

SELECTED WORKS



HO CHI MINH

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VOLUME I

(Articles and speeches, 1922 - 1926)

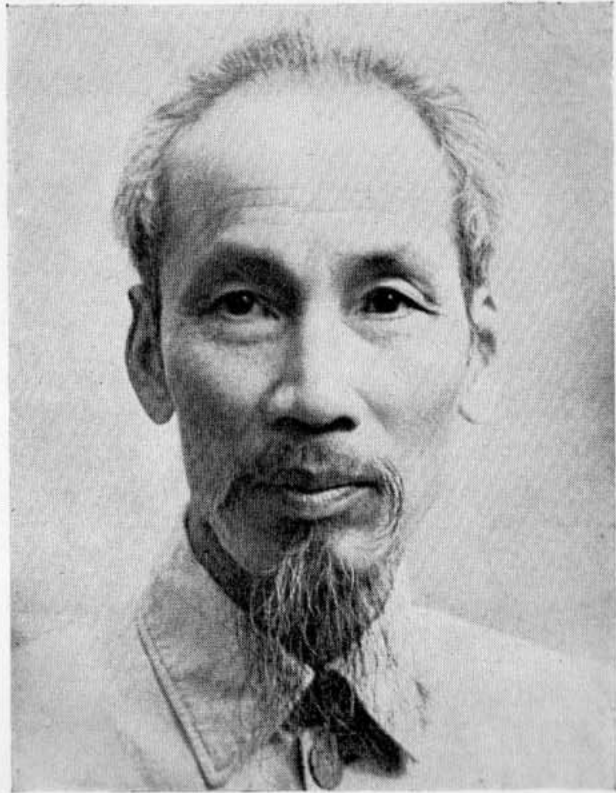
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VOLUME I



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There are documents which mark a turning point in the history of a people: Ho Chi Minh's works are of this kind.

Volume 1, now before the reader, contains articles written for the most part in French under the name of Nguyen Ai Quoc, in the years 1922-1926. It also contains one important speech made at this time. These documents come from a day when the prospects of the anti-colonialist struggle were far from being discerned by all. Subsequent volumes will comprise an essay written in 1925, and appeals and messages written from 1945 to 1960, at a time when the weapons for the victory of the Vietnamese people were being forged.

Is it necessary to recall the wonderful successes won by the world anti-colonialist movement of which Ho Chi Minh has been one of the advocates and to which he has devoted his whole life?

Our day bears the imprint of the irresistible advance of oppressed peoples. From Hanoi to Conakry, from Djakarta to Havana, they have won victory after victory. Colonialism no longer dares even to say its own name. The hour of the last offensive has struck. The emancipation of all enslaved nations is going full steam ahead.

May the present edition of Ho Chi Minh's selected works bring to the peoples who, still suffering, are carrying on the struggle for their independence, confidence in their immense abilities and new grounds for hope.

Foreign Languages Publishing House
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In order to preserve the authenticity of the texts and the atmosphere of an epoch now past, we retain the words Annam and Annamese to indicate Viet Nam and the Vietnamese respectively, though these terms have been discarded since 1945 because of their derogatory sense.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE COLONIAL QUESTION

Since the French Party has accepted Moscow's 'twenty-one conditions' (1) and joined the Third International, among the problems which it has set itself is a particularly ticklish one — colonial policy. Unlike the First and Second Internationals, it cannot be satisfied with purely sentimental expressions of position leading to nothing at all, but must have a well defined working programme, an effective and practical policy.

On this point, more than on others, the Party faces many difficulties, the greatest of which are the following :

1. The great size of the colonies

Not counting the new 'trusteeships' acquired after the war, France possesses :

In Asia, 450,000 square kilometres, in Africa 3,541,000 square kilometres, in America, 108,000 square kilometres and in Oceania 21,600 square kilometres, or a total area of 4,120,000 square kilometres (eight times its own territory), with a population of 48,000,000 souls. These people speak over twenty different languages. This

diversity of tongues does not make propaganda easy, for, except in a few old colonies, a French propagandist can make himself understood only through an interpreter. However, translations are of limited value, and in these countries of administrative despotism, it is rather difficult to find an interpreter to translate revolutionary speeches.

There are other drawbacks : though the natives of all the colonies are equally oppressed and exploited, their intellectual, economic and political development differs greatly from one region to another. Between Annam (2) and the Congo, Martinique and New Caledonia, there is absolutely nothing in common, except poverty.

2. The indifference of the proletariat of the mother country towards the colonies

In his theses on the colonial question (3), Lenin clearly stated that 'the workers of colonizing countries are bound to give the most active assistance to the liberation movements in subject countries'. To this end, the workers of the mother country must know what a colony really is, they must be acquainted with what is going on there, and with the suffering — a thousand times more acute than theirs — endured by their brothers, the proletarians in the colonies. In a word, they must take an interest in this question.

Unfortunately, there are many militants who still think that a colony is nothing but a country with plenty of sand underfoot and of sun overhead ; a few green coconut palms and coloured folk, that is all. And they take not the slightest interest in the matter.

3. The ignorance of the natives

In colonized countries — in old Indo-China as well as in new Dahomey — the class struggle, and proletarian strength, are unknown factors for the simple reason that there are neither big commercial and industrial enterprises, nor workers' organizations. In the eyes of the natives, Bolshevism — a word which is the more vivid and expressive because frequently used by the bourgeoisie — means either the destruction of everything or emancipation from the foreign yoke. The first sense given to the word drives the ignorant and timorous masses away from us ; the second leads them to nationalism. Both senses are equally dangerous. Only a tiny section of the intelligentsia knows what is meant by communism. But these gentry, belonging to the native bourgeoisie and supporting the bourgeois colonialists, have no interest in the communist doctrine being understood and propagated. On the contrary, like the dog in the fable, they prefer to bear the mark of the collar and to have their piece of bone. Generally speaking, the masses are thoroughly rebellious, but completely ignorant. They want to free themselves, but do not know how to go about doing so.

4. Prejudices

The mutual ignorance of the two proletariats gives rise to prejudices. The French workers look upon the native as an inferior and negligible human being, incapable of understanding and still less of taking action. The natives regard all the French as wicked exploiters. Imperialism and capitalism do not fail to take advantage of this mutual

suspicion and this artificial racial hierarchy to frustrate propaganda and divide forces which ought to unite.

5. Fierceness of repression

If the French colonialists are unskilful in developing colonial resources, they are masters in the art of savage repression and the manufacture of loyalty made to measure. The Gandhis and the de Valeras (4) would have long since entered heaven had they been born in one of the French colonies. Surrounded by all the refinements of courts martial and special courts, a native militant cannot educate his oppressed and ignorant brothers without the risk of falling into the clutches of his civilizers.

Faced with these difficulties, what must the Party do?

Intensify propaganda to overcome them.

L'Humanité, May 25, 1922

IN A 'HIGH CIVILIZATION'

M. Albert Sarraut (5) has told the colonial group of the Chamber of Deputies that 'it is in the sphere of overseas activity that, faithful to the splendid mission by which she has dazzled the world and history, beneficent France is carrying on a work of progress and justice, of the elevation of races, of lofty civilization, whose nobility every day enhances the centuries-old radiance of her tradition'.

Now, here is how this work of progress and justice etc., is put into practice... On the pretext of acting against vagrancy, the natives of Madagascar are put to forced labour. Thus, on the back of a sheet of paper which is the native's identity card, there are small squares to be filled in by the employer. In the first of these squares are printed the essential particulars which should be counter-signed by the employer :

Employed by Mr...

At. . . .

from. . . . to. . . .

The employer : *(signed)*

Any native whose identity card is not duly filled in as prescribed above is considered a vagrant and gets from

three months to one year's imprisonment, and is liable, after serving his term, to be prohibited from residing in certain areas for from five to ten years.

Now let us see how the native workers are treated by these civilizing employers.

One of them wrote to an overseer who had asked for the wages due to one of his workers, ' Tell that pig to go and eat dirt, it is the only food fit for him ! '

Another, discovering that 5,000 francs had been stolen from his home, submitted his eight native employees to contact with live electric wires in order to obtain a confession. It was discovered later that the thief was the employer's own son. The civilizing son had a good time. The civilizing father was not worried. The fortunate protégés of France are still in Tananarive hospital.

La Vie Ouvrière, May 26, 1922

EQUALITY !

To hide the ugliness of its regime of criminal exploitation, colonial capitalism always decorates its evil banner with the idealistic motto : Fraternity, Equality, etc...

Here is how these champions of equality put their slogan into practice.

In the same workshop and for the same work, a white workman is several times better paid than his coloured brother.

In administrative offices, despite length of service and recognized ability, a native is paid starvation wages, while a freshly arrived white man receives a higher salary with less work to do.

After receiving higher education in the parent state and obtaining degrees as doctors of medicine or of law, young native people cannot exercise their professions in their own country if they are not naturalized (and how many difficulties and humiliations a native must go through to obtain this naturalization !)

Dragged away from their countries and their homes, and pressganged into the army as ' volunteers ', the militarized natives are quick to savour the exquisite significance of this phantasmal ' equality ' they are defending.

With the same rank, a white non-commissioned officer is almost always regarded as superior to his native colleague, who must salute and obey him.

This 'ethno-military' hierarchy is still more striking when white and coloured soldiers travel in the same train or ship.

Here is the most recent example.

In May the S. S. *Liger* left France for Madagascar with six hundred Malagasy (6) soldiers on board.

The Malagasy non-commissioned officers were crowded into the holds, while their white colleagues were installed in comfortable cabins.

May our coloured brothers, warmed by the ship's boilers, if not by an ideal, awakened by the noise of the propellers, or by the voice of their conscience, think over and understand the fact that the good capitalism will always consider them as ordinary olo maloto (7).

'Humanité, June 1, 1922

THE CIVILIZERS

Under the title 'Colonial Bandits' our comrade Victor Meric (8) has told us of the incredible cruelty of a French administrator in the colonies who poured molten rubber into the genitals of an unfortunate Negress. After which, he made her carry a huge stone on her head in the blazing sun, until she died.

This sadistic official is now continuing his exploits in another district, still with the same rank.

Unfortunately, such odious deeds are not rare in what the good press calls 'overseas France'.

In March 1922, a customs-house officer at Baria (Cochin-China) all but sent an Annamese woman salt carrier to her death because she had disturbed his siesta by making a noise outside the verandah of his house.

The best of it is that this woman was threatened with the sack from the construction yard she was working on if she lodged a complaint.

In April, another customs-house officer who took the place of the above-mentioned official, proved to be worthy of his predecessor for his brutalities.

An old Annamese woman, also a salt carrier, had an argument with a woman overseer regarding the stoppage of

part of her wages. On hearing the overseer's complaint, the officer, without more ado, took it upon himself to give the carrier two stinging slaps in the face. While the poor woman was stooping to pick up her hat, the civilizer, not satisfied with the slaps he had just given her, furiously kicked her in the lower abdomen, immediately provoking a great flow of blood.

When the unfortunate Annamese fell to the ground M. Sarraut's collaborator, instead of succouring her, called for the village mayor to carry her away. This worthy refused. Then the officer called in the victim's husband, who was blind, and ordered him to take his wife away. The poor old woman is now in hospital.

It's odds on that, like their colleague the administrator in Africa, our two customs-house officers were not worried. They might even have received promotion.

Le Paria, July 1, 1922

RACIAL HATRED

For having spoken of the class struggle and of equality among men, and on the charge of having preached racial hatred, our comrade Louzon (9) has been sentenced.

Let us see how the love between peoples has been understood and applied in Indo-China of late. We will not speak for the time being of the poisoning and degradation of the masses by alcohol and opium of which the colonial government is guilty; our comrades in the parliamentary group will have to deal with this matter one day.

Everybody knows the deeds of derring-do of the assassin-administrator Darles (10). However, he is far from having the monopoly of savagery against the natives.

A certain Pourcignon furiously rushed upon an Annamese who was so curious and bold as to look at this European's house for a few seconds. He beat him and finally shot him down with a bullet in the head.

A railway official beat a Tonkinese village mayor with a cane.

M. Beck broke his car driver's skull with a blow from his fist.

M. Brès, building contractor, kicked an Annamese to

death after binding his arms and letting him be bitten by his dog.

M. Deffis, receiver, killed his Annamese servant with a powerful kick in the kidneys.

M. Henry, a mechanic at Haiphong, heard a noise in the street ; the door of his house opened, an Annamese woman come in, pursued by a man. Henry, thinking that it was a native chasing after a 'con-gai' (11) snatched up his hunting rifle and shot him. The man fell, stone dead : it was a European. Questioned, Henry replied, ' I thought it was a native. '

A Frenchman lodged his horse in a stable in which there was a mare belonging to a native. The horse pranced, throwing the Frenchman into a furious rage. He beat the native, who began to bleed from the mouth and ears ; after which he bound his hands and hung him from them under his staircase.

A missionary (oh yes, a gentle apostle !), suspecting a native seminarist of having stolen 1,000 piastres from him, suspended him from a beam and beat him. The poor fellow lost consciousness. He was taken down. When he came to, it began again. He was dying, and is perhaps dead already... etc.

Has justice punished these individuals, these civilizers ? Some have been acquitted and others were not troubled by the law at all. That's that. And now.

Accused Louzon, it's your turn to speak !

Le Paris, July 1. 1922

MURDEROUS CIVILIZATION !

We have of late pointed out from this platform a series of assassinations perpetrated by our 'civilizers' which remain unpunished. Alas ! The gloomy black list lengthens every day.

Quite recently, a fifty year old Annamese employed for 25 years in the Railways Department of Cochin-China was murdered by a white official. Here are the facts.

Le Van Tai had in his charge four other Annamese employed in preventing trains from crossing a bridge while it was opened to let navigation pass. The order was to close the bridge to navigation ten minutes before the trains were due to cross the bridge.

On April 2, at 4.30 p.m., one of these Annamese came to close the bridge and lower the signal. Just then a government launch appeared with a naval dockyard official on board returning from a hunt. The launch whistled. The native employee went to the middle of the bridge and waved a red flag as a sign to the boat that a train was going to pass and that navigation was accordingly suspended. Here is what happened : The launch came alongside a pillar of the bridge. The official jumped out and made furiously for the Annamese employee. Prudently, the latter fled in the

direction of Tai's house. The Frenchman pursued him, throwing stones at him. When he heard the noise, Tai came out to meet the representative of civilization who addressed him thus, "You stupid brute, why don't you raise the bridge?" In reply, Tai, who could not speak French, pointed to the red signal. This simple gesture exasperated M. Long's (12) collaborator who, without more ado, fell upon Tai and, after giving him a thorough drubbing, pushed him into a brazier nearby.

Horribly burnt, the Anamese crossing-keeper was carried to hospital where he died after six days of atrocious suffering. The French official was not charged.

In Marseilles, the official prosperity of Indo-China is on display; in Annam, people are dying of starvation. Here loyalism is praised, there assassination is perpetrated! What do you say to this, oh thousands of times over Majesty Khai Dinh (13) and Excellentissimo Sarraut?

P. S. — While the life of an Anamese is not worth a cent, for a scratch on the arm, M. Inspector General Reinhardt receives 120,000 francs compensation. Equality! Beloved equality!

Le Paris, August 1, 1922

ANNAMESE WOMEN AND FRENCH DOMINATION

Colonization is in itself an act of violence of the stronger against the weaker. This violence becomes still more odious when it is exercised upon women and children.

It is bitterly ironic to find that civilization — symbolized in its various forms, viz. liberty, justice, etc., by the gentle image of woman, and run by a category of men well known to be champions of gallantry — inflicts on its living emblem the most ignoble treatment and afflicts her shamefully in her manners, her modesty and even her life.

Colonial sadism is unbelievably widespread and cruel, but we shall confine ourselves here to recalling a few instances seen and described by witnesses unsuspected of partiality. These facts will allow our Western sisters to realize both the nature of the 'civilizing mission' of capitalism, and the sufferings of their sisters in the colonies.

'On the arrival of the soldiers', relates a colonial, 'the population fled; there only remained two old men and two women: one maiden, and a mother suckling her baby and holding an eight year old girl by the hand. The soldiers asked for money, spirits and opium.

'As they could not make themselves understood, they became furious and knocked down one of the old men with

their rifle butts. Later, two of them, already drunk when they arrived, amused themselves for many hours by roasting the other old man at a wood fire. Meanwhile, the others raped the two women and the eight year old girl. Then, weary, they murdered the girl. The mother was then able to escape with her infant and, from a hundred yards off, hidden in a bush, she saw her companion tortured. She did not know why the murder was perpetrated, but she saw the young girl lying on her back, bound and gagged, and one of the men, many times, slowly thrust his bayonet into her stomach and, very slowly, draw it out again. Then he cut off the dead girl's finger to take a ring, and her head to steal a necklace.

'The three corpses lay on the flat ground of a former salt-marsh: the eight year old girl naked, the young woman disembowelled, her stiffened left forearm raising a clenched fist to the indifferent sky, and the old man, horrible, naked like the others, disfigured by the roasting with his fat which had run, melted and congealed with the skin of his belly, which was bloated, grilled and golden, like the skin of a roast pig.'

Le Paria, August 1, 1922

AN OPEN LETTER TO M. ALBERT SARRAUT,
MINISTER OF COLONIES

Your Excellency,

We know very well that your affection for the natives of the colonies in general, and the Annamese in particular, is great.

Under your proconsulate the Annamese people have known true prosperity and real happiness, the happiness of seeing their country dotted all over with an increasing number of spirit and opium shops which, together with firing squads, prisons, 'democracy' and all the improved apparatus of modern civilization, are combining to make the Annamese the most advanced of the Asians and the happiest of mortals.

These acts of benevolence save us the trouble of recalling all the others, such as enforced recruitment and loans, bloody repressions, the dethronement and exile of kings, profanation of sacred places, etc.

As a Chinese poem says, 'The wind of kindness follows the movement of your fan, and the rain of virtue precedes the tracks of your carriage.' As you are now the supreme head of all the colonies, your special care for the

Indochinese has but increased with your elevation. You have created in Paris itself a service having the special task — with special regard to Indo-China, according to a colonial publication — of keeping watch on the natives, especially the Annamese, living in France.

But 'keeping watch' alone seemed to Your Excellency's fatherly solicitude insufficient, and you wanted to do better. That is why for some time now, you have granted each Annamese — dear Annamese, as Your Excellency says — private *aides-de-camp*. Though still novices in the art of Sherlock Holmes, these good people are very devoted and particularly sympathetic. We have only praise to bestow on them and compliments to pay to their boss, Your Excellency.

We are sincerely moved by the honour that Your Excellency has the extreme kindness to grant us and we would have accepted it with all gratitude if it did not seem a little superfluous and if it, did not excite envy and jealousy.

At a time when Parliament is trying to save money, and cut down administrative personnel; when there is a large budget deficit; when agriculture and industry lack labour; when attempts are being made to levy taxes on workers' wages; and at a time when repopulation demands the use of all productive energies: it would seem to us anti-patriotic at such a time to accept personal favours which necessarily cause loss of the powers of the citizens condemned — as *aides-de-camp* — to idleness and the spending of money that the proletariat has sweated hard for.

In consequence, while remaining obliged to you, we respectfully decline this distinction flattering to us but too expensive to the country.

If Your Excellency insists on knowing what we do every day, nothing is easier — we shall publish every morning a bulletin of our movements, and Your Excellency will have but the trouble of reading.

Besides, our time-table is quite simple and almost unchanging.

Morning : from 8 to 12 at the workshop.

Afternoon : in newspaper offices (leftist of course) or at the library.

Evening : at home or attending educational talks.

Sundays and holidays : visiting museums or other places of interest.

There you are !

Hoping that this convenient and rational method will give satisfaction to Your Excellency, we beg to remain....

Nguyen Ai Quoc

Le Paria, August 1, 1922

THE MARTYRDOM OF AMDOUNI AND BEN-BELKHIR

In the war fought to uphold the rule of law, to safeguard justice, civilization, etc... 100,000 Tunisian infantrymen were mobilized, 60 per cent of whom did not come back. At that time, Tunisians were covered with flowers and showered with affection. Franco-Tunisian brotherhood was chanted with much love and tenderness, "a brotherhood sealed for ever in blood and glory". A censorship was even established to prevent publication in the press of any matter likely to offend native opinion.

To-day, this fraternity has changed its form. It is no longer expressed by caresses and flowers. It is expressed more eloquently by revolver shots or riding-whips. The following facts are proof of this :

Seeing three natives grazing their sheep in his olive-groves, a French settler sent his wife for his rifle and cartridges. When they were brought to him, our civilizer laid in wait behind a bush, and, bang ! bang ! bang ! three shots went off and the three natives fell gravely wounded.

Another French settler had working for him two natives, Amdoumi and Ben-Belkhir. It seemed that these had taken a few bunches of grapes. The settler sent for them and beat them mercilessly with a bull's pizzle until

they fainted. When they recovered their senses, our protector had their arms bound behind their backs and had them strung up by their hands. Though the two unfortunates lost consciousness, the odious punishment lasted for four hours and ended only when a neighbour protested.

Taken to hospital, the unfortunates each had to have one hand amputated and it is not known whether the other hand can be saved.

There it is, fra-ter-ni-ty !

The honourable M. Lucien Saint is too busy expelling communists and journalists to think of the lives of his native protégés.

Le Paria, November 1, 1922

ABOUT SIKI

Ever since colonialism has existed, the Whites have been paid to bash in the faces of the Blacks. For once, a Black has been paid to do the same thing to a White. Being an opponent of all acts of violence, we disapprove of either procedure.

With a punch — if not scientifically aimed, at least amazingly well placed — Siki (14) definitely removed Carpentier from his pedestal to climb on to it himself.

The boxing championship has changed hands, but national sporting glory has not suffered, because Siki, a child of Senegal, is in consequence a son of France, and hence a Frenchman.

In spite of this, it so happens that every time Carpentier wins, it is naturally due to his skill and science. But every time he is beaten, it is always because of the brute strength of a Dempsey (15), or the dirty legwork of a Siki. This is the reason why at the Buffalo match (16), they wished to say — they had even made the statement — that Siki, though having won the match, lost it “just the same”. But the public, the good public, did not wish to see it in that light. And popular justice was triumphant: Siki was proclaimed champion of the world and of France.

After being knocked out by a Black, Carpentier calmly went to visit Russia, the land of the Reds. We congratulate Siki on his victory. We also congratulate Carpentier on his open-mindedness.

Fortune smiles only upon the rich, says the S. D. N. (17) (read *sagesse des nations* and not *Société des Nations*). René Maran (18) and Siki have caused much black ink to flow. Siki, furthermore, caused red blood to flow. People are behaving as if both our African brothers need as much ink again. Following Maran's ironical pen, Siki's gloves have stirred everything, including even the political sphere. And M. Luquet, Councillor of the Seine Department, immediately tabled a motion attempting to ban boxing matches. M. Luquet must allow us to tell him respectfully that what he did was an anti-patriotic act. Here is our explanation: from the point of view of international policy, a feather-weight champion makes as much propaganda for our moral influence abroad as an immortal, a glorious man, a song-writer or ten army corps (see the newspapers). From the national viewpoint, boxers are indispensable as an example of and stimulation to the physical excellence of the young generation. From the colonial viewpoint, a Carpentier — Siki match is worth more than one hundred gubernatorial speeches to prove to our subjects and protégés that we want to apply to the letter the principle of equality between races. Will this threefold advantage be sacrificed to a vague humanitarianism? No! Isn't that so M. Sarraut?

