

Japanese Anti-Militarism and Intervention in Siberia

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The Three Internationals and the Trade Union United Front.

By A. Lozovsky.

The Conference of the three Internationals recently held in Berlin decided, among other things, to take steps for the restoration of the united front of the trade unions, i. e., to approach the Amsterdam International and the Red Trade Union International with the proposal to convene a conference of these two Internationals. This decision of the three Executive Committees is of great significance. We must keep in mind that although the Amsterdam International, formally, is completely independent of the Second International there exists between them a close organic connection. Three parties constitute the backbone of the Second International: the English Labour Party, the Belgian Labour Party and the German Social Democrats. In this connection it must be pointed out that it is just in these countries that the trade union organizations and the parties of the Second International form a working entity. The Labour Party was created by the English trade unions, and the Belgian trade unions directly represent a part of the Labour Party. Three-fifths of the trade union organizations of Germany are in the hands of the Social Democrats.

The largest organizations of the Second International are those organizations connected with the largest organizations of the Amsterdam International and if the former has spoken in favor of convening an international conference of the two trade Union Internationals, the Amsterdam International will hardly raise any difficulties in this respect. As for the Red Trade Union International it has already agreed to such a conference. The Red Trade Union International has several times expressed its readiness to meet with the representatives of the Amsterdam International for the purpose of solving practical and concrete tasks. Up to now however the Amsterdam International has sabotaged the proposal of the Red Trade Union International only because it considers itself much stronger than the Red Trade Union International and the leaders will not confess that throughout the whole of their organizations there exist strong minorities adhering to the Red Trade Union International.

Fimmen expressed himself to this effect in an interview that was recently published in the Berlin *Vorwärts*. Fimmen pointed out for the hundred and first time that it (the Amsterdam International) is in favor of the united front while this cannot be said of the Russian trade union organizations. Thereupon, without having spoken on the united front, he demanded guarantees and a proper attitude on our side. What guarantees does Fimmen desire to obtain from us? What shall we guarantee? Perhaps that we entirely fulfil the obligations entered into by us? In his capacity as secretary of the Amsterdam International Fimmen of course is in a position to make naive proposals. But in spite of this we can take it for granted that this right will not be abused. We can calmly guarantee that we shall fulfil the obligations undertaken by us and can assure the Amsterdam International that we shall not remain behind it in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. As for ourselves we demand from the Amsterdam International no kind of further guarantee. For us action—the best guarantee—alone suffices. Words are worth little to us; we want singly and solely action.

The declaration of Fimmen appeared simultaneously with the Conference of the three Internationals.

It is true this declaration preceded the conference, but it was published by Fimmen with the intention of informing the conference of the three Internationals that he, Fimmen, would fight to the last and keep the flag of the Amsterdam International flying. We must, however disconcert citizen Fimmen a bit. In the same way as the Second International failed to succeed in persuading the Communist International to agree to its tactics, the Amsterdam International will fail in subjugating the Red Trade Union International. We declare openly and loyally with regard to the decisions of the three Internationals that we are prepared at any time it likes to enter into negotiations. We come to these negotiations with a definite practical program, i. e., we shall propose common practical measures, a common policy. These measures in the first place will have in view the counter-offensive against capital, and will have to work out forms and methods of the participation of the trade union organizations of all countries in the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia. This concrete program can of course be augmented as the representatives of the Amsterdam International can also at any time put other questions on the agenda. We are prepared to enter into a discussion with them at any time, at any workers' meeting, in any European city they like, upon the question of the two Internationals and their actual tactics, as well as those of Soviet Russia; the position of the Russian trade unions, etc. We in no way refuse to debate all these questions in all their aspects before the working class of Western Europe. If the Amsterdam International agrees to it we are also prepared to do this before, at, and after the conference, but we are of the opinion that a conference at which just these questions which at present divide the international labor movement into two camps are discussed would terminate without result. It is our intention only to admit and debate such questions, on the basis of which the united front of workers of all tendencies is possible in the interests of common, concrete and practical action. It will depend solely upon the Amsterdam International what character the international deliberations take.

The international negotiations of the trade union organizations, however, can in no way be limited to the representatives of the Amsterdam International and the Red Trade Union International. There are a number of other organizations standing outside these two International groups. Some Anarcho-Syndicalist organizations have not yet formally affiliated to the Red Trade Union International; these of course must be invited as they are able to render extraordinarily valuable services in any action undertaken against the bourgeoisie. In the same way the Red Trade Union International would not oppose an invitation to the American Federation of Labor, in spite of the fact that its president Compers has recently begun a campaign against the Russian Revolution. It is not the question of the personality of Compers, whose case is hopeless, as he always was anti-Socialist, but of the American Federation workers. We should be in favor of an invitation being sent to the American proletariat to attend this conference and would attempt simply and solely to come to an agreement with it on the basis of practical questions.

