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The New French Parliament—A War Parliament.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The second ballot in the elections to the French Chamber took place on Sunday last in an extraordinary atmosphere of war incitement against the Soviet Union. Two days previously the President of the French Republic was killed by a Russian white guardist. Just as the rival imperialists made use of the Sarajevo murder as a fuse in order to fire the explosives accumulated by them, so French imperialism is determined to make the fullest possible use of the murder of Doumer in order that it shall lead to an armed attack against the Soviet Union.

The first statements of the murderer published by the whole of the press show beyond doubt that he is a terrorist emigrant, a founder of a Russian fascist organisation, the sole aim of which was the overthrow of the Bolshevik revolution by war. The French government has always afforded the greatest protection to white guardist organisations. It has promoted and furthered the military schools founded by them and supported them financially, because it hoped to use the white guardists as shock troops in the crusade against the Soviet Union. Since September 6, 1930, it has repeatedly allowed them to march in armed battalions and carrying Tsarist flags through the streets of Paris. It made them promises of speedy intervention against the Soviet Union.

The action of Gorguloff, as he himself confessed, had as its object to remind the government of these promises which, in his opinion, it hesitated too long to carry out. It is therefore the French government which placed the weapon in the hands of the criminal. For the rest, a whole number of peculiar details in connection with the outrage give very good ground for belief that the French government is not only

morally responsible for it, but that the French police themselves organised the murder of the President.

Whatever the case may be, French imperialism immediately set everything in motion in order to make use of this murder for the purpose of war-provocation. On the instructions of Tardieu and on the basis of the deceitful official Communiqué and grotesque lies, the press is endeavouring to prove that Gorguloff is not a white guardist but a Communist and an emissary of the Soviet government.

The venal press has already demanded the suppression of "Humanité", because immediately on receipt of the news of the assassination it took up a determined offensive against the forgers and provocateurs of the government and published special editions which were eagerly bought in the streets of Paris and the neighbourhood. On Sunday evening the "Temps" published an extraordinarily venomous leading article against "Moscow", an article which deliberately and plainly aimed at bringing about the immediate breaking off of relations with the Soviet Union.

The situation is exceedingly serious. The election of the new President can become the pretext for the the proclamation of the "union sacrée". Already on the evening of May 7th the Minister Paul Reynaud declared in the "Intransigent":

"On the eve of the world war the blood of Jaurés cemented the "Union sacrée". May the blood of Doumer have the same salutary effect!"

French imperialism, which is always at the head of the capitalist front against the Soviet Union, is in fact being pressed on all sides by the world crisis. The budget deficit is

throttling it and driving it to a policy of loans, which offers a sure prospect of a fresh depreciation of the Franc. The policy of increased protective duties on agrarian products cannot be carried on any farther owing to the high costs of production in industry to which it gives rise and which deprive the French producers of any possibility of competing in foreign markets. The whole press anxiously raises the question of a new economic policy, without however giving a solution, for the government is exceedingly afraid of losing the support of the peasantry. Big labour struggles are approaching in France, for the offensive against wages is to be increased still more, as was announced in all speeches of Ministers during the election campaign. But the example which the 8,000 striking textile workers gave in Vienne recently proves that the proletariat is by no means inclined to accept everything tamely, and that its resistance goes so far as the erection of barricades in the streets and battles with the garde-mobiles.

The world hegemony of French imperialism is threatened. It was interesting to observe with what rage and fear the official newspapers followed the recent debates at Geneva. **Pertinax** wrote on April 22:

"At Geneva point 3 has been altered to our disadvantage; we are **on the defensive**, and this defensive promises to be a very hard one."

On the following day **Saint-Brice** declared in the "Journal":

"Every stage (at Geneva) hems us in a little more; we are exposed to constant attacks; it is high time that we took over the leadership of the game."

Does not the best means of loosening the strangling grip of the imperialist rivals consist in closing more firmly the ranks of their front against the Soviet Union and taking over the leadership of the military attack against the Soviet Union? The deepening of the crisis in France leads inevitably to actions which provoke war, beginning with the unconditional support which is granted Japanese imperialism, to the assassination of the President of the Republic. Now it is a question of acting quickly!

But such a policy renders necessary the national unity of the parties of the bourgeoisie; a unity which alone can guarantee a stable parliamentary majority and a **strong government**. Hence the big joint efforts of the leaders of the former Right majority and the leaders of the Radical Party in order, after the election, to bring about as broad as possible a concentration, and also to give to this concentration the appearance of a regrouping round the parties of the Left, so that their policy of impoverishment, of reaction and war can be put through with less resistance on the part of the workers and peasants who follow these parties.

The bourgeoisie have carried out this **big manoeuvre** very successfully. The elections have secured a considerable success for the Radical Party, which has increased its seats from 100 to 160, so that this party alone constitutes more than a quarter of the members of the Chamber and is bound to hold important posts in the coming government. Also the Socialist party, which was greatly promoted by Tardieu who by his repeated declaration "Socialism is the enemy" represented it as being a real opposition party, has increased considerably in strength. The bourgeoisie know very well that, just as in the year 1914, they can rely upon the unconditional support of the Socialist Party. The Socialist party newspaper has attempted right from the first to whitewash Gorgulov by representing him as being a maniac.

A Left Chamber, however, will be before all a concentration **Chamber for war**. In the year 1914 the French Parliament was dominated by the Left groups. In the year 1925 the Chamber dominated by the bloc de gauche commenced the wars in Morocco and Syria. It must not be forgotten that it was the leaders of the Radical party, Caillaux, Dalbiez and Herriot, who were the first and most eager instigators of the worst campaigns of calumny in the French press against alleged "Soviet dumping".

The bourgeoisie have made the greatest efforts in order to **stifle the voice of the proletariat in Parliament** by reducing the Communist fraction in the Chamber. They have succeeded in removing from the Chamber some of the most eminent leaders of the Communist Party, as Marcel Cachin, André Marty and Duclos, by causing them to be opposed by candi-

dates of the socialist party or of the "party of proletarian unity", who received many votes which otherwise would have gone to the Communists. They granted the fullest support to the renegades of the Communist party, who are regarded by them as the last bulwark against the revolution. The bourgeoisie have succeeded with the 50,000 votes which the renegades polled, compared with 800,000 votes which the Communist Party received, in forming a Parliamentary fraction which is just as strong as the Communist Party fraction. They will seek to make use of this fraction in order to discredit the Communist functionaries and the Communist Party, by including this scum, which has been flung out of the Communist Party, in their war concentration.

In spite of all, the Communist Party has succeeded in returning 10 candidates, including two who were elected for the first time in the strongly industrial district of North France, which was hitherto the stronghold of the socialists. The Communist Party possesses a good Chamber fraction under the leadership of the General Secretary of the Party, Comrade Thorez.

But the successes in rallying the working population round the Communist Party are still very insufficient and are achieved very slowly. The revolver shots fired on May 6 at the President of the Republic must be the signal for **mobilising the masses in the fight for the defence of the Soviet Union and for peace**. Time presses. The Chamber for war has been elected. French imperialism is exposing itself openly as the leader of decaying capitalism in the crusade against triumphant Socialism. Its will to immediate war must be broken by the mass actions in the factories and on the streets.