* * *

We learn from the newspapers that Siki has just been suspended for nine months from all boxing rings in France. Reason: For having railed at M. Cuny.

What happened ? Before, Siki was glorified because he made Carpentier's nose swell ; today, he has not touched a hair of M. Cuny's head and yet he is disgraced. We are surely not going to be made to believe that M. Cuny's face is any more fragile or any more peculiar than Carpentier's and that... but no. That is no way to understand it at all. We are rather inclined to think this way : Siki, a Black, will never be forgiven for having defeated Carpentier, a White, and if Carpentier bears no grudge, the chauvinism of others does. And this charge is only a pretext... motivated by...

We learn from the same newspapers that the British Home Ministry has banned the expected match between Joe Beckett and Siki in London. This does not surprise us. As His British Excellency could digest neither Kemal's (19) croissant (20) nor Gandhi's chocolate, he wants to have Battling Siki swallow his purge even though the latter is a Frenchman. Understand ?

Le Paria, December 1, 1922

INDOCHINESE PROSPERITY UNDER THE RULE OF M. LONG

M. Albert Sarraut, our great Minister of Colonies, never misses an opportunity to go into raptures over the prosperity of Indo-China, of 'his' Indo-China, and over the grandiose tasks that he and his have performed or are performing there. To prove that he is telling the truth and nothing but the truth, we will put before him and our friends the following passages, extracted from a letter addressed to the newspaper *République Française* of December 6, 1922, by Colonel Bernard who, set your mind at rest, Mr. Minister, is not a communist.

'Indochinese exports,' says the letter 'are stationary or even in regression. In 1914 Indo-China exported 45,000 kilos of silk, 99,000 tons of maize, 480 tons of tea. Last year, it exported only 15,000 kilos of silk, 32,000 tons of maize, and 156 tons of tea.

'It is also believed that the Indochinese government is at this moment actively carrying out the big projects which are indispensable for the improvement of the colony. But, since 1914 not a kilometre of railway has been built nor a hectare of ricefield reclaimed. Ten years ago M. Sarraut had a programme of works approved which included the

construction of a railway from Vinh to Dong Ha and the building of four big irrigation systems ; all these works have been suspended for over five years on the pretext of lack of credits. But, during the same period, Indo-China devoted 65 million piastres, 450 million francs, to the construction of roads and civil buildings. Let M. Faget meditate on such figures ! Nearly half a billion spent for the construction of motor-roads along which not even a ton of goods travels, for the building of houses and offices for the countless officials who swarm in Indo-China with all the luxuriance of tropical vegetation, and, meanwhile, works acknowledged as indispensable and already approved by a vote of Parliament have been abandoned.

“ And don't think that there is any intention of changing the methods in Indo-China. In order to complete the 1912 programme, M. Long has already asked Parliament for authority to raise a loan. Today, he is still asking for permission to contract an agreement on it. Those who now have charge of the development of Indo-China seem determined to do nothing really useful if they are not first allowed to contract debts. As for budgetary resources, and reserves accumulated during the war and post-war period, they have grandly decided to play ducks and drakes with them, if Parliament does not take a hand.”

La Vie Ouvrière, December 22, 1922

THE COLONIAL ABYSS

France possesses a colonial empire of ten million square kilometres, inhabited by 56 million people of yellow and black races. To turn all this to advantage, M. Albert Sarraut, Minister of Colonies, wants to find three or four thousand million francs. To this end, he has 'organized' a big press campaign and made countless speeches. The worthy Minister has also written a book of 656 pages (price 20 francs per volume). Pending the arrival of these thousands of millions, we beg His Excellency to allow us to fill out his arguments a little.

The budget for Cochin-China, for example, which amounted to 5,561,680 piastres (or 12,791,000 francs) for 1911, rose to 7,321,817 piastres (or 16,840,000 francs) for 1912. In 1922, it went up to 12,821,325 piastres (or 96,169,000 francs). A simple subtraction shows us that between 1911 and 1922 there was a difference of 83,369,000 francs (the rates for the piastre being 2.25 and 7.50 francs) in the budget of this colony. Where did that money go ? Simply on expenses for personnel which in effect swallowed 100 per cent of total receipts.

Other examples of mad extravagance combine to throw away money that the poor Annamese have sweated for.

We do not yet know the exact figure in piastres spent for the Emperor of Annam's trip to France, but we do know that to await the day of good augury, the only one on which the Bamboo Dragon (21) could embark, the vessel *Porthos* was paid compensation for four days at the rate of 100,000 francs per day (400,000 francs). So : Travelling expenses 400,000 francs. Reception expenses 240,000 francs (not including the pay of policemen charged with the extraordinary supervision of the Annamese in France) ; cost of lodging in Marseilles the Annamese militiamen for ' presenting arms ' to His Excellency and His Majesty : 77,600 francs.

As we are in Marseilles, let us avail ourselves of the opportunity to see what its Colonial Exhibition has cost us. First of all, in addition to catering for highly-placed metropolitan personnel, they sent for about thirty high functionaries from the colonies who, while taking their aperitifs somewhere along the Cannebière, were paid expenses both at the Exhibition and in the colonies. Indo-China alone had to pay 12 million for this Exhibition. And do you know how this money was spent ? Here is an example : the famous reproduction of the Angkor Wat palaces required 8,000 cubic metres of timber at 400 or 500 francs a metre. Total : 1,200,000 to 1,500,000 francs !

Other examples of waste. To carry M. *le Gouverneur Général*, luxury automobiles and cars were not enough, there had to be a special railway carriage for him. The fitting-up of this carriage cost the Treasury 145,250 francs.

In eleven months of activity, the Economic Agency burdened the economy of Indo-China with a sum of 464,000 francs.

At the Colonial School, where future civilizers are turned out, 41 professors of all types are maintained to teach 30 or 35 students. Again several thousand francs.

The permanent survey of defence works for the colonies costs the budget 758,168 francs annually.

Now, Messrs the Inspectors have never left Paris and do not know the colonies any better than they know the age-old moon.

If we go to other colonies, we everywhere find the same corruption. For the reception of a semi-official ' economic ' mission, the budget of Martinique was relieved of 40,000 francs. Within a period of ten years the budget of Morocco has gone up from 17 to 200 million francs, although they have cut down by 33 per cent expenditures of local interest, that is to say, expenses likely to benefit the natives.

There are millions and even thousands of millions that could be found easily if they knew how to look for them. But the Minister prefers to try to get them out of the natives !

A question

Is it true that, through excess of the humanitarian feelings so many times proclaimed by M. Albert Sarraut, in the jail at Nha Trang (central Viet Nam) detainees have been put on dry rations, that is to say that they are deprived of water at their meals ? Is it true that the detainees have had their noses coated with tincture of iodine to be more easily recognized in case of escape ?

L'Humanité, January 19, 1923

OPEN LETTER TO M. LEON ARCHIMBAUD

*Deputy for Drôme
Reporter on the Budget for the Colonies
Member of the Colonial High Council*

Sir,

In your speech to the Chamber of Deputies you said that if you had wished to do so you could have denounced colonial scandals, but you prefer to pass over in silence the crimes and offences committed by your civilizers in the colonies. This is your right and it concerns only you, your conscience and your electors. As for us who have suffered and will continue to suffer every day from these 'blessings' of colonialism, we do not need you to tell us about them.

But when, writing in 'Le Rappel' (22) you say that the facts pointed out by citizen Bourneton (23) are false or exaggerated, you yourself 'exaggerate'! First the Minister of Colonies himself was obliged to recognize that a 'contemptuous state of mind towards native life' exists. And that he 'denied no act of brutality' denounced by Deputy Boisneuf. And then can you deny, M. Archimbaud, that during the last few years, that is to say, following the war for 'the rule of law' for which 800,000 natives

came to work 'voluntarily' or to be killed in France, that your civilizers — with impunity — have robbed, swindled, murdered or burnt alive Annamese, Tunisians and Senegalese?

You write next that acts of injustice are more numerous in France than in the colonies. Then allow me to tell you, M. Archimbaud, that one should not pretend to give lessons in equality or justice to others when one is unable to apply them at home. This is the most elementary logic, isn't it?

According to you, the doings of your colonial administrators are known, commented upon and controlled by the Governments General and the Ministry of Colonies. Hence it must be one of two things. Either you are hare-brained and have forgotten the Baudoins, the Darles, the Lucases and so many others making up the galaxy which is the honour and pride of your Colonial Administration, and who, after having committed heinous crimes, receive as punishment, only promotions and decorations. Or else you are treating your readers as complete fools.

You state that if France has sinned in colonial matters it is rather from an excess of generous sentiment than anything else. Will you tell us, M. Archimbaud, whether it is out of these generous sentiments that the natives are deprived of all rights to write, speak and travel, etc? Is it out of these same sentiments that the ignoble condition of 'native' is imposed on them, that they are robbed of their land only to see it given to the conquerors, and forced thereafter to work as slaves? You yourselves have said that the Tahitian race has been decimated by alcoholism and is disappearing. Is it also from an excess of generosity

that you are doing all you can to intoxicate the Annamese with your alcohol and stupefy them with your opium ?

You speak finally of 'duty', 'humanity' and 'civilization' ! What is this duty ? You showed what it is throughout your speech. It is markets, competition, interests, privileges. Trade and finance are things which express your 'humanity'. Taxes, forced labour, excessive exploitation, that is the summing up of your civilization !

While you are waiting to receive 'one of the finest claims to glory that can be dreamt of,' allow me to tell you, M. Archimbaud, that if Victor Hugo had known that you would write such s... tuff to-day in his newspaper, he would never have founded it.

Respectfully yours,
Nguyen Ai Quoc

Le Paria, January 15, 1923

JUST AS IN THE MOTHER COUNTRY

Tulle is so far the only town in the world which can lay claim to the honour of possessing sensational anonymous letters. Today, Cochin-China, out of a spirit of filial piety and in the hope of proving its indefectible loyalty to the civilizing country, has also just had 'its' affair of anonymous letters. But the colony has 'aped' badly, because instead of a charming Mademoiselle Laval, it is an old Annamese notable who has just been put in jail ; not for having abused anonymity but for having been accused by anonymous letters. Here is the substance of the affair :

One night in December 1922, while the Annamese notable (24) concerned was lost in his dreams, he suddenly heard the sound of a rattle warning the inhabitants that pirates (well, well ! where, then, was the security so much boasted of by the officials ?) were operating on the big river, opposite Cho Lach. Our notable jumped out of his bed, took hold of his rifle — this notable was also rural constable of a large domain — and immediately boarded his sampan together with two of his servants.

Arriving on the spot, this brave notable and his men were received with rifle fire from the pirates and one of the men received the bandits' volley right in his chest, and

died a few seconds later. Our notable replied with a shot which missed its mark, but, in return, his enemies hit him in the right hand.

On the mere accusation of an anonymous letter, the notable in question was arrested on the charge of having killed his servant.

Though the victim's father and the other servant gave evidence in favour of the accused, the latter is still in 'the shadow' waiting for the light of justice.

Le Paria, February 1, 1923

MENAGERIE (25)

We have racked our yellow brains in vain, yet we cannot succeed in discovering the reason which led the men and women of France to found the remarkable institution called the 'Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals'. First, the reason escapes us because we see that there are still so many unfortunate human beings who appeal without result for a little care. Then, because all these animals do not deserve so much benevolence and are not as unhappy as all that. Except for the black lion who is useful to people accustomed to wrapping their feet in animal pelts, most of these creatures are wicked, very wicked indeed.

Does not the bulldog — with his ugly teeth — come to tear away the entire structure of the Paris Conference? (26) Which obliges the Flemish monkey and the Gallic cock to confront the German eagle in the Ruhr (27) alone. Did not the Tiger (28), while he was still chained, devour several ministries of the Republic? Were not millions and billions uselessly expended through the agency of our glorious friends Kolchak and Wrangel to buy the skin of the Muscovite bear who, today more than ever, has no mind to let people have it all their own way? (Ah! What an animal!)

Which of our friends in France has not cause to complain of the vultures' (29) misdeeds? Are not crows (30) disastrously destructive in the moral field? And what do the 'chats-fourrés' (31) do if not profit by dissensions and discords in society? Is there not one animal which impudently permits that all disrespectful sons-in-law call their mothers-in-law by its name? Are there not expensive lovebirds which darken the conjugal bliss of many a family? And are not cat-burglars the age-old enemies of those who move from home?

Without taking account of the fact that the stronger wolf is always right and that black sheep are a plague to honest society, we... but let us speak a little, before concluding, of colonial beasts.

Just at the moment when M. Guinal is ready to present to the Academy of Sciences, through the medium of M. Mangin, a note relating to the utilization of shark skin, M. Albert Sarraut goes to the Isle of Dogs to deliver some of his ministerial speeches to the frozen cod of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, and M. Citroën (32), for his part, launches his civilizing 'caterpillar' across the Sahara. Both these missions — official and semi-official — will very probably obtain the happy result that people have a right to expect from them, to wit, to know how to make a mouse bring forth a mountain and consolidate the position of the colonial sharks.

It is generally believed that our protectors always carry out an ostrich policy. What a mistake, my friends! Here is proof to the contrary: on the mere invitation of the sardine at the 'old port' (33), the Colonial Government has not hesitated a moment to cause to be spent by:

1 — Indo-China	13,190,846 francs
2 — French West Africa	5,150,000 —
3 — French Equatorial Africa	348,750 —
4 — The Cameroons	390,000 —
5 — Madagascar	1,837,600 —
6 — Martinique	108,300 —
7 — Guadeloupe	55,000 —
8 — Guiana	62,500 —
9 — New Caledonia	75,000 —
10 — New Hebrides	60,000 —
11 — Oceania	65,000 —
12 — French Settlements in India	135,000 —
13 — Somaliland	97,000 —
14 — Reunion	85,000 —
15 — Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon	14,000 —

to bring a few camels, cows and crocodiles (34) from the colonies to Marseilles. No effort, it must be admitted, was spared by our civiliziers to deck out a handful of native sparrows — very obedient and very docile ones — in peacock feathers to turn them into parrots or watch-dogs. And if the African and Asian peoples are aware of this 'peace' and this 'prosperity', who then, are the busy beavers but those untiring 'disseminators of democracy'?

In short, the lot of all these animals is relatively easy. If the members of the lofty S. P. C. A. had time to spare, they would perhaps do more useful work in taking care of the monkeys martyred by Doctor Voronoff (35) and the poor native sheep which are forever being shorn.

UPRISING AT DAHOMEY

French capitalism, anxious at the awakening of the working class in France, has tried to transplant its threatened domination to the colonies. It draws from them both raw materials for its workshops and human materials for its counter-revolution. Bourgeois newspapers in Paris and in the provinces regularly devote entire pages to articles on the colonies. Generals and members of Parliament are delivering speeches on the colonies all over the country. These virtuous hacks and braggarts cannot find words enough in their vocabulary to extol the loyalty of the natives and the benefits of their civilization. Sometimes these gentlemen push their impudence so far as to compare British colonial brigandage with their own: they qualify British policy as a 'cruel method' or 'high-handed' and maintain that French practice is of the essence of justice and kindness!

A glance at our colonies is enough to appreciate how 'fine and gentle' this civilization is.

Recently, in Indo-China, a young French settler, after having tied an Annamese spreadeagled with his face to the ground, gave him *one hundred and sixty strokes with a cudgel*. The victim, black and blue from head to foot, was detained all night. And the next day, the young civilizer

battered his head and put out one of his eyes with the butt of his revolver. This brute was acquitted by French justice.

In Dahomey, the taxes, already exorbitant for the natives, have been increased. Young people are dragged from their homes and land to become 'defenders of civilization.' The natives are forbidden to have weapons to defend themselves against wild beasts which devastate entire villages. Education and hygiene are wanting. On the other hand, no means are spared to submit the 'protected' Dahomeans to the abominable native status, which is an institution placing man on the level of the beasts and dishonouring the so-called civilized world. The natives, at the end of their tether, revolt. Then there is bloody repression. Harsh measures are taken. Troops, machine-guns, mortars and warships are sent to the place and martial law is declared. People are arrested and imprisoned en masse. There is the kindness of civilization!

La Vie Ouvrière, March 30, 1923.

DESPOTISM IN INDO-CHINA PROTECTED AND PROTECTORS

The superintendent of police in Dalat (Annam) has a strange way of understanding his role as a civilizer. One day this worthy collaborator of M. Sarraut wanted wooden planks. He sent out his men to fetch these materials at a native merchant's. The latter did not wish to see his goods taken away without being paid beforehand. Hearing of this, the superintendent fumed and sent out armed men ordering them to bring in the Annamese offender 'dead or alive'.

To escape the anger of the representative of the protector nation, the merchant, though ill, had to leave his home and native soil, and seek refuge in another province.

As a witness of the incident, a European doctor intervened in favour of the native. This 'scandalous' interference caused its author automatically to be transferred. It is in Kontum — an unhealthy region much feared by Europeans — that the doctor is now expiating his pro-native crime, while the Darleses and Baudoins bask peacefully in honours and comfort. This criminal guilty of

this outrage against prestige is called Doctor Holstarich. Let us record our sympathy for him.

But now let us take a look at what happened to the Annamese merchant.

His name was written down in the register of suspects, and filed together with the 'anti-French', amongst those on whom a close watch was to be kept. An army of French and Annamese spies followed him closely with the mission of hourly noting his doings and investing all of them with a sinister intent. This surveillance was carried out fairly indiscreetly in order to discourage his friends and relatives from having dealings with him, to the point of making his life impossible. There was not a native who dared to come and see him, whatever the reason might be.

Completely isolated from the rest of his fellow-creatures, the Annamese merchant had to choose between becoming a bandit or a beggar ; but the latter trade would have made him even more suspect.

Le Paria, July 16, 1923

OPPRESSION HITS ALL RACES

Vorovsky (36), delegate of the workers' and peasants' Russia, was murdered in Switzerland by fascism. There was not one of the delegates of the very civilized and very Christian powers gathered at Lausanne who deigned to attend his funeral. Only the Turkish delegation, headed by Ismet Pasha, came to pay tribute to the mortal remains of the murdered man.

Ben Radia, a worker of Tunisian origin, was murdered on May Day by the police. The Parisian workers' organizations gave him a big funeral. Thousands of workers stopped work on that day to follow their native comrade to his last resting place.

All the martyrs of the working class, those in Lausanne like those in Paris, those in Le Havre like those in Martinique, are victims of the same murderer: international capitalism. And it is always in belief in the liberation of their oppressed brothers, without discrimination as to race or country, that the souls of these martyrs will find supreme consolation.

After experiencing these painful lessons, the oppressed people of all countries ought to know on which side their true brothers are, and on which side their enemy.

Le Paria, August 17, 1923

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

We are aware that colonial rivalry was one of the main causes of the 1914-1918 imperialist war.

What all Frenchmen should realize, is that colonial expeditions are largely responsible for aggravating the depopulation from which their country is now suffering. If one looks at the statistics of military losses in killed and wounded sustained in the colonies, one is frightened by the gap they have caused in an ever decreasing population such as that of France. From January to June, 1923, in Morocco alone, 840 soldiers were killed or wounded for the greater glory of Marshal Lyautey! (37)

What the French working class must realize, is that colonialism relies on the colonies to defeat all attempts at emancipation on the part of the working class. No longer having absolute confidence in the white soldiers, who are more or less contaminated by the idea of classes, French militarism uses African and Asian natives in their stead. Out of 159 regiments in the French Army, 10 are composed of colonial whites, i.e., semi-natives, 30 of Africans and 39 of natives from other colonies, One half of the French army is thus recruited in the colonies.

Now, an Annamese soldier is in service for four years and an Algerian for three years. Thus, according to the reckoning of French militarism, two native soldiers are worth almost five French.

Moreover, being ignorant of the language and politics of the country, thinking that all whites belong to the race of his exploiters, and finally spurred on by his white superiors, the native soldier will march forward submissively and blindly, where the French soldier, more conscious, might refuse to go. Therein lies the danger.

One wonders for what reason 31 of the native regiments will be stationed on French territory? For what purpose are they intended? Are the French going to be civilized by these natives? The intention of French capitalism is thus clear. It is up to the French workers to act. They should fraternize with the native soldiers. They should make them understand that the workers of the mother country and the soldiers from the colonies are equally oppressed and exploited by the same masters, that they are all brothers of the same class, and that when the hour of struggle strikes, they will have, one and the other, to struggle against their common masters, and not between brothers.

La Vie Ouvrière, September 7, 1923

IT IS NOT MILITARISM, BUT . . .

In brilliant fashion, M. Clemenceau (39) has proved to the world in general and to the Americans in particular that France is neither a militarist country nor an imperialist one; so there! However, M. Archimbaud has recently somewhat destroyed the charm of the 'Tiger's' speeches, in his report on the budget for the colonies, in which he wrote:

'In 1914, the occupation army numbered 1,852 officers, 17,290 warrant-officers and European soldiers, and 42,099 natives, to which must be added, for Dahomey, Guinea and the Ivory Coast, 1,979 men of the brigades of native guards, who have at present been replaced by regular troops. The total strength amounted to 63,210 men.

'Since the war, garrisons with a strength of 1,712 men have had to be established in the mandated territories of Togoland and the Cameroons.

'Besides, special formations have had to be created, especially in French West Africa, for the recruitment, incorporation and instruction of native contingents who serve in France or abroad. These formations have absorbed 2,237 men, including 271 European officers and warrant-officers.

' Lastly, the number of natives serving in France or abroad, and supplied by the possessions attached to the Ministry of Colonies, amounts to 45,000 men. '

If we add that, for Indo-China alone, military expenditure was, in 1921, more than 35,600,000 francs, while the budget for Public Education did not reach 350,000 piastres, and that for health services 65,000 piastres, all the beauty of the colonial regime of the accommodating and peaceful French Republic can be appreciated.

L'Humanité, September 28, 1923

ENGLISH ' COLONIZATION '

English capitalism, while coveting the immense wealth of China, has contented itself so far with colonizing Hong Kong and inside China practising the policy of the open door (39), a policy which has allowed it to exploit the country without arousing the people. To-day it is no longer satisfied with this policy. It wants to go further : it wants to colonize the whole of China.

Taking advantage of the Lingchen (40) incident and on the pretext of ensuring the security of his compatriots, the British Ambassador in Peking has just carried out the first stage of this colonization. He has begun with the railways. Here are the proposals he has made to China :

- 1 — All lines built with British capital, or with materials bought from England and which are not yet entirely paid for, will be put under British control ;
- 2 — The land situated along the lines in question will also be put under this control ;
- 3 — Besides the railways policy, England will have the right to intervene in China's home affairs ;
- 4 — In case of armed conflicts between Chinese political factions, the British will have the right to grant or refuse the use of these lines to whichever faction it chooses ;

5 — Priority of amortization of the loans advanced by the British in the use of the income derived from the railways.