Compers is still attacking the Russian Revolution and praises the democratic splendor of his fatherland to the skies, in spite of the fact that it cannot be denied that the offensive of

capital is taking on its most acute form in highly lauded America. The employers' organizations are making fierce attacks upon the Left Wing and reformist organizations of the workers alike. *He who desires action must take his place in the united front. He who does not desire it will stand aside, but in spite of it the conference must extend the field of its activity.*

The international conference of the representatives of the different trade union organizations would have been of greater importance if it had been convened during the Genoa conference, in order to demonstrate the unanimity and solidarity of the proletarian front in the face of the united bourgeoisie. The representatives of the Amsterdam International, however, did not want such a demonstration as this would have been as contrary to their plans and tactics as the proposals of the Communist International aiming at action would have foiled the plans of the Second International.

In spite of this, the Red Trade Union International is prepared to meet even after the Genoa Conference.

End as it may, one thing remains unshakably fast: the international offensive of the bourgeoisie lasted up to the Genoa Conference, proceeded during the Conference, and will not come to a standstill after it. *In order to bring this offensive to a halt, in order to repel the attacking enemy and to break his strength we again declare our readiness to take part in any discussion or conference.*

For this reason we answer the decision of the three Internationals upon the creation of a trade union united front with the assurance of our absolute readiness.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

International Unemployment.

by E. Ludwig (Berlin).

The memorandum "The World's Unemployment, its Effects and How to Combat it" elaborated by the German Government for the Genoa Conference has been published in No. 8 of the *Reichsarbeitsblatt* (Labor Gazette). It should not be inferred, however, that the Government (in which Social Democrats are represented) intends to have its memorandum act as a spur to the workers of the world, the trade unions and the political parties of the proletariat to join hands and abolish their common misery. Far from it! The government is merely advancing the social and economic political perils of unemployment under which the United States and (even more so) Great Britain are suffering, as proof of the harmlessness of the German dumping exports and as an argument in favor of the joint reconstruction of world economy by rebuilding German capitalism. All the more reason why the infinite sufferings of the many millions of capitalist slaves hidden beneath the carefully compiled figures and cleanly drawn curves should make our blood boil—millions must perish that capitalism may overcome the effects of the war and the world crisis:—

"As a result of unemployment, 30,000,000 people are to-day leading a life not fit for human beings."

Thus the memorandum. And we must not forget that owing to the more or less willful incorrect estimates on the number of unemployed in all countries, the figure of 30,000,000 is, if anything, set too low.

For Europe, without Russia, the number of unemployed must be set at 4,000,000, that is, seven or eight times as much as before the war. To this must be added 4—5,000,000 unemployed in the United States where the trade unions in the State of Massachusetts alone register 25% unemployed, compared to 4—8% in 1913. In Great Britain 2,000,000 are receiving unemployment doles and amongst the organized workmen there are 16% unemployed as against 2% before the war. With the inclusion of short time workers Italy has 800,000, Switzerland 150,000, and Belgium 100,000 unemployed. From the middle of 1920 until the end of 1921 the number of unemployed receiving a dole rose from 2.6% to 16.2% in England. The number of unemployed in Italy increased in the same period from 100,000 to 700,000 (including short time workers) while in Switzerland the number increased from 15,000 to 150,000. Germany, on the other hand was giving relief at the beginning of this year to only 200,000 unemployed, representing a slight increase as against the end of 1921.

II.

Quite apart from the physical and moral dangers and from the perils of economic pauperization and political agitation (!), the memorandum laments how great the expenditures for unemployed relief and the amount of wages lost are alone, and continues:

"For the year 1921 one must set the amount paid out in unemployment relief for Europe alone at least at 4 billion

and for the whole world at 10 billion gold francs; for the year 1920, with considerably less unemployment, at 1.33 and 3 billions respectively; and for 1919 at 2 and 5 billions. The costs incurred since the Armistice in paying unemployment benefits must be estimated for Europe at 8 billion and for the whole world at 25 billion gold francs."

According to the memorandum, this amounts to a daily relief of 3 gold francs per unemployed, a sum that in Germany at least has never been even approached. In that country the maximum daily unemployment relief rose from 6 marks in 1919 to 18.50 marks in February 1922 for the head of the family and from 1.50 to 8.75 marks respectively for dependents, the whole amount paid not to exceed twice that paid to a single unemployed worker. Taken at the average amount of 3 gold francs a German unemployed worker at present rate of exchange ought to receive 150 marks daily.

The loss in wages since the Armistice is computed at 25 billion gold francs for Europe and 60 billion for the whole world:

"For 1921, the loss in Europe alone is estimated at 10 billion, for the whole world at 25 billion; in 1920, for Europe at 3 billion, for the whole world at 7.5 billion gold francs."

