



# PAN'S FOR THE CONQUEST

BY

GRACE  
HUTCHINS

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# JAPAN'S DRIVE FOR CONQUEST

BY GRACE HUTCHINS

WAR in the Far East is an accepted fact. Japan has seized Manchuria, occupied North China, landed troops in South China, and is consolidating her forces for a drive against the Soviet Union.

Japanese troops have repeatedly crossed the Manchurian-Soviet border, causing incidents that seem designed to provoke the socialist republic into defensive warfare. Only the consistent peace policy of the U.S.S.R. has prevented the outbreak of open hostilities on the Siberian front.

Reasons for this imperialist campaign have been frankly admitted by several high Japanese officials—too frankly in the opinion of the Tokyo Foreign Office which is trying to curb “unauthorized statements” on Japanese policy (*New York Times*, October 8, 1935). But the utterances stand as showing Japan’s real intentions and are day by day proved true by the course of events.

Japan finds it “necessary” to separate North China from the Nanking government and establish “a new political set-up, politically as well as economically independent of Nanking,” according to Major-General Hayao Tada, commander of the Japanese army in North China, who issued this statement from Tientsin on September 25, 1935. And he added significantly that “to save herself from possible sovietization, China must ‘coöperate with Japan’.” In a sensational booklet issued at the same time General Tada expressed the conviction that after having stabilized an independent North China, Japan must in the same way stabilize the rest of the country.

Major-General Rensuke Isogai, the Japanese Embassy’s outspoken military attaché in China, then expressed emphatic agreement with General Tada and asserted that Japan was fully prepared to step in and make the necessary “sacrifices” to establish a stable régime. General Isogai in an interview in Shanghai had revealed the objective back of Japan’s furious advance on the Asiatic continent, declaring with extraordinary frankness that Japan could not afford to allow the Chinese Soviets to exist so near her borders:

*Japan will not tolerate the establishment of a Communist government in any portion of China or in any other part of Eastern Asia, but will act*

*independently to destroy such a régime (New York Times, September 11, 1935).*

Following these outspoken utterances Colonel Kenji Matsumoto, Japanese military attaché in Washington, announced with amazing clarity the goal of Japan's imperialism in relation to Soviet Siberia:

Manchoukuo is a very nice country, but it has no gold. The Maritime Provinces (Eastern Siberia) have gold. They also have fish, timber, many things Japan needs. When we get ready we shall take them. This will be the first result of the Italo-Ethiopian war (Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, syndicated column from Washington, in *New York Daily Mirror*, October 5, 1935).

Within four days indeed after Italy invaded Ethiopia, Japanese troops crossed the Soviet frontier—the first result of the Italo-Ethiopian war. European developments are hastening the crisis in the Far East. With Europe's attention occupied in Africa and the Mediterranean area, Japan feels she has a free hand to pursue her imperialist policy on the Asiatic continent.

### *Carrying Out Tanaka's Program*

These frank statements by Japanese officials, Colonel Matsumoto and the two major-generals in China, recall the secret memorandum given to the Emperor of Japan on July 25, 1927, by the Premier and General Giichi Tanaka—made public early in 1932. So specific and detailed was the imperialist plan then set forth that no recent militarist in Japan has needed to add anything to its program (Tanin and Yohan, *Militarism and Fascism in Japan*, p. 129). The note was never intended for any eyes but those of the confidential advisors of the government, the leading financial rulers and the highest military generals of the nation. The Japanese government denied that such a document existed but the genuineness of it was proved by subsequent events. It revealed so much that it looks now like an architect's drawing of the empire Japan is seeking to build in Asia.

The Tanaka document specifically mentioned the need of creating "a good opportunity to start war with the Soviets" in order "fully to exploit the abundant wealth in Mongolia." It declared:

We must first conquer Manchuria before we can conquer China proper. We must first conquer China before we can conquer the world. Once we conquer China the remaining part of Asia and the South Sea Islands will



surrender to us. Then the world will know that eastern Asia belongs to Japan and will cease to question our authority in Asia.

Premier Tanaka himself began at once to carry out this program, under the slogan of "raising the national spirit." Behind him were the financial rulers of the empire. Seiyukai, the political party of which Tanaka was the leader, is closely allied with the financial interests of Mitsui, "the J. P. Morgan of Japan." Under such guidance, with the purpose of suppressing all opposition to the imperialist program, Tanaka in 1928 drove the Japanese Communist Party underground and attacked the Left-Wing trade union movement.

On September 18, 1931, Japan launched the attack on Manchuria, and in December of that year General Sadao Araki, most reactionary of military leaders, became War Minister. He supported a policy of extreme antagonism to China. Linked also with the Mitsui interests, Araki carried on the Tanaka policy and it was under his direction that Japanese troops killed Chinese women and children in the bombing of Shanghai in 1932.

Araki was succeeded as War Minister by General Senjuro Hayashi who held the office until his resignation in September, 1935. Hayashi is linked with the Mitsubishi interests, chief competitors of the Mitsuis in Japanese big business. These men, representing rival factions in the army, have clashed over government policy in Manchuria, while underneath these surface conflicts lies the competition of big business interests. But all factions in the army agree on the program of expansion in China and of aggressive action against the Soviet Union (see E. P. Greene, "Dismissal and Assassination in Japan's Army" in *China Today*, September, 1935).

The Araki clique is strong in its influence within the army. Araki has been considered as a probable member of the triumvirate (Hiranuma-Araki-Suzuki) "which would rule in Japan if parliament were totally abolished and an open military dictatorship adopted" (Tanin and Yohan. *Op. cit.*, pp. 159, 183, 257). Thus, if fascism should still further develop in Japan, Araki would probably be one of the Hitler-Mussolini-like dictators who would rule the empire.

### *Moving Against the U.S.S.R.*

The first step toward the attainment of Japan's imperialist aims was the conquest of Manchuria, begun in September, 1931, and com-

pleted in February, 1932. (See *Chronology* on page 30.) Since then Japanese troops have pushed forward into Chahar and Inner Mongolia and have practically taken possession of the three northern provinces of China proper.

Japan's official explanation for the recent expansion on the Asiatic continent is that she must have more room for her "surplus" population, too large for small islands to support. By the end of December, 1932, the government estimate of population for Japan proper was 66,317,000, as compared with 64,450,000 in October, 1930. While the area of Japan proper is 148,756 square miles, her possessions include over a hundred thousand square miles of territory in Korea, Formosa, and other islands. Recently acquired territory in "Manchoukuo," formerly Manchuria, brought into the Japanese Empire over 460,000 square miles of additional land.

But if colonization of "surplus" population were really the reason for Japan's expansion, Japanese subjects would have already settled in the territory outside Japan proper. As a matter of fact, only 755,000 Japanese reside abroad, including 335,000 in Asia, 270,000 in America, and 144,000 in Oceania. Japanese subjects do not want to move to "Manchoukuo," a difficult area for colonization, nor was such colonization the real reason for annexing Manchuria. We must look deeper to find the reasons back of Japan's recent imperialist expansion.