Moreover, he demanded :

a) the setting up, within the Ministry of Communications in Peking, of an office of Railways Control, presided over by a foreign official (read : British official), having full powers over the working of all China's railways ;

b) that the management of the railways also be entrusted to foreign representatives ;

c) the organization of a railway militia under the command of foreign officers ;

d) that the posts of book-keepers and railway managers be filled by foreigners.

The British have already taken in hand the salt tax and customs in China. Now they want to seize the railways. When one realizes that except for the lines in southern Manchuria, the Peking-Hankow and Lunghai lines, all others are built either with British capital or with materials bought on credit from British firms, it can be seen what this plan, if realized, will cost China.

All the Chinese, without distinction as to political trend, oppose this disguised colonization. The Peking Students' Union has launched an appeal to the working class of the world, asking it to use its influence to check this attempt against the independence of the Chinese people.

Let us hope that faced with this threat from British capitalism, the sons and daughters of China will unite in victorious resistance.

THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN TURKEY

With a courage and spirit of sacrifice worthy of admiration, the Turkish people have torn up the odious Sevres treaty (41) and recovered their independence. They have defeated the plotting of imperialism and overthrown the throne of the Sultans. They have turned their exhausted, torn and trampled nation into a united and strong republic. They have had their revolution. But like all bourgeois revolutions, the Turkish revolution is profitable only to one class : the moneyed class.

The Turkish proletariat, which greatly contributed to the struggle for national independence, is now obliged to embark on another struggle : the class struggle.

In this struggle, the Turkish working class is facing many obstacles. In Turkey, there are no trade unions such as those existing in the West. There are only corporations or friendly societies grouping workers of the same trade living in the same town. Workers of different trades living in the same town or workers of the same trade living in different towns have no connection between them. This prevents any effective common action.

Notwithstanding this state of affairs, the year that has just ended was disturbed many times by a ferment of the workers. Several strikes were launched in Constantinople, at the Golden Horn, at Aidine, etc. Printers, railwaymen, coastal vessel workers and workmen in petroleum store-houses and breweries waged struggles. Ten thousand workers participated in the movement. Following these experiences, the Turkish workers have realized that organization and discipline are necessary in order to triumph.

The Constantinople Congress founds the Birlik

Recently, a Workers' Congress was convened in Constantinople. Two hundred and fifty delegates were present. They represented 19,000 Constantinople workers, 15,000 Zongouldak coal miners and 10,000 workers from the lead mines at Balyakaraidin.

It was decided to unite the 34 existing *dernek* into a *birlik*, or federation. This bold decision frightened the Government, which refused to recognize the *birlik*. It is to be noted that the Government's attitude toward workers has changed a great deal since the end of the war. The Government was always in favour of the workers when it was a question of driving out foreigners, but when it is a matter of organizing workers, it shows itself to be as reactionary as all other capitalist governments. Its opposition therefore surprises nobody. Besides, everybody knows that, since the Lausanne event, Turkish capitalism is flirting with foreign capital, which, after having caused the deaths of thousands of poor Greeks and Turks without succeeding in colonizing Turkey, is now penetrating peacefully into

the Land of the Crescent. The refusal of the Government to recognize the *birlik* is tantamount to a gracious smile directed to the foreign capital in the country, three fifths of which is French.

But the Turkish proletariat has made its first step. It will go on.

L'Humanité, January 1, 1924

ANNAMESE PEASANT CONDITIONS

The Annamese in general are crushed by the blessings of French protection. The Annamese peasants especially are still more odiously crushed by this protection : as Annamese they are oppressed ; as peasants they are robbed, plundered, expropriated, and ruined. It is they who do all the hard labour, all the corvees. It is they who produce for the whole horde of parasites, loungers, civilizers and others. And it is they who live in poverty while their executioners live in plenty ; and die of starvation when their crops fail. This is due to the fact that they are robbed on all sides and in all ways by the Administration, by modern feudalism, and by the Church. In former times, under the Annamese regime, lands were classified into several categories according to their capacity for production. Taxes were based on this classification. Under the present colonial regime, all this has changed. When money is wanted, the French Administration simply has the categories modified. With a stroke of their magic pen, they have transformed poor land into fertile land, and the Annamese peasant is obliged to pay more in taxes on his fields than they can yield him.

That is not all. Areas are artificially increased by

reducing the unit of measure. As a result, taxes are automatically increased by a third in some localities, by two thirds in others. Yet this is not sufficient to appease the voracity of the protector State, which increases the taxes year by year. Thus, from 1890 to 1896, taxes doubled. They were further increased by a half from 1896 to 1898, and so on. The Annamese continued to let themselves be fleeced, and our 'protectors', encouraged by the success of these operations, continued their spoliation.

Often despotism was mixed with plunder. In 1895 for example, the Administrator of a province in Tonking stripped a village of several hectares to the advantage of another village, the latter a Catholic one. The plundered peasants lodged a complaint. They were jailed. Don't think that administrative cynicism stopped there. The unfortunates who had been robbed were obliged to pay taxes until 1910 on lands which had been taken from them in 1895 !

On the heels of the thieving Administration came the thieving settlers. Europeans who, for all idea of agriculture and farming skill possessed only a big belly and a white skin, were given concessions whose size often surpassed 20,000 hectares.

Most of these concessions were founded on legalized theft. During the course of the conquest, the Annamese peasants, like the Alsations in 1870, had abandoned their lands to seek refuge in the still free part of the country. When they came back, their lands had been given away. Entire villages were thus plundered, and the natives reduced to tenants of the lords of a modern feudalism, who sometimes appropriated as much as 90 per cent of the crops.

On the pretext of encouraging colonization, exemption from land taxes was made in favour of a great number of these big landholders.

After securing the land at no cost whatsoever, the landholders obtained manpower for nothing or next to nothing. The Administration supplied them with numbers of convicts who worked for nothing, or used its machinery to recruit workers for them who were paid starvation wages. If the Annamese did not come in sufficient numbers or if they showed discontent, violence was then resorted to : landholders seized the mayors and notables of villages, cudgelled and tortured them until these unfortunates had signed a contract, pledging themselves to supply the required number of workers.

Besides this temporal power, there are spiritual 'saviours' who, while preaching the virtue of poverty to the Annamese, are no less zealous in seeking to enrich themselves through the sweat and blood of the natives. In Cochin-China alone, the 'Sainte Mission Apostolique' on its own possesses one fifth of the ricefields in the region. Though not taught in the Bible, the method of obtaining these lands was very simple : usury and corruption. The Mission took advantage of the years when crops failed to lend money to peasants, obliging them to pawn their lands as a guarantee. The rate of interest being usurious, the Annamese could not pay off their debts at the due time ; as a result, all pledged lands fell into the possession of the Mission. The more or less generous governors to whom the mother country entrusted the destiny of Indo-China were generally dolts or blackguards. It was enough for the Mission to have in its hands certain secret, personal and compromising papers to be able to frighten them and

obtain from them whatever it wanted. In this way, one Governor General conceded to the Mission 7,000 hectares of river land belonging to natives who were thus at one stroke reduced to beggary.

From this brief survey, one can see that behind a mask of democracy, French imperialism has transplanted in Annam the whole cursed mediaeval regime, including the salt tax ; and that the Annamese peasant is crucified on the bayonet of capitalist civilization and on the Cross of prostituted Christianity.

La Vie Ouvrière, January 4, 1924

CHINESE PEASANT CONDITIONS

China is an essentially agricultural country, 85 per cent of its population being peasants. They can be divided into four categories : big landlords, middle landlords, small landlords, and poor peasants and agricultural workers.

In that country there are from 250 to 300 big landlords possessing each more than 10,000 mou (42) of land. Most of them are big mandarins or nobles. About 30,000 landlords each possess more than 1,000 mou, and 300,000 more than 100 mou.

The social conditions of small landlords possessing from 10 to 100 mou are rather complex and fluid. With the same quantity of land, a peasant can be either an exploiter, exploited or a 'neuter'.

If his family is large enough to till the land on its own, the peasant is 'neuter'.

If his family is not large enough the peasant is obliged to lease the portion of land he cannot afford to work : thus he becomes an exploiter.

If his family is too large, in order to meet his needs, the peasant is obliged to rent, besides the land he owns,

other landlords' land ; thus he is proletarianized and becomes exploited.

According to information given by the Ministry of Agriculture, in 1918, 43,935,478 families were in this unstable situation.

There are two systems of share-cropping : fixed and conditional. With the first system the small landlord or the poor peasant rents lands, paying a sum of money for a fixed period. If it is a bumper crop the tenant-farmer gains no big profit, because the landlord has worked things out well and never leases his land at a loss. On the other hand, if it is a bad crop, the tenant farmer is completely ruined, whereas the landlord loses nothing.

With conditional share-cropping the landlord takes from 35 to 50 per cent of each harvest.

The Chinese agrarian system being one of parcelling, almost all peasants, however poor they may have been, in former times owned a small patch of land which allowed them '*to procure incense sticks for the ancestral altar*'. However, at present many of them have absolutely nothing, not even '*a piece of ground in which to drive a nail*'. Their hands are their only wealth. To earn their bowl of rice, they hire themselves out as servants or as seasonal workers. Seasonal workers have neither fixed wages, nor regular work. After the harvest is completed, they go into the town or go fishing. Adult servants earn between 25 and 40 dollars a year, besides being clothed and fed. Children employed as cowherds earn from three to five dollars a year.

The invasion of foreign capitalists upsets the balance of prices between manufactured goods and products of the

soil. The peasant must always sell his rice or potatoes at a cheap price to pay for his implements which are now much more expensive than before. With the coming of capitalism, the landlord's traditional and patriarchal spirit disappears and is replaced by a fierce craving for gain. Spurred by the example of his colleagues in the towns, the landlord tends to grab more and more land. Many land exploitation companies are founded, covering immense domains and driving out a multitude of small peasants. Companies such as the Fu Li Land Reclamation Co. Ltd., own more than 300,000-mou of land.

Floods, typhoons, famine and civil wars are just so many causes of poverty for the peasant.

The corrupted bureaucracy of officialdom is also partly responsible. The government tried to improve agriculture by founding experimental stations. As soon as they were created, these establishments became pickings for the mandarins, instead of being institutions serving the people.

Militarism is another scourge. All the Napoleons, big and small, enrich themselves and enrich their partners and hangers-on with the sweat of the peasants who yearly pay in taxes about 225,000,000 dollars. Taxes weigh more heavily on the small peasants than on the rich ones because the latter are in general officials or friends of officials.

Lastly, the primitive method of working and the backward education contribute further to aggravating the conditions of the toiling masses. In 1918, more than 15,500,000 peasants and workers deserted the countryside, by their presence swelling the ranks of those exploited in the towns, and the army of unemployed.

To remedy all this, our Chinese comrades must vigorously wage an intensive campaign for the education of the masses, so that they may become fully aware of their strength and their rights, and thus be able to apply the slogan, 'Land to the Tiller.'

La Vie Ouvrière, January 4, 1924

LENIN AND THE COLONIAL PEOPLES

'Lenin is dead!' This news struck the people like a bolt from the blue. It spread to every corner of the fertile plains of Africa and the green fields of Asia. It is true that the black or yellow people do not yet know clearly who Lenin is or where Russia is. The imperialists have deliberately kept them in ignorance. Ignorance is one of the chief mainstays of capitalism. But all of them, from the Vietnamese peasants to the hunters in the Dahomey forests, have secretly learnt that in a faraway corner of the earth there is a nation that has succeeded in overthrowing its exploiters and is managing its own country with no need for masters and Governors General. They have also heard that that country is Russia, that there are courageous people there, and that the most courageous of them all was Lenin. This alone was enough to fill them with deep admiration and warm feelings for that country and its leader.

But this was not all. They also learned that that great leader, after having liberated his own people, wanted to liberate other peoples too. He called upon the white peoples to help the yellow and black peoples to free themselves from the foreign aggressors' yoke, from all foreign aggressors, Governors General Residents, etc. And to reach that goal, he mapped out a definite programme.

At first they did not believe that anywhere on earth could there exist such a man and such a programme. But later they heard, although vaguely, of the Communist Parties, of the organization called the Communist International which is fighting for the exploited peoples, for all the exploited peoples including themselves. And they learned that Lenin was the leader of that organization.

And this alone was enough to make these peoples — though their cultural standard is low, they are grateful folk and of goodwill — whole-heartedly respect Lenin. They look upon Lenin as their liberator. 'Lenin is dead, so what will happen to us? Will there be other courageous and generous people like Lenin who will not spare their time and efforts in concerning themselves with our liberation?' This is what the oppressed colonial peoples are wondering.

As for us, we are deeply moved by this irretrievable loss and share the common mourning of all the peoples with our brothers and sisters. But we believe that the Communist International and its branches, which include branches in colonial countries, will succeed in implementing the lessons and teachings the leader has left behind for us. To do what he advised us, is that not the best way to show our love for him?

In his life-time he was our father, teacher, comrade and adviser. Nowadays, he is the bright star showing us the way to the socialist revolution.

Eternal Lenin will live forever in our work.

WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN THE FAR EAST

Osaka is one of the big Japanese industrial centres remaining undamaged in the last earthquake. The misfortune of other Japanese turned out to be the good fortune of the manufacturers of this town who are at present enjoying an unprecedented prosperity. Despite the rapid increase in the cost of living which weighs heavily on the workers' meagre budget, wages have remained the same as before the catastrophe. Placed in this impossible situation and in face of the employers' refusal to bring about the required improvements, the workers in the cotton mills have been on strike since the end of November.

The strike demands are :

- 1 — A 20 per cent increase in wages ;
- 2 — A reduction in the price of food supplied by the mill ;
- 3 — Improvement of the dining-halls and bath-rooms ;
- 4 — Payment of 50 per cent of wages to workers absent through sickness ;
- 5 — Reinstatement of workers recently dismissed.

Recently, the workers of the Oriental Hemp and Nagosi companies obtained an increase in wages through a

strike. Those of the Senchu Co. obtained the same advantage as soon as the decision to strike was communicated to the managing staff. Other firms resisted, alleging that, in spite of the accumulation of orders, they had not been making big profits because of the increased price of raw materials ; and that, on the other hand, having insufficient raw cotton, they are in no way worried by the strike.

In fact, they are seized with panic. They have had the town occupied by the local police, reinforced by others from neighbouring towns. They have tried to weaken the movement by having the Secretary General of the Labour Federation and a great number of militants and demonstrators arrested. The result of the bosses' attempts is nil because the strike remains as energetically led as it was on the first day, and the workers are resolved to go on struggling till the end.

Electricians and mechanics have gone on strike in solidarity. The workers in State factories have promised to use every means to support their comrades in struggle. Thus supported, the strikers are full of enthusiasm and have no doubt of victory.

In the struggle between capital and labour in the Far East, odd things occur which are impossible to understand in Western countries, but which are done most seriously out there. For instance, to hinder its workers from joining their comrades on strike, the Kishiwada Company simply had the exits bolted. The Knawada electrical engineering works, unable to come to an agreement with its personnel on the question of wages, decided on a lock-out. But before dismissing the workers, it paid them four whole days' wages and two days' pay as compensation !

Anti-militarist strike

With a view to breaking the organization that the workers have just set up, the management of the Shuikao-shun mines (China) sent for General Chao's soldiers. Immediately on arrival, the latter began to occupy the workers' club. To protest against this action of the soldiery, three thousand miners spontaneously went on strike. They surrounded the soldiers and tried to disarm them. The soldiers shot at them, wounding many strikers. The thing went further than had been desired by the management, who then tried to preach law and order. But the miners answered that they would resume their work only when compensation had been granted to the victims, and their demands — made up of nine clauses — had been accepted.

La Vie Ouvrière, January 25, 1924

INDO-CHINA AND THE PACIFIC

The seat of the next world conflagration — France wants to improve its colonies — How the French colonies are vegetating — The intensified exploitation of the Annamese

At first sight, it seems that the question of Indo-China and the Pacific is of no concern to European workers. But it must be remembered that :

a — During the revolution, the Allies, not having succeeded in their attack on Russia from the West, tried to attack it from the East. And the Pacific powers, the United States and Japan, landed their troops in Vladivostock, while France sent Indochinese regiments to Siberia to support the Whites.

b — At present, international capitalism draws all its vital force from the colonial countries. It finds there raw materials for its factories, investments for its capital, markets for its products, cheap replenishments for its labour army, and above all native soldiers for its counter-revolutionary army. One day, revolutionary Russia will have to cope with this capitalism. It is thus necessary for the Russian comrades to realize the full strength and all the immediate and long-term manœuvres of their adversary.

c — Having become the centre of attraction for imperialist ambitions, the Pacific area and the neighbouring colonies are likely in the future to become the seat of a new world conflagration, whose proletariat will have to bear the burden.

These statements of fact prove that the Pacific problem will concern all proletarians in general.

Therefore, to reconstruct France ruined by an imperialist war, the Minister of French Colonies has worked out a plan for developing the colonies. This plan aims to exploit the resources of colonized countries for the benefit of the colonizing country. This plan states that Indo-China must help the other colonies in the Pacific to intensify their production so that in their turn, they too can be useful to the mother country. If the plan were carried out, it would necessarily lead to the depopulation and impoverishment of Indo-China.

Lately, however, the Government Council of Indo-China, despite the resistance of Annamese opinion, unanimously voted for the carrying out of the plan. To understand the importance of this unanimity, it is useful to know that this Council is composed of the Governor General of Indo-China, the General Commander-in-Chief of the troops in Indo-China and about thirty high ranking French civil servants, as well as five native mandarins, tools of the Governor. And all these gentlemen pretend to act for Indo-China and in the interests of the Annamese people. Imagine Eskimos or Zulus deciding the fate of a European people.

According to an official avowal, the colonies in the Pacific are afflicted with debility, and are living — if we can call it living — at a slower and slower rate. The truth

is that populous islands are being entirely depopulated, in a short time, by alcohol and forced labour. Fifty years ago, the Marquesas had more than 20,000 souls, but now have only 1,500 weak and debilitated inhabitants. Tahiti had its population reduced by 25 per cent in ten years. From these declining populations, French imperialism has further taken more than 1,500 men to serve as cannon-fodder during the war. This rapid extinction of a race seems unbelievable. However, it is a fact to be observed in many colonies. (In the regions of the Congo, populations of 40,000 inhabitants fell to 30,000 in the space of twenty years. Saint Pierre-et-Miquelon Island had 6,500 inhabitants in 1902; in 1922 this colony had only 3,900, etc.).

Most islands in the French Pacific have been yielded to concessionary companies which rob the natives of their land and make them work as slaves. Here is an example showing how the native workers are treated. Two hundred mother-of-pearl divers were sent by force by the French Company of Oceania to plantations 800 miles from their native districts. (It is as if tailors were sent to work in mines). They were penned up in a small schooner fitted up for ten passengers and lacking any life-saving equipment, and embarked without being allowed to see their wives and children. For two years, these unfortunate toilers were kept prisoner in the company's gaol. Many were harshly treated. Others died.

Add to this inhuman exploitation, the immorality of the rascals to whom French imperialism entrusts the administration of these islands, and you will see in all its beauty the regime of exploitation and oppression which is leading the colonized countries in the Pacific to death and extinction.

Imperialism has now reached a degree of almost scientific perfection. It uses white proletarians to conquer the proletarians of the colonies. Then it hurls the proletarians of one colony against those of another. Finally it relies on the proletarians of the colonies to rule white proletarians. Senegalese had the sad distinction of having helped French militarism to massacre their brothers of the Congo, the Sudan, Dahomey and Madagascar. Algerians fought in Indo-China. Annamese were garrisoned in Africa. And so on. During the great slaughter, more than one million colonial peasants and workers were brought to Europe to massacre white peasants and workers. Only recently, French soldiers in the Ruhr were surrounded by native soldiers, and native light infantry were sent against German strikers. Almost half of the French army is composed of natives, to the number of about 300,000.

Beyond this military usefulness, capitalism uses these colonies for the most skilful economic exploitation. It is often noticed that a decrease in wages in some regions in France and in some trades, is always preceded by an increase in the proportion of colonial labour. The natives are employed as strike-breakers. Capitalism now uses one colony as a tool for exploiting another; this is the case of Indo-China and the Pacific area. Indo-China, despite the noisy untruths of the officials, is exhausted. During 1914-1918, almost 100,000 Annamese (official number: 97,903 men) were dragged from their homes to be sent to Europe. Although deprived of so many hands for production, Indo-China was obliged to send, for the defence of its oppressors, more than 500,000 tons of edible grains. Hundreds of millions of francs were raked off in 'victory loans'. Each year, the Annamese sweat blood to yield up about 450,000

francs, a sum which is almost entirely used to fatten spongers. Moreover, Indo-China is responsible for big military expenses, elegantly called a 'filial contribution' by the Minister of Colonies.

It is from this oppressed, weakened and emaciated country that millions of piastres and several thousand men (40,000 to begin with) are further going to be wrung to satisfy the insatiable appetites of the concessionaries and the personal ambitions of a gang of unscrupulous politicians.

It is not enough to demoralize the whole Annamese race with alcohol and opium. It is not enough to take 40,000 'volunteers' yearly for the glory of militarism. It is not enough to have turned a people of 20 million souls into one big sponge to be squeezed by money-grubbers. We are, on top of all this, to be endowed with slavery.

It is not only the fate of the proletariat in Indo-China and the Pacific area, but also that of the international proletariat, which is threatened by these imperialist actions. Japan commands the telegraphic stations on Yap Island. The United States is spending millions of dollars on improving the turret-guns of its warships in the Pacific. England will turn Singapore into a naval base. France finds it necessary to build a Pacific Empire.

Since the Washington Conference (43), colonial rivalries have become sharper and sharper, imperialist follies greater and greater, and political conflicts more and more unavoidable. Wars have been launched over India, Africa and Morocco. Other wars may break out over the Pacific area if the proletariat is not watchful.

THE U. S. S. R. AND THE COLONIAL PEOPLES

Colonialism is a leech with two suckers one of which sucks the metropolitan proletariat and the other that of the colonies. If we want to kill this monster, we must cut off both suckers at the same time. If only one is cut off, the other will continue to suck the blood of the proletariat, the animal will continue to live and the cut-off sucker will grow again. The Russian revolution has grasped this truth clearly. That is why it is not satisfied with making fine platonic speeches and drafting 'humanitarian' resolutions in favour of oppressed peoples, but it teaches them to struggle; and helps them spiritually, as proclaimed by Lenin in his theses on the colonial question. To the Baku Congress (44), 21 Eastern nations sent delegates. Representatives of Western workers' parties also participated in the work of this congress. For the first time the proletariat of the conquering Western States and that of the subject Eastern countries fraternally joined hands and deliberated in common on the best means to defeat their common enemy : imperialism.

Following this historic congress, despite internal and external difficulties, revolutionary Russia has never hesitated to come to the help of peoples awakened by its heroic and

victorious revolution. One of its first important acts was the founding of the University of the East.

Today, this university has 1,022 students, including 151 girls and 895 communists. Their social composition is as follows : 547 peasants, 265 workers and 210 proletarian intellectuals.

If account is taken of the fact that Eastern countries are almost exclusively agricultural, the high percentage of students of peasant origin can readily be understood. In India, Japan, and especially in China, it is the intellectuals faithful to the working class who lead the latter in struggle ; this explains the relatively large number of intellectuals among the students at the University. The relatively low number of worker students is due to the fact that industry and commerce in Eastern countries — naturally excepting Japan — are still undeveloped. Moreover, the presence of 75 pupils from the age of ten to 16 years must be noted.