POLITICS

The Political Situation in Germany.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

In a leading article which appeared in the "Völkische Beobachter" of May 4, **Dr. Frick**, the leader of the national socialist Reichstag fraction,—the same man whom Hitler, so it is said, has in mind as the successor of Brüning—deals with the present situation in Germany:

"Germany is approaching difficult times. The lowest point of the economic and financial crisis has not yet been reached. The social insurance is faced with bankruptcy. The revenue from taxation is rapidly declining, whilst the burdens involved by the poor law are increasing at an equal pace. The bankruptcy of the public finances is the necessary result. We are threatened with new defeats in foreign policy. Neither the disarmament question nor the tribute question—so much can already be said with certainty—will find a solution satisfactory to Germany."

In face of this situation, entry into the government, so declares Frick, is by no means alluring to the national social democratic labour party. If in spite of this they decide to enter the government, they must at least demand that the positions given to them shall be in keeping with the greatness and difficulty of the tasks to be mastered:

"For the national socialist movement for freedom is now the last hope and the last reserve force of the German people. If it is employed in vain and is wrecked, then its force will be broken and Germany will sink into the Bolshevik chaos."

Those who have heard the bombastic speeches delivered at national socialist meetings will be surprised at this sober analysis, which does not fit in with the reckless election promises of the Hitler party.

As a matter of fact the German capitalist class, in the political decisions with which they are now confronted, have to employ their last reserve.

The social democratic leaders have already given to understand that they will behave as a "loyal opposition" towards a coalition of the Centre and the national socialists. This would mean that the social democratic party, along with the whole of the reformist trade unions, would make it their task to hold back the working masses from any struggle and in this way render it possible to hold down and crush the proletariat. It is perfectly obvious that the social fascist leaders will only be able to play this blackguardly role if the form

of the Hitler government allows them a certain freedom of movement for doing so. In order to render this possible, the Centre is fighting against a "purely party dictatorship" of the national socialists and for a fascist right government within the framework of the existing system.

Not even Brüning's most faithful followers believe any longer that he can go on governing in the way he has done hitherto. The Brüning era is approaching its end.

Brüning has lost the fight against the crisis. The breakdown and disintegration of capitalism in Germany has gone so far that the German bourgeoisie believes that it must not hesitate any longer to employ its last reserve.

The Foreign Political situation, which was hitherto one of the strongest arguments for Brüning's remaining in office, has become hopeless. The power of French imperialism prevents any real alleviation in regard to the tribute question. The new serious sharpening of the economic situation in the United States, and the difficult situation both in England and in Italy allow no hope of any support from these quarters. The Danube question is thereby already settled to the disadvantage of Germany before the Conference which is to decide this question has met.

The economic situation of German capitalism has become more and more gloomy. Industrial production has sunk to such a low level that thousands of factories have had to close down. The palliative measures which Brüning held ready for it no longer suffice. It is true, the Reichsbank has granted credits on a large scale, but the head of the Reichsbank, Dr. Luther, opposed just as much as Brüning an open inflation without which the credit-hunger of capital cannot be satisfied.

German capital expects from Hitler 1. the cancellation of its debts, 2. credit facilities and 3. a reduction of real wages. Brüning, with the help of the social democratic and reformist leaders, has cut wages in instalments, with the result that the income of the workers is about half what it was in 1929. But the limit has now been reached to direct wage cuts; therefore wages are now to be reduced indirectly by means of inflation. Brüning has cut down the social services in stages; but the expenditure on the unemployed, who now in May number nearly six million, is making the municipalities bankrupt, and the unemployment insurance and social insurance are in the eyes of the employers burdens which they would like to see completely abolished. The bourgeoisie no longer venture to entrust to Brüning the carrying out of fresh reductions of wages and the abolition of social services, and therefore wish to entrust Hitler with this task.

The financial situation of the Reich, of the federated States and the municipalities is disastrous. In spite of the most brutal increase in taxes, the Reich budget for 1931/32 shows a deficit of about 400 million marks; the deficits of the State budgets probably amount to 500 million, and those of the municipalities to 1000 million marks. How are these deficits to be covered? To increase the taxes on articles of consumption would be useless, because the inevitable decline in consumption would cause the revenue to decrease further instead of increase. Therefore, there remains nothing else but a more ruthless cutting down of expenditure on social and cultural purposes and increase of the direct taxes on the masses.

The policy now demanded by the German bourgeoisie is a direct gamble both in regard to home and foreign politics. The fight today no longer turns on Brüning and whether he is to remain in office, but only on the question what positions are to be granted the national socialists. All power to Hitler cry **Thyssen** and his followers. No, reply the trust kings **Duisberg**, **Silverberg**, **von Siemens**: Not Hitler alone, but **Hitler, plus the Centre and plus the Social democratic party!** That these differences are being fought out with great fierceness (of course behind the scenes) is shown by the fact that no understanding has been arrived at up to the present, so that the idea of a military Cabinet led by the ambitious and intriguing General **von Schleicher** was again able to gain ground. The premature denunciation of this plan—a counter-mine of the Centre—frustrated it for the time being. But the fight still goes on.

Poland Threatens to Occupy Danzig.

By G. H. (Warsaw).

The English papers published on May 2 sensational news that in the night from 30th April to 1st of May, Poland had intended to occupy the Danzig district with its troops, Polish

warships from Gdynia were to have arrived in Danzig harbour on Sunday and to undertake the occupation of Danzig. The correspondent of the London **Daily Express** further reports that the Polish corridor between Graudenz and Dirschau is filled with Polish military, and that the garrisons in Graudenz, Dirschau and Neustadt have been reinforced. The Free State is now surrounded by Polish troops. According to the London press, the reason why the annexation of Danzig was not carried out is that France intervened at the last moment. Although the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the Polish Embassy in London deny the revelations of the London bourgeois newspapers, all the events of the last few days go to show that Polish imperialism has of late been doing everything in order to carry out the annexation of the Danzig district.

The facts are as follows: Three weeks ago, the fascist Pilsudski Government demanded of the Danzig Government that it should place the whole economic life of Danzig under the control of Polish customs officials. The Danzig government capitulated to this demand of Polish imperialism, and in actual fact the majority of the Danzig industrial and commercial undertakings are now already under Polish control. At the same time the whole of the bourgeois and social democratic press commenced a furious anti-German incitement, the purpose of which was to convince the Polish population of the necessity of the incorporation of Danzig in the Polish State. The Polish navy has recently concentrated its cruisers and a considerable body of marines on the Westplatte which commands the entrance to Danzig harbour. After abandoning the annexation of Danzig for a time, the Polish government a few days ago submitted to Danzig the new demand that the whole customs administration should be transferred to Poland. The realisation of this new demand of the fascist Pilsudski Government would be tantamount to a military occupation of the Danzig district. According to Polish laws the customs officials form a part of the Polish army. Danzig would thereby become a military base for fascist Poland.

Polish imperialism's preparations to annex Danzig are the most blatant expression of Poland's immediate preparations for war against the Soviet Union. Danzig possesses outstanding importance for Polish fascism in the event of a war. The declaration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland of 2nd May, rightly emphasises that the Polish bourgeoisie remember very plainly how the Danzig proletariat heroically prevented the transport of war material from France, England and America to Poland in 1920. To secure for the Polish navy a firm basis of operations against the Soviet Union on the Baltic Sea—that is the aim of the Polish imperialists. The Polish bourgeois press, especially the fascist government press, make no secret of this fact.