Clearly, Japanese ruling class interests desire the destruction of the Chinese Soviets and an advance against the Soviet Union. Not only do Japanese rulers want China for their own. They want to drive back far from the borders of their empire the dangerous successes of Soviet China and Soviet Siberia. Japanese peasants now tilling the soil for semi-feudal lords, those whose land has now been taken over by the banks, workers who see the results of their labor swallowed by the financial rulers of the country, students and intellectuals now deprived of all freedom of speech or of thought—all these groups in Japan already have been stirred, to some extent, by the nearby example of Chinese building soviet areas, defended by an heroic Chinese Red Army. To stop the growth of Soviet China and the extension of its influence in the Far East is naturally one of the first aims of Japanese imperialism.

Chiang Kai-shek has had to depend more and more on Japanese aid

in his campaigns against the Chinese Soviets. A special agent of Japanese imperialism, Doihara, was sent to Canton early in 1935 to secure the support of generals in southwestern China for Nanking's anti-Communist drives. Military advisors from Tokyo have taken the place of German military advisors in the Nanking army. Moreover, since Japan's "Hands Off China" warning to other governments, Chiang Kai-shek has been dependent on Tokyo bankers for the funds to finance further warfare against the Chinese Soviets.

While China and Manchuria offer rich resources in the form of raw materials, coveted by Japanese capitalists, the vast territory of the Soviet Union possesses far greater resources. Japan is especially weak in raw materials—in the iron, coal and oil that are abundant in the U.S.S.R. (See article on "Japanese Soviet Friction," by Kathleen Barnes in *Far Eastern Survey*. September 25, 1935.) Much of Siberia is a great forest and Japan wants lumber. Furthermore, Japanese industrialists want markets for the sale of their goods, and the possession of Soviet territory would mean markets now withdrawn from their clutching hands.

### *What Japan Wants*

General Tanaka in his secret memorandum listed specifically many of the resources Japan hoped to gain by her advance on the Asiatic continent. Rich coal and iron mines, 19 of them in the provinces of Fengtien and Kirin, Manchuria; at least 600,000,000 tons of coal. Miles of railroads to be built across the stretches of north and south Manchuria and eastern Mongolia, "for the assurance of victory in war and a starting point for economic development." Forests of lumber in Kirin; 200,000,000 tons of lumber along the South Manchuria Railway. Enormous gold deposits in the Mutan River bed in the province of Kirin. Whether or not Japan has exaggerated these economic resources of Manchuria, the fact remains that the region constitutes a most important military and industrial base on the high road of aggression against the Soviet Union.

These resources, listed in the famous document, were obtained by Japanese capitalists following the seizure of Manchuria and the setting up of a puppet government, "Manchoukuo," responsible to the Japanese Empire. Tanaka did not so specifically describe the resources of China proper, to the south of Manchuria. If he had, the



list would have included an abundance of coal, iron ore deposits, antimony, zinc and lead ores, quicksilver, copper and silver. About 60% of China's coal reserves are in Shansi province, North China, already practically under Japanese control. Next to India, China is the largest rice-producing country, while in cotton growing China occupies third place among the nations of the world.

The Mitsuis, Mitsubishiis, Sumitomos and their fellow capitalists in Japan still look with envious eyes toward these riches of the broad lands across the China Sea. By the summer of 1935, Japanese finance capitalists were organizing a semi-official company for the development of coal mining, communication facilities and increased production of cotton and other commodities in North China. Even purchase and operation of several banks were contemplated, and development of coal resources in Shansi was specifically mentioned (*New York Times*, July 6, 1935).

What Tanaka secretly stated in 1927 about Japan's aims in China was openly admitted on April 18, 1934, when Eiji Amau, Foreign Office spokesman at Tokyo, issued a declaration warning western powers to keep hands off China because Japan must carry out its "mission" and fulfill its "special responsibilities." This official statement made it clear that imperialist Japan would object to loans, supplying to China of war planes, or other activities that might aid Chinese military forces. Following this statement by Japanese imperialism, U. S. Secretary of the Navy Swanson declared that the United States would consider extending its naval bases in the Pacific (*New York Times*, May 24, 1934). American imperialism with its eye on the possibilities of increased trade and investment in China, has not been pleased with Japan's expansion.

By the summer of 1935 Japan was openly stating that she was ready to declare war against China unless she could get everything she wanted without fighting. Chiang Kai-shek had indeed already surrendered to Japan. He gave up Manchuria and then Inner Mongolia and North China without even the appearance of resistance. He is actively coöperating with Japan in a war against the Chinese Soviets and in preparation for war against the Soviet Union.

Japan's purpose in this advance is in the first place to annex to her colonial empire as much of China as possible; and in the second place to crush all the revolutionary forces on the Asiatic continent



## EXPLANATIONS OF SHADED AREAS



*Japan and her Colonies.*



*Manchuria and Jehol province occupied by Japan, 1931-33*



*Five north China provinces under Japan's control; Chahar and Suiyuan, of Inner Mongolia and the provinces of Hopei, Shansi and Shantung of China proper.*



*Chinese Soviet Districts.*

By courtesy of China Today

and prepare for war against the workers' government, the U.S.S.R. This basic aim on the part of Japan was recognized in a dispatch from Mukden (July 6, 1935) to the *New York Times*:

All the measures contemplated will be of undoubted commercial and industrial benefit to Japan, but *new communications in particular will be of inestimable strategic value in case of war with Russia*. (Emphasis mine.—G.H.)

Japan is thus preparing to attack the Soviet Union whenever conditions at home and abroad seem favorable. Vladivostok, Soviet port on the east coast of Siberia, is only a hundred miles from the Korean border. Not far from Vladivostok is Pogranichnaya, where Japanese troops invaded Soviet territory on October 12, 1935. In preparation for attack on the terminus of the Trans-Siberian railway, Japan holds her naval vessels and about "a thousand military and naval planes ready and suitable for combat" (T. J. Betts, "The Strategy of Another Russo-Japanese War," in *Foreign Affairs*, July, 1934).

But the Soviet Union is prepared for defense. Any attempted advance on the part of Japan toward the strategically important Lake Baikal region will meet the forces of the Red Army aided by the natural defense of the *taiga*, the forests of Siberia, and the Hsingan and Yablonoi Mountains.

Moreover, anti-Japanese volunteers or "partisans" of northern China, Manchuria and Mongolia stand ready to aid the Red Army. To the southwest of "Manchoukuo" are the Chinese Soviets, already established in western Shansi and northern Shensi province. In "Manchoukuo" alone there were 28,000 anti-Japanese volunteers in October, 1935. Japan would be attempting to advance in the face of a hostile population, who would be likely to

rise in arms against their own "Manchoukuo" authorities and their supporters, the Japanese. Simply, the entire population will overnight turn "bandit" and help the Red Army in all possible ways (*China Weekly Review*. September 8, 1934).