One hundred and fifty professors are responsible for giving courses in social science, mathematics, historical materialism, the history of the workers' movement, natural science, the history of revolutions, political economy, etc. Young people of 62 nationalities are fraternally united in the class-rooms.

The University has ten large buildings. It also has a cinema which is put at the students' disposal free on Thursdays and Sundays; the other days of the week, it operates on behalf of other organizations. Two libraries containing about 47,000 books help the young revolutionaries to make thorough studies and to train their minds. Each nationality or 'group' has its own library composed of books and publications in the mother tongue. The reading-room, artistically decorated by the students, has a

wealth of newspapers and periodicals. The students themselves publish a newspaper, the sole copy of which is posted on a big board by the door of the reading-room. Students who are ill are admitted to the University hospital. There is a sanatorium in the Crimea for the benefit of students who need rest. The Soviets have allotted to the University two camps composed of nine buildings each for holidays. Each camp has a centre where the students can learn cattle breeding. 'We already have 30 cows and 50 pigs,' said the 'agrarian secretary' of the University with pride. The 100 hectares of land allotted to these camps are cultivated by the students themselves. During their holidays and outside working hours, they help the peasants in their labour. One of these camps was, by the way, formerly the property of a Grand Duke. It is a memorable sight to see from the top of the tower, adorned with a grand ducal crown, the red flag fluttering, and in 'His Excellency's' entertainment room, the young Korean and Armenian peasants thoroughly enjoying their games.

The students of the University are fed, clothed and lodged free. Each of them receives six gold roubles per month as pocket-money.

To instil into the students a true idea of children's education, the University has a model crèche and a day-nursery looking after 60 small children.

The yearly expenses of the University amount to 561,000 gold roubles.

The 62 nationalities represented at the University form a 'Commune'. Its chairman and functionaries are elected every three months by all the students.

A student delegate takes part in the economic and administrative management of the University. All must

regularly and in turn work in the kitchen, the library, the club, etc. All 'misdemeanours' and disputes are judged and settled by an elected tribunal in the presence of all comrades. Once a week, the 'Commune' holds a meeting to discuss the international political and economic situation. From time to time, meetings and evening parties are organized where the amateur artists introduce the art and culture of their country.

The fact that the communists not only treat the 'inferior natives of the colonies' like brothers, but that they get them to participate in the political life of the country, is highly characteristic of the 'barbarity' of the Bolsheviks. Treated in their native country as 'submissive subjects' or 'protégés', having no other right but that to pay taxes, the Eastern students, who are neither electors nor eligible for election in their own country, from whom the right even to express their political opinion is withdrawn, in the Soviet Union take part in the election of the Soviets and have the right to send their representatives to the Soviets. Let our brothers of the colonies who vainly seek a change of nationality make a comparison between bourgeois democracy and proletarian democracy.

These students have suffered themselves and have witnessed the sufferings of others. All have lived under the yoke of 'high civilization', all have been victims of exploitation and oppression by foreign capitalists. Moreover, they passionately long to acquire knowledge and to study. They are serious and full of enthusiasm. They are entirely different from the frequenters of the boulevards of the Latin Quarter (45), the Eastern students in Paris, Oxford and Berlin. It can be said without exaggeration that under the roof of this University is the future of the colonial peoples.

The colonial countries of the Near and Far East, stretching from Syria to Korea, cover an extent of more than 15 million square kilometres and have more than 1,200 million inhabitants. All these immense countries are now under the yoke of capitalism and imperialism. Although their considerable numbers should be their strength, these submissive peoples have never yet made any serious attempts to free themselves from this yoke. Not yet having realized the value of international solidarity, they have not known how to unite for the struggle. Relationships between their countries are not yet established as they are among the peoples of Europe and America. They possess gigantic strength and do not yet realize it. The University of the East assembling all the young, active and intelligent leaders of the colonized countries, has fulfilled a great task, namely :

a — It teaches to the future vanguard militants the principles of class struggle, confused in their minds by race conflicts and patriarchal customs ;

b — It establishes between the proletarian vanguard of the colonies a close contact with the Western proletariat, thus preparing the way for the close and effective co-operation which will alone ensure the final victory of the international working class ;

c — It teaches the colonized people, hitherto separated from one another, to know one another and to unite, by creating the bases of a future union of Eastern countries, one of the wings of the proletarian revolution ;

d — It sets the proletariat of colonialist countries an example of what they can and must do in favour of their oppressed brothers.

WHAT FRENCH IMPERIALISM IS CAPABLE OF

Some Hindus, whose only crime was to have struggled for the independence of their country, were pursued by His Britannic Majesty's police. Some took refuge in the French possessions in India (46). They were counting on the right of asylum. The French colonial authorities have just expelled them.

It is not the first time that French imperialism has been the accomplice of other imperialists, and has committed infamies of this kind. During the war, while the Blacks of Africa were being massacred on French soil to defend 'Civilization', 'Humanity', etc., France was in league with Italy to forbid the Tripolitaniens, pursued by Italian bandits, from seeking refuge on Tunisian territory. And here is what happened :

A thousand Tripolitaniens, old men, young men, women and children, pushing before them their poor herds of cattle, came one fine day during the war to use their right to seek refuge in Tunisia. At the border, French troops, with the help of machine-guns, barred the way to them. The fugitives were faced with this horrible alternative : either to be massacred by the French or to draw back to the Sahara to die of hunger and thirst. They adopted a

third solution. All of them lay down upon the sand and died slowly on the spot, under the eyes of 'our' frontier-guards.

Here is what Mme. Claire Geniaux wrote about this tragedy in the newspaper *l'Universel* :

' Through telescopes, our officers day after day followed the phases of the slow death of these simple souls, to whom the Latin nations had come to bring the blessings of civilization. The babies died first at their mothers' exhausted breasts. The women were not much longer in succumbing. In their turn the old men, already reduced to a painful thinness, were covered by the sand, and soon the younger men themselves gave no more sign of life. When all these 'rebels' were believed to be dead, Doctors Natal and Conseil noticed some little girls who seemed still to be moving beside their parents' rigid corpses. In the night, they went up to them and observed that the hearts of these charming brightly clad little creatures who, during the first days had frolicked about like baby goats, were still beating, if very feebly. Having hidden them in their ambulance, they were happy to be able to revive them. Moved by their suffering, their grace and their charm, these doctors kept them as servants, the only survivors of a tribe of a thousand Tripolitanians.'

This heart-breaking testimony does not come from a revolutionary woman.

French imperialism does not hesitate to commit the most abominable crimes.

THE FAILURE OF FRENCH COLONIZATION

The last reshuffling of Poincaré's (47) ministry did not fail to have repercussions in the colonies. France always pretends that it is the first colonial power that has *known how* to colonize. M. Albert Sarraut too, has always boasted that he is the first Frenchman to know how to develop the colonies. For this development, he demanded 4,000 million francs. To find this sum, he wrote a book of 656 pages. Now, this great minister has just been expelled from his Party for having voted for his boss Poincaré. And the ungrateful Poincaré, in his turn, has just thrown the great minister out. Thus the latter has been ousted from his post, without having his millions or his colonies developed. He has been replaced by a soldier, I beg your pardon, an 'unknown colonel' (48). This expulsion shows us, once again, that colonization has gone bankrupt.

While waiting for something better, the French taxpayer pays, every year, more than 237 million francs (1923 budget) for his Ministry of Colonies, and more than 1,172,186,000 francs for the colonial troops and expenditure in Morocco, that is to say 1,409,186,000 francs.

Each Frenchman — rich or poor, old man or infant, man or woman — is thus obliged to pay into the 'civilizing mission' fund more than 36 francs a year. And for

whose benefit? It is not for his own, that is to say, the taxpayer's. And still less for that of France. We shall explain this a little further on.

In 1922, for example, the general trade of the French colonies amounted to 4,358,105,000 francs (2,104,458 for imports and 2,253,647,000 for exports). Out of this sum, the traffic between France and its colonies amounted to only 1,585 million francs, while that between the colonies and foreign countries amounted to 2,773,105,000 francs.

Concerning Indo-China, the figure is still more eloquent. Of the 5,484 ships registered in Indochinese ports and which carried 7,152,910 tons of goods, there were only 779 French ships carrying 1,464,852 tons, compared with 789 English vessels carrying 1,575,079 tons.

Out of 807,729,362 francs worth of imports in 1921, France had only 247,602,029 francs.

France and its colonies had only 169,187,125 francs out of an export figure of 1,284,003,885 francs.

Is this to the natives' advantage? You will see.

In 1923, Indo-China exported:

1,439,955 tons of rice
622,035 tons of coal
65,413 tons of cement
61,917 tons of maize
312,467 quintals of fish
27,690 tons of zinc
19,565 head of cattle
7,927 tons of sugar
6,860 tons of copra (49)
46,229 tons of rubber
7,158 tons of dyestuffs

3,617 tons of cotton
30,760 quintals of pepper
21,492 quintals of beans
2,600 tons of hides
12,798 quintals of rattan
12,319 quintals of lac
8,499 quintals of coffee
6,084 quintals of tea
480,883 kilos of cinnamon
117,241 kilos of oil of Chinese anise (50)
17,943 kilos of silk.

Well, do you know what is the native's share in this gigantic trade in the product of his land and his labour, going on under his nose? He had all told 542 sailing boats displacing 12,231 tons! According to this outline, we can conclude that French colonization is only practised in favour of a gang of adventurers, dishonest and ineffectual politicians of the mother country, alcohol and opium racketeers, unscrupulous profiteers, and dubious financiers. The proof? Here it is: the Bank of Indo-China had a turnover of only 24 million francs in 1876, but 145 in 1885, 222 in 1895, 906 in 1905, 2,005 in 1917, 6,718 in 1921.

And its profits have increased from 126,000 francs in 1876 to 22,854,000 francs in 1921!

Who gets them?

La Correspondance Internationale, No 26 1924

THE GLORIES OF FRENCH CIVILIZATION

When the representation of colonial people in the French Parliament was being mooted, M. Paul Tapponnier said in the Chamber of Deputies, "France is generous and her kindness is felt at all times. There is nothing to compare with French civilization." We sincerely thank this deputy for having given us the opportunity of citing, apart from her obstinacy in persisting in civilizing the natives with guns and bayonets, some of France's imperishable virtues.

Politeness : Colonial custom has it that every native, regardless of rank, age and sex, must humbly bow to a European. In Indo-China, Madagascar and other colonies, the native people are manhandled, beaten and jailed for having overlooked this mark of respect due to the prestige of the civilizers. Only recently an administrator at Medjana (Algeria) had some local natives arrested who, absorbed in their work, did not notice the august stroller and failed to bow to him.

Liberality : In Indo-China, on the occasion of a visit by a Joffre⁽⁵¹⁾, or Clemenceau's birthday, or the inauguration of a monument in honour of 'The Dead for the Fatherland', or the reception of an envoy of the Republic,

the administrative service of Indo-China raises a 'subscription'. Here is what happens : On the basis of the density of population and the tax-rolls in the province, the Administrator determines the amount needed for the festival, multiplies it by three, four or five, fixes the date of payment, summons the notables of the village, and says : 'I'm in need of money. Here is the sum I want, and the date of payment assigned'. Do what you can. If not...' In order not to be jailed, the notables 'do their best'. The multiplicand of the compulsory subscription is used to 'pay homage to great men', while the product of the multiplication is pocketed by M. Administrator. The peasants suffer for these additional taxes so often levied on them.

Generosity : The slogan 'Germany shall pay' has been succeeded by 'The colonies shall pay'. The mother country asks the colonies to devote all their forces, all their abilities, all their will, all their resources to help her restore her economy, while she has just banned the export of Alsatian potash to the colonies, keeping this product strictly for French agriculture.

Equality : French citizens serve eighteen months in the army while colonial people are compelled to serve three or four years with the flag under whose folds spirits, opium, corvées, portorage, native status and spoliation are introduced into their countries. While the natives are exiled, deported and jailed on flimsy pretexts, planters and administrators accused of assassination, bribery, dereliction of duty and theft enjoy a brilliant career. I will not speak of Darles, State Councillor of Cochinchina, or Baudoin, Governor General of Indo-China ; their stories are already two or three years old. I only wish to mention the two

officials in Algeria who, publicly accused last April of committing forgery, of embezzlement of public funds and other crimes, were acquitted. I would also like to speak of the European councillors in the same colony who were not unduly worried while notoriously recognized as authors or accomplices in the assassination of a native.

Freedom : 'Work is Freedom' says a Gallic proverb. That is why the natives are compelled to do forced labour. Recently, the French Senate highly praised the statement made by the Governor General of A.O.F. (French East Africa) in which it was said that "one must beware of dreams as much as of formulae: cotton production is a government concern, and, to this end, the natives must be compelled to grow cotton. By this means, France can receive from her colonies 100,000 tons of cotton per year. This method was applied in French East Africa for cocoa. It was applied in 1916 on the Ivory Coast for the supply of 600 tons of cotton".

With all this, France, of course, remains the liberator of mankind and the champion of the abolition of slavery.

Humanitarianism : 'France is the protectress of the weak and educator of the backward', said M. Boisneuf, a Negro deputy. 'France is the champion of civilization and bearer of freedoms', said Michelet (52). 'Her colonial policy is based on humanitarianism and altruism', said Sarraut, past and future satrap of Indo-China. The *Revue de l'Aéronautique Militaire* (Air Force Review) has just told us once again how humanitarianism is understood in the colonies. Marshal Lyautey, Resident-General in Morocco, Commander-in-Chief of T.O.M. (Overseas troops), ordered the use of poison gas and tear-gas projectiles, because... but let the review speak for itself :

'Because our goal is obviously not to kill as many dissidents as possible, but to bring them quickly to submission...'

It is owing to this great concern that, since 1919, that is following the victory of 'law' and 'justice' in the world, 800 French soldiers and 5,000 Moors have been killed in Morocco, on the occasion of the annexation to France of 72,700 hectares of land from the Moroccans — to 'France ten million square kilometres in area and one hundred million people strong'.

LENIN AND THE PEOPLES OF THE EAST

If in the eyes of the proletarians of the West, Lenin is a chief, a leader, a master, to the peoples of the East, he is still greater and more noble, if I may venture to say so.

It is not only his genius, but his disdain of luxury, his love of labour, the purity of his private life, his simplicity, in a word, it is the grandeur and beauty of this master which exert an enormous influence upon the Asian peoples and irresistibly draw their hearts towards him.

Accustomed to being treated as backward and inferior people, they consider Lenin as the embodiment of universal brotherhood. Not only are they grateful to him, but they love him tenderly. To him, they show a veneration which is almost filial devotion. One had to see the students of the University of the East, eyes red with weeping, the young folk there who sobbed bitterly at the news of Lenin's death, to understand their love towards him.

His death was a universal mourning. The Kuomintang (the people's party in power in South China) was in session when it heard the news. All delegates stood up spontaneously and the session was closed in sign of mourning. On Sun Yat-sen's suggestion, the Canton government ordered

the closure of all theatres for three days. The flags of office buildings were at half-mast. Cultural, political and economic bodies in Peking and in the provinces, especially students' associations and workers' organizations, commemorated the great revolutionary with dignity. On this occasion, they unanimously passed a resolution in favour of the immediate recognition of the Soviet government. The students decided to erect a statue of Lenin in the biggest public park in Peking.

The Chinese government sent cables of sympathy.

Lenin is also mourned by women. In China as in all Eastern countries, the women are very little informed of world events, to which they are almost indifferent. However, they wore mourning for Lenin's death. Thus, the demonstrations by Chinese women in this sorrowful circumstance have an historic significance. On the one hand, they testify to the fact that the women of the East are awakening ; on the other, they show that the great master is understood and loved by everyone, from the commonest to the most advanced people. As proof of this, here is a translation of an appeal made by a girl student, carried by the *Shanghai Women's Magazine* :

' Sisters,

' Ever since capitalism has existed, the whole social structure has been subject to its disastrous influence. Things which should belong to all, because produced by all, become the privilege of a few. Economic oppression enslaves men ; it transforms women into chattels subject to the mercy of men !

' For centuries, how many millions of people have been tied down in this way ? How many millions of women have been sacrificed ? When World War was raging, when

millions of innocent people who longed for life were sent to die, Lenin stirred up the Russian proletariat and organized the Soviets in spite of the hardship and difficulties encountered.

'Not only has he freed the men and women of his country, but he has shown the way to all disinherited people in the world. Notwithstanding the Whites' attacks from within and the blockade by capitalism from without, with his strong will, Lenin saved his compatriots from utter poverty and suffering, and showed the banner of the 'International' to all oppressed people.

'Does not all this merit that we should bow down to his great memory ?

'Must not the twenty-first of January remain forever a day of mourning for all toiling people ?

'Russia is advancing towards prosperity. However, there is still a long road to travel and much work to do to reach a genuine peace. Mankind is awakening, but it must struggle further to complete its emancipation. And now, our master has suddenly been taken from us without being able to see the completion of his work.

'Can people of good heart refrain from weeping ? Must not oppressed men and women take up the burden he has left behind and march forward ? Forward !

'Dear sisters,

'Let us commemorate with dignity the memory of the man who, all his life, fought against the poverty and oppression of mankind, and who until the day of his death struggled for the people of the world !'

Le Paria, July 27, 1924

BOLSHEVIST 'BARBARITY'

The Soviets have put into effect the following programme :

A — Free and compulsory education, general and polytechnical, for children of both sexes, up to 17 years of age ; specialized and vocational education from this age.

B — Food, clothes, shoes and standard goods to be at the charge of the State.

C — Founding of a network of pre-school establishments, crèches, kindergartens, homes, etc., aimed at improving social education, and freeing women.

D — Active participation of the working people in public education, development of 'Councils of Public Education', putting at the State's disposal all citizens having a primary education, etc.

E — In higher education, granting of scholarships and various privileges to poor students, and chiefly to workers and peasants, so that they may have material means to go even to higher schools.

French 'civilization'

To spread the beneficent light of high civilization over the countries submitted to its motherly protection,

France has provided 8,007 schools for 40 million 'over-seas French'. I am not exaggerating. Here are the official statistics :

<i>Colonies</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Pupils</i>
French West Africa	12,000,000	290	12,000
French Equatorial Africa	5,000,000	100	4,000
Indo-China	19,000,000	2,965	148,000
Madagascar	3,000,000	789	78,000
Somaliland	64,000	2	250
Reunion Island	172,000	124	17,000
French India	270,000	52	9,000
West Indies	500,000	194	18,500
Guiana	54,000	23	2,000
New Caledonia	47,000	18	600

In Guadeloupe, 10,000 children have no schools. In 'French' Algeria, in 94 years, only 35,000 pupils out of a population of 5,000,000 have been able to receive an education by dribblets, whilst 695,000 little natives are condemned to ignorance. In Cambodia : 60 schools for 2,000,000 inhabitants ! In Cochin-China (French for more than half a century) : 51,000 pupils out of a population of 3,500,000 souls.

Fortunately, though we lack schools, France lavishes upon us brothels, opium-dens and bars.

Le Paria, No 29, September 1924.

LYNCHING

A little known aspect of American civilization

It is well known that the black race is the most oppressed and most exploited of the human family. It is well known that the spread of capitalism and the discovery of the New World had as an immediate result the rebirth of slavery which was, for centuries, a scourge for the Negroes and a bitter disgrace for mankind. What everyone does not perhaps know, is that after 65 years of so-called emancipation, American Negroes still endure atrocious moral and material sufferings, of which the most cruel and horrible is the custom of *lynching*.

The word lynching comes from Lynch. Lynch was the name of a planter in Virginia, a landlord and judge. Availing himself of the troubles of the War of Independence (53) he took the control of the whole district into his hands. He inflicted the most savage punishment, without trial or process of law, on loyalists and tories. Thanks to the slave-traders, the Ku-Klux-Klan and other secret societies, the illegal and barbarous practice of lynching is spreading and continuing widely in the States of the American Union. It has become more inhuman since the emancipation of the Blacks, and is especially directed at the latter.

Imagine a furious horde. Fists clenched, eyes bloodshot, mouths foaming, yells, insults, curses... This horde is transported with the wild delight of a crime to be committed without risk. They are armed with sticks, torches, revolvers, ropes, knives, scissors, vitriol, daggers, in a word with all that can be used to kill or wound.

Imagine in this human sea a flotsam of black flesh pushed about, beaten, trampled underfoot, torn, slashed, insulted, tossed hither and thither, bloodstained, dead.

The horde are the lynchers. The human rag is the Black, the victim.

In a wave of hatred and bestiality, the lynchers drag the Black to a wood or a public place. They tie him to a tree, pour kerosene over him, cover him with inflammable material. While waiting for the fire to be kindled, they smash his teeth, one by one. Then they gouge out his eyes. Little tufts of crinkly hair are torn from his head, carrying away with them bits of skin, baring a bloody skull. Little pieces of flesh come off his body, already contused from the blows.

The Black can no longer shout: his tongue has been swollen by a red hot iron. His whole body ripples, trembling, like a half-crushed snake. A slash with a knife: one of his ears falls to the ground... Oh! How black he is! How awful! And the ladies tear at his face...

'Light up,' shouts someone — 'Just enough to cook him slowly,' adds another.

The Black is roasted, browned, burnt. But he deserves to die twice instead of once. He is therefore hanged, or more exactly, what is left of his corpse is hanged. And all

those who were not able to help with the cooking applaud now.

Hurrah!

When everybody has had enough, the corpse is brought down. The rope is cut into small pieces which will be sold for three or five dollars each. Souvenirs and lucky charms quarrelled over by ladies.

'Popular justice', as they say over there, has been done. Calmed down, the crowd congratulate the 'organizers', then stream away slowly and cheerfully, as if after a feast, making appointments with one another for the next time.

While on the ground, stinking of fat and smoke, a black head, mutilated, roasted, deformed, grins horribly and seems to ask the setting sun, 'Is this civilization?'

Some statistics

From 1889 to 1919, 2,600 Blacks were lynched, including 51 women and girls and ten former Great War soldiers.

Among 78 Blacks lynched in 1919, 11 were burnt alive, three burnt after having been killed, 31 shot, three tortured to death, one cut into pieces, one drowned, and 11 put to death by various means.

Georgia heads the list with 22 victims, Mississippi State follows with 12. Both have also three lynched soldiers to their credit. Of 11 burnt alive, the first State has four and the second two. Out of 34 cases of systematic, pre-meditated and organized lynching, it is still Georgia that holds first place with five. Mississippi comes second with three.

Among the charges brought against the victims of 1919, we note :

One of having been a member of the League of Non-Partisans (independent farmers) ;

One of having distributed revolutionary publications ;

One of expressing his opinion on lynchings too freely ;

One of having criticized the clashes between Whites and Blacks in Chicago ;

One of having been known as a leader of the cause of the Blacks ;

One for not getting out of the way and thus frightening a white child who was in a motor-car.

In 1920, there were 50 lynchings, and in 1923, 28.

These crimes were all motivated by economic jealousy. Either the Negroes in the place were more prosperous than the Whites, or the black workers would not let themselves be exploited thoroughly. In all cases, the principal culprits were never troubled, for the simple reason that they were always incited, encouraged, spurred on, then protected, by the politicians, financiers and authorities, and above all by the reactionary press.