The fact that the Brüning government in Germany joins in the denials of the League of Nations Secretariat and of the Polish imperialist government is the best proof that the new German imperialism is being more and more drawn into the anti-Soviet front under the leadership of France. The same applies to the Danzig Senate, which in reality is working hand in glove with the Polish fascists. This does not mean, however, that the imperialist antagonisms between Poland and Germany have diminished. The question of Danzig, like the Upper Silesian question and the question of the Polish corridor, can in no way be solved by the imperialist governments of these two countries. The whole course of development in the last few years, and especially in the last few weeks, furnishes clear proof that **only the Polish and the German Communists are conducting a determined fight against the annexationist desires of Polish fascism and also against national oppression.** The whole development has also confirmed that which the Central Committees of the C. P. of Germany and of the C. P. of Poland have repeatedly emphasised, namely, that only the proletarian revolution can release Danzig from the clutches of Polish and international imperialism.

The events which are at present taking place in Eastern Europe are of the greatest international importance. They reveal the seriousness of the situation and the threatening dangers gathering on the Polish frontier. Like the Japanese provocations on the Manchurian frontiers, they show that the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union has become exceedingly acute. They call for an increased fight of the international proletariat, especially of the Polish proletariat, against imperialist war.

Declaration of the C. C. of the C. P. of Poland.

Warsaw, 4th May 1932.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland has issued the following declaration concerning the Polish designs on the Free State of Danzig:

"The Communist Party has repeatedly exposed the preparations of the fascist government of Pilsudski to seize Danzig, and called upon the workers of Poland to oppose all such annexationist aims of Polish imperialism.

"The Pilsudski government, which is shaken to its very foundation by the growing revolutionary wave, is seeking a solution of the present catastrophic economic crisis in a war against the Soviet Union. The annexation of Danzig aims at establishing a war basis on the shores of the Baltic against the international fatherland of the toilers. The Polish bourgeoisie still clearly remembers the heroic struggle of the workers of Danzig who stopped the Polish munitions ships in 1920.

"That Polish imperialism is now planning to occupy Danzig with its troops is the crassest expression of its immediate preparations for a military attack on the Soviet Union.

"We stigmatise these war preparations and provocations of the Pilsudski government and appeal to the workers of Poland for a decisive struggle against all the attempts of Polish imperialism to annex Danzig, against the nationalist anti-German hatred which is being systematically whipped up by the whole Polish bourgeois and social fascist press, and against the increasing national oppression of the German minority in Poland.

"The victorious revolutionary proletariat of Poland, Soviet Poland, in fraternal alliance with the German proletariat can alone save Danzig from the claws of Polish and international imperialism."

The Government Crisis in Austria.

By Oesterreicher.

The present government crisis in Austria arose out of the motions for dissolution of Parliament introduced by the social democrats, the Pan-Germans and the Heimat bloc at the meeting of the National Council on April 28.

It was the first meeting of Parliament after the diet and municipal elections on April 24. This election day had plainly shown that whole parties of the National Council, such as the Pan-Germans and the Heimat bloc, had lost all their electors, and that in the event of a parliamentary election they would be decimated or at least come back very weakened. Precisely the two parties which suffered most as a result of the turn of the bourgeoisie to the Nazis—Pan-Germans and Heimat bloc—wished however to prove that they took this development into account, and therefore tabled the motions for the dissolution of the National Council. This was nothing else but an acknowledgment of fascism.

The social democrats, however, did not wish to appear before the masses as defenders of this Parliament, and so they preferred to join in doing homage to national fascism. They likewise tabled a motion for dissolution. That they favoured a Parliament in which the Nazis would be represented—urging the argument of "democracy"—is a matter of course. **Otto Bauer** declared that it was the duty of the social democrats to see that Parliament "truly reflected the views of the people, for only such a Parliament has the moral authority which democracy requires".

The Christian-Socialists, however, have very important reasons for opposing a dissolution of the National Council. Firstly they are aware that they are still the leading party of the Austrian bourgeoisie; they still possess the confidence of the home and foreign monopoly capitalists. Secondly, however, Austria is at present engaged in exceedingly important foreign-political negotiations, which ostensibly are being conducted as credit negotiations, but which actually turn on something greater, namely the foreign-political and economic reorganisation of South-East Europe under the hegemony of French imperialism. The Christian socialists do not want these negotiations to be disturbed by new elections. The second government party, the Landbund, share the view of their coalition colleagues.

Now, as was soon seen, the motions for dissolution were nothing more than a genuflection to fascism; there was no serious thought of dissolution. Therefore, all three motions for

dissolution were drawn up in a form which was not suitable for immediate discussion. The House unanimously referred them to the Constitutional Committee.

In order to obtain a majority against the dissolution of the National Council, Federal Chancellor **Buresh** resigned and commenced negotiations with the Heimat bloc regarding their entry into the government. This sufficed to cause the Heimat bloc to vote in the Constitutional Committee for the shelving of their own motion. The white-green fascists were prepared, in return for a Ministerial portfolio, to co-operate with the government, which they only recently fought against with so much demagoguery, and to prolong the life of the "talking shop".

Whilst, however, the social democrats, on the day after they had tabled the motion for the dissolution of the National Council, had declared in the "**Arbeiter-Zeitung**" "that the present National Council cannot live long is clear . . . The old political system which we had to endure since August 1920 is dead. The people themselves will shortly have to decide what is to take its place: whether it will entrust the helm of State to the social democracy or whether it wants to have a government which will have to rely upon the support of the Nazis"—they suddenly found themselves no longer in such a hurry to bring about this decision. They declared in the Vienna "**Abend**" that the negotiations of the government with the Heimat bloc were a very "stupid" thing, as the social democratic motion for dissolution was connected with a change of the election law involving an alteration of the Constitution, so that in order to come into force it would have to be approved by the Federal Council, in which the Christian socialists have the majority.

It is therefore already decided that for the present it will not come to new elections of the National Council. This whole government crisis therefore represents nothing else but a common propaganda action of all parties of the National Council for the national socialists who have been able to make good use of it for their agitational purposes.

GERMANY

Prohibition of the Proletarian Freethinkers' Movement in Germany.

By Peter Maslovski (Berlin).

Hardly any other proletarian organisation has had to suffer so much from the incitement of cultural reaction from the Concordat socialists and the national socialists as the Association of Proletarian Freethinkers, which was founded after the wholesale expulsions from the reformist Freethinkers' Association.

Their pamphlets and literature were confiscated again and again, their organ, "Proletarische Freidenkerstimme", was prohibited most of the time. One prosecution for blasphemy followed hard upon the other. The first emergency order issued by Brüning in the Spring of 1931 was directed especially "against Godless propaganda", and rendered practically impossible any public activity on the part of the Association. Various representatives of the Church have for years delivered lectures and speeches over the wireless inciting against the Association and demanding the forcible suppression of the "godless", without of course, the proletarian freethinkers, being able to reply over the wireless to all the slanders and calumnies. In all these measures of persecution the social-democratic police president of Berlin **Herr Grzesinski** particularly distinguished himself; the first denunciation on the part of the "Germania", the central organ of the Centre (Catholic) party, sufficed in order to cause Grzesinski to dissolve meetings of freethinkers, to forbid their educational exhibitions, to confiscate their pamphlets and to deliver over functionaries of the Association to class justice.

But all the measures of persecution were unable to stop the rapid development of the Proletarian Freethinkers' Association. In a relatively short space of time its membership increased to 170,000. Of late the Proletarian Freethinkers' Youth, the Freethinkers' Pioneers, the Women's Commissions, the militant alliance of Proletarian Freethinkers, which formed the connecting link with the rank and file of the reformist freethinkers' organisation, had shown a remarkable good development. The German section had also performed

very successful pioneer work in the International of Proletarian Freethinkers.