This comparison of the number of unemployed and the losses in wages shows that what the memorandum terms the "faux-frais" of economics is merely the mechanics of capitalism to overcome the crisis at the expense of the proletariat. By closing down factories the return on which is insufficient and saving 60 billions in wages on one hand and by paying 25 billions unemployment relief on the other, the capitalists save a goodly sum even if they pay the relief out of their own pockets. But these 25 billion unemployment benefits are, as the memorandum admits, "in the end paid by the remaining part of the population" Translated out of the vulgar-economic jargon of the memorandum into hard capitalist terms this "remaining part of the population" is that part of the working class which has not yet been thrown on the street. These workers must in the forms of taxes and duties of all kinds surrender the meagre dole which the capitalist state throws to the unemployed in order that profits may remain intact and grow, while the reserve army supported out of the wages of labor keeps down the wages of the proletarians still at work, thus saving capitalism from collapsing under the burden of unemployment expenditure.

III.

Capitalism is really not concerned with preserving the consuming power of its slaves as the memorandum naively supposes when it suggests that the loss of the millions of consumers due to unemployment tends to aggravate the crisis. Capitalism, however, does not mind this contradiction at all, because to satisfy the needs of the working members of society has never been a purpose in itself. The preservation of labor power has at all times merely been a rather disagreeable prerequisite for exploiting it. Hence, if capitalism cannot exploit labor profitably owing to the crisis, it leaves it to perish; reduction of wages and the closing down of factories (and the subsequent price reductions) become almost the sole means of relieving the crisis. For this reason it is obvious that capitalist economy whose crisis is caused by the tremendous increase of the ever-existing reserve army can neither abolish unemployment altogether nor even reduce it to a considerable extent. Productive unemployment relief (provision of work or emergency work) which consisted for the most part of arduous pick-and-shovel labor was, especially for the skilled workers, of little importance. To this must be added the fact that in most countries emergency work and productive work which in most cases served public interests was at the expense of the hungry unemployed carried through as cheaply as possible by means of low wages or the stretching of the work. Relief for the poorest of the poor becomes in the hands of a capitalist community a means for exploiting these victims of capitalism.

IV.

The memorandum, however, holds the Treaty of Versailles, and not capitalism, the war and the world crisis, as responsible for unemployment. The sufferings of millions are considered a good enough bridge across which the Wirth Cabinet can approach Allied Imperialism and beg for an international loan to stabilize the German mark. For the root of all the evil is the exchange chaos following the peace. The memorandum proves in detail that the unemployment level is an expression of the said exchange chaos; its vacillations parallel those on the exchange market. Switzerland with the highest gold parity (101%) has 150,000 unemployed. Germany, on the other hand, with her depreciated mark has hardly 200,000 unemployed. According to the official opinion of the German Government this is not the result of the fact that Germany owing to the depreciation of her currency can pay the lowest wages and thus increase her

dumping, but the explanation is to be found in the higher rate of exchange of the other countries:

"Hence Germany is today compelled to produce goods which she, according to the principles of sound economy, should by way of return for her goods receive from abroad. This economically unsound production is (though in the countries with a low rate of exchange giving employment to millions) all things considered 'emergency work' — veiled unemployment."

Every child knows that the "seemingly favorable labor market" is of advantage to Germany, of course not to the German workers, but to the German capitalist. Every child knows that the goods "Germany is today compelled to produce" are not goods she would, if things were otherwise, have imported, but goods for dumping export. The coolie wages of the German workers do not, as the memorandum wants to make the world believe, serve increased home consumption, but, the increase of her dumping exports. These facts which even bourgeois economists have admitted to be correct, are perverted by the memorandum in order to turn unemployment into an argument with which to prove, on behalf of the exporting great capitalists, the absurdity of the world powers' anti-dumping laws.

"Help German capitalism in its reconstruction and—you have abolished unemployment"—that is the *leitmotif* and the refrain of German official sagacity. Capitalism itself with its crises creates and intensifies unemployment. And just as an international loan would not stabilize the mark effectively, nor put a stop to the decay of capitalism neither would it abolish unemployment which is but the natural outcome of capital's anarchy.

And no matter if the vacillations of the crisis temporarily reduce the number of unemployed, the intensification of the discrepancies within capitalism will in the end drive the curve of unemployment steadily upwards. Today even in the imperialist world powers capitalism can only live if it denies an ever greater number of human beings the right to exist.

APPEALS

Save the Workers of South Africa!

The strike of the South African proletariat is ending in a massacre. The lords of the Witwatersrand mines were able to transform a struggle for wages, for daily bread, into a conflict which enabled them to murder hundreds of class-conscious workers and to fling the flower of the South African proletariat into prison. This struggle was waged with all the implements of modern war; the workers were bombarded from airplanes and shot down by rapidfire guns. More than that, the gold magnates brought the black wage-slaves into the field against the white exploited workers. Fisher, Spendiff and other brave labor leaders who openly and honestly fought for the equality of the black workers with the white were torn by shrapnel in order that the finance magnates might, over their corpses, bring about race equality according to their conception, that is, reducing the standard of living of the white worker to that of the black.

Barely had the strike been drowned in blood than attacks were made on the trade unions and the gains achieved by the organized workers after years of struggle were taken away. But even this does not satisfy the gold barons. New victims are to be added to those of Fordsburg and Bement. The workers in the overflowing prisons are being condemned. The exploiting class are too cowardly to bring them before an open court-martial and so they have raked up an old Draconic Dutch law which enables them to condemn to death hundreds of the best workers on the charge of high treason and murder.