When a lynching was to take place or had taken place, the press seized upon it as a good occasion to increase the number of copies printed. It related the affair with a wealth of detail.

Not the slightest reproach to the criminals. Not a word of pity for the victims. Not a commentary.

The *New Orleans States* of June 26, 1919 published a head-line running right across the front page in letters five inches high : 'Today a Negro Will be Burnt by 3,000 Citizens'. And immediately underneath, in very small

print : 'Under a strong escort, the Kaiser has taken flight with the Crown Prince.'

The *Jackson Daily News* of the same date, published across the first two columns of its front page in big letters :

Negro J. H. to be Burnt
by the Crowd at Ellistown
This Afternoon at 5 p. m.

The newspaper only neglected to add, 'The whole population is earnestly invited to attend.' But the spirit is there.

A few details

'This evening at 7.40 p. m., J. H. was tortured with a red hot iron bar, then burnt... A crowd of more than 2,000 people... many women and children, were present at the incineration... After the Negro had been bound from behind, a fire was kindled. A little further away, another fire was kindled in which an iron bar was placed. When it was red hot, a man took it and applied it to the Black's body. The latter, terrified, seized the iron with his hands, and the air was immediately filled with the smell of burning flesh... The red hot iron having been applied to several parts of his body, his shouts and groans were heard as far away as in the town. After several minutes of torture, masked men poured petrol on him and set fire to the stake. The flames rose and enveloped the Negro who implored to be finished off with a shot. His supplications provoked shouts of derision.' *Chatanooga Times*, February 13, 1918.

'15,000 people, men, women and children, applauded when petrol was poured over the Negro and the fire lit. They struggled, shouted and pushed one another to get

nearer the Black... Two of them cut off his ears while the fire began to roast him.

'Another tried to cut off his heels... The crowd surged and changed places so that every one could see the Negro burn. When the flesh was entirely burnt, the bones laid bare and what had been a human being was but a smoking and deformed rag curling up in the flames, everyone was still there to look...' *Memphis Press*, May 22, 1917.

'... men of all social classes, women and children, were present at the scene. Many ladies of high society followed the crowd from outside the prison, others joined it from neighbouring terraces... When the Negro's corpse fell, the pieces of rope were hotly contended for.' *Vicheburg Evening Post*, May 4, 1919.

'... someone cut off his ears, another removed his sexual organ... He tried to cling to the rope, his fingers were cut off. While he was being hoisted to a tree, a giant of a man stabbed his neck; he received at least 25 wounds.

'... he was several times hoisted up, then pulled down into the brazier. Finally a man caught him in a lasso, the end of which was attached to a horse which dragged the corpse through the streets of Waco. The tree on which the hanging took place, was right under a window of the mayor's house. The latter looked on while the crowd was in action. All along the way, everyone took part in the mutilation of the Negro. Some struck him with shovels, pickaxes, bricks, sticks. The body was covered with wounds from head to foot. A shout of joy escaped from thousands of throats when the fire was kindled. Some time after, the corpse was hoisted up high in the air, so that everyone could look at it, which raised a storm of applause...' *Crisis*, July 1916.

White victims of lynching

It is not only the Blacks, but also the Whites who dare to defend them, such as Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe — author of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' — who are ill-treated. Elijah Lovejoy (54) was killed, John Brown (55) hanged. Thomas Beach (56) and Stephen Foster (57) were persecuted, attacked and imprisoned. Here is what Foster wrote from prison, 'When I look at my damaged limbs, I think that, to hold me, prison will not be necessary for much longer... These last 15 months, their cells have been opened to me four times, 24 times my compatriots have dragged me out of their churches, twice they have thrown me from the second floor of their houses, they have damaged my kidneys once; another time they tried to put me in irons; twice they have made me pay fines; once 10,000 people tried to lynch me, and dealt me 20 blows on my head, arms and neck...'

In 30 years, 708 Whites, including 11 women, have been lynched. Some for having organized strikes, others for having espoused the cause of the Blacks.

Among the collection of the crimes of American 'civilization', lynching has a place of honour.

La Correspondance Internationale, No 59, 1924

IMPERIALISTS AND CHINA

Events in China have two sides : the conflicts between Chinese generals, and the intervention of foreign powers. It is the latter which touches us most, because it determines the internal war and can have the most serious consequences.

Let us try to sum up the history of foreign interventions in the past in order to unravel the real cause, the main motive of the present intervention.

A few dates

- 1635, The King of England sent an envoy to ask for authorization to trade with China.
- 1830, The British Ambassador asked for authorization to import opium into China. The request was rejected by the Middle Empire.
- 1836, The British smuggled 20,280 crates of opium into China.
- 1839, Great Britain declared war upon China to force opium upon her (58).
- 1841, Hong Kong was conquered, and paid a war indemnity of 21 million dollars, six million of which represented the value of the destroyed opium.

- 1856, Great Britain launched a new war to enforce the legalization of the sale of opium and the opening of Chinese ports to foreign trade (59).
- 1860, The Anglo-French army occupied Peking. Concession : occupation of Victoria Island. Indemnity : 800 million taels of silver to France and 10 million pounds to Great Britain (60).
- 1874, Japan attacked China. Concession : renunciation of Chinese suzerainty over the island of Formosa and its colonization by Japan. Indemnity : 50 million taels of silver (61).
- 1876, War with Russia. Concession : territorial occupation. Indemnity : 900 million roubles.
- 1878, New British dispute. Concession : the right to extraterritoriality. Indemnity : 20 million taels of silver (62).
- 1885, France attacks (63). Concession of Chinese suzerainty over Annam, colonization of this country by France.
- 1895, Japan attacks. Concession : renunciation of Chinese suzerainty over Korea, and its colonization by Japan. Indemnity : 20 million taels of silver.
- 1895, Russia, France and Germany attack. Concession : right of construction of railway lines. Indemnity : 3,000 million taels of silver (64).
- 1897, German aggression. Occupation of Kiaochow, right to exploit mines (65).
- 1897, Russian aggression. Occupation of Port Arthur.
- 1897, British aggression. Occupation of Wei-Hai-Wei.
- 1898, French aggression. Right to install telegraphy in southern China.

1900, Armed intervention of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France, the United States, Italy, Austria and Japan (Boxer Rebellion).

Installation of foreign troops in Peking and in important ports. Indemnity: 450 million taels of silver. (66).

Since the Great War, the imperialists have replaced open and armed banditry (67) by veiled, diplomatic banditry. They are silently pillaging China, divided and unarmed as far as they are concerned, around the green baize table.

1919, The Versailles Treaty handed all German concessions in China over to Japan, though China was an allied country.

1922, The Washington Conference (68) ratified the hold of Great Britain, France, the United States, and Japan over Chinese revenues, excise, salt-taxes, etc.

1923, Diplomatic notes from their ambassadors claiming for France, Great Britain, the United States, Japan and Belgium the right to manage the Chinese railways (69).

September 1924, naval demonstrations by the said powers off Canton.

The situation in China

We have seen that, under different pretexts and by various means, the capitalist nations have intervened in the affairs of China only to achieve one unchanging result: to wrest from her territorial concessions and indemnities.

Now let us look at the economic and financial situation of this great country, possessor of an ancient civilization, which is the object of their desires.

Since 1895, China has contracted 16 loans the sum totals of which are:

902,000,000 francs
61,500,000 sterling
64,368,000 dollars
115,000,000 yen
1,763,000 Dutch crowns

Customs duties, taxes from its markets; receipts from its railways, income from its industry, liquor and tobacco duties, revenue from the Posts and Treasury, the salt-tax, etc., were used to cover these loans.

The map of China shows that almost all the important ports, strategic points, and modern production centres are occupied by foreigners. And the map does not tell everything. It does not show how far the influence of foreign capital extends, nor how far the artillery of the hirelings of foreign powers can carry.

Colonization of China

Despite all its weaknesses, and internal divisions, its 11,139,000 square kilometres are still too big a piece for the jaws of colonial imperialism to swallow at one gulp. And the brutal subjection of the 489,500,000 Chinese to the irons of colonial slavery cannot be carried out in one day. That is why China is being parcelled out: a slower but more prudent means.

Another factor is slowing down the international colonization of China: the rivalry between the imperialists themselves.

France, in possession of Indo-China, longs for control over South China. The expensive construction of the Tonking-Yunnanfu railway is proof of this.

Great Britain, which possesses Hong Kong, would content itself, for the moment at least, with an economic colonization; it already has control over almost all the sources of production. What would be the use of bothering itself with the military custody of an immense territory? But not for anything in the world will Great Britain let France become a big colonial power in Asia. And as awakened India begins to shake its economic yoke, British mercantilism must find compensation in China. Over-peopled Japan would be only too willing to take some Chinese provinces, which the United States does not want to allow; this would be dangerous for them. China appears to them as a market and a possible ally in a conflict with Japan.

The meaning of the present intervention

The imperialist aim in the present intervention is a double one. First of all, to get new concessions; then, and I think that this is the main point, to overthrow Sun Yat-sen. We know that the successive Governments of Peking always apply the same policy: within the country: corruption; outside it: passivity before the foreign imperialists.

Sun Yat-sen, 'father of the Chinese revolution', leader of the Canton government, has, on the contrary, always been faithful to his principles, even in the most difficult moments. The programme of his Party — the *Kuomintang* — is a reforming one. It contains clearly anti-imperialist and anti-militarist points. This Party declares itself resolutely linked together with the oppressed peoples of the colonies and with the international proletariat. It sympathizes with the Russian revolution: unpardonable

crime! French imperialism, oppressor of the Indochinese people, fears this troublesome neighbour whose subversive ideas might cross the frontier and infect her Annamese slaves. China has common frontiers with India and Korea. A united, free and powerful China would be the prologue to an independent Korea and a liberated India. Imperialist Britain and Japan cannot but become anxious. The danger, remote though it may be, conceived in its full breadth, is already real.

That is why today it is sought to liquidate Sun Yat-sen and his party, as yesterday efforts were made to strangle revolutionary Russia.

Possibilities of an armed intervention

Imperialist ultimatums come one after another. In Chinese waters, naval forces are being mobilized. Warships are being concentrated in Shanghai and the Yangtze estuary (70). Will there be a direct intervention? That is only a remote probability. In this new venture against the Chinese people, Great Britain is playing the leading part. Macdonald (71) will not dare to risk an open intervention. He will content himself with doing his best to help Sun Yat-sen's enemies. And the traditional tactics of British policy are continuing: waiting for the chestnuts to be pulled out of the fire.

Consequences of the intervention

International capitalism has a mania for accumulation. The 'Experts' Plan' (72) is organizing the enslavement of the German workers. Interventionist diplomacy — gunboat

diplomacy, says Sun Yat-sen — is paving the way for the slavery of the yellow working people. The definite enslavement of the German proletariat would unavoidably bring about the bondage of the American and European proletariat. The Dawes plan is a direct attack on the working class. The colonization of China would supply capitalism with absurdly cheap labour, lower wages in Europe and America, and consolidate the power of capital. The intervention in China is a direct attack on the international working class.

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CIVILIZATION THAT KILLS

How the Whites have been civilizing the blacks — Some deeds not mentioned in history textbooks

If lynching — inflicted upon Negroes by the American rabble — is an inhuman practice, I do not know what to call the collective murders committed in the name of civilization by Europeans on African peoples.

Since the day the Whites landed on its shores, the black continent has constantly been drenched in blood. There, mass-murders are blessed by the Church, lawfully sanctioned by Kings and Parliaments and conscientiously perpetrated by slavers of all calibres, from yesterday's slave-traders to today's colonial administrators.

Religion

It was to spread the blessings of Christianity that, towards 1442, the knights of the Most Catholic King of Spain landed on the shores of Africa. Their apostolate began with massacres. '... and in the end' said their log-book of the journey, 'our Lord, who rewards acts of kindness and ventures undertaken to His glory, has obtained for His faithful servants victories over His enemies. He

has given us laurels for our work and recompense for our expenditures and we have, thanks to Him, captured 165 men, women and children, *not to mention the great number of killed and wounded.* '

These pious conquistadors (73) instituted a tradition. The list of property confiscated from Jesuits in Brazil in 1768, contains, among salvation crosses and other objects of worship, irons for branding slaves.

For a long time, English societies 'For the Propagation of Christianity' drew their missionary resources from the slave-traffic.

On February 12, 1835, the Independent Church of the Parish of Christ's Church (South Carolina) advertized in the local newspapers the sale of 'a batch of ten slaves accustomed to cotton-growing'. How many of these deeds can be quoted !

The Churches in North America were the most resolute enemies of the abolition of slavery.

The kings

From Charles V down to Leopold II, King of the Belgians, from the virtuous Queen Elizabeth of England down to Napoleon, all the crowned heads of Europe were engaged in the negro-trade. All colonizing Kings signed treaties and granted monopolies for the exploitation of black flesh.

' On August 27, 1701, His Most Catholic Majesty of Spain and His Most Christian Majesty of France granted the Royal Company of Guinea a ten-year monopoly for the traffic in negroes in the colonies of America in order to

obtain, by this means, laudable and mutual benefits for Their Majesties and their subjects... '

' His Britannic Majesty undertook to introduce into Spanish America 144,000 Indians of both sexes and of all ages in consideration of a payment of 33 piastre-crowns and 1/3 piastre per head... '

The slave-traders

In 1824, a slave-ship that had just taken on board Negroes from the shore of Africa bound for the West Indies, was given chase by a cruiser. During the chase, several barrels floated past the cruiser. It was believed that the slave-ship had got rid of its casks of water to speed its flight.

But when the ship was boarded, moans were heard from a barrel left on the deck. Two Negresses were found in it almost asphyxiated. The slave-traders had hit upon this means of lightening their ship.

An English ship saved a foundering slave-ship. Negroes as well as the crew were taken on. But when it was noticed that provisions were short, it was decided to sacrifice the Blacks. They were lined up on deck and shot down in cold blood with two cannons.

The conditions of the slaves

The arrested Blacks were chained in pairs, by the neck, the arms and legs. A long chain linked them in groups of twenty or thirty. Bound in this way, they were forced to walk to the port of embarkation where they were bundled into the holds with no room, light or air.

'For the sake of health' they were made to dance under a rain of whip-lashes once or twice daily. It often happened that, in the hope of making room for themselves, men strangled each other and women drove nails into their neighbours' skulls. The sick, considered as damaged and unsaleable goods, were thrown into the sea. As a rule, at the end of the journey, a quarter of the living cargo had succumbed to infectious diseases or asphyxiation. The surviving slaves were branded and numbered with white-hot irons like cattle and counted in tons and bales. Thus the Portuguese Company of Guinea signed a contract in 1700 by which it undertook to supply 11,000 'tons' of Negroes.

More than fifteen million Negroes were transported to America in these conditions. About three million died or were drowned on the way. Those who were killed while resisting or during revolts have not been recorded. That infamous trade ended in 1850, giving way to a new form of slavery on a larger scale: colonization.

Colonization

The examples of atrocities that we are going to quote, if they were not proved by irrefutable documents or related by Europeans themselves, would be hard to believe.

A French trader in Madagascar, noticing that a theft had been made from his cash-box, tortured with electricity many of his native employees suspected of the theft. It was discovered soon after that it was his son who had taken the money.

A colonial administrator forced a Negress to remain in the burning sun for a whole day with a heavy heated stone

on her head. Then he had her tied and bound, and molten rubber poured into her private parts.

As he could not make his two native servants work for nothing, a colonist flew into a rage and tied them to poles, poured kerosene on them and burnt them alive.

Other colonists inserted dynamite cartridges into Negroes' mouths or anuses and blew them up.

A functionary boasted that single-handed he had killed 150 natives, cut off 60 hands, crucified many women and children and hung a great number of mutilated corpses on the walls in the villages under his administration. On only one of its plantations, a concessionary company caused the death of 1,500 native labourers.

Exceptional, isolated cases? No. Typical cases. But let us quote a few collective crimes which cannot be attributed to the barbarous instincts of a few individuals, but for which the whole system is accountable to history.

'In our Algeria', related a French writer, 'on the confines of the desert I saw this. One day, some troops captured Arabs who had committed no other crime than fleeing from their conquerors' brutalities. The colonel gave orders to put them to death on the spot without investigation or trial. And here is what happened... There were thirty of them. Thirty holes were dug in the sand and they were buried naked therein up to their necks, their shaved heads exposed to the sun at its zenith. So that they should not die too quickly, water was poured on them from time to time as on cabbages... Half an hour later, their eye-lids were swollen, their eyes starting from their sockets. Their swollen tongues filled their horribly gaping mouths... their skin cracked and roasted on their heads...'

A Bangi tribe was unable to provide the quantity of rubber demanded by the concession. To force the tribesmen to make good the deficit, they had 58 women and 10 children arrested as hostages. They were deprived of air, light, food and even water. From time to time, they were tortured. Their cries, according to the plantation owners, helped to speed up work. After three weeks of atrocious sufferings, a great number of the hostages were dead.

That year there was a drought. The crops had failed completely. That whole African region was desolated. The inhabitants ate grass and roots. Old people died of starvation. The civilizing government, however, demanded its taxes. The sufferers left their lands, gardens and thatched huts to the latter and took refuge in the mountains. The administrator sent out hunting dogs and troops in pursuit. The fugitives were caught in a cave and were killed by fumigation.

In 1895, the English massacred 3,000 Matabélé rebels who had surrendered.

From 1901 to 1906, the Germans massacred no less than 25,000 Hereros in West Africa.

In 1911, the Italians turned the suburbs of Machiya into a slaughter-house for three days. Four thousand natives were massacred.

These mass murders were set forward as political principles. It was a policy of extermination. One government at the Cape has declared, 'If the natives allow themselves to slip into disobedience or rebellion, they will be mercilessly swept out of the country; other peoples will take their place.'

Today, ten years after the war for 'the right of peoples to govern themselves', Spaniards and French

continue their bloodthirsty advance into Morocco under the indulgent eye of the pontiffs of the League of Nations.

The history of the European advance into Africa — and the whole history of colonization — is written from beginning to end in the blood of the natives.

After massacres pure and simple, there are corvees, portorage, forced labour, alcohol and syphilis to complete the destructive work of civilization. The inevitable consequence of this monstrous system is the extinction of the black races.

It is of painful interest to juxtapose to these facts some figures. It will be seen that the rapid enrichment of some colonizers corresponds exactly with the no less rapid depopulation of the exploited regions. From 1783 to 1793 the Liverpool Company made about 1,117,700 pounds profit from the slave-trade. During the same period, the population of the regions visited by that company, lost 304,000 inhabitants. In nine years, King Leopold II received 3,179,120 pounds from the exploitation of the Congo. In 1908, the population of the Belgian Congo was 20 million. It was 8,500,000 in 1911. In the French Congo, tribes of 40,000 inhabitants dropped to 20,000 in two years; other tribes disappeared completely.

In 1894, the Hottentot population amounted to 20,000. Seven years of colonization brought it down to 9,700.

La Correspondance Internationale, No 69, 1924

MARSHAL LYAUTEY AND THE
DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN (74)

The satrap of Morocco finds the great charter of the French bourgeoisie subversive and dangerous.

Le League of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (of 1924) had the naive idea of having the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen of 1789 posted up in schools and public establishments in French Morocco. Marshal Lyautey — entrusted with enforcing the Rights of Man and the Citizen in Morocco — expressly forbade the display of this too subversive declaration. Unfortunately for the Moroccans and luckily for the French of 135 years ago, our generous Marshal was born some 75 or 80 years after the great Revolution, otherwise... But let us leave joking aside and come to the point.

In his letter to the Premier, the Marshal explained the ban as follows :

' France has at present and for many years to come an initial role to fulfil towards the natives : to teach them their duty. Only when they know their duty can we talk about granting them the rights that their social condition and level of education will eventually allow of.

' At present, it is *impossible* * to specify to our protégés the rights applied to French citizens in France, *especially* that ' the principle of sovereignty resides in the nation ', and that ' the law is the expression of will '.

' Thus it is *dangerous* to display these principles in public places...

' If need be, we might consider giving satisfaction to the League of the Rights of Man in premises *exclusively* frequented by French people, but, as a matter of fact, such premises do not exist in Morocco... etc. '

That Lyautey considers the Declaration — which is the pride of his Republic and the honour of his fore fathers a mere scrap of paper, that he treats with contempt a famous organization of bourgeois democracy and the great principles of 89-93, we don't care a fig about, and neither do the Moroccans. But we have to remind our brothers in Morocco of the following :

During the war for ' rights ' — for the rights not of Man and the Citizen, but of Vultures and Sharks — of 53,000 Moroccans who did their ' duty ' (40,000 workmen and 13,000 soldiers), 10,000 did it so well that they left their bones on the battlefronts. Other Moroccans also did their ' duty ', by supplying the mother-country at war with scores of thousands of tons of goods, by providing hundreds of millions of francs to the enforced ' Victory loan ' and compulsory subscriptions for the invaded regions, where the ' barbarous Huns ' did in 1914-18 what the civilized French have been doing in Morocco for twenty years, and are continuing to do there every day. In return

* The italics are ours — N.A.Q.

for the bombs and good deeds of the Protecting Nation, the Moroccan peasants 'made over' in the space of fifteen years hundreds of thousands of hectares of their best lands, going away and dying of starvation in the mountains or on barren plateaux. For the 'French peace' they paid heavy taxes that grew heavier year by year. From 109,449,000 francs in 1918, these taxes rose to 171,953,000 in 1922. Out of these millions sweated for by the Moroccans, 96,000,000, that is one in three, was used to fatten the Lyauteys, and their like. (The expenses of the General Residence alone amounted to 25,000,000 francs).

The Moroccans have thus done their 'duty' well, their duty as slaves. But to merit the Rights of Man and the Citizen, they still have to do their duty as Men and Citizens, that is to say, to organize themselves and fight for the conquest of these rights, as the French people did in 1789 and as the revolutionary proletariat of our days is doing. This duty has not yet been understood by our brothers in Morocco. So Lyautey was right to think that alcohol, narcotics and prostitutes (public houses and brothels in Morocco grow in number 280 per cent every five years) have a greater 'civilizing' value and are more useful to colonization than the platonic Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen.

La Correspondance Internationale, No. 71, 1924

CONDEMNED COLONIALISM

The experience of French Equatorial Africa

French colonization has many a failure to its 'credit'. We are not the only ones to notice it. *Le Temps* of September 24 wrote about one of these particularly lamentable failures.

"Indeed, it is a secret to no one that the situation in our Equatorial Africa does not measure up, far from it, to the expectations that could be formed when... the French flag first fluttered over its immense expanse appropriated rather than conquered by the Republic. Without exaggeration and without straining the meaning of words, it can be said that Equatorial Africa is now in a state of real regression. Its development is rudimentary, its equipment next to nothing. At present, its deficitary budget can be balanced only by the grant of government subsidies. Lastly — and still more serious — its people are wasting away and dying out, the demographic factor whose preservation, improvement and growth is nevertheless at the root of all colonial enterprise, is *on the way to extinction*." * And further on:

"Moreover, mistakes have been committed, but it is useless to dwell on them. This is not the time for useless

* The italics are ours — NAQ.

lamentations over the past but for preparing a better future. Our action in Equatorial Africa has, right from the beginning been paralysed or distorted by errors of principle... that are still having deplorable consequences; besides, it is burdened by the weight of errors of method which must be urgently rectified."