Because of the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union, Japan has been unable in all this aggression to provoke a war against the workers' republic. A series of incidents along the Mongolian and Soviet borders of Manchuria could, any one of them, have resulted



in the outbreak of war if it had not been for the steadfastly peaceful attitude of Soviet and Mongolian border guards. Not only did the Soviet Union sell the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan in order to remove a possible pretext for Japanese attack. The workers' republic has repeatedly offered to enter into non-aggression pacts if Japan would sign such a pact.

Imperialist powers, the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany, stand by and watch Japan's advance against the workers' government, or profit from the shipment of war materials to Japan. The British government condones the invasion of North China, as it condoned the seizure of Manchuria. In his speech in the House of Commons, July 11, 1935, Sir Samuel Hoare, British Foreign Secretary, accepted Japan's statement of her "mission" in China and declared that "order and stability in China" could only be maintained by "coöperation" between China and Japan. Great Britain is thus officially supporting the old defense of imperialism, now brought forward by Japan, that one nation has a "right" to invade another for the sake of "order and stability."

There have been reports that Germany and Japan have entered into a secret pact to attack simultaneously on the East and on the West borders of the Soviet Union. Whether or not such a formal agreement exists, there is no doubt that the aims of German and Japanese imperialism with regard to the Soviet Union are sufficiently alike to make joint action more than probable.

### *Holding Colonies in Subjection*

But this menacing imperialist advance on the Asiatic continent is only an extension of the empire Japan has been building during the last third of a century. It was Formosa in 1895; Korea in the period 1905-1910. It is Manchuria and China to-day. And the methods in subduing each new group of people in the line of Japan's advance have been the same methods used by every other imperialist power engaged in annexing colonies and taking possession of another country's resources for the benefit of finance capitalists at home.

Great Britain, the United States, Germany, France, Italy, tsarist Russia, each one of the great capitalist powers in turn, have gambled in the same way with the lives of workers and peasants in the colonies they seized. Each power has blandly assured the world in public

utterances that they were acting only "for the benefit of the colonial peoples" and would withdraw as soon as the colony was "ready to govern itself." So with Japan.

One mighty fear haunts the minds of imperialist rulers in all capitalist nations—that the subject people will rise in revolt against the oppressing power. Every suggestion of an uprising is put down with all the terror and blood that the robber nation can command. Japan has been in such fear of a Korean uprising that she has entered upon a number of campaigns of extreme terrorism against supposed "plots and conspiracies" in her nearest colony. In 1912 Japanese rulers arrested more than 6,000 Koreans and held them incommunicado in jail. These prisoners were tortured into confessing a "conspiracy" against Japan. They were

burned with red-hot irons and hung by the thumbs until they confessed their implication in the murder plot (*Wildes, Japan in Crisis*, p. 235).

In December, 1934, a "conspiracy to overthrow Japanese rule in Korea" was put down by military forces. In the police round-up 91 Koreans were arrested (*New York Times*, December 21, 1934).

Formosa has been held in subjection by even more ruthless methods than Korea. Of strategic importance to Japan as an army and navy base, the island of Formosa became Japanese property in 1895 following the war against China. The people of the island immediately proclaimed a republic, but the revolution of 1895 was drowned in blood. In order to keep the mountain people of Formosa from revolting against Japanese rule, a guard line 360 miles long was constructed of barbed wire made deadly with electric current.

Hundreds of arrests in 1915, 1929 and 1931 have still failed to crush the revolutionary spirit of the Formosan people. Trials of the prisoners have been secret. Examination under torture has brought "confessions" which in turn have led to death sentences or long years of imprisonment. In 1934, forty-six Communists were tried at Taihoku, Formosa, because they had protested against the terms of farm-tenancy. Though they had been arrested in 1932 no news of the cases had been allowed to reach the outside world through the Japanese-controlled news agencies.

In the present drive for new territory, Formosa gives Japan a base off the coast of southern China opposite Fukien province. Japan now

holds most of the islands in this part of the Pacific Ocean, including the Kurile Islands north of Japan proper, the chain of the Riukiu Islands off the coast of China, and also the Mariana, Caroline and Marshall Islands (between the Philippines and Hawaii) over which the League of Nations gave Japan a mandate. Intent on capturing also the Dutch East Indies, Japan looks upon Formosa as a convenient jumping-off place. Japanese capitalists covet the rich supplies of oil in Borneo and the other islands of the Dutch East Indies. They also have an eye on the Philippine Islands which the United States took from Spain after the war of 1898 (see article by M. Monzon and E. Carrol, "Japanese Imperialism Extends to the Philippines," in *China Today*, August, 1935). In other words, Japan is simply following the example of the United States, of Great Britain and the European capitalist nations in seizing colonies for economic reasons and holding them against all enemies.

### *War Expenditures Increase*

Every step of advance in Japan's imperialist policy means a heavier burden of war taxes to be levied on the workers and peasants at home. As the United States or Great Britain increases its war budget, Japan makes another move in the armaments race.

A new five-year armaments plan was announced in Tokyo, July 26, 1935, calling for an expenditure of 900,000,000 yen (about \$263,000,000 at that time \*) to be raised in annual installments of 180,000,000 yen. In this modernization program the army will spend 500,000,000 yen on aircraft, 20,000,000 yen on improved armaments in Japan and Korea, and 200,000,000 yen in Manchoukuo. The air force will be doubled, while anti-tank equipment, heavy artillery, chemical equipment, automobile transport and heavy firearms for the cavalry will take up the rest of the special appropriation. These huge sums are in addition to the regular budget for army and navy.

At about the same time it was revealed by War Minister Senjuro

\* Until the end of 1931 the yen was roughly equal to 50 cents in American money. But with the yen "off gold" and with the devaluation of the dollar this former parity was destroyed. Since December, 1931, exchange value of the yen has averaged as follows: 28 cents in 1932; 26 cents in 1933; 30 cents in 1934; and 28 to 29 cents from January to July, 1935.



Hayashi that the special purpose of these increased armaments was for war against the Soviet Union (*New York Times*, July 25, 1935). Relief needs of workers and farmers in Japan must be subordinated to war demands on the principle of "*armaments first*."

How the regular war budget has mounted in the last six years is shown in the following figures: starting at 442.8 million yen in the fiscal year 1930-1931, military-naval expenditures increased to 454.6 millions in 1931-1932; 686.4 millions in 1932-1933; 851.8 millions in 1933-1934; and 937.6 millions in 1934-1935 and 1,021.5 millions in 1935-1936 (League of Nations, *Armaments Year Book*, 1935).