Workers of Great Britain, and workers of all countries! Hasten to the assistance of your persecuted comrades. The flower of the South African working class will be destroyed unless you raise your protest in time. The methods which are being so brutally employed against the workers on the Rand will be employed against you in England unless you immediately take action. Do not permit the South African proletariat to be put into chains. Make it clear to your bourgeoisie that you will not tolerate the murder of the South African workers. Set your leaders and organizations in motion and see to it that they move energetically than hitherto take up the cause of your class brothers. Act boldly and resolutely; otherwise new streams of workers' blood will flow in the free British Empire.

Long live the Revolutionary South African proletariat!

Down with the terror of the colonial finance magnates!

Long live the solidarity of all the workers irrespective of race and color.

(Seal.)

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Japanese Militarism and the Genoa Conference.

Japanese Soldiers in Siberia!

Do you know why the Genoa Conference happened to be held? The Genoa Conference was called to discuss the economic reconstruction of Europe and the world. After the armistic, the capitalist allies thought they could reconstruct what they lost during the bloody war without Soviet Russia's help. Not only that; they thought that they would be able to reconstruct war-stricken European countries by shutting out and blockading Soviet Russia. But the capitalists and their governments of Europe and Japan found out that they can not reconstruct their respective countries without Russia and Russia's rich resources. They knew these facts long ago but at first they thought that they could make use of Russian labor and Russia's abundant resources by crushing the Soviet Republic of the workers and the peasants of Russia, and re-establishing a capitalist Russia by helping the reactionary generals of the Czarist regime and actually invading Russia. They did help Koltchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, Wrangel and Semenov and they themselves have invaded Russia from all sides. But they failed utterly as you know very well.

Being unable to seize Russian wealth and Russian cheap labor by arms and reactionary war, because the Red soldiers were everywhere stronger than the reactionary generals of the Allies, the Allied capitalist governments called the Genoa Conference and respectfully invited the Bolshevik Russian Government to take part in this Conference. You know that the Japanese government sent representatives there to sit together with the Russian Bolshevik representatives and to consult with them upon world economic reconstruction. This means the Allied defeat on the battlefields against the Bolshevik Red Army and moral submission to the Soviet Russian Republic!

Have you heard of the fact that the Russian Delegation at the very beginning of the Conference proposed the disarmament of the countries represented at the Conference. Disarmament is the best means to stabilize national finance in every nation as armament is the heaviest burden on the people, especially on the workers and peasants. Do you know who opposed this most reasonable and wise proposal of the Russian Delegation. Japan was the chief nation that opposed the Russian proposal and the others followed! Don't you see now yourselves that the Japanese government which is controlled by the militarist clique of Saasu and Chosiu, supported by the capitalists of the country, is making Japan the most reactionary nation on earth, thus making our dear Japan hated, despised and called the Prussia of the Far East by the entire world?

Have you ever thought of who profits by the army and your fighting as you are now for the army? Do you even now think that you, the workers and peasants, are profiting by your killing Russians and yourselves being killed by the Red soldiers? You ought to know better! By keeping up the big army and compelling you to fight in Siberia, the capitalists of Japan are the only persons who are profiting. You gain nothing but death and a crippled life, poverty and suffering! Besides, you are injuring the best interests of Japan by your staying in Siberia and fighting against the Russian Red Army.

Now what are you going to do in your present situation? You must do something that will really help Japan and at the same time will help you and your fellow workers and peasants. You must transform the Japanese army so that it will serve the real cause of Japan and the Japanese workers and the peasants. We will tell you the best way to accomplish this. In order to free yourselves and your brothers and sisters at home we advise you to organize the Soldiers' Soviet!

You may ask how to organize the Japanese Soldiers' Soviet? It is not difficult. First, you should elect a captain among yourselves, whether it be in a company, battalion or even a regiment, under the strictest control of the soldiers and go on to organize the Soviet of your own and conduct the military affairs in Siberia in the interests of the country and yourselves. It may be better at first for you to organize the Soldiers' Soviet and conduct affairs secretly. When you are able to command the majority of the soldiers not only of your own company but in other companies and eventually in all the regiments of the present Japanese Siberian army then declare yourselves openly and assert yourselves as the sole masters of the Japanese army in Siberia. And then turn the army into a Red Army, join the Red Army of Siberia and fight with them for the best interests of Japan against anyone who obstructs your Soviets.

No doubt the officers and corporals will be against you and will try to fight against you by their sole weapon, military discipline and military rule. But remember the fact that officers and corporals are but a very very small minority when compared with your numbers. You can easily suppress them and use them under your strictest control as the Russian Red soldiers have done in the past. Some timid soldiers among your colleagues may be afraid of the army authorities at home and may do the dirty work of betraying you to the officers. Kill such men as the worst traitors to the interests of the common soldiers and workers and peasants at home.