What are the mistakes and errors whose deplorable consequence *Le Temps* complains of without giving the facts? They are the expropriation, and exploitation of the natives, they are portorage, forced labour, heavy taxes, civil and military recruitment, the seizing of hostages, atrocities inflicted on the people; they are the whole monstrous system of pillage and murder that has brought that colony to the sad situation in which it is today.

As early as twenty years ago, M. Auguste Chevalier — after having described the barbarity of the system of colonization — made this prophecy:

"Soon, if this practice is carried on, if the burning and devastation of villages do not come to an end... the banks of the Congo as well as the regions of Oubangui and Sangha will be completely uninhabited... If this practice continues, in a century all the toiling races will have disappeared..."

Parliamentary debates in 1906 revealed that in a circular issued by the management of a concessionary company it was stated, "Don't forget that our agents must play the part of small scale pirates." And a Governor General wrote to one of his officials, "I can be quite frank with you that in proposing your promotion, I shall especially rely on the collection of native taxes, which must be the object of your constant attention." The following excerpt from a service register of about this time shows that these orders were obeyed to the letter:

" Expedition against Kolowan village.

" Against the Fans in Upper Cuno: village burnt down, plantations destroyed.

" Against the Bakamis: village burnt down again, 3,000 banana-trees (the only food stocks) destroyed.

" Against Kwa village: village burnt down, plantation razed.

" Against Aloun: village bombed, then destroyed together with plantations.

" Against the Esamfami: villages destroyed.

" Carried fire and sword through Bome region."

Legalized pillage, systematic destruction of the people, organized devastation of villages, such was the method.

Sixteen years later, the attention of the French Parliament was again drawn to the same scandals.

In December 1921, the Negro M.P. Boisneuf, in a moving speech, said:

" The population has been thinned out by the system to which it has been subjected since the occupation... The natives are killed by portorage and the intensive exploitation in which the concessionary companies have engaged.. "

On October 22, 1921, the acting Minister of Colonies issued a decree to the effect that a native workman paid for a certain job and not having completed it, may be arrested and prosecuted for swindling.

M. Albert Sarraut, Minister of Colonies, had to admit that the unfortunate inhabitants of this colony were on the verge of extinction.

He did his best to ascribe the cause of this depopulation to lack of hygiene, writing:

"The inexpert and unhygienic handling of women during confinement... leads to sterility and a considerable proportion of poorly cared for children die in early infancy. Influenza has caused ravages amounting to tens of thousands among this native population already decimated by sleeping sickness."

To make good this state of affairs, what have they done? Only one hospital with 79 beds has been built in Brazzaville — capital of the colony! Means were even found to drag off 18,000 men during the war, from this population on the way to extinction — of course the healthiest and the strongest — to serve as cannon-fodder. A sum of 313,000 francs was raised in compulsory subscriptions for the ravaged regions in France, 7,323,000 francs in enforced loans, and 53,000 tons of goods, not including the countless days of corvee needed for the transport of requisitioned goods.

Such are the 'errors of principle' that are turning this colony — a short time ago populous and prosperous — into a desert. Although our documentation is from official sources, we doubt that we have enlightened the faith of the sanctimonious readers of *Le Temps*.

La Correspondance Internationale -- No. 73, 1924

THE KU-KLUX-KLAN

Its origins — Senator Sherman's opinion (1871)
— '100 per cent Americanism' — 'Emperor'
Simmons — Lynchings in 1919 —
Why the K. K. K. must disappear

The place of origin of the Ku-Klux-Klan is the Southern United States.

In May 1866, after the Civil War (75), young people gathered together in a small locality of the State of Tennessee to set up a club. A question of whiling away the time. This organization was given the name *kuklos*, a Greek word meaning club. To Americanize the word, it was changed into Ku Klux. Hence for more originality, Ku-Klux-Klan.

After big social upheavals, the public mind is naturally unsettled. It becomes avid for new stimuli and inclined to mysticism. The K.K.K. with its strange garb, its bizarre rituals, its mysteries and its secrecy irresistibly attracted the curiosity of the Whites in the Southern States and became very popular.

It consisted at first of only a group of snobs and idlers, without political or social purpose. Cunning elements discovered in it a force able to serve their political ambitions.

The victory of the Federal Government had just freed the Negroes and made them citizens. The agriculture of the South — deprived of its black labour — was short of hands. Former landlords were exposed to ruin. The Klansmen proclaimed the principle of the supremacy of the white race. Anti-Negro was their only policy. The agrarian and slave bourgeoisie saw in the Klan a useful agent, almost a saviour. They gave it all the help in their power. The Klan's methods ranged from intimidation to murder. In the space of three years it committed so many crimes and misdeeds that a number of those who supported it left it in horror.

Towards 1869, under the pressure of public opinion, the Klan was given the sack by its 'Emperor'. It had an Emperor, who, nevertheless, had only a purely nominal authority. The local Klans carried on their own existence and crimes. Professor Mecklin — to whom we owe these details — said that every page of the thirteen big volumes containing the investigations into the acts of the Klan in 1871-1872, recorded beatings-up of Blacks or Whites. These acts of violence were often done out of pure sadism. They were a favourite entertainment of the Klansmen.

A better knowledge of the Klan can be gained and a better judgment formulated by quoting the speech made by Senator Sherman of Ohio in the Senate in March 1871. "Is there", asked Sherman "a Senator who can name — in searching through the crimes committed through the ages — an association or gang whose acts and designs are more diabolical or criminal than those of the Ku-Klux-Klan? The Ku-Klux-Klan is a secret association, formed on oath, and whose members murder, steal, pillage, bully, insult and threaten. They commit these crimes not against the strong

and the rich but against the poor, the weak, the harmless and the defenceless."

Yet the Klan lived and 'worked' for forty odd years without too much sensation.

The New Klan

It was in October 1915 that William Joseph Simmons, the new 'Emperor' of the Klan, together with 34 of his friends, brought the K.K.K. on to the American scene again. Its programme was 100 per cent Americanism, that is to say, anti-Catholic, anti-Semite, anti-worker and anti-Negro.

It is to be noted that it was following the Civil War and the emancipation of the Blacks that the old Ku-Klux-Klan saw the light of day, its aim being to bar the freed people's way to a social life. During the World War, America enlisted in its army and navy hundreds of thousands of Blacks who were given promises of social and political reforms and who, having made the same sacrifices as the Whites, timorously claimed the same rights. A situation equivalent to a 'second emancipation'. Thereupon the new Klan sprang up.

It was again in the Southern United States — region of big planters and anti-abolitionists, the cradle of serfdom and lynching, the motherland of the old Klan — that 'Emperor' Simmons founded the new 'invisible Empire'. To an interviewer, William Joseph Simmons said regarding its objectives, "We are convinced that to ensure the supremacy of the white race we must wrest from the Blacks the franchises which have been granted them. The Lord's

will is that the white race shall be superior, and it was by a decree of Providence that Negroes were created slaves."

Soon after the resurrection of the Klan, more than 80 beatings-up were recorded in the state of Texas alone, in one year, and 96 lynchings.

The Klan flourished especially in Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, Alabama and Arkansas. It was in those states that the victims of lynching were most numerous.

In 1919, the Ku-Klux-Klan burnt alive four Negroes in Georgia, two in Mississippi and one in Texas.

It lynched 22 Negroes in Georgia, 12 in Mississippi, ten in Arkansas, eight in Alabama and three in Texas.

It attacked or pulled down jails to lynch the Negroes who were kept in custody there five times in Georgia, three in Alabama, three in Mississippi, three in Texas and twice in Arkansas.

It lynched 12 women in Mississippi, seven in Alabama, six in Texas, five in Arkansas and five in Georgia.

It burned, hanged, drowned or shot down nine Negro former armed service personnel.

The Klan carried out other lynchings in other States, but we want to quote only definite figures.

The decline of the Ku-Klux-Klan

The Klan is for many reasons doomed to disappear.

1. — The Negroes, having learned during the war that they are a force if united, are no longer allowing their kinsmen to be beaten or murdered with impunity. They are replying to each attempt at violence by the Klan. In July 1919, in Washington, they stood up to the Klan and a

wild mob. The battle raged in the capital for four days. In August, they fought for five days against the Klan and the mob in Chicago. Seven regiments were mobilized to restore order. In September, the government was obliged to send federal troops to Omaha to put down similar strife. In various other States the Negroes defended themselves no less energetically.

2. — Like its predecessor, the new Klan has so shocked public opinion by its excesses that those who had approved of or joined it at the beginning are leaving it. Its internal quarrels, its scandals and financial frauds ended by sickening even the most indifferent and most tolerant people. The Senate has been compelled to prosecute it. Even bourgeois newspapers such as the *New York World*, *The Chicago Defender*, etc., are attacking it.

3. — Its '100 per cent Americanism' and its anti-workerism group against it 20 million American Catholics, three million Jews, 20 million foreigners, 12 million Negroes, all decent Americans and the whole working class of America.

At the last congress of Negro Associations, the following motion was carried :

"We declare the Ku-Klux-Klan an enemy of Humanity ; we declare that we are determined to fight it to the end and to make common cause with all the foreign workmen in America as well as with all those who are persecuted by it."

On the other hand, the emigration of Negroes from the agricultural South to the industrial North has forced the planters — threatened with ruin through shortage of manpower — to alleviate the lot of the black workmen, and,

consequently, to condemn more and more often the methods and acts of violence of their agent : the Klan.

4. — Finally, the Ku-Klux-Klan has all the defects of clandestine and reactionary organizations without their qualities. It has the mysticism of Freemasonry (76), the mummeries of Catholicism, the brutality of fascism, the illegality of its 568 various associations, but it has neither doctrine, nor programme, nor vitality, nor discipline.

La Correspondance Internationale No. 74, 1924

PROBLEMS OF ASIA

The internal war in China — Anglo-American Arms in the Pacific — Some Japanese Ideas

The great interest afforded by events in China is only heightened if they are considered as an integral part of the whole which is the general situation in Asia.

The civil war kindled in China is, in reality, but a duel between Franco-Japanese and Anglo-American imperialism.

Wu Pei-fu, the man of Anglo-American imperialism, has been beaten. Chan Tso-lin (77), the man of Franco-Japanese imperialism, has won ; but neither Japan nor France has carried the day. Because there is luckily a third force that has not been tamed by either imperialist group : I refer to Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary party.

Hardly had the Chinese generals laid down their arms — for how long ? — than France claimed the overdue payments for the so-called Boxer compensation, Japan demanded the concession of radio-telegraphic stations, America demanded the carrying out of a plan on the lines of the Dawes plan and Britain claimed control of the Chinese railway lines. To all these claims, Sun Yat-sen and his revolutionary national party, the Kuomintang, answered :

"Halt! We claim the abolition of iniquitous treaties, the cancellation of humiliating concessions, in short, we demand that China, in a word, belong to the Chinese and that the Chinese be free to settle their affairs as they think best. Then, we'll see."

That is why in this country Sun Yat-sen is one of the statesmen most hated and dreaded by the imperialists. But no less hated is Karakhan (78), the Soviet ambassador to Peking.

Since the Washington Conference, Japan is no longer allied with Britain. The latter, finding the activities in China and India of its former ally rather dangerous, has sacrificed Japanese friendship to come to a better understanding with Uncle Sam, whose interests in China can easily be reconciled with those of Great Britain. Being dropped in this way is but a beginning: Japanese imperialism will experience much worse! France, on the contrary, has lavished civilities upon her and granted her a preferential customs tariff for imports into Indo-China. A poor favour that had no echo in the world whereas, on the other hand, the explosions of the assassination attempt in Canton (79) were heard everywhere.

After this abandonment by the British, a ban on Japanese immigration has now been voted in America. Japanese imperialism cannot swallow this insult without a grimace. Protests and demonstrations of righteous indignation have answered it. Deserted by its ally of yesterday and insulted by its erstwhile enemy, the Nipponese have flown into a rage. The idea of pan-Asianism has occurred to them. Why not a Russo-Sino-Japanese alliance? The new idea is supported by university men and statesmen, among them the President of the Board of Financiers. The well-informed

Western press, *La Revue Belge* for example, and especially the British press, views the suggestion with anxiety but pretends not to take it seriously.

Will the start of refitting work on the Singapore naval base which will cost 11 million pounds put a full stop to Anglo-Japanese 'friendship' and be an 'effective' answer to the idea of an Asiatic alliance? It is, in any case, a concerted action by Anglo-American imperialism.

The United States with a naval budget of 300 million dollars and a fleet of 840 sea-planes, 18 battleships, 81 submarines, 103 destroyers, 113 cruisers and other small vessels carrying 4,785 naval officers and 86,000 ratings, is going to build eight new cruisers in order, it seems, to reach the '5-5-3' (Let us explain to the uninitiated that this is the formula for the proportion of naval forces established for America, Britain and Japan by the Washington 'disarmament' conference). And big manœuvres of the American fleet will take place in the Pacific soon.

Japanese opinion notes: An Empire Conference and a Conference for the Defence of the Empire in London, the works in Singapore, big manœuvres in the Pacific, and wonders: Against whom are these preparations being made? Japan is the only armed power in Asia, the only rival of British and American imperialism in the Pacific. She feels directly menaced. Much restlessness has resulted in Japan. After the idea of an Asiatic alliance, that of a federation of yellow races came into being. "1,000 million yellow people," say the promoters, "have to rid themselves of the rule of 160 million Whites."

An unrealizable idea owing to Nippon's selfishness and the example it sets. While protesting against the American

law on yellow immigration, and proclaiming itself the champion of the oppressed yellow races, Japan is expelling from its territory more than 6,000 Chinese workers and is going to continue expulsions of 'foreign workmen'. As for what the Koreans think of her sincerity, it is better not to speak of it.

To the Japanese of ten years ago, the Mikado was divine; it was an honour to carry arms in the divine Emperor's service. The Japanese of to-day has a completely different cast of mind. During a visit by the imperial family to the outskirts of Tokyo, the police arrested 3,400 young people as a precaution! A significant precaution! The government wanted to introduce military training in the school curricula. Professors and students unanimously opposed it. Chauvinism, even assisted by Anglo-American threats, is no longer as successful as of yore. Will the young Japanese generation realize that salvation lies in an understanding among the proletarians of all countries? What is certain is that it is developing quickly and to the left.

To end these notes here is one detail: The dream of a 'federation of the yellow races' had hardly been expressed in Japan, when an American senator, M. Britten, proposed the convening of a "Conference of the Whites of the Pacific".

La Correspondance Internationale No. 19, 1925

'RULE BRITANNIA' CHINA, INDIA, THE SUDAN

The Conservatives' return to power (80) has given new strength to British imperialism. It means to carry out an active and 'strong' policy in China. It was, to begin with, proposed at the London conference of last November 24, that the Chinese railways be controlled and supervised by military forces belonging to America, Japan, Belgium, France and Britain. Great Britain, having the biggest investments in these railways would play a decisive part in the control and occupation of the railway network. This 'fine' project has not yet materialized.

At the beginning of this year the official capital of British India suddenly found the 'Defence of India Act' of 1919 applied to it — a special law establishing martial law. Under this regime, all British officials and policemen from the rank of inspector up, have the right to proceed to the arrest or imprisonment of suspects, without trial. Colleges, student-houses and a hundred or so buildings were searched in one morning. Hundreds of arrests were made. We shall mention among the detained persons: S. Chundar Bose, leader of the Executive Committee of the Hindu National Congress (81) Baran Roy, the provincial

secretary of the same Congress ; S. Mitter, the secretary of the Swarajist party (82) and many other well-known and respected Swarajists. Offices of Hindu societies were occupied by troops and police. The British authorities in Bengal again tried to overcome all their political difficulties by force.

I shall not recall here the events in Japan and Egypt which are still fresh in everyone's mind. What is not so well known, is that for a very long time English businessmen have cherished the dream of a 'cotton policy' in Africa, to be energetically pursued. It would be a question of turning the Sudan into a vast plantation and diverting the course of the Upper Nile. A plantation irrigated in this way could produce a wonderful yield ; but agriculture in the Lower Nile would suffer seriously from the alteration of the course of the fertilizing waters. Hence the Egyptians opposed the implementation of this plan. Sirdar Sir Lee Stack's assassination (83) gave the British the pretext to untie their hands completely in the Sudan ; they are henceforward the sole masters there ; the blood shed in the Sudan and in Egypt will perhaps serve them only to fertilize the soil of the Sudanese plantation.

La Correspondance Internationale -- No. 33, 1925

LENIN AND THE EAST

The First International laid the foundation for the international communist movement, but because of its short existence, it could formulate for the movement only the basic lines of action. Hence the question of colonies was not thoroughly studied by the First International.

As for the Second International, with its representatives such as Macdonald (84), Vandervelde, Henderson, and Blum (85) etc., it paid only too much attention to this question. Its leaders did not sympathize with the struggle for self-liberation waged by the colonial peoples. Besides, after coming to office, Macdonald was no less active than Baldwin and Chamberlain (86) in suppressing the peoples of India, the Sudan, and other colonies who courageously opposed their foreign oppressors.

On the orders of these gentlemen, native villages were bombed and colonial peoples suppressed in a ruthless and cruel manner that no words can depict. Everybody knows that the opportunists have carried out a policy of segregating the white workers from the coloured workers, that the trade unions, under the influence of these wily socialists, do not want to admit workers of different colour into their ranks. The colonial policy of the Second International has

more than anything else laid bare the true face of this petty-bourgeois organization. Hence, until the October Revolution, socialist theories were regarded as theories particularly reserved for the Whites, a new tool for deceit and exploitation.

Lenin opened a new era, which is truly revolutionary, in various colonies.

Lenin was the first man determinedly to denounce all prejudices against colonial peoples, which have been deeply implanted in the minds of many European and American workers. Lenin's theses on the question of nationalities, approved by International Communism, have brought about a momentous revolution in all oppressed countries throughout the world.

Lenin was the first to realize and emphasize the full importance of a correct solution to the colonial question as a contribution to the world revolution. The colonial question has been brought to the fore in all congresses of International Communism, the world trade union body and the International Communist Youth (87).

Lenin was the first to realize and assess the full importance of drawing the colonial peoples into the revolutionary movement. He was the first to realize that without the participation of the colonial peoples, the socialist revolution could not come about.

With his inborn clear-sightedness, Lenin realized that in order to carry out work in the colonies successfully, it was necessary to know how to take full advantage of the national liberation movement which was gaining ground in these countries, he realized that with the support of the world proletariat for this movement we will have new, strong allies in the struggle for the socialist revolution.

All delegates of colonial countries who have taken part in various congresses of International Communism will never forget the concern that Lenin, their leader and comrade, displayed for them. They will forever remember with what insight he looked into the conditions of the most complex tasks peculiar to the East. Hence, everyone of us will deeply understand how correct Lenin's judgments are and how valuable are his teachings.

Only Lenin's wise attitude toward the colonial question can arouse the most backward colonial peoples. Lenin's strategy on this question is applied by various Communist Parties in the world, and has won over the best and most positive elements in the colonies to take part in communist movements.

Lenin's solution of the very complex question of nationalities in Soviet Russia, and its practical application by the Communist Party, is the sharpest propaganda weapon for the colonies.

With regard to oppressed and enslaved peoples, Lenin brought about a turn in the history of poverty of their slave-like lives, and symbolized a bright future.

Le Sifflet, January 21, 1926

REPORT ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL
QUESTIONS AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF
THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (88)

Comrades, I only wish to put forward some suggestions about Comrade Manuilsky's (89) criticisms of our policy on the colonial question. But before entering upon the matter, it is desirable to give some statistics in order to help us to see its importance more clearly.

COUNTRIES	MOTHER COUNTRIES		COLONIES	
	AREA (sq. km.)	POPULATION	AREA (sq. km.)	POPULATION
Great Britain	151,000	45,500,000	34,910,000	403,600,000
France	536,000	39,000,000	10,250,000	55,600,000
The United States	9,420,000	100,000,000	1,850,000	12,000,000
Spain	504,500	20,700,000	371,600	853,000
Italy	286,600	38,500,000	1,460,000	1,623,000
Japan	418,000	57,070,000	288,000	21,249,000
Belgium	29,500	7,642,000	2,400,000	8,500,000
Portugal	92,000	5,545,000	2,062,000	8,738,000
Holland	32,500	6,700,000	2,046,000	48,030,000

Therefore, nine countries with a population of 320,657,000 and an area of 11,470,200 square kilometres, are exploiting colonies embracing dozens of nationalities, with a population of 560,193,000 and covering an area of 55,637,000 square kilometres. The whole area of the colonies is five times greater than that of the mother countries, and the whole population of the mother countries amounts to less than three-fifths of that of the colonies.

These figures are still more striking if the biggest imperialist countries are taken separately. The British colonies taken as a whole are eight and a half times more populous and about 232 times bigger than Great Britain. France occupies an area 19 times bigger than her own. The population of the French colonies exceeds that of France by 16,600,000.

Thus, it is not an exaggeration to say that so long as the French and British Communist Parties have not brought out a really progressive policy with regard to the colonies, have not come into contact with the colonial peoples, their programme as a whole is and will be ineffective because it goes counter to Leninism. I will explain myself more clearly. In his speech on Lenin and the national question, Comrade Stalin said that the reformists and leaders of the Second International dared not align the white people of the colonies with their coloured counterparts. Lenin also refused to recognize this division and pushed aside the obstacle separating the civilized slaves of imperialism from the uncivilized slaves.

According to Lenin, the victory of the revolution in Western Europe depended on its close contact with the liberation movement against imperialism in enslaved colonies and with the national question, both of which form a part

of the common problem of the proletarian revolution and dictatorship.

Later, Comrade Stalin spoke of the viewpoint which held that the European proletarians can achieve success without a direct alliance with the liberation movement in the colonies. And he considered this a counter-revolutionary viewpoint. But if we judge from practice to make our theoretical examination, we are entitled to say that our big Parties, excepting the Soviet Communist Party, still hold the above-mentioned viewpoint because they are inactive in this matter.

What have the bourgeois class in the colonialist countries done towards oppressing so many people enslaved by them? They have done everything. Using the means given them by the State administrative machine, they have carried out an intense propaganda. They have crammed the heads of the people of the mother countries with speeches, films, newspapers, exhibitions and every other means, so that they have a colonialist outlook; they have displayed before their eyes pictures of the easy, honourable and rich life which seems to await them in the colonies.

As for our Communist Parties in Great Britain, Holland, Belgium and other countries -- what have they done to cope with the colonial invasions perpetrated by the bourgeois class of their countries? What have they done from the day they accepted Lenin's political programme to educate the working class of their countries in the spirit of just internationalism, and that of close contact with the working masses in the colonies? What our Parties have done in this domain is almost worthless. As for me, I was born in a French colony, and am a member of the French Communist

Party, and I am very sorry to say that our Communist Party has done hardly anything for the colonies.

It is the task of the communist newspapers to introduce the colonial question to our militants to awaken the working masses in the colonies, win them over to the cause of Communism, but what have our newspapers done? Nothing at all.

