

lenders, and counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, for a struggle for a revolutionary way out of the crisis. The Communist Party is needed to unite and organise the broad masses of workers and toiling peasants in the struggle for their urgent class interests against imperialism, the landlords and the capitalists. It is necessary to unite and direct the whole struggle of the working class and its ally — the peasants — towards a conscious revolutionary aim. It is above all necessary to the advanced workers so that they can consciously fight and lead the struggle of the broadest masses of the toilers. The Communist Party is the only Party of struggle for the interests of the toilers. Without it the masses will be in the power of their enemies, the deceivers, who trick them with promises. The Communist Party of Egypt must form part of the world Party of the proletariat and the most advanced elements of the working peasants.

All over the world there is going on a struggle between two worlds — socialism which is conquering and liberating, and capitalism which is decaying, dying and murdering. The toilers of the colonies and semi-colonies can throw off the rusty chains of colonial slavery and the oppression of the landlords and the moneylenders only in firm and fraternal alliance with the country of victorious Socialism and the international proletariat.

The Egyptian proletariat, the workers and the exploited peasants will not have to wait and ask favours from above. Their programme is the **programme of revolution** which requires self-sacrifice and courage, but which at the same time leads towards the goal.

Our fundamental revolutionary demands are:

1. Drive out the British imperialists including their land, naval and air forces, from Egypt and the Sudan.

2. **Complete unlimited economic and political independence for Egypt and the Sudan.** Complete freedom of national self-determination for the Sudan. The struggle for the liberation of all Arab peoples from the yoke of imperialism, for an All-Arab Federation of free peoples. The destruction of all the privileges of the imperialists. The overthrow of the monarchy, the doing away with the old officials, Omde, the fake local self-government bodies and the police. The election of judges by the people. The arming of the workers in defence of their national independence and rights as labourers. Freedom of the press for the toilers. The separation of the church from the state and the law courts from the church.

3. For a workers' and Peasants' Soviet government. For the power of the Soviets.

4. **Confiscation without compensation of all land, cattle and agricultural implements of the imperialists, Landlords, moneylenders, the King and the higher officials and wakufs** (including married wakufs), **and their division among the farm workers and poor and middle peasants who do not exploit the labour of others.**

5. The nationalisation of all irrigation undertakings and the big machines belonging to them (pumps, etc.) **Free supply of water for the land of poor fellahs.**

6. **The confiscation and nationalisation of all banks and industrial undertakings of the imperialists.**

7. The annulment of the national debt and all debts to the imperialists. The annulment of all debts to the moneylenders and all oppressive agreements. The annulment of all the indebtedness of the fellahs. The annulment of all oppressive taxes on the toilers and a progressive income tax on the rich.

8. Freedom of organisation for workers and toilers, freedom of activity for all their organisations. The eight hour day. Equal pay for equal work for all people who work, independently of their nationality or sex. Minimum wages. The four hour day for young persons of 14 to 16 years, the six hour day for young workers of 16 to 18 years. The prohibition of child labour and night work for women and young persons. Social insurance against sickness, old age, unemployment, disablement. A radical improvement in the housing conditions. The defence of labour.

9. General compulsory education without charge for workers and peasants.

10. Alliance with the U.S.S.R. with the international revolutionary proletariat and the struggling toilers of the colonies.

3. Our Partial Demands and the Tasks of the Immediate Struggle and of Organisation.

A. The police—bureaucratic monarchy on the one hand and Wafd on the other hand (although in different ways—the

first by violence and the second usually by deceit, which, when Wafd is in power is inevitably accompanied by the crushing of the struggling masses, as was shown in 1924 and the following years) are using every effort to prevent the attempts of the workers to rally together and unite. For this purpose they use various manoeuvres, putting on the mask of "friends of the workers". The Egyptian workers are deprived of the most elementary weapons for the protection of their everyday vital interests in the sphere of improving the conditions of labour. The trade unions of the workers are almost always trade unions in name only. They are ruled either by police spies, labour agents, overseers, and employers or by the rich "patrons" from Wafd—lawyers and capitalists who are making a career for themselves at the expense of the workers.

The struggle for **Independent Class Trade Unions** is the most important task of the working class. Without this weapon, the Egyptian proletariat cannot successfully struggle for its most vital needs, cannot successfully carry on strikes, cannot rally together, cannot struggle against unemployment. Compulsory government arbitration throttles the strikes. The government gang plays games with the workers, throwing contemptuous sops to them and bribing the worst elements. Even the hiring and dismissal of workers is in the hands of bloodsuckers—"mekauls". The workers must organise for the struggle.