By your wise and determined conduct and action in the organization and management of the Japanese Soldiers' Soviet in Siberia the soldiers at home will rise up en masse, will declare themselves free and will organize themselves into Soviets of Soldiers following your noble example. Thus you will best serve the country. Don't be afraid of the army authorities. They are only strong as long as you are obedient, sacrifice yourselves in their interest and fight for them! They can not fight a battle even in a small way without you. You are the masters of the entire situation.

When you organize the Soviet of the Japanese Soldiers in Siberia, you need not be afraid of the military rules or discipline of the Japanese army which now oppress you and compel you to obey and sacrifice yourselves and your all. The Red soldiers of the Soviet Russian Bolshevik Republic of the workers and peasants with one hundred fifty million population will gladly come to your aid and help you to succeed in Siberia and in Japan.

Down with the world imperialists!

Down with the Japanese militarists!

Down with world capitalism!

Long live the world brotherhood of labor!

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Japan.
Japan, April 4, 1922.

The Boycott of Japanese Goods and the Japanese Soldiers in Siberia.

Japanese Soldiers in Siberia!

Do you know that in April 6,000,000 British workers passed a resolution of the most far-reaching effect upon the Japanese workers and peasants? The resolution calls for the boycott of things Japanese all over the world. This grave resolution is aimed at the Japanese imperialism in Siberia although the British workers fully realize that the boycott will hurt the welfare of the Japanese workers by the increase of unemployed in Japan. As long as you, the soldiers of Japan, are in Siberia and murder and pillage the Russians the boycott will continue.

Soldiers in Siberia! As long as you remain in Siberia the workers of the entire world will boycott Japanese goods in their respective countries and this will continue as long as you stay and fight against the Russian Red soldiers. This means that as long as you stay in Siberia, the Japanese workers, and indirectly the Japanese peasants, will suffer from increased unemployment, depression and hard times in industry by the fall of foreign trade. As long as you maintain the present dangerous position in Siberia your brothers, sisters and families will suffer more and more.

The boycott of Japanese goods by the proletarians of the world will no doubt bend the stiff neck of the Japanese militarists and capitalists but this will first hurt your families at home and you are by the your conduct bringing all these misfortunes upon Japan! When we point out these facts and the consequences of your staying in Siberia you should decide and act decisively for the interest of yourselves and Japan. There are only one or two ways of getting out of this unfortunate situation. The one is to quit your post as soldier and go back to Japan or go to the Soviet Russian side, throwing down your arms and becoming a peaceful worker. The other way is to organize the Soviet of the Japanese Soldiers in Siberia and to start the Bolshevik Revolution in Japan. In this the Russians, Chinese and Koreans will support you in Siberia. You can handle the comparatively few officers of the army; either arrest and keep them in a safe place, or do whatever you like, disarming them first so that you can proceed with your new revolutionary work for the real interests of Japan!

Down with Japanese Imperialism!

Down with capitalism and the capitalist government of Japan!

Long live the Soldiers' Soviets!

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Japan.

Japan, April 10, 1922.

To the Soldiers of the Japanese Army in Siberia!

Soldiers of Japan!

You have been in Siberia for the past four long years. Many of you, moreover, sacrificed happiness and comfort; nay more, many of your brother soldiers have been killed on the Siberian battlefields, and yet you are still engaged in the bloody fight with the Russian army. Why all these sacrifices and deaths? Have you ever thought of yourselves in this murderer's business? No! You are simply obeying the Army Command, and what is more, you are doing the brutal work of the militarist class of Japan. If you had thought of this you would not now be where you are!

Soldiers! You are committing the gravest mistake by blindly obeying the orders of the army leaders. Don't you know that you are fighting against the Russian Red soldiers who are defending the only Workers' and Peasants' Government, the Soviet Republic? You are sons of the Japanese workers and peasants just as the Russian Red soldiers. But by your present conduct you are fighting for the capitalist government and the capitalist interests of Japan. The government and the capitalists of Japan have been oppressing and exploiting you at home for their own self-interest. Don't you know that the Russian Red Soldiers are defending their government and their own country? The Russian workers and peasants have destroyed the capitalist government and done away with the capitalist class!

In your blind obedience to Japanese militarism you have been attempting for nearly four years to destroy the Soviet Republic of the workers and peasants who have done away with the oppressive Czar and his capitalist government.

Why have you been all these long years in Siberia? In order to strengthen the government and the capitalists of Japan who are oppressing you and will oppress you as long as you are willing to fight and sacrifice yourselves for them! Don't think for a moment that you are serving your country's best interests by staying in Siberia, which is not your country but belongs to the Russian workers and peasants! On the contrary, you are damaging the cause and interests of your own country, Japan. The Russians are not your enemies. Japan never declared war against Russia. The Russian workers are your friends, if only your could understand and follow the example of the Russian workers and peasants! Morally, you are committing the most outrageous crime against the Russians and against humanity! Are you not ashamed of yourselves now? Quit like men, lay down your arms and go home! That will serve the best interests of Japan.