Not only in amount but in proportion to the whole national budget of Japan, war expenditures have steadily increased. Where in 1930-1931 the army and navy took 28% of the total, by 1934-1935 the military-naval budget took 43.7% or not far from half (T. A. Bisson, "The Trend Toward Dictatorship in Japan," Foreign Policy Ass'n, Feb. 13, 1935). Out of every yen paid by a Japanese worker or farmer for taxes, half or more must thus go for support of the imperialist army and navy of Japan.

A part of these millions for war purposes have gone into the construction of harbors and airdromes on the Pacific islands, formerly owned by Germany, over which Japan holds a mandate from the League of Nations. Despite official denials from Japanese spokesmen it was known to the Mandates Commission of the League in November, 1934, that Japan had violated the mandate rules by building "one or two airdromes in the mandate area" and by improving four harbors to make them suitable for naval vessels. These islands are of strategic importance to Japanese imperialism in relation to Hawaii and the Philippine Islands in case of war with the United States.

American capitalists have shared in the profits from these military-naval expenditures. It was brought out in the hearings before the committee investigating the munitions industry in the United States (September, 1934), that E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co. had sold certain of its patents under an agreement with Mitsui & Co. in Japan by which the Japanese obtained the use of the secret duPont processes for producing cheap powder. The transaction was fully reported and approved by the U. S. State Department. This secret arrangement was made at a time when the League of Nations was

considering a boycott of Japan for violation of its treaties in regard to Manchuria.

Exports of iron and steel scrap from the United States to Japan reached a new high record in 1934, totalling 1,100,000 tons as compared with 547,500 in 1933, and 164,000 in 1932. This tonnage does not include a number of obsolete American merchant marine ships and war ships which Japan has bought for scrapping. In the first half of 1935 Japan took 725,000 tons of American scrap, an increase of about 78% over the corresponding 1934 period.

To critics who protest against these war expenditures, Japanese imperialists reply by pointing to imperialist United States and its new naval building program of 1935. Outstanding in the American plan is an item of \$10,000,000 for a floating drydock at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, "cross-roads of the Pacific," not far from the Japanese mandated islands. This new drydock will be big enough to accommodate the largest battleships, as well as the aircraft carriers *Lexington* and *Saratoga*. The new Pan-American Airways' trans-Pacific route and the building of aviation bases in the Philippine Islands indicate that the United States would defend the Philippines by air power against possible Japanese attack (cf. S. Weinman *Hawaii*, International Pamphlets, No. 37).

Admiral Osumi, Minister of the Navy in Japan, asserted in January, 1935, that the Japanese must be prepared to see through any naval race that may eventuate "*even if we are reduced to eating rice gruel*" (*New York Times*, January 30, 1935. Emphasis mine.—G.H.).

By the end of 1934, Japan's public debt was already approaching the 10 billion yen mark, and 2,600,000,000 of that amount had been added in three years. The 1935 budget called for 830,000,000 yen in deficit bond issues.

### *Japan Fights for Markets*

Japanese capitalists seek to sell their goods by "peaceful penetration" in competition with the capitalists of other countries. Because wage rates are so low and exploitation of workers in Japan is so extreme, Japanese can underbid others in the markets of the world. Japan's trade was on the upgrade from August, 1932, to July, 1935.

To pay for the heavy imports of war materials Japan must increase her exports. And exports have increased. For the year 1934, foreign

trade as a whole surpassed all previous records except that of the boom year, 1925.

Ten years ago, in 1925, the adverse balance of trade was 267 million yen against 110 million in 1934. Japan's best customer in 1934 was Manchuria where in 1933 the best customer was the United States. Significant gains were shown in trade with British India and China, while Japan's trade with Central and South America, though still small, has been increasing. Japan has captured a considerable portion of Italy's trade with Ethiopia much to the chagrin of Mussolini.

Rayon exports showed the chief gain in 1934, going up by nearly 50% above 1933, until Japan was listed as holding second place among rayon producers of the world. But exports of raw silk brought only about one-third of what they brought in the previous year and Japanese farmers are suffering especially from the collapse in raw silk prices.

Japanese capitalists have been investigating the possibility of establishing an automobile factory near Calcutta. In Australia, the Automobile Manufacturing Co. of Japan contracted in December, 1934, for an assembly plant to be erected in Melbourne. Directly profiting from this transaction was the Mitsubishi Shoji Kaisha, giant trading company, part of the vast Mitsubishi interests (*Wall Street Journal*, December 3, 1934).

But Japan's trade boom is probably short-lived. Quotas have been introduced in many countries to prevent the dumping of cheaper Japanese goods. As the *Wall Street Journal* (July 16, 1935) comments: "A list of other handicaps to Japanese export trade would read like a gazetteer of the world, for almost every country has taken recent measures to check the Japanese advance." The Dutch East Indies has introduced quotas on imports of rayon cloth, while British India has a quota on imports of cotton cloth based on Japan's purchases of raw cotton.

Already by July, 1935, the question was raised as to whether Japan's trade boom had not reached its peak. While there was still an advance over the previous year the rate of advance was declining. Industrialists were reported as "anxious," and the effect of the lessened increase in trade was to renew certain aspects of the earlier crisis and depression in Japan.



### *Finance Capitalists Profit*

Profit from war orders and from the trade boom go of course to the capitalists of Japan who exploit workers in their mines, shops and factories. Concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a financial oligarchy is as marked to-day in Japan as in any country of the world.

Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo, the Big Three in banking, hold between them one-fourth of all Japanese finance capital. The Big Eight hold one-half of the total finance capital ("The Control of Industry in Japan," in *Problems of the Pacific*, 1933, p. 255). How vast these enterprises are may be seen from their capitalization: in 1931 the capital of the Mitsui group was valued at 2,600,000,000 yen, when the yen was worth a little over 50 cents in American gold.

After this monstrous enterprise came Mitsubishi, with 2,000,000,000; Yasuda, with 1,500,000,000; Sumitomo, with 1,200,000,000, and Shibusawa, with the modest capital of 800,000,000 yen (Jules Sauerwein, in *New York Times*, May 20, 1934).

As the prosperity of the trusts has not diminished since 1931, the capital in yen can only have augmented. It is no exaggeration... to estimate the present capital controlled by Mitsui at more than 5,000,000,000 yen, or, by the present exchange, \$1,700,000,000." (*Ibid.*)

But let *Fortune* (March, 1930), magazine of the rich in the United States, sum up the power of the Mitsui combine:

Its agencies abroad outnumber the embassies and consulates of the Empire. Deposits with the Mitsui Bank exceed the revenue from all the cities of Japan for 1929. In the constant keeping of the Mitsui lie one-fifth of all goods warehoused in the Empire. A quarter of Japan's commerce, both import and export, is handled by the Mitsui Trading Co., and 40 per cent of her exports of coal. Under the firm's flag or charter are three and a quarter million tons of shipping—as large a tonnage as the whole mercantile marine of France.

Mitsui is the most powerful of the Big Three banking combines in Japan, and also the oldest. To-day the corporation employs about 80,000 men and women.