The first slogan of the workers is: for the class trade unions, independent of the police and Wafd. **For freedom of strikes and the class organisation of the workers**, for freedom of association and struggle for the **toiling peasants**, for the freedom of the press for workers and peasants. The workers must come forward with their **immediate vital demands**, adapted to the struggle against the attack of the exploiters. The chief of these demands are as follows:

1. No wage cuts, increase in wages. Equal pay and equal labour conditions for workers of all nations. A guaranteed minimum wage corresponding to the wages of foreign workers.

2. Against the mass dismissal of workers. Compensation at dismissal equal to three months wages. The abolition of labour agents (mekauls) for the hiring and dismissal of workers. Employment of workers to be conducted through the labour exchanges, functioning under the control of elected representatives of the workers or elected workers' committees. The annulment of all oppressive agreements and money lenders agreements relating to the hiring of workers.

3. Collective agreements with the workers organised in class trade unions. A decided shortening of the working day down to an eight hour working day. A compulsory weekly rest day. A genuine and effective prohibition of child labour and the payment of young persons in proportion to the work performed. Equal pay for equal work, the prohibition of night work for women and young persons. Leave of absence for women during pregnancy. The prohibition of women's labour in harmful occupations. The six hour day for young workers.

4. Immediate relief to the unemployed through the taxation of banks, shipping firms, commission houses, concessionaires, stock exchanges, owners of industrial and transportation enterprises, and high officials. Unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and the employers.

5. Food for the unemployed and refugees. Guarantee of food and dwellings for the unemployed and refugees at the expense of the government, employers and big merchants and speculators. Prohibition of banishment of refugees who have come from the villages without passports.

6. Abolishment of police arbitration and police interference in strikes.

7. Free election of factory committees by the workers and recognition of these committees by the employers. Freedom to strike and freedom of activity for the class trade unions. Improvement of living conditions for the workers.

8. Workers' pickets during strikes and workers' self-defence against police violence.

9. An international front of the Arab workers and workers of the national minorities. The workers must organise, first of all in the factories, in order to prepare their struggle from below. For this first of all the most active elements must come together and thus form a trade union group in the factory. Every effort must be made to organise the unemployed and the refugees, fellahs and agricultural labourers.

B) Special slogans of struggle for the fellah masses containing demands which best express their most urgent needs:

1. Fellahin! don't pay taxes or debts!
2. Do not pay rent in time of crisis!
3. Against seizure of land, harvest, cattle and agricultural equipment for non-payment of taxes, rent or debts. No fellah may be driven from land which he cultivated.
4. Out with the tax collectors and usurers in the villages.
5. No return of loans to the Government, distribution of "relief" funds of the landlords, usurers and Omde among the starving and ruined fellahs.
6. Complete annulment of feudal contracts imposed upon the fellahs working on the farms ("Izbe") of the landlords. Struggle against the practice of forcibly bringing back fellahs who have deserted the landlords.
7. Struggle to have all funds and resources (seed, fertilisers, loans) which go through the hands of the Omde, transferred to the elected committees of the poor and middle peasants. Taxing of the irrigation companies, banks, contractors and higher officials for the relief of the starving fellahs.
8. Independent unions of agricultural labourers and the organisation of peasants committees.
9. Struggle against confiscation and sale of peasant property and land.
10. Freedom of organisation for agricultural labourers, poor and middle peasants. Freedom of activity for their organisations and elected committees.
11. Organisation of self-defence for agricultural labourers and peasants against the violence of the imperialists, the government, the landlords and usurers.

It is still more difficult for the poor and exploited peasants to organise themselves than for the workers, but their position has become so frightful that they are forced to seek a way out by means of struggle. Active groups of peasants, openly forming today committees of struggle against usurers and tomorrow forming committees of struggle against the forced auctioning of fellah's land etc., can carry with them the majority in the villages if they set to work with courage and determination. The peasants are spontaneously seeking a way out of their misery by incendiarism and various other reprisals. It is necessary to help them to organise themselves, and the city workers together with the agricultural labourers must help the peasantry and paralyse the influence of landlords, usurers, Omde and kulaks, and lead the struggle of the poor peasantry and strive to rally them around the elected committees of peasants.