Soldiers! The Russian Red soldiers are fighting not only for their own revolution but for the World Social Revolution. They are serving the cause of the workers and peasants, they are trying to reconstruct their national economy in spite of famine and the countless difficulties that confront them owing to the long foreign and civil wars. Soldiers of Japan! You should admire the heroic struggle of the Russian workers and peasants and should help them in every way instead of attacking them in the most trying and critical moment of their new national life!

Soldiers! You are being misled and are ruining your lives and happiness in an unjust foreign invasion. You are fighting a most disgraceful and inhuman war. Yours is the robbers' fight to steal another's country. Your death is a dog's death. No one will be benefited thereby; but Japan will be disgraced, her future will be rendered difficult and the establishment of friendly relations with your neighbors, the Russian workers and peasants, is being impeded. Lay down your arms, pack up your belongings go back to your country and improve conditions back home! That is the best policy for you and your country. It will help you as well as the Russian workers and peasants. If your officers hinder you, disarm them and do as the Russian soldiers did four years ago! This is the message of a man who loves Japan and the Japanese proletariat, who was raised as a peasant boy, who farmed, burnt charcoal, carried burdens for a living and has been a labor leader, Socialist agitator and Communist organizer for the past fifty years. Support the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Republic by quitting Siberia at once! This is the best thing you can now do!

Moscow, May 12th, 1922.

Sen Katayama.

An Appeal to the Proletariat of the World!

To the Workers and Peasants of the World!

Comrades! Against the will and wishes of the workers and the peasants of Japan the Japanese government has sent a large army to Siberia to fight against the Red Army and to devastate the workers and peasants' country. We, the revolutionary proletarians in Japan, are yet too weak and powerless against the aggressive and oppressive militarist government to stop this most inhuman and bloody slaughter by the Japanese imperialist army in Siberia. The Japanese army has been losing the people's confidence ever since the fall of German militarism and the unjust Siberian invasion that has been undertaken by the militarist clique. The people has realized that such an invasion into a neighboring country without any cause or reason is a great detriment to Japan. This confidence in the army which they once had in the past has been almost destroyed in the Japanese masses by the world-wide anti-Japanese movement against the Japanese, when the masses of Japanese people realized that the increasing unpopularity and ever spreading anti-Japanese movement has been solely caused by the Japanese imperialist army, and its bloody and inhuman deeds in Siberia, China and Korea. The Japanese workers and peasants came out in opposition to Japan's Siberian intervention. When Japan was sending the first Siberian invading army commanded by General Otani, who was to be the sole commander of all the Allied intervention armies in Siberia the Japanese workers and peasants showed—although in a vague manner—their unwillingness to support the foreign war by the now historic food riots, the greatest uprisings in Japan, covering two-thirds, of the entire area of the country centred in 142 cities and towns. These great uprisings started in a fishing village of Northern Japan on August 3rd, 1918, lasted 45 days and spreads like wildfire all over the country in a few weeks. It is estimated that the numbers involved in the food riots were over ten million and that ninety percent of them were proletarians. This event with others prevented the governments from sending an army of one million soldiers to Siberia. None the less, they sent seventy thousand instead of the seven thousand agreed upon among the robber capitalist Allies.

The Government has been deceiving the workers and peasants through the period of four long years. First it said, "To aid the Czecho-Slovaks." The Japanese army has been constantly disturbing peace and order, but in order to obtain an apparent reason for retaining the army they invented a pretext, "In order to protect the lives and properties of the Japanese citizens in Siberia." But there are hardly any Japanese who are not connected with the invading army such as merchants who conduct parasitic business with the army and soldiers. Then the army plotted a black scheme, a Serajevo on a most gigantic scale at Nikolaievsk. It succeeded in the scheme and now the Japanese Government is demanding a big indemnity for the framed-up so-called Nikolaievsk massacre in order to get some concessions to satisfy its greedy imperialistic ambitions and designs in Siberia. Now by circumstantial force and pressure from outside and from the people at home it has started peace negotiations with the Far Eastern Republic at Dalny, but in order to keep the army in Siberia the most outrageous, audacious and impossible proposals have been laid on the table by the Japanese government.

As the result of the Genoa Conference the Allies agreed not to attack each other until the Hague Conference shall report on the economic situation. To this every Allied country but Japan agreed. The reason given by the Japanese representative Ishii reveals the most outspoken imperialistic designs of Japan in Siberia. Ambassador Ishii is the most bigoted, ultra-bureaucratic and militaristic spokesman of Japanese imperialism. He only represents the militarists and big moneyed powers of Japan. The vast majority of the people and the entire proletariat of Japan are opposed to the position assumed by Ishii. But the militarists and the big moneyed class rule the country.

The present attack on the Siberian Red Army is the last desperate act of the Japanese imperialist army to kill the determined opposition of the people and an attempt to regain the last confidence which the army once had in the past. It is a well-known Napoleonic policy of the army authorities of Japan to turn the attention of the nation from dissatisfied conditions at home to the foreign field, which is least known to the people at large. The imperialist government and its army wish to smokescreen the imperialist designs in Siberia, are executing willful murderous attacks upon the Red Army in Siberia and are devastating the already impoverished country

of the workers and peasants for framed-up reasons that are reported to the public through the prostituted press of the country.