Above all, however, the extraordinarily successful propaganda conducted by the Association among the public in favour of withdrawal from the Church aroused the fury of the clerical reaction. In spite of all confiscations and prohibitions, the proletarian Freethinkers' literature, to the horror and dismay of the Churches, found its way to the masses in hundreds of thousands of copies. All this appeared all the more dangerous to the forces of reaction and obscurantism because at the same time the reformist and the bourgeois freethinkers' organisations, in spite of the fact that their total membership probably amounts to close on 600,000, had ceased to possess any significance.

Now the long-conducted incitement against and demands for the prohibition of the Proletarian Freethinkers' Association have achieved the desired result. The Brüning Government has dissolved and prohibited all proletarian freethinkers' organisations, including its publishing undertaking. The official reason given for the prohibition furnishes a classic example of the mendacity of fascism in its development. The activity of the proletarian freethinkers, it is said, was a "threat to freedom of conscience". In order to protect freedom of conscience, the authorities have resorted to the methods of mediaeval inquisition by forcibly prohibiting an organisation propagating a certain world view.

The second argument adduced in support of the prohibition was that the Association had endeavoured, by extending the Bolshevik atheist movement to Germany, to destroy all morality. This is very significant, particularly at the present moment, of the intensity of the imperialist fight against the Soviet Union. It is also part of the war-preparations against the Soviet Union.

From the point of view of home politics the prohibition is of far-reaching importance; there is no doubt that it marks the commencement of a series of fresh prohibitions of proletarian organisations. Thus it signals the further advance of fascism. It is by no means due to chance that the prohibition order appeared at the same time as the emergency order regarding the so-called defence-organisations, the meaning of which is to be seen from the previous incitement for prohibition conducted by the whole of the bourgeois and the social democratic press against the League For Combating Facism, the Red Sports Organisations, and the Red Trade Union Opposition.

In the prohibition of the Freethinkers' organisation there is plainly revealed how far preparations are advanced for a coalition of the Centre Catholic party with the national socialists. For it is the Hitler fascists who have been foremost in demanding the prohibition of the Freethinkers' Association.

Taken in all, however, the persecution of the Proletarian Freethinkers shows how correct is the thesis of Lenin that in the period of imperialism the bourgeoisie becomes reactionary in all spheres. The German bourgeoisie, who at the time when they fought against absolutism were to a great extent themselves atheistic and established freethinkers' organisations, have long since sunk deep into the swamp of cultural fascism and are resorting without shame to the methods of mediaeval persecution of heretics. They do this out of their class interests against the proletarian revolution. The proletarian Freethinkers' movement can, indeed, be hindered, but it can no longer be suppressed. In the dialectical sense the suppressed idea will seize the masses and so become a material force.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

J. T. Murphy Expelled from the C.P. of Great Britain.

The following statement has been issued by Comrade Harry Pollitt in the name of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Great Britain:

The political Bureau has been compelled to take the extraordinarily serious step of expelling a leading member, **J. T. Murphy**, from the ranks of the Communist Party. This decision, arrived at after lengthy and serious consideration, was taken on the grounds of the propagation of anti-working class views and the desertion of the working class fight against war, starvation and repression at a decisively critical stage in the class struggle.

During the last three weeks the leadership of the Party has been endeavouring to convince J. T. Murphy that his editorial article in the April issue of the "**Communist Review**" was fundamentally wrong and must be openly corrected by him.

The reasons why the Political Bureau condemned this article were fully given in a written statement presented to Murphy which pointed out that his article was a distortion of the line of revolutionary struggle against war and a completely false estimation of the relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world.

Every endeavour was made to convince Murphy of his mistake and a meeting of the Political Bureau was held on Saturday especially to discuss the matter with him. But Murphy merely manoeuvred, as he had done in the previous discussion with the Secretariat, would not discuss the actual questions at issue and finally asked for a further opportunity to consider the criticisms levelled against him. Consequently it was decided to adjourn the meeting until Sunday.

Murphy agreed to submit a written statement to the meeting, but instead of attending he sent a letter announcing that he had resigned from the Party. There were no references in this letter to the differences on questions of political principle; instead there was a slanderous attack on the Party and its leadership.

The Political Bureau immediately demanded from Murphy that the discussion be continued and pointed out that resignations are impermissible in a revolutionary organisation. Murphy replied with the declaration that he was no longer a member of the Party.

The Political Bureau therefore announces the expulsion of J. T. Murphy from the Party and calls on all workers to repudiate this deserter from the ranks of Communism.

The above facts show very clearly that Murphy has deliberately manoeuvred in order to prepare the way for his desertion from the working class movement. The discussion with him had been carried on in accordance with the normal procedure of the Communist Party when differences of opinion arise. Every opportunity had been given to Murphy to state his point of view and the leadership had patiently endeavoured, through internal Party discussion, to convince him that he was wrong.

Murphy's cowardly desertion of the revolutionary working class movement, shows that his Communist Review article did not contain just wrong formulations arising from lack of clarity, but was a deliberate attempt to utilise his post in the Party in order to propagate anti-working class theories. Murphy has passed over to the camp of the enemy. He has become a propagandist of the peace mission of capitalism, and an exponent of the inability of socialism to overcome capitalism.

Murphy has quickly transformed himself into a renegade. The Party is the stronger for having rid itself of him.

Finally, the Political Bureau cannot disconnect Murphy's sudden and suspicious exit from the Party with the renewed threats of repression now being made by the "National" Government. It has no hesitation in also levelling the charge of political cowardice against him.

Twenty Years of the "Pravda".

Moscow, May 5, 1932.

The whole of today's issue of the "Pravda" is devoted to the 20th anniversary of the central organ of the Party of the Bolsheviks.

In its leading article the "Pravda" sums up the result of its 20 years fight in the front ranks of the advance-guard of the international labour movement. The role of the "Pravda" in the years 1912-1914 can only be compared with the role of the old "Iskra" in creating the Party in the years 1901-1903. Lenin had good reason for attaching such enormous importance to the "Pravda", which was in fact edited by him from abroad and of which Comrade Stalin was one of the organisers.

With the aid of the "Pravda" the Bolsheviks have in the years of advance further consolidated the hegemony of our working class, shattered the liquidators and exposed them as a handful of bourgeois agents. In July 1914, shortly before the outbreak of the imperialist war, the Tsarist Ochrana throttled the "Pravda", but they were never able to destroy the tremendous work which the "Pravda" had accomplished under the leadership of the Party. This work continued to have an

effect on the revolutionary fight of the working class against war and against Tsarism—a fight which was crowned by the victorious February revolution, by the overthrow of the Tsarist monarchy by the workers and soldiers.

On March 5, 1917, the "Pravda" began to appear as the legal organ of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. The "Pravda", which was exposed to the furious incitement of the bourgeois and menshevist press, consistently carried out the Party line by fighting inexorably against the war and against the bourgeoisie, exposing the bourgeois-imperialist Provisional government, promoting the political development and the political organisation of the working class and of the broadest masses of the toilers, and contributing to the consolidation of the Leninist-Bolshevik Party. The "Pravda" achieved all this in close and systematic collaboration with and under the leadership of Lenin, who immediately after his return from emigration joined the editorial staff of the "Pravda" and wrote articles for it almost every day, and also with the closest co-operation and leadership of Comrade Stalin, especially at the time when Lenin had to live illegally. Under the leadership of Comrades Lenin and Stalin, the "Pravda" in that historically extremely important time played an extraordinary role in winning the enormous majority of the working class and the toiling masses and in preparing the victorious October revolution.