C) The most advanced and class-conscious workers of Egypt, whom the Communist Party calls to rally round its banner, must also help the poor in the towns and the poor handicraft proletarians to organise and defend their interests against the usurers, profiteers and capitalist leeches, by demanding the taxation of the usurers and big foreign companies and their agents.

It is the task of the workers to show oppressed and exploited Egypt the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The way to the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism and the reactionary monarchy, the way to the peasants' revolution can be prepared only through an open and stubborn mass struggle in defence of the vital interests of the oppressed population. The economic crisis has shaken the foundations of a reactionary regime. The working elements of the towns and villages and the best revolutionary elements among the students are impatient for struggle and frequently desert the path of mass revolutionary struggle for isolated independent acts. The Communists and all conscious revolutionary fighters must turn their attention to work in the army of occupation and among the armed forces of the Fuad monarchy.

The working class in alliance with the poor and exploited peasantry must come forward as fighters and organisers of the struggle for liberation. It must stand at the head of the anti-imperialist and anti-monarchist movement, linking it up with the struggle of the workers and peasants. Its slogans are clear and comprehensible:

1. **Away with the British armed forces in Egypt and the Sudan. Down with the decrees and violence of British imperialism.**
2. **Complete cessation of all government payments.**
3. **No taxes whatsoever on the toilers. Heavy Taxation of the imperialists, bankers, speculators and landlords for the benefit of the unemployed, the starving and the refugees.**

4. **No payments whatsoever on debts to the usurers in the towns and in the villages. No rent payments whatsoever in time of crisis.**

5. **No wage cuts but increase in wages; cessation of payments to officials and police officers receiving over 20 pounds; unemployment insurance. Relief to the unemployed at the expense of foreign and local parasites.**

6. **Down with the Fuad monarchy! Down with the police and the police spies in the trade unions and in the factories! Down with the counter-revolutionary policy of the Wafd!**

7. **Freedom for the independent class trade unions, peasant organisations and revolutionary organisations. Organisation of Self defence for workers and Peasants. Freedom of the press for all working elements.**

8. **Down with the criminal preparations for a new imperialist war and war against the Soviet Union! For the Support of the Fatherland of the workers.**

The Egyptian proletariat and poor peasantry have a difficult road of struggle before them. But this is the only way out of slavery to liberation.

The united revolutionary front of workers and peasants is being formed, is growing and is being extended from below on the basis of immediate resistance to the enslavers and exploiters. The revolutionary activities of the Egyptian workers during the past two years are irrefutable proof that the working masses have a huge reserve of revolutionary energy. They must devote this energy first of all to the organisation of a struggle in defence of their immediate demands and against the attacks of the imperialists, the government and the capitalists. A solid and organised struggle of the workers will rouse the mass of fellahs and will help to find the correct and successful transition from economic struggles and economic strikes to demonstrations, political strikes and other highly developed forms of struggle.

The tasks which face the working class call for the mobilisation of all its forces for the struggle at the head of all working and exploited elements in Egypt.

Japanese Cultural Organisations Issue Appeal.

Tokyo, 24th May 1932.

The Federation of Proletarian Cultural Organisations has issued an appeal signed by fifteen organisations. The appeal declares that the Japanese bourgeoisie is preparing for a new imperialist war. Revolutionary workers and peasants have been arrested in masses, and the revolutionary working class organisations are threatened with suppression in order to "pacify the Hinterland" for war. During the recent parliamentary elections the only revolutionary workers candidate was arrested and at the same time five members of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League were arrested.

The appeal points out that all revolutionary working class organisations such as the Communist Party, the Young Communist League, the revolutionary trade unions, the Red Aid and the League against Imperialism are prohibited, and that the federation of proletarian cultural organisations is the only legal mass organisation of the working class. Since the beginning of the imperialist war this federation has played a great role in the working class fight against war.

The federation was formed in November 1931 and it is already threatened with suppression. Its fifteen organisations issue numerous journals, such as "Proletarian Culture", "Friend of the Masses", "Working Women", "The Young Pioneer", "The Militant Atheist", etc., all of which do good work to enlighten the masses of the workers and peasants. On the 12th April the authorities announced in the bourgeois press that they intended to destroy not only the communist fraction in the federation, but the federation itself. The federation is now organising a mass movement of protest against this threatened prohibition.

The appeal points out that it is very necessary that this mass protest movement in Japan should be supported by an international protest movement and declares that the oppressed and persecuted Japanese working class looks to its brothers in other countries for proletarian solidarity and support in its difficult struggle.