Proletarians of the world! This most outrageous invasion of the Japanese imperialists in Siberia can only be stopped by your concerted action at this critical moment. We, the Communist Party members and the revolutionary workers and peasants, are powerless before this powerful imperialist oppression although we are fighting against the imperialists at every possible step. We ask you to make the most determined propaganda against the Japanese Government's conduct in Siberia. It is only the proletariat of the world that can stop the murderous war of the robber imperialists of Japan. As you know, the capitalist nations of the world have established their united front against the workers and peasants of the world, especially in the Far East—the united front of the joint exploitation of Allied capitalism, particularly in China. For this Japanese imperialism, surrendering its special position in China, obtained a free hand in Korea, Manchuria and Siberia at the Washington Conference. And now Japanese imperialists are seizing what they got at the Washington Conference. What Japan reluctantly agreed to at Genoa as to the non-attack clause under the pressure of public opinion and the severe criticism of the Russian Delegation will hardly stop the fighting against Siberians unless the proletariat of the world compels Japan to do so by extraordinary means of action and propaganda. Under such extraordinary and exceptional circumstances and considering the critical situation in Russia, we, the advance guards of the Communist Party of Japan and the revolutionary workers, heartily approve and endorse the resolution adopted by six million workers of Great Britain—**TO BOYCOTT THINGS JAPANESE AS LONG AS JAPAN KEEPS HER ARMY IN SIBERIA.** We sincerely desire this shall be made an immediate aim of world wide propaganda and immediate action among the workers and peasants of England, France and America, where Japanese export trade has vital interests together with the Chinese and Indian proletariat. We know full well that by this boycott the Japanese proletariat will suffer much but we will suffer for the Japanese imperialism while it will strengthen immensely the international position of the Japanese proletariat. By weakening, as the result of the boycott, Japanese imperialism the Japanese proletariat will learn and experience the most valuable lesson on the united front of the workers of the world and will more readily combat against imperialism and militarism!

Proletarians of the world! we want you to act at once for the most vigorous propaganda against the Japanese attack on the Russian workers and peasants in Siberia. No doubt European and American imperialism and capitalism wish to weaken the Soviet position in Siberia and let Soviet Russia desperately pay sole attention to the Far East in order to tame her stiff-necked diplomacy and possibly to get a chance to let the Russian border countries attack the Soviet Republic! To this world-wide imperialist united front against Workers and Peasants' Russia, the Second and Two and a Half Internationals are giving their support. Now the traitorous two Internationals openly come out to sabotage the World Labor Congress to establish the united front of the workers of the world against the capitalist offensive against the proletariat of Russia and other countries.

Proletarians of the world! Thus you see the present aggressive and brutal attacks on the Russian proletariat in Siberia are a part and parcel of the capitalist offensive against Soviet Russia and will injure the interests not only of the Russian proletariat but also of the proletariat of the world! The class-conscious Japanese workers and peasants are fighting against this most powerful imperialism by strikes, sabotage, riots and determined revolutionary demonstrations, are demanding the recognition of the Soviet Russian Government and the dictatorship of the proletariat of Japan for the Japanese as these were the conspicuous slogans of May First this year.

Comrades of the world! It is the most urgent situation that we all are placed now. Once more we ask you to help us in this momentous fight against the imperialism of Japan and also of the Allied Powers and to help the Soviet Russian Workers and Peasants' Republic. We want your immediate cooperation and action against Japanese imperialism that is now attacking the helpless worn out poor Siberians in the Far East!

Down with Japanese imperialism and world imperialism!
Long live the Soviet Russian Workers and Peasants' Republic!

Long live the Red Army of Soviet Russia!
Long live the Communist Party of Japan and the Communist International!

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Japan
Moscow, May, 1922. *Sen Katayama*

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Exclusion of Henri Fabre from the Communist International.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International appointed a commission for the investigation of the case of Henri Fabre. This committee consisted of Comrades Trotsky, Bukharin, Jordanoff, Ambroghi and Brandler. The committee having made its report, the Executive Committee adopted the following resolution:

The delegates of the Communist Party of France stated in the session of the Enlarged Executive Committee that they were in favour of the exclusion of Henri Fabre and his organ, the *Journal du Peuple*, from the Communist Party. Being of the opinion that the *Journal du Peuple* is an anti-Communist organ and Henri Fabre an opponent of Communism, who attempts by his activity to demoralize the Communist movement, the Enlarged Executive Committee unanimously approved this statement. The representatives of the Communist Party of France promised at the session of the Enlarged Executive Committee to work for the exclusion of Fabre. Two months have passed by since and Fabre, who every day compromises the Communist Party of France is not yet expelled.

The contents of the articles of Fabre are in so crass contradiction to Communist conceptions and discipline, that there should be no differences of opinion in the Conflict Commission.