The Iwasaki family, owners of the Mitsubishi interests, run the

Mitsui a close second. They own the largest Japanese steamship line, the famous Nippon Yusen Kaisha or Japanese Mail Steamship Line. Mitsubishi interests are also strong in heavy manufacturing—associated in this field with the Westinghouse Electric International Co. In banking and mining, the Mitsubishis run neck and neck with Mitsui, while in shipbuilding and manufacturing they have more extensive holdings than the older combine.

In some fields these two giants play together just as Morgan and Rockefeller do in some of the same banking and industrial concerns in the United States. For example, a big merger in Japan, put through in February, 1934, resulted in the formation of Nippon Seiko Kaisha (*Japan Steel Co.*) including Mitsui and Mitsubishi interests. It has a monopoly of pig iron (99% of production) and 60% of the steel materials made in Japan (*Wall Street Journal*, June 21, 1934).

Politically, these two dominant financial combines wield tremendous influence. It is generally admitted that one party, the Seiyukai, is under the domination of Mitsui, while the rival Minseito has close relations with the Mitsubishi interests. These two political parties have alternately controlled the government of Japan, while the Sumitomo interests have directly influenced national affairs through Prince Saionji, last of the Elder Statesmen, who has been advisor to the Emperor on the choice of the Prime Minister (Tanin and Yohan, *Militarism and Fascism in Japan*, p. 108).

The Emperor of Japan and his advisors have autocratic and absolute powers. Known as the "Son of Heaven" to his subjects, the Mikado is supposed to be endowed with divine wisdom and majesty. Actually, however, the autocratic power is vested not only in the Emperor but in a closely-knit clique of industrialists, militarists and others who make use of the traditionary feudal system of Japan to maintain their power and to control the Army, the Navy, the treasury, police, schools and press in the interests of finance capitalism.

From the wealth created by thousands of steel workers, miners, textile workers, and other wage-earners, these robber barons of Japan have taken vast sums in surplus value. Profits of 1,250 Japanese companies totaled 404,511,021 yen in 1934, showing an average rate of profit (ratio of net profit to paid up capital) of 10.3%, a high rate (*Japan Advertiser*, Annual Review, 1934-1935). A survey by the Mitsubishi Economic Research Bureau in 1934 showed that the ratio

of net profit to paid-up capital for 354 companies in Japan increased from 4.2% in the second half of 1931 to 9.7% in the last six months of 1933 (*Business Week*, August 18, 1934).

These profits are taken from what the workers labor to produce. As in other capitalist countries, the financiers and industrialists in Japan live on the money derived from profits because they own the means of production, while the workers own nothing but their labor power. Like those in other countries, Japanese financial rulers ride in expensive motor cars, maintain large city and country residences, eat the best food, and are waited upon by retinues of servants. No rice gruel for them!

The Japanese employing class claim that the workers and peasants are "contented" with a low living standard, that they prefer to eat fish and rice rather than more expensive foods, and that the average Japanese worker "appears to be satisfied with his living conditions" (Article on "Japan: Recent Economic and Industrial Development," in *The Index*, published by the New York Trust Co., May, 1935).

Let us turn now from the imperialists and financial rulers of Japan to the peasants and the workers and see whether or not they are "satisfied" with their living conditions.

### *"Villages Without Girls"*

When Okano of the Japanese Communist Party reported at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, July, 1935, that in Japan "two-thirds of the peasantry are landless and in a state of bondage," he was quoting official figures from the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Only 31.1%, less than one-third, of all farm households are independent, owning their own farms, these statistics reveal.

Back of these bald figures on tenancy lies a story of heavy taxation, debt, loss of farms, suffering and starvation that has rarely been equaled in the annals of human history. Here is the sober *Manchester Guardian* summarizing a Tokyo paper's report on famine among farmers in northern Japan in the autumn of 1934:

Old people and children are to be seen everywhere gnawing plant roots. . . .

Horse-chestnuts are being gathered for food during the winter. . . .



There are many who have nothing to eat except soup prepared from a small quantity of cheap grain and bark of trees. . . .

Reports speak of large numbers of girls who are selling themselves into prostitution to save their families. . . .

Famine conditions are worst in the northern part of Japan, in Iwate prefecture (a governmental division), where children are led out by their teachers to dig for roots on the hillsides, and hunt for grass and plant seeds to chew. As the trains pass through the desolate fields, famine-stricken children call out to the travelers:

Mister, please throw us your left-over lunch from the window of the train (Soma Haruta, "Famine in the Countryside," in *New Masses*, June 25, 1935).

From half a dozen authoritative sources come descriptions of the "villages without girls." These are the villages where parents have been forced to sell their daughters into prostitution for the sake of the food this money will buy.

Taxes, heavier for the farmers than for the city workers of Japan, have increased in recent years, as war expenditures mounted:

State and local direct taxes per capita of population were on the average as follows: 1891—2.2 yen; 1911—10.1 yen; 1919—18 yen; 1930—25.8 yen (Tanin and Yohan, *op. cit.*, p. 150).

Unable to carry such a burden of taxation, thousands of farmers have lost their land to the banks. In Nagano prefecture alone, over 10,000 areas (tan) of land have been taken from the peasants by the banks each year since 1931, until in 1934 the banks took more than 15,000 areas (*Japan Advertiser*, Annual Review, 1934-1935).

As taxation increases, rich landlords of course pass on the taxes to their tenants who must give up all the rice they cultivate without hope of having money to buy back what they themselves need to eat. With the collapse of prices for raw silk in 1934, many of the two million Japanese who lived by silkworm production found themselves without cash to buy food, still less to meet their debts. While thousands are thus on the verge of starvation, the government buys up the rice "surplus" and by the spring of 1935 was holding out 11,000,000 koku of rice,\* stored in warehouses to keep up prices. Amounts spent in farm relief have been meager indeed, 159,200,000 yen in

\* A koku is about five bushels.

1933 and only 79,400,000 in 1934. These small expenditures for relief of starving farmers may be contrasted with the war budgets, already described, whereby nearly a billion yen was spent for war purposes in 1934-1935, and another 900 million is proposed for a 5-year armaments plan.

But the peasant masses of Japan are not taking this situation lying down. The increase in the number of disputes between landowners and tenants in recent years is disclosed in government statistics: 1917—85; 1922—1,578; 1929—2,434; 1932—3,414; 1933—3,384. During the first half of 1934 there were 2,594 conflicts, including strikes and struggles, while for the whole year the number reported was about 4,000. An increasing proportion of these struggles have to do with the landowners' cancellation of contracts and with tenants' rights (*Social Reform*, Monthly Journal of Kyocho-kai, English supplement, July, 1934).

The organized peasants' movement has been recently strengthened by efforts to build a united front anti-fascist organization. In joint conferences of peasants' unions, demands drawn up have included an immediate increase of relief; legislation on farm tenancy; extension of time on repayment of loans; state subsidies for expenses of education; state maintenance for families of soldiers at the front; and prohibition of the present policy of seizing one year's food-stuffs from farm households.