The "Pravda" remained a powerful instrument, exerting a mass influence, as the agitator and organiser which unswervingly carried out the general line of the Party and fought

against opportunism. Under the leadership of Lenin and the Leninist Central Committee, the "Pravda" repelled all oppositional attacks against the line of the Party on the part of the Left Communists who had landed in the petty bourgeois morass. It repelled Trotzkyism, which has become the advance-guard of bourgeois counter-revolution, and finally also Right opportunism, this agency of the kulaks in the ranks of the Party.

The leading article points out that the Soviet press must learn better to approach the masses, especially the new workers, the new collective economic cadres who are engaged in socialist constructive work, to rouse them, to explain to them more fully, more plainly and exhaustively our socialist work, and thereby to educate not only the masses but also the contributors to the press, the new cadres of these contributors who have emerged from the growing powerful movement of the workers and village correspondents.

After referring to the extraordinary importance of the lower factory, Soviet and collective press, the leading article concludes:

In the 20 years which have elapsed since the appearance of its first number, the "Pravda" and the whole of the Bolshevik press have undergone a tremendous development. Flesh and blood of the Bolshevik Party, consistent exponent of the general line of the Party, keen weapon in the hands of the Leninist Central Committee, our Bolshevik press, true to its famous traditions, will keep pace with the tasks of socialist construction in our country, with the tasks of the proletarian world revolution.

The War

"All Quiet on the Far-Eastern Front".

Scenes from the War Zone in Shanghai.

By W. M. Holmes (Our Special Correspondent).

Shanghai, April 10.

A squadron of 27 Japanese military aeroplanes is enlivening this Sunday afternoon by a series of evolutions in formation over the International Settlement. From the upper storeys of the tall hotel where many fashionable Europeans and Americans take lunch, it can be seen that a larger number of machines is manoeuvring away to the northward, over Chapei. The sky is dotted with flying specks and the air is full of the hum of engines. All very pretty in the bright sunshine. For the elegant ladies and gentlemen, reposeful after tiffin, it is a mild and momentary diversion. As for the Chinese—the rickshaw-coolies swarming round the hotel doors, the boatmen toiling with their decapitated sampans, the porters heaving great bales of merchandise into the ships, the street-sellers and the clamouring beggars—hardly one of them lifts his head. Japanese aeroplanes are no novelty for them. Neither are Japanese bombs.

The Japanese authorities, in official statements, explain that these flights are merely exercises. Is there not now peace at Shanghai? Are not the negotiations for the withdrawal of the Japanese forces continuing? Have we not now reached the thirteenth meeting? Is not the British Minister, Sir Miles Lampson, proving his ingenuity in the invention of phrases by which the Japanese can declare their hope that at some time they may find themselves able to consider the situation suitable for withdrawal of troops; and by which the Nanking Government can express its pious wish that this moment may come soon? Well then, why talk of war?

Because there is war at Shanghai. And there is every prospect that it will be a long war. It is impossible to foresee what will be the exact situation at the moment when this description reaches Europe. But it is certain that the war will still be on. The Japanese army of occupation which now holds the territory from the boundaries of the International Settlement to Woosung will not have been withdrawn. Perhaps there will be, as yet, no further fighting. But the war to exploit the masses and the wealth of China goes on all the time.

If, despite the lines of warships in the river, and the hundreds of troops of all nationalities in the streets, life in the International Settlement appears peaceful, let us go into the occupied territory, and see what the war looks like there. In

order to do this, you must get permission from the Japanese authorities. True, it is Chinese territory, but a Chinese pass will not help you at all. In this region, Japan in fact rules. In Chapei the Japanese have already created a puppet municipal council—a sort of miniature Manchukuo. They deny this, and protest with injured innocence that this body is only a tourist bureau. The Japanese have even more naive methods of polite, transparent pretence than most other bourgeois governments. But the fact remains that this "tourist bureau" of Chinese hirelings is already functioning as a municipal authority under the control of the Japanese military. And, as aforesaid, you cannot enter its domain without a Japanese permit containing a statement of the purpose of your visit, duly signed and stamped and decorated with your photograph.

We obtain our passes at the Japanese Consulate. Our exchange of courtesies with the Japanese official who provides the passes is conducted under the guns of the flagship Idzumo, which is moored beside the Consulate building at the junction of the Whangpoo River and Soochow Creek. The wording of the document is significant. It states, "Permission is given to Mr. . . . to pass through the Japanese lines of action. (Signed) Headquarters, Imperial Japanese Army at Shanghai". If this is not war, it is a very good imitation.

And now we can enter what was once a densely-populated Chinese territory. Crossing Soochow Creek, and driving a short distance along North Szechuan Road, we turn left to enter Chapei. At once a Japanese marine, with fixed bayonet and steel helmet, steps in front of the car, with uplifted hand. This is the first control. Thereafter, every few minutes, we must pause to show our passes. At every bend in the narrow streets are barricades of barbed wire and sandbags, and guards with ready rifles. And now we come to the ruins of Chapei.

Only a few minutes drive away is the clamour and turmoil of Shanghai, the seething street life which makes your head giddy. And here is such silence and utter ruin that you suddenly feel cold, despite the warm sunshine. Yet these streets were recently as full of toiling people as are those of Shanghai. Now they cannot properly be called streets at all. Tracks of cobblestones lead between heaps of pulverised brick; blackened timber, twisted metal and fluttering rags. Nothing is left standing of what were once hundreds of little homes

and workshops of the working people. Where these thousands of workers are now is a question which no-one seems able to answer definitely. But the streets of Shanghai, and the river steamers, are full enough of ragged, lean people to tell a story. Here, in Chapei, they certainly are not. Only here and there one or two Chinese are still groping among the heaps of rotting debris. One or two gangs are hauling away scrap metal. Some bits of machinery projecting from a heap of pulverised bricks, reveal that a little printer's shop once stood here. There a group of pigeons is pecking in what is evidently the site of a peanut vendor's stand. A swarm of flies is buzzing round something which emits a sickening smell.

Only those forms of life which can subsist on ruin remain in this district. This is true of humans as well as of animals. Since the Japanese military did their dreadful work here, and under the control which they have since maintained, the ruins of Chapei have become the hiding-places of gangs of criminals such as Shanghai naturally secretes. Destroying the homes of the Chinese workers, the Japanese imperialists have made a ruin and a refuge for criminals.

Twisting and turning among the heaps of ruins, we drive slowly through the desolation. Now and then we find our way barred by the trenches in which the Chinese soldiers of the 19th Army made their heroic stand. An unused cartridge or two, and some odds and ends of equipment show where they fought until they fell. In these narrow lanes we come across an occasional wreath of flowers hung on a newly-painted wooden post. The inscription is in Japanese, for these are tributes to the Japanese fallen. There are no flowers for the Chinese soldiers, nor for the old men, the women and children who died by the Japanese bullets, shells and air bombs.

At last we emerge from the maze of ruins on to the main road to Kiangwan. It is a fine macadamised road, along which we speed with only an occasional pause for the benefit of a Japanese sentry. Now and again we pass the burned-out shell of a villa. We take the branch road to Kiangwan railway station, and again we are in the midst of wholesale ruin. Here there were large buildings. Now there are only stumps of walls. On the track stands the steel framework of a train of passenger-coaches. The flames have eaten up everything except the metal skeleton. Nowhere is there a sign of life except for a few Japanese sentries.