If we compare the number of columns devoted to the colonial question in the bourgeois newspapers such as *The Times*, *Figaro*, *Evre* or in those of different opinions such as *Le Populaire*, or *Liberty*, with those devoted to the same question in *l'Humanité*, the central organ of our Party, we are bound to say that this comparison will not be favourable to us.

When the Ministry of Colonies worked out a plan for transforming many African regions into large private plantations, and turning the people of these regions into veritable slaves attached to the new employers' land, our newspapers still remained silent. In the French West African colonies, forcible measures for enlistment unknown for centuries were carried out, and yet our newspapers maintained a close silence. The colonialist authorities in Indo-China turned themselves into slave traders, and sold the inhabitants of north Viet Nam to planters in the Pacific islands; they lengthened the natives' military service from two to four years; they sold the greater part of the colonial land to financier sharks; they increased taxes by a further 30 per cent in spite of the natives' inability to pay the old ones. And all this was done while the natives were being driven to bankruptcy and dying of hunger through flood. However, our newspapers still maintained silence. Thus, it is no wonder that the natives are inclined to side with

organizations for democracy and freedom such as the Society for the Rights of Man and the Citizen together with other similar organizations which take care of them or pretend to take care of them.

If we go even further, we shall see incredible things, making everybody think that our Party has a disregard for all that concerns the colonies. For instance: *L'Humanité* did not publish the International Peasants' Appeal (90) to the people of the colonies issued by the Communist International.

Prior to the Lyons conference (91), the items listed for debate covered all political programmes except that on the colonial question. *L'Humanité* carried many articles on the Senegal boxer Siki's success, but did not raise its voice when the dockers at Dakar port, Siki's brothers, were arrested in the middle of their work, tied hand and foot, hauled on to lorries and taken to jail. Later they were sent to the garrisons to be turned into 'defenders of civilization', that is to say, into soldiers. The central organ of our Party daily informed our readers of the feats of the pilot Uadi, who flew from Paris to Indo-China. But when the colonial administration pillaged the people of 'Dai Nam' (92), robbed them of their fields to give them to the French profiteers, sent out bombers with orders to the pilots to teach reason to the pitiful and despoiled local people, the organ of our Party did not find it necessary to bring this news to the knowledge of its readers.

Comrades, the press of the French bourgeoisie has realized that the national question cannot be separated from the colonial question. In my opinion, our Party has not thoroughly understood this. The lessons of the Ruhr, when the native troops who were sent out 'to comfort' the

starving German workers, encircled the suspected French regiments; the example of the Eastern troops (93), in which the native forces were given machine-guns 'to mobilize the spirit' of the French troops worn out by the hard and protracted war; the events which occurred in 1917 at places where Russian troops were stationed in France (94); the lesson of the strike of agricultural workers in the Pyrenees where native troops were forced to play the shameful part of saboteurs; and finally the presence of 207,000 colonial troops in France itself — all these have not made our Party think, have not made our Party find it necessary to lay down a clear and firm policy on colonial questions. The Party has missed many good opportunities for propaganda. The new leading organs of the Party have acknowledged that the Party is in a corner over this question. This is a good sign, because once the leaders of the Party have realized and recognized this weak point in the Party's policy, there is hope that the Party will do its utmost to rectify its errors. I firmly believe that this Congress will be the turning point and will urge the Party to correct its past shortcomings. Although Comrade Manuilsky is quite right in his remarks on the elections in Algeria, to be objective, I must say that it is true that our Party has committed errors here but has corrected them by nominating colonial representatives as candidates in the elections for the Seine department. Though this is still too little, it is fairly satisfactory as a beginning. I am very happy to see that at present our Party is again filled with the best intentions and enthusiasm, and that it needs only to be strengthened by practical deeds to be brought to a correct policy on the colonial question.

What are these practical deeds? To work out long political programmes and pass high-sounding resolutions

which are, after the Congress, sent to the museum as has always been done in the past, is not enough. We must adopt concrete measures. I propose the following points :

1 — To publish in *l'Humanité* a new feature of at least two columns weekly devoted to regular coverage of colonial questions.

2 — To increase propaganda and choose Party members among the natives of the colonial countries in which there are already branches of the Communist International.

3 — To send comrades from the colonial countries to study at the Eastern Communist University in Moscow.

4 — To come to an agreement with the United General Confederation of Labour ⁽¹⁵⁾ on the organization of working people from colonial countries working in France.

5 — To set Party members the task of paying more attention to colonial questions.

In my opinion, these proposals are national, and if the Communist International and delegates of our Party approve them, I believe that at the Sixth Congress, the French Communist Party will be able to say that the united front of the masses of the metropolitan country and colonies has become a reality.

Comrades, as Lenin's disciples, we must concentrate all our forces and energies on colonial questions as on all other questions in order to implement Lenin's teachings.

Comrade Douglas (an English delegate)...

Comrade Smeran...

Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc :

The French colonies occupy an area of 10,241,510 square kilometres with 55,571,000 inhabitants scattered

over all four continents. In spite of the differences in races, climates, customs, traditions and economic and social development, there are two common points that make them alike and can later bring about unity in the common struggle.

1 — The economic situation : in all the French colonies, industry and commerce are little developed and the majority of the population are engaged in agriculture. Ninety-five per cent of the population are peasants.

2 — In all the colonies, the native peoples are unremittingly exploited by French imperialist capital.

I have not enough time to make a thorough analysis of the situation of the peasants in each colony. Therefore, I shall take only a few typical examples to give an idea of the peasants' life in the colonies.

I shall begin with my country, Indo-China, which naturally I know better than the other colonies.

When France occupied this colony, the war drove the peasants away from their villages. Later, on their return, they found their lands occupied by the colonists who had followed in the wake of the victorious army. They had shared among themselves the land the native peasants had cultivated for generations. In consequence the Annamese peasants were turned into serfs and forced to cultivate their own lands for foreign masters.

Numerous unfortunates who could not suffer the extremely hard conditions imposed by the occupiers, left their lands and wandered about the country. They were called 'pirates' by the French, who sought every means to prosecute them.

The lands thieved in this way, were allotted to the planters. They needed merely to say a word in order to get

tracts of land sometimes covering more than 20,000 or 25,000 hectares.

These planters not only occupied lands without any payment but also obtained all that was necessary to exploit those lands including labour. The administration allowed them to make use of a number of prisoners without any payment, or ordered the communes to supply them with manpower.

Besides these wolves and the administration, the Catholic Mission is to be mentioned. The Catholic Mission alone occupied one quarter of the areas under cultivation in Cochinchina. To secure for itself all those lands it used every imaginable and unimaginable method, including bribery, fraud and coercion. Here are a few examples. Availing itself of crop failures it gave the peasants loans, with their rice-fields on mortgage. The interest rates being too high, the peasants were unable to get out of debt and had to cede their mortgaged fields outright to the Mission. Using all kinds of underhand methods, the Mission did its utmost to find out secret information that could be harmful to the authorities. It used this information as a threat to force the authorities to comply with its will. Together with the big capitalists the Mission founded companies for the exploitation of the plantations which were occupied without any payment and the lands stolen from the peasants. The henchmen of the Mission held high positions in the government. The Mission exploited believers no less ruthlessly than the planters. Another of its tricks was to get together poor people and force them to reclaim waste land with promises that once the land was cultivated it would be divided among the peasants. But as soon as the land was reclaimed and the crops about to be harvested, the Mission

declared that the land belonged to it and drove out those who had toiled to make it productive. Robbed by their 'protectors' (Catholic or non-Catholic), the Annamese peasants were not even left in peace to work on their remaining tiny plots of land. The land registry service carried out a fraudulent cadastral survey to make the peasants pay more taxes. These increased every year. Recently, after occupying thousands of hectares of land belonging to the Annamese highlanders to give them to the profiteers, the authorities sent airplanes to the place so that the victims dared not think of rebelling.

The despoiled peasants, ruined and driven away, again found ways and means to reclaim virgin land. But once it was under cultivation, the administration would seize it and oblige them to buy it at prices fixed by the administration. Those unable to pay would be driven out pitilessly.

Last year, the country was devastated by floods; however, land taxes increased 30 per cent.

In addition to the iniquitous taxes that ruin them, the peasants still have to go on corvée, pay poll-tax, salt-tax, buy government-bonds, subscribe to various funds and many other things, and sign unequal contracts, etc.

French capitalists in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco have carried out the same policy of robbery and exploitation. All the good irrigated land was kept for the French. The natives were driven away to areas at the foot of the mountains or to arid spots. The financial companies, profiteers and high functionaries divided the land in the colonies among themselves.

Through direct and indirect operations, the banks in Algeria and Tunisia in 1914 made 12,258,000 francs profit from a capital of 25 million francs.

The Bank of Morocco, with a capital of 15,400,000 francs, made 1,753,000 francs profit in 1921.

The French Algerian Company has occupied 324,000 hectares of the best land.

The Algerian General Company has occupied 100,000 hectares.

A private company has occupied 50,000 hectares of forest without any payment, while the Capziere phosphate and railway company has occupied 50,000 hectares of land rich in ores, and in addition has secured priority rights over 20,000 hectares of land in its neighbourhood.

A former French deputy has occupied a plantation covering 1,125 hectares of land, with mines to the value of 10 million francs, producing a yearly income of four million francs. The natives, the real owners of these mines, receive annually only one tenth of a franc per hectare.

French colonial policy has abolished the right of collective ownership and replaced it by private ownership. It has also abolished small ownership to the advantage of big ownership of the plantations. This policy has incurred for the native peasants the loss of 5 million hectares of their best land.

In 15 years, the peasants in Kabylia were robbed of 192,090 hectares.

From 1913, each year the Moroccan peasants were robbed of 12,000 hectares of land under cultivation. Since France was victorious in the war 'for justice', that figure has risen to 14,540 hectares.

At present, there are in Morocco only 1,070 French people, but they occupy 500,000 hectares of land.

Like their Annamese peasant brothers and sisters, the peasants in Africa lead an unbearably hard life, going on

corvee all the time and paying heavy taxes. Their misery and sufferings are indescribable. Due to shortage of food they have to eat wild vegetables and grasses or rotten rice and consequently are affected with typhus and tuberculosis. Even in good harvest years, peasants are seen turning up rubbish heaps, disputing food-remnants with dogs. In lean years, the corpses of peasants dead of starvation are seen everywhere in the fields and on the highways.

The peasants' life in West Africa and French Equatorial Africa is still more frightful. These colonies are in the hands of about 40 companies. They occupy everything: land and fields, natural resources and even the natives' lives; the latter lack even the right to work for themselves. They are compelled to work for the companies, all the time, and only for the companies. To force them to work for nothing, incredible means of coercion are used by the companies. All lands and fields are confiscated. Only those who agree to do the farming required by the companies are allowed to have some tiny plots of land. People are affected with all kinds of diseases through malnutrition, and the death rate especially among the children is very high.

Another method is to make old people, women and children work as servants. They are lodged in small huts, ill-treated, beaten, ill-fed and sometimes murdered. In some localities the number of permanent servants is kept about equal to the number of workers in order to discourage the latter from running away. So that work in the plantations shall not suffer, the natives are forbidden to work their own land in good time. Therefore, famine and epidemics occur very often, wreaking havoc in the colonies.

The few tribes who have fled to the forests and succeeded in escaping the planters' exploitation, live like

animals, feeding on roots and leaves, and die from malaria and the unwholesome climate. Meanwhile the white masters are devastating their fields and villages. The following is an excerpt from an officer's diary describing briefly but clearly the repression of the colonial peasants :

" Raid on Colover village.

" Raid on the Fan tribe at Cuno. Villages and gardens destroyed.

" Raid on Becanit village. Village burnt down ; 3,000 banana-trees cut down.

" Raid on Kwa village. Village destroyed. Gardens and farms razed to the ground.

" Raid on Abimaphan village. All houses burnt down, all gardens and farms destroyed.

Raid on Examphami village. Village destroyed. The whole commune along Bom river burnt down. "

The same system of pillage, extermination and destruction prevails in the African regions under Italian, Spanish, British or Portuguese rule.

In the Belgian Congo, the population in 1891 was 25 million, but it had fallen to eight and a half million by 1911. The Hereros and Cama tribes in the former German colonies in Africa were completely exterminated. 80,000 were killed under German rule and 15,000 were killed during the ' pacification ' period in 1914. The population of the French Congo was 20,000 in 1894. It was only 9,700 in 1911. In one province there were 10,000 inhabitants in 1910. Eight years later there remained only 1,080. In another province with 40,000 black inhabitants, in only two years, 20,000 people were killed, and in the following six months 6,000 more were killed or disabled.

The densely populated regions bordering the rivers were turned into deserts within a matter of 15 years. Bleached bones were scattered throughout the ravaged oases and villages.

The life of the survivors was atrocious in the extreme. The peasants were robbed of the tiny plots of land allowed them by the companies, the artisans lost their crafts, and the breeders their cattle. The Matabélés were cattle-breeders : before the arrival of the British, they had 200,000 cattle. Two years later only 40,900 were left. The Hereros had 90,000 cattle. Within 12 years the German colonists had robbed them of half. Similar cases are numerous in all the black countries which came into contact with the Whites' civilization.

In conclusion, I quote the African writer René Maran, author of *Batuala* who said : " Equatorial Africa was a densely populated area, rich in rubber. There were here all kinds of gardens and farms with plenty of poultry and goats. After only seven years everything was destroyed. Villages were in ruins, gardens and farms laid waste, poultry and goats killed. The inhabitants grew weak because they had to work beyond their strength and without any payment. They were thus not sufficiently strong and lacked the time to work their fields. Diseases broke out, famine appeared, the death rate increased. We should know that they are the descendants of strong and healthy tribes imbued with an enduring and tempered fighting spririt. Here, there is nothing left that can be called civilization... "

To complete this tragic picture, I want to add one point : French capitalism has never hesitated to drive each region in turn to famine if it might be of advantage to them. In many colonial countries, e.g., the Reunion Islands,

Algeria, Madagascar, etc., the inhabitants are no longer allowed to grow cereals but have to grow other crops required by French industry. These crops are more profitable to the planters. And this has caused the cost of living in the colonies to rise and often brings about famine.

In all the French colonies, famine is on the increase and so is the people's hatred. The native peasants are ripe for insurrection. In many colonies, they have risen many times but their uprisings have all been drowned in blood. If at present the peasants still have a passive attitude, the reason is that they still lack organization and leaders. The Communist International must help them to revolution and liberation.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International — June 17 July 8, 1924 — Shorthand copy — Part I — The National Publishing House, 1925, pages 653 — 657.

NOTES
OF EXPLANATION AND
INFORMATION

- 1 — On August 6, 1920, the Second Congress of the Comintern approved the twenty-one conditions put forward by Lenin for recognition of the affiliation of revolutionary proletarian parties to the Communist International. These conditions forbade non-communist elements, the elements of the centre in the first place, from joining the Comintern, and laid down the fundamental political and organizational principles by which a party considering itself a section of the Comintern could become a Marxist party of a new type.
- 2 — After their invasion of Viet Nam, the French colonialists divided it into three parts. The South (now Nam Bo) became a colony under the name of Cochinchina, the Centre, Annam (now Trung Bo), was declared a French 'protectorate' by the King; the North, Tonking (now Bac Bo) was conceded outright by the King to the French, who ruled it directly. In 1887 the French colonialists united these three parts of Viet Nam with Cambodia, and founded what they called the 'Indo-chinese Union'. In 1893, Laos joined it.
- 3 — Lenin's theses on the national and colonial questions were discussed at the Second Congress of the Comintern and approved on July 28, 1920.

4 — Gandhi, Mohandas Carmchand (1869-1948), an outstanding militant of the national liberation movement of India, and leader of the Indian Congress Party.

De Valera, Eamonn (born 1882) Irish politician. In 1916, he took part in the uprising of workers and petty-bourgeois in Dublin. During the civil war in Ireland in 1922-23, he led the republican army in its struggle against the government set up by the rightist Sinn Fein. Later, he gave up revolutionary tactics in his fight for the independence of Ireland. In 1926, he set up the Fianna-Fail, a petty-bourgeois party. From 1932 onwards, except for short periods, he continuously headed the Irish government.

5 — Sarraut, Albert (born 1872) French politician, one of the leading champions of the interests of the bourgeoisie and colonialism. He was Governor General in Indo-China from 1911 to 1914 and from 1917 to 1919. He was called the "hangman of Saigon" for his repression of the liberation movement in Indo-China. In the twenties he was Minister of Colonies and in 1936, Premier in the French Government. From 1951, he was President of the Council of the French Union. (See not 48).

6 — During World War I, the French colonialists pressganged the Malagasies into the French army and sent them to fight on the German front and in Morocco and Syria.

7 — 'Olo maloto' one who gives off a bad smell.

8 — Meric, Victor French publicist, member of the French Communist Party.

9 — Louzon native of a French colony, a French Communist persecuted by the colonialists.

10 — Darles French Resident in Indo-China, well known for his cruelties. In August 1917 the inhabitants of Thai Nguyen province revolted against his persecutions. For all his cruelties, he was fined 200 piastres, a derisory sum, but Albert Sarraut, then Governor General, considered the punishment quite adequate. He sent him to a more lucrative post.

11 — Con Gai Vietnamese for 'young girl', used by the French colonialists in a bad sense.

12 — Long, Maurice Governor General of Indo-China from 1920 to 1922.

13 — Khai Dinh Emperor of Annam from 1916 to 1925. Protégé of the French colonialists, he was enthroned in place of Duy Tan who, in 1916, engineered a plot against the French. After his failure, Duy Tan was exiled by the French colonial administration to Reunion Island.

14 — Siki a boxer of Senegalese origin who had just defeated in a much talked-of bout, the French boxer Carpentier, winner of the world middle-weight championship in 1920.

15 — Dempsey American boxer, world heavy-weight champion from 1919 to 1926. In 1921 he defeated Carpentier in the bout for the world championship.

16 — Buffalo the largest sports hall in Paris,

17 — S. D. N. : a pun : Société des Nations. Sagesse des Nations. (League of Nations-Wisdom of Nations).

18 — Maran, René a Negro writer with French citizenship, author of 'Batonala', 'Djouma' and other works. The French press spoke much of René Maran when his book 'Batonala' won the great traditional Goncourt Prize for French literature in December 1921.

- 19 — Kemal, Gazi Mustapha (1880-1938) Turkish politician and statesman, the first President of the Turkish Republic. From 1919 to 1922 he led the national bourgeois revolution (Kemal revolution) against the foreign imperialists and feudal comprador elements.
- 20 — A 'croissant' is a crescent-shaped breakfast roll eaten in France.
- 21 — A play written by Nguyen Ai Quoc to ridicule Khai Dinh when this monarch visited France.
- 22 — 'Rappel' A newspaper started in 1869 in Paris with Victor Hugo's collaboration.
- 23 — Bourneton A member of Parliament, representative of the French Communist Party.
- 24 — Notables Upper elements in the Vietnamese countryside, such as usually formed the village administrative councils. Their election by the population was a mere matter of form; in fact they were appointed by the French colonial administration.
- 25 — In order to avoid prosecution by the censorship, Ho Chi Minh used Aesopian language to lay bare the imperialist policy of the French Government and the customs of French bourgeois society.
- 26 — Paris Conference This conference was convened by the victor countries after the First World War to sign a peace treaty with the defeated countries. It was aimed at sharing the world among the imperialist powers on the basis of the new relation of forces which had come into being after the First World War, and at producing a scheme for the destruction of the Soviet Government. This Conference was held in Paris from January 18

1919 to January 21, 1920 and was concluded by the signing of a treaty with the defeated countries: Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary and the Sultan's Turkey. The basic document of this Conference was the peace treaty signed with Germany on June 28, 1919 in the Palace of Versailles. Hence it is called the Versailles Treaty.

In sharing their booty, the member countries of the Paris Conference contended fiercely with each other. When speaking of the bulldog, Ho Chi Minh of course meant Britain.

- 27 — After Germany's defeat in the First World War the question of the Ruhr, a coal-mining and metallurgical centre, was one of the main bones of contention in Europe. Hoping to restore its hegemony in Europe, France cut the Ruhr off from Germany. In January 1923 France and Belgium between them occupied the Ruhr. This occupation lasted until August 1925. Ho Chi Minh's Flemish monkey and Gallic cock are Belgium and France.
- 28 — Tiger: Here Ho Chi Minh wishes to speak of Clemenceau (see note 38). Clemenceau issued the magazine *L'homme Libre* (The Free Man) in which he criticized the government. After this magazine was banned he issued the newspaper *L'Homme Enchaîné* (The Chained Man).
- 29 — Vultures were the usurers, and proprietors of firms who made exorbitant profits.
- 30 — Crows: the exploiters.
- 31 — Chats fourrés -- 'Furry cats' French expression for judges.

- 32 — Citroen, the biggest automobile trust in France. This trust was founded by André Citroen, owner of a small cog-wheel workshop in Paris. During the First World War, thanks to his production and supply of munitions for the Army, he became enormously rich. Citroen had many factories in France ; he was besides the owner of many car assembly workshops and factories in Italy, Holland and in many other countries in Europe and French Africa. In the twenties, Citroen organized an expedition to the Sahara for the purpose of advertizing his company. Caterpillar cars were used for the first time in this expedition.
- 33 — Marseilles is famous for its tall stories. One of these stories tells of the sardine that blocked the old port at Marseilles. In telling this story, Ho Chi Minh wished to say figuratively that for any trifle the French government asked its colonies to contribute enormous sums of money.
- 34 — In 1922, the French colonialists organized an exhibition in Marseilles, which cost a great deal of money and for which the French colonies were forced to contribute enormous sums. They hoped that this exhibition would provide proof of the prosperity of the French colonies. (See articles : 'Civilization that Kills' and 'The Colonial Abyss', for further information on the Marseilles exhibition.)
- 35 — Voronoff, S. A. a well-known surgeon working in France. He studied various questions of human rejuvenation by means of grafting animals' testicles, particularly those of monkeys, on to man.

- 36 — Vorovsky V. V. (1871-1923) an eminent figure in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a diplomat and literary critic. He was a member of the Soviet Delegation at the Lausanne Conference (1922-1923). He was murdered on May 10, 1923 by the fascist White Russian Condari in Lausanne.
- 37 — Lyautey, Louis Hubert Gonzalve (1854-1934) a French Marshal. From 1894 to 1896, he participated in the French Expeditionary Corps in Indo-China. Later he went to Madagascar to suppress the national movement in that country. From 1912 to 1925 he was High Commissioner and Resident General of France in Morocco where he carried out the policy of 'Nationalization and Colonization', which was a ruthless suppression of the national liberation movement of the Moroccan people, and which forced their country into dependence on French capitalism.
- 38 — Clemenceau, Georges Benjamin (1841-1929) a reactionary French politician. One of the founders of the Radical Party and Radical Socialist Party. An active propagandist for the war of revenge against Germany. From 1906 to 1909, when leading the French Government, he carried out a policy of suppression of strikes. From 1917 to 1920 he was French Premier, at the same time holding the office of Defence Minister. At this time, he actually set up a militarist dictatorship in his country. He was one of the most active proponents of the war of intervention against the Soviet Union. Clemenceau's article in newspapers, and speeches delivered in Parliament, contributed to the overthrow of many cabinets. Hence the bourgeois press nicknamed him 'the Tiger', and 'destroyer of cabinets.'