### *How the Workers Live*

Into the country villages, where farmers have been so desperately hard up for so many years, come agents of the mill owners in the cities, looking for "cheap labor" to work in the factories on a contract basis. The parents, driven by poverty, enter into a contract by which one or more of the daughters goes with the agent into the city to work for a certain period—usually three to five years. Two-thirds of the girl workers in five Japanese cities were found to be daughters of farmers, according to a survey by the Young Women's Christian Association during the autumn of 1932. Over one-half of the girls were under 20 years old and only a very few were over 24.

Thus recruited in the rural districts, the girls are taken to the dormitories of the factories where the living-in system prevails. It is practically imprisonment for the contract period. Systematic control

prevails not only at the mills, but also during the operatives' period of leisure. The girls must eat, sleep and attend classes in "leisure" time, and do everything according to a fixed schedule. The company dominates their private lives.

Conditions in these Japanese factories are worse now than a few years ago. Wage rates have gone down, speed-up has increased and average working hours have been lengthened. In the summer of 1934 Osaka factories were feeding the workers at the rate of 15 sen each (about 5 cents) a day, and this money for food was deducted from their wages. The girls averaged only 70 sen (about 21 cents) a day, in the spring of 1935 (*New York Times*, May 26, 1935).

Wages of workers in Tokyo in 1932 averaged only 28½ yen a month, or about \$8 as the value of the yen was at that time—less than \$2 a week. One quarter of all registered Tokyo workers were earning *less than 10 yen a month*, while skilled workers received about 85 yen a month, approximately \$24 (Wildes, *op. cit.*, p. 74).

In recent years wages have been cut still further until in February, 1935, wage rates were 32.8% below the 1927 rates, and 8.6% below the rates of 1932. Meanwhile the cost of living has been rising; the index of living costs stood at 149 in May, 1934, as compared with 100 in 1914, and 135.5 in 1931. Japan's trade expansion and war activities have thus lowered the living standards of the Japanese workers at home.

The writer has been in some of the poorest districts of Japanese cities and will never forget those cesspools of human misery. Kobe has probably the worst slums in Japan. We walked along nauseous alleyways in Kobe's working class districts and saw the tiny cells that serve as rooms, opening on the street, renting at 5 sen a day. No running water. No toilets; only an open cesspool for public use. The smell is sickening. There are no street lights. Rats run freely in the alleys carrying disease from house to house. Every disease known to poverty flourishes in these surroundings. Tuberculosis spreads in the foul, damp air. Trachoma, that contagious disease of the eyes, attacks one worker after another. Typhoid fever and other infectious diseases pass quickly from one family to another.

Workers living in these districts are the poorest, many of them the 'ricksha or kuruma pullers who eke out a meager existence by the hardest kind of work. Often the workers who must live in these



quarters cannot afford even two bowls of rice a day, though a bowl of the poorest rice costs only 3 sen.

### *Strikes and Struggles*

The best answer to those who say that Japanese workers are "contented," "satisfied" with a low standard of living and with the national program of imperialism, lies in the increasing number of strikes and struggles in which the workers of Japan have been involved in recent years. While the peasants have been demanding state maintenance for the families of soldiers at the front and an increase in relief, industrial workers have demanded higher wages and shorter hours of work. In the face of extreme terror, the struggle against imperialist war and against fascism has been deepened and extended.

Especially significant were the strikes, in 1934, of workers in plants making machine guns and other war supplies. With extraordinary courage and determination militant workers in Japan have carried the struggle against imperialist war into the munitions factories and the military-naval arsenals. Their spirit is unbreakable. It can no more be checked than the tide of the ocean can be stopped from rising.

Yet organized workers in Japan are still comparatively few in number. Out of 5,448,000 wage earners, there are about 380,000 in all types of trade unions. The Japanese General Federation of Labor (Dai Nippon Rodo Sodomei) is the largest trade union center, reporting 49,099 members at the end of October, 1934 (*Social Reform*, English Supplement, December, 1934). At the extreme right of the Japanese labor movement is a fascist section, which has as its special purpose the upholding of patriotic spirit in the working class movement and support of finance capitalism's imperialist program, in opposition to class-conscious trade unionism. Most radical of the union organizations permitted by the government is the National Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Nippon Rodo Kumiai) of which Kanju Kato is the chairman.

Modern labor history in Japan may be said to have begun 30 years ago with the symbolic action of Sen Katayama at the Amsterdam Socialist Congress (1904). War between Japanese and Russian imperialism had broken out in 1904, but Katayama rose in the

international congress and shook hands with a representative of the Russian delegation (Katayama, *The Labor Movement in Japan*, Introduction, p. 22). Katayama was a pioneer in the struggling labor movement of Japan, organizer of the first railway labor union in 1897 and leader of a railway strike in 1898. He took the lead in 1912 when the great strike of 6,000 Tokyo tramway workers tied up the city's transportation system. Many were arrested. Katayama and two others were imprisoned for nine months, but the strike was won, and brought the workers increased wages in the form of a bonus. Afterward Katayama was in the United States for many years and was well-known to many in the labor movement in this country. He died in Moscow, U.S.S.R., on November 6, 1933.

With the period of the world imperialist war, strikes and struggles in Japan began to increase greatly in number and extent. From 50 strikes involving less than 8,000 workers in 1914, the number rose to 417 strikes involving 66,000 men and women in 1918. That year saw strikes in three military arsenals, a soldiers' mutiny and uprisings among government employees (Wildes, *op. cit.*, p. 79). How the number of strikes has grown in recent years is shown by official government statistics which do not, however, include all the strikes that take place: 1926—1,260, involving 127,267 workers; 1929—1,420, involving 172,144; 1930—2,289, involving 191,805; 1933—1,879, involving 116,733; 1934 (11 months)—8,191, involving 550,725; 1935, first five months, 755, involving a total of 34,237 workers. Each year for the past decade considerably over a hundred thousand workers have participated in labor struggles.

Strikers have become more aggressive in the last two and a half years, a greater number now demanding increased wages, where in 1931 more of them were resisting wage cuts. In 1934 over 22% of all strikes were called for shortening of working hours, recognition of the trade union, and abolition of the system of overseers. In other words, the workers have been taking the offensive where three years before strikes were defensive for the protection of such wages and conditions as had been gained.

### *Against Imperialism*

Back of the cold figures lies a story of heroism equal to any in the annals of world labor history, for the struggles of recent years par-

ticularly have been in the face of increasing persecution and fascist terror. Japanese soldiers and sailors have sometimes refused to carry out the imperialist aims of their masters, though accounts of such insurrectionary actions are not allowed to appear in the Japanese press. When ordered to the Shanghai front in 1932, the 14th company of the 13th regiment of Japanese troops mutinied and refused to go. Troops were sent to crush their rebellion and the rebel soldiers held out for a week (Emmett Kirby in *Western Worker*, February 18, 1935).