The Executive Committee is of the opinion that in cases such as that political necessity and revolutionary interests and not petty juridical formalities, must determine the attitude of a Communist Party.

Paragraph 9 of the Constitution of the Communist International authorizes the Executive Committee of the Communist International

“to demand of its affiliated parties the exclusion of groups or persons who infringe international discipline as well as to expel those parties from the Communist International who violate the decisions of the World Congress.”

In accordance with this paragraph the Executive Committee of the Communist International declares:—

From May 8th, 1922, Henri Fabre is excluded from the Communist International and thus cannot be a member of any of its Sections.

The Executive Committee repeats the decision adopted by the Third World Congress in the case of Paul Levi:—

“Those members of the Communist International who declare their solidarity with Henri Fabre and continue to contribute to his paper are thereby automatically expelled from the Communist International.”

The Executive Committee informs the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of France of this definite decision and demands its immediate publication in the official organs of the Party.

The Executive Committee is convinced that the Conflict Commission of the French Party which is considering the Fabre case, has come to the same opinion as the Executive Committee of the Communist International or will now accept this opinion.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Statement of the E. C. of the Comintern on the Exclusion of Fabre.

The Communist International is based upon principles clearly outlined by its Congresses and its organisation is based upon discipline approved by all its members.

Nobody is obliged to affiliate with the Communist International. This affiliation means giving up all individual interests for the sake of the common interest of the International, which is insolubly bound up with the interests of the world proletariat.

The Communist Parties and the Communist International are not clubs of political amateurs or discussion circles, the members of which wish to display their personalities and secure themselves a career. They are militant class organizations which were formed by the proletariat for its defence and struggle for emancipation.

These organizations must be able to rely upon all elements of which they consist. The devotion to the common cause, the work for the Communist idea, the willingness to sacrifice all personal desires to the success of the revolutionary efforts,—these are the prominent features of Communists, the indispensable guarantee which a Communist organization is justified in demanding from its members.

Engaged in a merciless struggle against the armed bourgeoisie, the Communist Party cannot tolerate within its ranks doubtful, unsound, suspicious and discouraged elements, who spread scepticism and weaken its forces. As soon as such elements are observed, they must be ruthlessly exterminated.

A Communist Party has no room for dilettanti, business politicians nor for conscious or unconscious agents of bourgeois ideology.

No commonplaces on “liberty of thought” or “liberty of the pen” as they are usually employed by political quacks, can hide the truth that liberty to think or to write against Communism can only be tolerated outside of the Communist Party.

These considerations, which are fundamental for every Communist Party, the Executive Committee of the Communist International in the delegation of the Communist Party of France to Moscow in February, to decide upon the expulsion of Fabre from the Party.

The experiences of the sixteen months since the Tours Congress, have apparently proved that the affiliation of Fabre to the Communist Party was either an error or a calculation on his part.

Since the Tours Congress he has not stopped protesting against the decisions of Tours, deploring the breach with the reformists, expressing his sympathy with the dissidents, interpreting Communist doctrine, which he never in the least understood, in the most fantastic and incorrect manner, carrying on a systematic campaign against the Executive Committee of the Comintern and misrepresenting its role and decisions. Is there anything more grave and more in contradiction to the principles and the most elementary discipline of his Party that he could have done?

Until now there had been no case in the International of a paper controlled by a Communist Party not only publishing personal attacks of the editor against Communism but also putting its columns at the disposal of all kinds of opponents of its Party.

It is in vain to refer rightly or wrongly to services rendered to the revolutionary cause in the past, thus attempting to justify the injury done to this same cause in the present. Very often indeed is the proletariat compelled to get rid of people who at a certain time and furthermore for very different reasons were able to serve its interests. Especially in the case of Fabre, the fact that he formerly permitted true revolutionaries to express their opinions in his paper is no excuse for the activities of this paper for more than one year.

More than two months have passed by since the four comrades delegated to Moscow by the Communist Party of France promised to demand from their Party the expulsion one of its most injurious elements.

By misrepresenting the true reasons of this demand for his exclusion, Fabre succeeded in causing the protest of wrongly informed comrades, many of whom occupy responsible functions in the organization, and in demoralizing various sections of the Party.

If we were to subordinate the gravity of the acts of which he is accused to a problem of formality or opportunism this would support the decomposing activities of Fabre within the Party, a Party which must above all be defended.

The Executive Committee considers the prolongation of such a situation, so harmful to the interests of the French labor movement and to the cause of the international revolution, intolerable. It does not doubt that the Conflict Commission will arrive at a decision corresponding with that of the Executive Committee, thus fulfilling the desire of the four French comrades at the February Conference, which was approved by the E. C. of the French Party. However, in view of the urgency of the case, the Executive Committee decided to exclude Fabre from the International immediately in accordance with Paragraph 9 of the International Constitution.

The provisions of this paragraph are furthermore supplemented by a resolution of the Third Congress in the case of Paul Levi, which demands the automatic exclusion of every member of the Party who declares his or her solidarity with the expelled person or contributes to his paper.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.