From Kiangwan a road leads to Taziang, whence come almost daily reports of fights between Japanese and Chinese troops. We head up this road with the intention of reaching the Chinese lines. But despite our passes from the Japanese headquarters the Japanese military posts have different views. The road to Taziang crosses a creek, and the bridge is held by Japanese soldiers. The old bridge stands in ruins, and a new wooden one has been built by the Japanese. Two sentinels, with rifles ready, stand like Horatius at the bridge. We stop the car and advance on foot to show our passes. The little Japanese corporal examines them for quite a long while—they are written in both Japanese and English—and finally hands them back with a shake of the head. We expostulate in gestures and point to the signature "Headquarters, Imperial Japanese Army at Shanghai". The little corporal evidently disapproves of the judgement of H. Q. in giving us passes. His men continue to bar the way. It is an interesting scene—the ruined bridge, the little river with houses rising straight from the water, some ruined, some whole, here and there a splash of peach-blossom, and the little Japanese sentinels with their steel helmets and fixed bayonets, rifles at the ready in the direction of our car. After a moment's inward speculation as to the probable results, I draw my little Leica camera from my pocket and smilingly gesticulate a request to be allowed to take a photograph. The little Japanese corporal gives a peremptory grunt and advances with hand outstretched towards my camera. With as disarming a smile as I can manage, I slip the camera back into my pocket and retreat into the car. We back away under the impassive stare and the rifles of the Japanese sentinels. Evidently there is no possibility of reaching the Chinese lines by this route.

Well, according to the map, it should be possible to go round by Woosung to Yanghang, Liuhang and Nanziang. We drive back until we strike the road to Woosung. For a while there is not much visible sign of war. The broad, flat fields are tilled with Chinese thoroughness. The peasant men, women and children, ploughing, digging and hoeing pay no attention to our passing car. One of the things which strike you most forcibly when you begin to observe this land of war and

famine, flood and pestilence, is that through it all the peasant goes on with his endless toil. This fertile plain of the Yangtse estuary, from Hangechow to Chinking—all the hinterland of Shanghai—is like a garden. Such tillage and irrigation are surely unsurpassed in the world. And, the battle being for the moment stilled, here are the peasants in this very theatre of the bitter fighting back at the occupation which their ancestors have pursued for thousands of years. War or no war, there must be crops. As you watch these patient toilers in the fields, you understand more clearly the nature of the foundations of the wealth and luxury of Shanghai.

But this highroad is not without evidence that the land is held by a hostile army of occupation. Often we pass mounted Japanese patrols. Suddenly we overtake a small body of infantry. A figure stands out head and shoulders over the diminutive Japanese. It is a big Chinese, in ragged civilian clothing. His hands are chained. He walks painfully. His head is bare, his dark face shines in the sun with perspiration and his mouth is open, as with exhaustion. We can only guess at the reason for his arrest and at his destiny. And few will ever know.

As we approach Woosung, the number of military patrols increases. We overtake a long train of Japanese army lorries, which stretches away down the road until the view is blotted out by dust. Every lorry is sparkling brand-new, and on every bonnet is the name "Chevrolet". American! Odd, surely, in view of the rivalries of Japanese and American imperialism. Well, not so very. This is not the first time that finance-capital has shown its readiness to take profit wherever it can be found. And is not Japan buying American cotton in huge quantities to make explosives?

We are approaching Woosung Creek when we are again halted. This time we are informed that military operations are proceeding on the bridge, and we cannot proceed. The Japanese army is certainly in control of this bit of China.

There is no other route open than the military road by the Whangpoo River, back to Shanghai, and then out by the Great Western Road, if we wish to reach the Chinese lines. Of our adventures in that direction, I will write later. Meanwhile, we leave the ruined forts of Woosung to our left, and begin our drive along the river. Again we pass long trains of brand-new Chevrolet trucks. The Japanese seem to be lavishly supplied with transport. Some lorries are laden with Japanese girls in gay kimonos and with well-painted complexions. Comforts for the troops.

And now again there are the broad fields and the peasant men, women and children whose toil never ceases. Here a group is burning paper objects before a new burial mound in

Save the Young Scottsboro Negroes!

Berlin, 4th May 1932.

The Executive Committee of the **International Red Aid** and the Executive Committee of the **League Against Imperialism** have issued a joint appeal on behalf of the young Negroes who are awaiting death on the electric chair in Scottsboro.

The appeal points out that the mass storm of protest has saved the lives of the young Negroes on three occasions already. The Supreme Court of Alabama had confirmed the death sentences and granted a re-trial in one case only. The Supreme Court of the United States had now to decide. There should be no doubt about the determination of American imperialism to murder the convicted boys. Its methods of lulling international public opinion into a fancied security were the same as had been used in the Sacco and Vanzetti case. No confidence should be placed in the Federal Court. The young Negroes were to die in order to drive a breach into the growing revolutionary united front of white and coloured workers. They were to die in order that American armies could march unhindered against the peoples of Latin-America, against the Chinese revolution and against the Soviet Union. The powerful protest movement had succeeded in delaying the executions, but it must be made still more powerful in order to save the innocent victims altogether.

Only the international proletariat could save the young Negroes. A **Scottsboro committee** should be formed in every factory, in every town, in every village.

the middle of a bean-field. The dead are as much with us as the living in China. The little sailingboats and the big steamers glide peacefully by on the tide, out into the Yangtse. There is no visible sign of war.

But suddenly we come upon it again, as we speed along towards **Hongkew**. Beside the road appears a long line of aeroplane hangars, temporary structures of canvas and matting. Barracks and workshops of similar structure line the broad area which forms the flying ground. And there, drawn up in line on the grass, are a dozen Japanese military aeroplanes. These are some of the machines which were flying over Shanghai earlier to-day. For a good mile we run beside this aerodrome, heavily guarded by Japanese troops. Between the hangars we catch sight of stacks of equipment. There is a pile of gas cylinders. Perhaps they are for oxy-acetylene welding. And perhaps they have other purposes.

Towards the end of the ground we come upon a scene of intense activity. A swarm of Chinese coolies is at work erecting the steel framework of a building of considerable size. Apparently it is to be a permanent aeroplane hangar. The Japanese are evidently preparing to give their bombers a long stay here. And Chinese workers are doing the work. Well, it is reported that the Japanese are giving a liberal allowance of good rice to those who enter their service. And there are plenty of starving workers in this region, for whom there is no other prospect of food.

And so Japanese imperialism has already dug itself in. Behind the farce of the League of Nations inquiry and the peace negotiations, the war for the partition of China is going on, and the military are preparing for the next stage of the operations.

The Tour of the League of Nations Commission.

By Min Tin.

Peiping, end of April.

"To expect from the League of Nations Commission the freeing of China from imperialism and the expulsion of Japan from Manchuria and Shanghai, is like asking a tiger to hand over his skin!"

"Lord Lytton, General Claudel, General MacKoy, Dr. Schnee and General Marescotti, who of them has not been for years a governor of a colony, who of them is not a master in creating new colonies and in the further exploitation of subject peoples!"

"The League of Nations Commission is nothing else but a preparatory Commission for the division of China among the imperialists."

Placards and leaflets containing sentences like the above were continually to be seen in the streets of the Chinese town in spite of the diligent efforts of the police to remove them, and were distributed in the improvised shelters of the homeless population and in the working class quarters.