Wan Min of the Chinese Communist Party, speaking at the World Congress in Moscow in August, 1935, told of the heroic action of a Japanese soldier who delivered a truckload of war material to the anti-Japanese partisans in China. He waited but the partisans did not come. When he saw the Japanese soldiers approaching, he committed suicide, leaving behind him a letter which came into the hands of the Chinese Communists. It read:

I send you a small gift of 60,000 cartridges and many hand-grenades and bombs. I wanted to speak to you personally, to tell you of the love, the solidarity and respect of the Japanese Communist Party for the toiling people, for the Chinese people, and for China's glorious Communist Party in the joint struggle against the imperialist bandits.

Solidarity has become the keynote in recent Japanese labor struggles. An example of solidarity between Korean and Japanese workers was described by Kanju Kato of the National Council of Trade Unions on his visit to the United States in 1935. Korean hat makers in Japan, on strike with Japanese workers for increased wages, won a victory—but only for the Korean strikers. Despite the efforts of the bosses to stir up race hatred between the two nationalities, the Korean workers refused to accept the wage increase, held out for the same increase to be granted the Japanese workers, and won their struggle for unity.

Realizing that isolated strikes have not the strength of wider struggles, Japanese workers on strike appeal to workers of other factories and increasingly they get response to their calls. Thus the two strikes of the 12,000 Tokyo tramwaymen, occurring in quick succession in 1934, aroused the workers of other cities and towns and brought support from workers in other industries. Workers in



two military machine-building plants in Osaka struck in 1934, despite the opposition of Sodomei officials, and established unity with workers in other industries of the city. They were working on war orders but stayed out for two months in the face of every effort to break their resistance. In one of these strikes over 80 workers were arrested and it was only by the joint action of the government and the Sodomei officials that the strike was finally broken.

Japanese rayon workers in the summer of 1935 were preparing to strike for better wages, unless employers consented voluntarily to an increase in the pay. Their determination was described in an employers' magazine, *Silk and Rayon*, published in England, with the following significant statement on discontent among Japanese workers and the increased strength of trade unions:

The undeniable impoverishment of the working classes has aroused deep dissatisfaction, and is responsible for the rapid spread of trade unionism which, sooner or later, will enforce a substantial rise in the extremely low wages. . . .

The growing economic distress of the Japanese working classes is breeding deep political discontent and preparing the soil for a Communist movement of already substantial proportions (quoted by Labor Research Association in *Textile Notes*, September, 1935).

In many of these struggles and strikes, the Communist Party of Japan has played an important part. Thrust underground in 1928, hounded and persecuted through all the intervening years, Communists nevertheless have increased in numbers and influence. Started in 1922 by a small group of revolutionary workers under the leadership of Sen Katayama, the Communist Party, even from its underground position, is now in fact leading the struggle of the masses against imperialist war and against fascism. A majority of former Central Committee members were arrested and imprisoned. Yet the Party has continued the regular publication of its organ *Sekki* which is issued every five days. Printing shops were raided and printers were arrested in 1933 in an effort to put this paper out of business, but it continued to appear. Those who take any part in this revolutionary work do so of course at the risk of their lives.

How Japanese militarists fear this growing opposition to imperialist policy is seen in a statement on "The Real Tasks of the Imperial Army," a pamphlet published for Japanese officers in

August, 1933, quoted by Tanin and Yohan in their analysis of Japan's difficulties in the event of a great war:

We have not yet been able to influence a single Soviet person and make him believe in the Japanese national policy and imperial virtue; but hundreds of thousands of Japanese are acting as the agents of the Soviets in spreading communist ideas in our Empire and are rapidly destroying our revolutionary struggle. (*When Japan Goes to War*, International Publishers, 1935.)

### *In Face of Fascist Terror*

In the opinion of Japanese imperialist rulers,

A Communist is any one who seeks to change the Constitution of Japan. So also are all Koreans and Formosans who seek independence, all labor leaders who stir up strikes, all students who peruse Karl Marx. And so is any one, no matter on what continent he may reside, who gives food, shelter or encouragement to any of these Communists.

For Japan is trembling at the menace of red revolution. She sees the hand of Stalin in each unpleasant action in Japan. Any criticism, any innovation, any sign of unrest or dissatisfaction is put down to Bolshevik intrigue. Japan is jittery with fear (Wildes, *op. cit.*, p. 99).

All strikes are treated as "police questions." At any hint of discontent or unrest in munitions plants, police with machine guns are posted within the factories to watch every movement of the workers. According to the Peace Preservation Law, passed in 1925 and added to from time to time to make it stronger, even the slightest "unrest" can be interpreted as an attempt to change the Constitution or to disturb the system of private ownership of the means of production.

For seven years, ever since the beginning of Tanaka terror on March 15, 1928, leading Communists, Ichikawa, Tokuda, Shiga, Maniwa, Sunama and others, have been kept "in the frozen solitary prisons in Hokkaido" (*Rodo Shimbun*, March 15, 1935). Ueda of the Central Committee, Communist Party, was murdered in the summer of 1932. Iwata of the Communist Party was beaten to death in a Tokyo police station. Nose, also a Communist, was killed in a struggle of the unemployed in 1932.

Takiji Kobayashi, radical novelist, author of *March 15, 1928*, was arrested on February 10, 1933, and found dead in a hospital six hours later. There were signs of torture on his body, but no post-mortem was allowed by the authorities. Thus the Japanese police

department has become known to militant workers as "a torture organization for the Mikado."

It is estimated that in all more than 24,000 workers and sympathizers—"Reds"—were arrested in the three years from 1931 to 1934 inclusive. In the one year, 1932, nearly 7,000 persons were arrested as suspected Communists (*New York Times*, January 18 and 19, 1933). Over a hundred of these were women and girls. In the first nine months of 1933 alone a total of 7,861 political prisoners were jailed. And the campaign of terror has continued unabated; another "round-up" early in 1934 brought 736 suspected Communists to prison. On July 16, 1935, 187 Japanese Communists, including 35 women, were arrested in Tokyo.

Suppression of all civil liberties in Japan includes not only the workers who dare to organize but the students and professors who try to learn or teach anything not pleasing to the authorities. Their books are taken away from them, their meetings are broken up, and many students have been among those arrested. Among the books taken away from a scientist in a Japanese University during the first attempts to stop "dangerous thoughts" was a volume entitled *The Social Instincts of Animals*, because it had the word "Social" in the title. One of the books suppressed by the censor in 1935 was the volume by Harry Emerson Wildes, *Japan in Crisis*, quoted in these pages.