39 — In 1899, Hume, American Secretary of State, proclaimed the 'Open Door' policy. In proposing this policy and carrying it out in China the American imperialists aimed at overthrowing the position of rivals who had founded bases in China before the United States. The Americans thus wanted to turn the whole of China into their sphere of influence. Other imperialist countries for their part also wanted to take advantage of this policy to safeguard their positions and enlarge their established influence in China. For example, the British Government, after approving the 'Open Door' policy wished not to apply its principles in Hong Kong and Kowloon.

40 — In May 1923, a group of bandits ransacked a train at Lingchen station on the Tientsin — Poukoushi railway: an Englishman was killed, and more than 100 Chinese passengers and 26 foreigners kidnapped. The diplomatic corps in China availed themselves of this incident to make a series of demands upon the Peking Government.

41 — The Sevres Peace Treaty, one of the treaties which concluded the First World War. It was signed on August 10, 1920 at Sevres, near Paris. The signatories to this treaty were on the one side Britain, France, Italy, Japan and their allies (Armenia, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Hedjaz, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia) and on the other the Sultan's Turkey. The Sevres Peace Treaty contained various clauses aimed at sharing out Turkey's Arab possessions, dividing Turkey itself and putting it under a semi-colonial regime. The predatory conditions of this treaty raised a wave of spontaneous and just indignation among the Turkish people. They rose up to struggle in order to safeguard

their national independence. The Sevres Treaty was not ratified by the Turkish Parliament and was entirely abrogated after the Turkish people had defeated the British and Greek interventionists. The imperialist countries were obliged to take part in the Lausanne Conference (from November 22 to July 1923). In this conference, Turkey, with the Soviet Union's support, succeeded in cancelling the enslaving Sevres Treaty and concluded a new peace treaty.

42 — A chinese mou equals one-fifteenth of a hectare.

43 — Washington Conference. On the initiative of the United States, this conference was held from November 12, 1921 to February 6, 1922 and was attended by the United States, the United Kingdom (Great Britain, the dominions and India), Japan, France, Italy, China, Belgium, Portugal and Holland. The Washington Conference completed the partition of colonial possessions and spheres of influence which had been carried out immediately after their First World war. It was held with a view to opposing the interests of the Soviet Union and China, and destroying the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples. The main documents signed at the Washington Conference were: the Four-Power Treaty (United States, Great Britain, Japan, and France) concerning the protection of territorial rights in the Pacific Ocean; the Nine-Power Treaty on the principle of 'Open Door' in China; the Five-Power Treaty (United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy) on cuts in naval forces.

44 — The First Congress of Eastern Peoples was held in Baku in September 1920. It was attended by nearly two

thousand representatives of Eastern countries. At this Congress was founded the 'Committee of Action and Propaganda of Eastern Peoples' which prospered for nearly one year.

- 45 — Latin quarter : one of the oldest districts of Paris. In this quarter, there are many schools and universities, especially the Sorbonne University, the College de France, the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole Normale Supérieure.

Poor students and intellectuals live in this quarter, which is gradually being transformed into a bourgeois locality.

- 46 — French Indies : name of a number of small French possessions in India (Mahé, Pondichéry, Yanam and Chandernagore). After the declaration of Indian independence, these possessions were integrated with India.

- 47 — Poincaré, Raymond (1860-1934), a French politician of the early part of the 20th century. He held many posts in the French Government, such as that of Premier in 1912-1913 and President of the Republic from 1913 to 1920. He played an important role in the preparation of the First World War.

From 1922 to 1924 and from 1929, Poincaré was again at the head of the government. He pursued a very reactionary, chauvinist and anti-Soviet policy.

- 48 — From 1922 to 1924, Albert Sarraut was Minister of Colonies in the Poincaré government. When the government was reshuffled in 1924, he was replaced by Major Fabi (See note 5).

- 49 — Copra : dried coconut kernel used in industry and pharmacy.

- 50 — Badiane : star-anise used in pharmacy or the distillation of liqueurs.

- 51 — Joffre, Joseph (1852-1933), French Marshal, Commander-in-Chief of the French Army from 1914 to 1916. From 1885 to 1904, Joffre served in the French Expeditionary Corps in Indo-China, the Far East Asia, Central Africa and Madagascar.

- 52 — Michelet, Jules (1798-1874), well-known French historian. His leading works were, 'History of France' (17 volumes) 'History of the French Revolution' (seven volumes), 'History of the 19th century' (three volumes). These works reflected the author's petty-bourgeois standpoint.

- 53 — American War of Independence (1775-1783). The liberation war launched by 13 British colonies in North America against Great Britain in order to win their independence ; this war brought about the founding of the United States.

- 54 — Elijah Lovejoy, Editor of the newspaper Illinois Observer, one of the participants in the struggle for the liberation of the Negroes. On November 7, 1837, the racists lynched him and burnt the printing house of his newspaper. The murderers went unpunished.

- 55 — Brown, John (1800-1859) was one of the organizers of the struggle for the liberation of the Negroes. He founded an abolitionist society, schools for black people, and helped the slaves flee to Canada. In 1855, together with his five sons he struggled against the slave owners in

Kansas because the latter terrorized the local population. On October 16, 1859, at the head of a group of 18 Whites and Negroes, he occupied the Government's arms depot at Parkersburg in Virginia. But he was not able to arm and lead the Negroes to rise up. The group led by Brown was encircled by the slave owners and government soldiers from Washington. In a fight two of his sons were killed, and he was severely wounded and arrested. Some days later, he appeared in Court on a stretcher. On December 2, 1859 he was executed.

56-57 Thomas Beach and Stephen Foster Well-known abolitionists who actively participated in the liberation movement of the Negroes.

58 — In 1839 the Manchu government sent the Chinese superintendent Lin Tse-hsu to Canton to ban the trade in opium organized by British and American traders. On Lin Tse-hsu's orders, 20,000 chests of opium were destroyed. Availing themselves of this opportunity, the British government declared war on China ; but in fact, this war had been prepared by them for a long time. The United States also actively participated in this aggression. China was defeated in this so-called first Opium War, and on August 29, 1842, the Chinese Government had to sign the Treaty of Nanking. The main provisions of the treaty were : the cession of Hong Kong, the payment of 21 million taels of silver (1 tael = 37,3 grammes), and the opening of Canton, Foochow, Amoy, Ningpo and Shanghai to foreign trade. Customs duties in these ports were to be fixed by mutual agreement. The Treaty of Nanking was the first unequal treaty signed by China with a foreign country.

59 — In October 1856, the Customs authorities of Canton searched the lorcha Arrow, a Chinese opium junk flying the British flag which plied between Amoy and Canton. Availing themselves of the opportunity the British government immediately launched the second Opium War against China. The French joined the British in the invasion. In December 1857 the Anglo-French fleet captured Canton ; in 1858 the allied fleet sailed north to occupy the Taku forts and sailed for Tientsin. In June 1858 the Chinese government surrendered and signed the Tientsin Treaties. The treaties included : war indemnities of four million taels of silver to the British and two million to the French ; the opening of ten seaports and river ports to foreign merchant ships ; the right of foreigners to trade in the interior, and the right to send missionaries to China, etc.

60 — As the conditions in the Tientsin Treaties did not satisfy the British and French interventionists, they declared war on China once more in 1860. They occupied Peking and obliged the Chinese government to sign the Peking Treaty, which had many even harsher conditions than before, especially the war indemnity of 800 million taels of silver which was paid to each of the allies ; China had to cede Kowloon Point to the British ; Britain and France had the right to recruit Chinese workers for their colonies.

In the sixties of the nineteenth century, in Sinkiang, the Dounghan and Uighur people rose in revolt against the Manchu government and the feudal yoke. At the beginning the uprising was of a popular nature, but later on the leadership gradually passed over to the feudal Mohammedans, and the clergy in Cachegary

(southern Sinkiang) appointed Jakoub-bek as emir of this Khanat. The British government intended to make use of Jakoub-bek, and founded a big state including Khanat Cachegary and the neighbouring provinces. This state was to be an opponent to Czarist Russia, thus creating favourable conditions for Great Britain to meddle in the affairs of Kazakhstan and Central Asia. To prevent Jakoub-bek from occupying the frontier zone of Kulgjinski (Illiski) the Czarist government occupied it in 1871. According to the St. Petersburg Convention signed in 1881, the Czar restored the greater part of this zone to China, but the Chinese government had to pay 900 million roubles to Russia as a management indemnity for this zone.

61 — At the end of 1873, a Japanese fishing-boat was driven by storm from Ryukyu to Taiwan. A fight between the crew of the vessel and the people of Taiwan broke out, and 40 Japanese were killed. Having had the intention to occupy Ryukyu and Taiwan, the Japanese government seized the opportunity to send 3,000 soldiers to invade Taiwan in 1874. Japan was actively backed by the United States in this aggression : the American Legendre was chief of staff of the expeditionary corps, which sailed to Taiwan in the American ship New York. As the aggressors were repulsed, the Americans and British offered to mediate. The Manchus were made to pay two million taels of silver in return for the withdrawal of the Japanese forces. In 1874, the Manchu government together with Japan signed a protocol which included : the acknowledgement of 'the massacre of Japanese subjects by the Taiwan people', and the payment of 50 million of taels of silver to Japan as

war indemnity. This allowed the Japanese to gain the upper hand, and they occupied the Ryukyu islands in 1879.

62 — In 1874, the British authorities in India armed an expedition to explore a trade route to Bamow (Burma) and Yunnan (China). The Chinese government dared not refuse the authorization, but informed them of the local people's unfriendly attitude towards the British. The coming of this expedition backed by a fairly strong army alarmed the local population. In February 1875, the interpreter of the expedition, named Margary, was killed in an armed clash. On this pretext, the British forced China to sign the Chefoo convention which included : the opening of four ports to foreign merchant ships, and the free movement of the British in Yunnan.

63 — Due to the outcome of the Sino-French war (1884-1885), a peace treaty was signed in Tientsin in 1885. The treaty provided that China was to recognize Annam, which was a vassal of China, as a French protectorate, and also to recognize French traders' privileges in Yunnan.

64 — In 1894, the Japanese militarists opened hostilities against China over the Korean question ; Korea was then under Chinese suzerainty. Not only was the whole of Korea occupied by Japanese troops, but also the Liaotung Peninsula, including Port Arthur and Dairen, and Weihaiwei port in Shantung. Under the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed on April 17, 1895, China ceded to Japan Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, and the Liaotung Peninsula. Japan obtained the right to set up factories on Chinese soil. China undertook to pay Japan

an indemnity of 20 million taels of silver. Korea was to become a Japanese protectorate. This forced Czarist Russia to adopt a stand against Japan. Russia, Germany and France jointly served a warning on Japan, forcing it to return Liaotung Peninsula to China. But China had to pay them an additional indemnity of 3,000 million taels of silver.

Japan intensified expansion of its sphere of influence, thus creating the required conditions for the signing of a treaty of alliance between Russia and China in 1896 to prevent aggression by Japan. Under this treaty Russia had the right to build the Chinese Northern Railway in Manchuria. Shortly after this, France won the right to invest in the building of the Yunnan Railway, and Germany in the Shantung Railway. During these years the capitalist countries obliged China to sign conventions which allowed them to build 10,000 kilometres of railroads on Chinese soil.

65 — The end of the nineteenth century was marked by a fierce struggle among the imperialist countries for the partition of Chinese soil, and the control of the finances and main economic branches of China.

In November 1897, Germany occupied Kiaochow Bay and the surrounding area. On March 6, 1898, a Sino-German treaty was signed providing for Kiaochow to be leased to Germany for 99 years, and Shantung became Germany's sphere of influence.

On March 27, 1898, a Sino-Russian treaty was signed, providing for China to cede Port Arthur and Dairen to Russia for a period of 25 years, and giving Russia the right to build a branch of Chinese Northern

Railway to Dairen. Thus, Manchuria became Russia's sphere of influence.

In the dismemberment of China, the British imperialists played an important role. In February 1898, they forced the Manchu government to put the Yangtse Valley within the sphere of influence of Britain, and occupied Weihaiwei (May 1898) under the cover of land-lease.

France also obliged China to give up Kwangchow-wan (1898) for them to lease, and to give them many privileges in Canton, Kwangsi and Yunnan. Thus the south China provinces became a French sphere of influence.

66 — In 1899, the Yi-Ho Tuan (Society of Righteousness and Harmony) uprising occurred; it had a popular and anti-imperialist character. It was given the name Boxer Rebellion because the Yi-Ho Tuan Societies (Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists and Society of Righteousness and Harmony) and Da-tsuan Societies (Society of Strong Fists and Society of Big Rights) played the principal role in this uprising.

In June 1900, the Yi-Ho Tuan armed rebels occupied Tientsin and penetrated into the capital Peking. To avoid the people's anger, the Manchu government pretended to support the uprising. The United States, Great Britain, Germany, Japan, France, Italy, Austria, and Hungary intervened with the aim of repressing the uprising and making a further step towards the enslavement of China. On June 17, 1900 the armed interventionists occupied Port Taku near Tientsin. The Manchu government played a

treacherous role : on the one hand it pretended to declare war on the imperialist powers, on the other it sought every means to create difficulties for the revolutionary forces, and in fact it protected the foreign invaders.

On August 15, 1900 the allied armed forces penetrated into Peking, the Manchu government left Peking, proclaimed its capitulation to the foreign powers, and co-operated with them to repress the revolution. On September 7, 1901, the Manchu government signed the "Final Protocol". Under its terms, China was to pay a very big indemnity of 450 million taels of silver. The payment was to be met from customs revenues and the salt tax. The imperialists had the right to occupy the 12 most important cities of China. A legation district was established in Peking.

Juridically, the "Final Protocol" consolidated the transformation of China into a semi-colony of the imperialist countries.

Under the pretext of the murder of two German missionaries, Germany had the town and bay of Kiaochow leased to it by China in 1897. It made of it a naval station, a trading port and an arsenal. The Japanese seized the place in 1914 and stayed there after the Versailles Treaty, notwithstanding China's protests. The whole territory was given back to China after the Washington Conference.

67 — See note 58.

68 — At the Washington Conference (1921-1922) owing to pressure from the people struggling against imperialism, the Chinese delegation had to demand the

cancellation of the clauses concerning Shantung signed at the Versailles Conference and the abolition of fiscal and customs autonomy, the rights of extra-territoriality, "spheres of influence", etc. But on February 6, 1922, a Treaty of nine Powers was signed at this Conference, and the above-mentioned claims were rejected. The Chinese delegation only succeeded in gaining the return of Shantung and obtaining the cancellation of some of the clauses relating to the rights of Japan in China. In reality, the resolutions of the Washington Conference were only imperialist schemes aimed at plundering China and repressing the national liberation movement of the Chinese people.

69 — See note 40.

70 — In order to put pressure on the Canton Government led by Sun Yat-sen, and support the anti-revolutionary forces of the comprador capitalists who were preparing revolts against Sun Yat-sen, the American and British governments, in September and October 1924, concentrated a big naval force in Canton.

71 — Macdonald, Ramsay (1866-1937), leader of the Independent Labour Party and Labour Party; these parties advocated collaboration between classes and the so-called "gradual reform of socialism into capitalism".

In 1924 and 1929-1935, Macdonald was British Prime Minister. In 1931, a "national" government was formed by him, but in reality it was a conservative, Baldwin, who led it. He was expelled from the Labour Party. Macdonald was very active in the protection of British imperialism and in the introduction of various reformist illusions into the British working class.

72 — The "Experts Plan" or "Dawes Plan" was a plan which obliged Germany to pay a war indemnity. Its principal aim was to restore the potential of the German war industry (the authorities of the imperialist countries wanted to use it against the Soviet Union), and bring American capitalism into Europe. It was worked out in 1924 by a Committee of Experts created according to the resolution of the War Reparations Commission of the victorious countries. Banker Dawes, director of the biggest bank in Chicago, and closely connected with the Morgan group, was the chairman of the commission.

73 — Conquistadors : Spanish conquerors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who occupied immense areas in Central and South America. They enslaved and exterminated the natives in a most barbarous way. The word "conquistador" has become a derogatory term to designate aggressors, slave-traders, etc.

74 — Declaration of the Rights of Man, the political manifesto of the French bourgeoisie, the declaration of the foundations of the new bourgeois regime. This manifesto was drafted and adopted by the Constituent Assembly on August 26, 1789 during the French bourgeois revolution.

75 — To defend and extend slavery, in 1861, the slave-owner planters organized a mutiny aimed at setting up a government supporting slavery. They declared the secession of the southern federations from the United States (February 1861).

In April 1861, the Civil War between the North and the South broke out. The war ended in 1865 in the

defeat of the southern slave-owners and the victory of the north.

76 — Freemasonry : a mystically religious doctrine which came into existence in Europe in the 18th century. The Freemasons were mainly aristocrats and representatives of the big bourgeoisie. They advocated the moral improvement of man and unity among themselves on the basis of love of one's neighbour. Modern Freemasonry prevails mainly in the United States and is of a most reactionary character.

77 — In September 1924, there broke out in China a civil war between the Chihli warlord clique headed by Wu Pei-fu and backed by Anglo-American imperialism, and the Fengtien clique ruled by Chang Tso-lin and supported by the Franco-Japanese imperialists. The Chihli warlords were defeated and fled from north China and Peking.

78 — Karakhan L. M (1890 - 1937), an outstanding Soviet stateman. He was ambassador of the Soviet Union to China from 1923 to 1926.

79 — In June 1924 in Canton the Vietnamese patriot Pham Hong Thai hurled a bomb at Merlin, the Governor General of Indo-China. He sought to escape by crossing a river but was drowned. Merlin's assassination and Pham Hong Thai's death — he has become a national hero of the Vietnamese people — had a great repercussion in Indo-China and other Asian countries.

80 — In October 1924, the Conservatives headed by Baldwin formed the government, replacing Macdonald's Labour government.

The new government carried out a policy of open reduction of the living standards of the masses and refused to ratify the Anglo-Soviet treaty signed in 1924.

- 81 — The Indian Congress Party was founded in 1885 with the object of fighting British rule. It united in its ranks representatives of all classes and groups in Indian society: bourgeois, landlords, intellectuals and a section of the toiling people. The Party's official ideology was the programme of 'non-violence' which was set forth by Gandhi, the leader of the Congress. At present, the Congress Party is a bourgeois party leading the Republic of India.
- 82 — Swarajist (from the word 'Swaraj' meaning autonomy, independence). This was the party of a section of the Indian bourgeoisie, closely related with the landlords, and was set up in 1923 within the Indian National Congress. Although the struggle for independence of India was mentioned in the Party's programme in practice, the Swarajists urged co-operation with the British administration, expecting that India would be granted dominion status. It disintegrated during the upsurge of the revolution in India (1928-1933).
- 83 — On November 19, 1925 a group of terrorists killed Lee Stack, Governor-General of Sudan. On this pretext, the British government exacted withdrawal of the Egyptian troops and administration from Sudan and abolition of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of January 1899 on the joint administration of Sudan, which was called condominium.
- 84 — See note 71.
- 85 — Vandervelde, Emile (1866-1938), a Social chauvinist, a leader of the Belgian Labour Party and one of the

leaders of the Second International. He actively contributed to the armed intervention against the Soviet Union, and the implementation of the policy of splitting the workers' movement.

Henderson, Arthur (1863-1935), a leader of the British Labour Party, Home Secretary (1924) and Foreign Minister in the second Government formed by the Labour Party — the Macdonald Government — (1929-1931). He carried out a reactionary home and foreign policy.

Blum Leon (1872-1950), a right wing socialist, leader of the French Socialist Party, he was for many years editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Le Populaire* which is the principal organ of the French Socialist Party. After the "Front populaire" had won in the 1936 general elections, Blum headed the French Government and carried out a policy of disrupting the "Front Populaire" and frustrating the realization of its political programme. Being a sworn enemy of Communism and the U. S. S. R., Blum resorted to every possible means to overthrow Marxism and propagate the theories of "democratic socialism."

- 86 — Baldwin, Stanley (1867-1947) Leader of the British Conservative Party, a reactionary politician. He was Prime Minister from 1923 to 1924, from 1924 to 1929, and from 1935 to 1937. He advocated a ruthless colonial policy, and was one of the promoters of the armed intervention against the Chinese revolution from 1924 to 1927. Baldwin led the suppression of the general strike and of the miners' strike (1926). He maintained a most antagonistic attitude towards the U. S. S. R., proposed breaking off diplomatic

relations with the U. S. S. R. (1927), and carried out a policy of encouraging the Italian and German aggressors, and of collusion with Hitler's Germany to spearhead the German invasion of the U. S. S. R. Chamberlain, Austen (1863-1937). A British statesman, was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Foreign Minister, etc., in various Conservative Governments. A sworn enemy of the Soviet Union, Chamberlain held that the essential goal of his policy was to isolate the Soviet Union and to found a bloc of big capitalist states directed against the Soviet Union. He supported the revival of German militarism and wanted to use it to provoke a war against the Soviet Union.

- 87 — International Communist Youth. A non-party organ of world youth, functioning under the ideological and organizational guidance of the Communist International. It was a branch of International Communism. The International Communist Youth organization existed from 1919 to 1943.
- 88 — The Fifth Congress of the Communist International was held in Moscow from June 17 to July 8, 1924.
- 89 — Manuilski, D.Z. (1883-1959), an outstanding militant of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet State and the international communist and workers' movement. In 1924, he was a member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. From 1928 to 1943 he was Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. At the Fifth Congress of the Communist International he delivered a report on the national and colonial questions.

- 90 — Peasant International : International Peasant Council, set up in 1923 by the delegates of the revolutionary peasant organizations in many countries.
- 91 — The Third Congress of the French Communist Party was held at Lyons in January 1924. The main problem debated at the Congress was the question of ideological struggle in the Party, its strengthening and the elimination of alien elements.
- 92 — Dai Nam : Name used for Viet Nam under feudal rule.
- 93 — Eastern troops : troops press-ganged by the imperialists from among the various colonial peoples for the purpose of repressing revolutionary movements in colonies and even in the Metropolitan countries themselves.
- 94 — During World War I, the Czarist government sent an expeditionary corps to France. In 1917, its soldiers protested against the war for the defence of the interests of the bourgeoisie. They set up Soviets and demanded their repatriation. Fearing that the Russian soldiers' revolutionary ideas might spread to the French army, the French High Command moved the Russian corps out of their positions and sent them to the Lacourtine concentration camp where they were surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by Senegalese and Touareg units. This led to the disarming of the Russian corps.
- 95 — The United General Confederation of Labour existed from 1922 to 1936. In 1921, the reformist leaders of the General Confederation of Labour openly expelled a number of revolutionary trade unions embracing nearly 60 per cent of the members of the General Confederation of Labour. These revolutionary trade unions set up the United General Confederation of Labour and ceaselessly

struggled for the restoration of the unity of the trade unions for the defence of the vital interests of the proletariat and, together with the French Communist Party, took part in the struggle against fascism and war. The development of the movement for the unity of the working class compelled the reformist leaders of the General Confederation of Labour to accept the proposal for unification of the United General Confederation of Labour, and it was put into effect at the Toulouse Congress in 1936.