In the business quarters and concessions and in the main thoroughfares, on the other hand, flags were displayed with such inscriptions as "We have complete confidence in the League of Nations", "The League of Nations Commission will do away with the great evil and grant justice", "The League of Nations will demand the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Woosung, Chapei and Kiangwan and declare the 'independence of the State of Manchuria' null and void". All anti-Japanese placards suddenly disappeared from this district. In those parts of the town occupied by the Japanese: in Chapei, Woosung and Hongkew, on the other hand, they were to be seen everywhere, the Japanese intending by this means to furnish proof to the League of Nations Commission of the attacks to which they are exposed.

This is the picture which Shanghai presented from 14th to 16th of March. The same scenes were to be witnessed in Nanking, Hankow, Tientsin, Peking etc., on the arrival of the League of Nations Commission.

Although hundreds of thousands of striking workers, dependents of the fallen and victims of the Japanese robber-war are starving and without shelter in the open streets and squares, the Nanking government, in honour of its "rescuers and guests", squandered huge sums in providing new uniforms

for the city police and guards at the railway stations and for the soldiers, and arranged innumerable banquets. Even the bourgeois newspaper "Ta Kung Po" expresses its astonishment at such extravagance.

"The reception of the Commission by the government was an exceedingly luxurious affair. 50 elegant motor cars were specially ordered for the Commission; a breakfast for the guests cost 2.50 dollars a head." ("Ta Kung Pao" 1st April.)

In fact the League of Nations Commission has undertaken an exceedingly comfortable and cheap business-pleasure trip through China; but only in Kuomintang China.

Soviet China was completely barred to them; they were not allowed to make their intended journey through it. The League of Nations Commission wanted to go from Nanking to Hankow, and from there take the train to Peking. Unfortunately, the railway line in the neighbourhood of Hankow is occupied by the Red Army of Soviet China. The military ruler of Hankow, as the "Manchou Pao" of 6th April reports, sent three divisions of troops to make free the way; **but the troops were completely defeated by the Reds**. The Commission was compelled to return from Hankow to Nanking and to proceed from there to Tientsin and Peking. Thus these honoured guests were compelled to make a big detour. They were unable to visit even Loyang, the new capital of Kuomintang China.

Already during the stay of the League of Nations Commission in Shanghai a part of the petty bourgeoisie began to lose their illusions: they began to realise the actual mission of this commission. A part of the petty bourgeoisie did actually believe that the Commission would cause Chapei and Woosung to be evacuated by the Japanese. But the evacuation has not yet begun, whilst on the other hand the Japanese guns are still bombarding Liuhoand Tatzang. Aircraft bombs are being constantly dropped on the industrial towns of Soochow, Wuchi and Hangchow. It is true, the Commission has brought about the Armistice Conference, but, as a result of the support of individual members of the Commission, Japan insisted on its demand that it should be allowed to retain Woosung as a naval base.

Particular disappointment and excitement has been called forth by the fact that the arrival of the Commission has again revived the movement among the foreigners in Shanghai for the conversion of Shanghai into a free State. The visit of the Commission to Hankow is regarded by the disappointed Chinese as indicating the acceptance of the Japanese proposal of February to convert the five treaty ports into free States. The indignation and protest of the population is so strong that the chairman of the Commission, Lord Lytton, was obliged on April 1 to make a cynical and demagogic declaration to representatives of the press in Nanking that the journey of the Commission to Hankow had no special object.

Further Nanking Delays in Ruegg Case.

Shanghai, 8th May 1932.

The recent open letter published by the widow of the great Chinese national-revolutionary Sun Yat-sen and the new wave of protest against the continued imprisonment without trial under the most scandalous circumstances of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretary, **Paul Ruegg**, and **his wife**, have caused the Nanking authorities to issue once again their usual evasive statements concerning the "removal of the accused to Nanking", the "examination of the documents in the case", and "the coming trial". The truth is that the real whereabouts of the accused cannot be discovered, that their defending lawyers are not permitted to see the accused or even to see the so-called "documents in the case".

One of the most prominent and oldest members of the Kuomintang, **Professor Tsai Huan-pei**, the president of the Chinese National Council for Scientific Inquiry, has sent a letter of protest to Wang Ting-wei in which he demands public treatment for the Ruegg case and permission for the defending lawyers to carry out their tasks. He points out that the Ruegg case has attracted the attention of the world and that scientific and other public men in Europe and America have formed a special committee to defend Ruegg. He declares that if China demands international justice then it must itself show justice to foreigners.

How the First World War was Prepared

Peace Talk as a Cloak for War Preparations.

Documents from the Period Preceding the First Imperialist World War.

The Tripoli-War. — Diplomatic Interlude.

Lenin:

On the Attitude of the Italian Socialists to the Tripoli-War.

In an article published in the "Pravda" of July 28, 1912, on "The Party Congress of the Italian Socialists", Lenin wrote:

The 13th Congress of the Italian Socialist Party was held a few days ago in Reggio, in the Province of Emilia . . . There were three tendencies at the Congress: 1. Revolutionary (they had about 12,500 votes at the Congress); 2. Left Reformists (about 9,000) and 3. Right Reformists (about 2,000). The revolutionaries brought in a motion for the expulsion of Bissolati and three other extreme Right Reformists from the party.

The revolutionaries carried the day and Bissolati and company were expelled.

Bissolati, in spite of repeated party decisions, had gone so far in defending the bourgeois Government, that he had almost become a minister without portfolio. **Bissolati went so far as to defend the present war being waged by Italy against Turkey, although the whole of the Party has emphatically condemned this war as a shameful predatory war, and the dirty business of exterminating the African native population with the aid of perfected death-dealing weapons.**

Immediately after the expulsion of Bissolati and Co., all the Rights withdrew from the party and founded a party of their own which they called the "Social Reform Party". Behind this name there was really concealed a party of liberal-monarchist "labour" politicians.

A split is a difficult and painful business. It often becomes necessary, however, and in such cases any "sentimentality" is a crime.

If one persists in a mistake, if in order to defend a mistake a group is formed, which treads under-foot the decisions of the Party and the whole discipline of the proletarian army, then a split is unavoidable. **And the Party of the Italian socialist proletariat, by removing from its ranks the syndicalists and right reformists, has taken the proper course.**

In December 1914, Lenin again referred to the effects of the split in the Italian socialist party. In the "Social democrat" of December 23, 1914, he wrote:

"We do not wish in any way to idealise the Italian socialist Party, we will by no means guarantee that in the event of Italy joining in the war the Party will remain absolutely firm. We are not speaking of the future of this party, we are speaking only of the present. We record the indubitable fact that the workers in the majority of the European countries were deceived by the fictitious unity of the opportunists and revolutionaries, and that Italy constitutes a happy exception—a country in which at present there exists no such deception. That which for the II. International was a happy exception, must and will be the rule in the Third. The proletariat—so long as capitalism exists—will always be in contiguity with the petty bourgeoisie. It would be unwise not to enter into temporary alliances with it at times, but only the enemies of the proletariat could today defend unity with it, unity with the opportunists.

War Horrors.

470 soldiers discharged from the camp in Benghasi have arrived in Verona. They relate terrible things. Some have brought with them in their tobacco boxes ears which they

have cut off the Bedouins. Some contingents were also disembarked at Leghorn. A soldier went about the town showing to everybody he could see an ear which, he proudly declared, he had torn off a dying Turk.