Back of these efforts to stop all criticism of Japan's imperialist policy, all organization and activity against war, are the militarists and those who profit from the expansion of war industries. While there is as yet no one unified fascist party in Japan, nevertheless the fascist movement has its roots in the bureaucratic-military organization, the *Black Dragon* (Tanin and Yohan, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Leaders of this society founded, in 1931, the Great Japan Production Party (Dai Nippon Seisanto), claiming 100,000 members by the end of 1932. In all, the larger, active reactionary chauvinist organizations in Japan are reported as numbering over 100, with an estimated total membership of 750,000. All these organizations have three common fundamental characteristics, as described by Tanin and Yohan: (1) they are the vanguard of the ruling classes in the struggle against revolution; (2) they are the most aggressive advocates of Japanese imperialism in foreign policy; (3) they are the defenders of the



monarchy. Hence their anti-parliamentary slogans and concentration around the army as the real force of the military-police monarchy. *Fascio* is the general name given to all these nationalistic and reactionary organizations in Japan.

Whether or not these fascist groups succeed in establishing in Japan an outright fascist dictatorship depends on the power of the working class to organize more rapidly and more effectively than the fascists. The danger is so great that the workers of Japan cannot afford a moment's delay in building a more extended united front in the struggle against fascism and against imperialist war.

### *Towards Working Class Solidarity*

In this struggle of the Japanese people against their imperialist rulers, the workers and their allies in the United States have a vital part to play. The fight within Japan against fascism and the war program is not an isolated conflict; it is part of the great world-wide struggle to defeat fascism *now* before it can increase its strength. In its drive toward another world imperialist war fascism seeks to involve all the great capitalist powers against the workers' republic, the Soviet Union, and against the Chinese Soviets. It threatens to engulf every important capitalist nation unless a united front of all labor groups stays its advance.

Negroes in the United States and in other countries are hearing demagogic appeals from Japan for a movement of all the dark peoples of the world against white imperialism. But such demagoguery on the part of Japanese rulers is but a screen to cover Japan's own imperialist program for the exploitation of China, Manchuria, Mongolia and other areas in the Far East. The Negro people are now beginning to realize that only a united front with all those who *oppose* such imperialism as Japan's will in the end benefit the workers and farmers in every country of the world.

American labor and all Americans who share the aspirations of the millions in the Far East, now oppressed and enslaved, can support Japanese labor in its efforts to oppose the invasion of China by Japanese imperialism. Seamen and longshoremen in the ports of the United States can stop the shipment of munitions that are to be used by Japan against the Chinese people and the Soviet Union. Such organizations as the American League Against War and Fascism

and the American Friends of the Chinese People\* have begun to build a united front of all anti-fascists in the United States to oppose American imperialism and to express the solidarity of American labor and its allies with all who struggle against fascism and war. These organizations should have wider support from labor and from other groups in the United States.

Kanju Kato, on his visit in this country in 1935, voiced an appeal to American labor from the labor movement of Japan:

I appeal to the labor movement of this country in the name of the Japanese labor movement to unite its forces against exploitation and the war menace. Since the Manchurian invasion in 1931, we in Japan have been constantly fighting the war makers. It is necessary for Japanese and American labor to coöperate to fight this growing menace. . . . United labor, solidarity between Japanese and American labor, is powerful enough to keep peace. . . .

I shall return to Japan prepared to enlist the Japanese masses in a common struggle with the American workers against imperialism and war.

\* \* \* \* \*

### DIARY OF JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

How Japan has advanced step by step in carrying out her imperialist aims on the Asiatic continent is shown by the dates of events that have taken place in recent years.

July 25, 1927. Premier Tanaka submitted a secret memorandum to the Japanese Emperor on building a Far Eastern Empire.

March 15, 1928. Mass arrests of Communists. Japanese Communist Party and all Left-Wing trade unions driven underground in 1928.

June 4, 1928. Death of Chang Tso-lin, Manchurian war lord, in train wreck caused by Japanese near Mukden. Japan's army clique were prepared to take Manchuria at this time, but put it off when expected disorganization in Manchurian ruling circles failed to occur.

April 16, 1929. Nation-wide raids and arrests of Communists.

September 18, 1931. Japan launched the intervention in Manchuria. Conquest completed in 5 months.

January, 1932. Japan launched attack on unarmed workers in Shanghai, China, continuing through February and early March.

May 15, 1932. Terrorist acts committed in Tokyo by fascist societies aiming to take control of the capital by a military coup d'état.

May 22, 1932, to July 3, 1934. Saito administration set up in Japan under direction of Admiral Saito, former Governor General of Korea.

\* American Friends of the Chinese People, 168 W. 23rd St., New York City. American League against War and Fascism, 112 E. 19th St., New York City.

Collaboration between army leaders and capitalists, with a fascist program.  
August, 1932. Japan's trade revival began, including increased imports of war materials.

September 15, 1932. Japan recognized "Manchoukuo," puppet government in Manchuria. Pu Yi later made emperor.

September-October, 1932. Army generals Araki, Mazaki and others met twice with representatives of Mitsui, Mitsubishi and other big capitalists, to organize a Society of Military Friends of Industry.

October, 1932. 2,200 suspected Communists arrested. Total number of political prisoners arrested in 1932, 6,900. Mass arrests continued in 1933.

February-March, 1933. Jehol province, eastern Manchuria, conquered by Japanese army.

March 27, 1933. Japan announced withdrawal from League of Nations.

April-May, 1933. Invasions of North China by Japanese troops.

May 31, 1933. Tangku truce, with secret provisions giving Japan extensive "rights," created "demilitarized" zone in Hopei province, China, under Japanese control. Chiang Kai-shek ordered prohibition of anti-Japanese boycott.

February, 1934. "Manchoukuo" authorities announced completion of 50 aviation bases, 1,375 miles of motor roads, 625 miles of new railways.

May, 1934. Police reported 736 more Communist suspects had been arrested.

July 1, 1934. China yielded to Japan's demand and opened through railway traffic between Peiping and Mukden, thus practically recognizing "Manchoukuo."

July 7, 1934. Okada cabinet formed in Japan, under direction of Admiral Okada.

December, 1934. Negotiations completed for sale by Soviet Union of Chinese Eastern Railway to "Manchoukuo."

December 27, 1934. Washington Naval Agreement denounced by Japanese government.

January, 1935. Japan's invasion of Chahar province, eastern Manchuria, marked further advance into Inner Mongolia, toward Outer Mongolia (People's Republic sympathetic with Soviet Union). Chiang Kai-shek revealed as having sold out to Japan.

June, 1935. Chiang Kai-shek's troops withdrawn from Hopei province, to south of Yellow River, at Japan's command. Japan thus dominant in North China, north of the Yellow River.

June 28, 1935. Bulk of Chinese troops in Chahar province, Eastern Manchuria, withdrew, leaving Japan entrenched in province close to Soviet border.

July 6, 1935. Japanese officials made war threats against Outer Mongolia, demanding right of permanent residence for military "observers."

July, 1935. War Minister Hayashi announced increased war expenditures for specific use against the Soviet Union.



# RECOMMENDED BOOKS



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