("Avanti", May 14, 1912.)

Diplomatic Interlude.

The Tripoli-war led to an extreme accentuation of the imperialist antagonisms between the great Powers. The fight for spheres of influence in the Balkans, the fight for the domination of the Turkish Straits, entered on an acute phase. The different stages of the war-preparations of imperialist diplomacy followed rapidly one after the other. On February 23, 1912, Italy officially confirmed the annexation of Tripoli, a fact which called forth the greatest disquietude in St. Petersburg, as it followed shortly after the visit of the German diplomat von Kiderlen to Rome. Under Russian hegemony, the Serbian-Bulgarian treaty of alliance was concluded on March 13, 1912, and was shortly followed by two imperialist secret treaties: the Franco-Russian naval convention on July 16, and the Servian-Bulgarian secret military treaty on August 29, extracts from which we publish further on.

Forward to New Wars!

Poincaré and Sassofov.

After Poincaré had read the text of the Servian-Bulgarian Treaty of March 1912 in the translation provided by Sassofov, he stated:

"Mention is here made of the status quo only in the event of its violation . . . The treaty bears a war-like character which is directed not only against Turkey but also against Austria. In addition, it aims at the hegemony of Russia over both kingdoms, as Russia appears as arbitrator in all disputes. I pointed out to Sassofov that this convention in no way accorded with the text which had been formulated to me, and that it was in reality a war treaty (instrument de la guerre), and exposed not only the secret plans of the Servian and Bulgarians; it is to be feared however that they reckon on the support of Russia . . ."

(Ministere des affaires étrangères. — Documents diplomatiques. "Les affaires Balkaniques 1912/14" I. S. 38.)

The Servian-Bulgarian Treaty—a war treaty, says Poincaré. As a supplement thereto he concluded the Franco-Russian Naval Agreement, quoted below.

Sir Edward Grey.

My visit to England (interview with King George, Grey and Bonar Law at Balmoral Castle) formally confirmed for me the existence of an Anglo-French agreement regarding war actions at sea and on the Continent, in addition, without hesitating, Sir Edward Grey stated "that should the conditions under discussion arise, England would stake everything in order to inflict the most serious blow to the German naval power". The King exclaimed, in an obviously excited tone: "In the event of a clash England would not only destroy the German fleet but sink every German merchant ship which fell into its hands". Grey, upon his own initiative, corroborat-

od what I already knew from Poincaré, the existence of an agreement between France and Great Britain, according to which England engages itself, in case of a war with Germany, not only to come to the assistance of France at sea, but also on the Continent by landing troops." (Sassanov's Report to the Tsar in September 1912.)

German Imperialism.

... Two... long existing gaps in the German naval and military power were filled up in the Spring of 1912. Both bills served in the first place to increase the immediate striking force of the army and the navy. Especially as regards the fleet, the crisis had furnished convincing proof how necessary it is to keep all possible serviceable ship-material constantly ready for war....

(From Ernst von Reventlow: "Deutschlands auswärtige Politik".)

Russo-French Naval Convention¹⁾.

Secret.

Article 1.—The naval forces of France and Russia operate jointly in all eventualities in which the alliance envisages and determines the co-operation of the land armies.

Article 2.—The joint operation of the naval forces will be prepared in peace time.

For this purpose the chiefs of the two admiralty staffs are from now on empowered to correspond directly with each other, to exchange all information, to study all war possibilities and to draw up all strategic plans in agreement with one another.

Paris, July 16, 1912.

Bulgarian-Servian Military Convention of August 29, 1912.

Strictly confidential.

In accordance with the guiding principles of article 2 of the treaty of the friendship and alliance between the kingdoms of Servia and Bulgaria, and in order to conduct the war more successfully and to achieve completely the aim of the alliance, the following conditions are confirmed, which have the same binding force as the treaty itself.

Article 1. The kingdoms of Servia and Bulgaria undertake in the events stipulated in article 1 and 2 of the secret treaty, and which are also mentioned in article 1 of the secret supplement, to come to each other's aid: Bulgaria with an army of at least 200,000 men, Servia with an army of 150,000 men, who have been previously trained for war operations on the frontiers and also outside of the territories of the States in question . . .

Articles 2 and 3 contain similar provisions in the event of a war between Bulgaria and Rumania, or a war between Servia and Austria-Hungary. Then comes:

Article 4. In the event of Servia and Bulgaria, on the basis of the previous agreement, declaring war on Turkey, each of the allies undertakes, should there exist no other special agreements in this connection, to send an army of at least 100,000, mobilised on the basis of article 1 of this convention, to the seat of war on the Wardar.

The Formation of the Marxist Left Wing in Germany. Suffrage Demonstrations in 1910.

The fight for adult suffrage in Prussia brought the masses of the proletariat on to the street. Over 100,000 workers demonstrated in the Berlin Tiergarten round the Reichstag on February 13. The Party leaders, however, wanted to put a brake on this movement. They were opposed by Rosa Luxemburg in a number of articles published in the *Dartmunder Arbeiter-*

Zeitung. The Party central committee put forward Kautsky as their champion against her.

Kautsky published an article in which he pointed out that the situation was very acute at the moment and nothing would be more likely than surprises, which even before the next Reichstag election could lead to tremendous outbursts and catastrophes, in which the proletariat would be drawn and have to exert all its forces. Under such conditions a mass strike would be quite capable of sweeping away the existing regime. But, and here Kautsky proceeded to argue the point with Rosa Luxemburg:

"In Western Europe, as a result of 50 years of proletarian class struggle, not only the proletarian organisations, but also the capitalist organisations for suppressing the proletariat have become much stronger, and these come into action much more quickly and powerfully even at a mere demonstration strike. On the other hand, the workers, thanks to political liberties, have such ample opportunity of proclaiming their views without risk that even on extraordinary occasions only the most powerful and advanced among them will take the risk of a strike, if this is to remain a mere demonstration.

The strike in itself is not the only possible form of political activity and political protest, and as mere means of demonstration not even the most impressive. A successful Reichstag election would make a far greater impression...."

(From the article: "Eine neue Strategie" von K. Kautsky, "Neue Zeit" 1910. No. 38. Page 370.)

Rosa Luxemburg against Kautsky.

Rosa Luxemburg made a rejoinder to the above-quoted article by Kautsky in an article entitled: "Lassitude or Fight":

"Titanic theory and 'lassitude' in practice, the most revolutionary perspectives in the clouds, and seats in the Reichstag as the sole perspective in reality"

"True, our cause goes forward in spite of everything. Our enemies work for us so incessantly that it is no particular merit if our wheat flourishes in every weather. But after all said and done, it is not the task of a class party of the proletariat to live solely on the sins and mistakes of their opponents in spite of their own mistakes, but by their own energy to accelerate the course of events and to release not the minimum, but the maximum of action and class struggle at any moment." (Rosa Luxemburg: *Collected Works*, Volume IV. Prag 593.)

Rosa Luxemburg perceives and plainly declares that the German social democracy is incapable of conducting a revolutionary fight. She writes:

"It could easily transpire that the complicated apparatus and the strict party discipline, of which we are rightly proud, are an excellent makeshift only for Parliamentary and trade union life, while in view of the character of our leading circles they are a hindrance to mass actions on a grand scale as demanded by the coming era of severe struggles."

Rosa Luxemburg obviously consoled herself with the thought that the revolutionary instinct of the masses will finally lead them on to the right path, and that revolutionary spontaneity will overcome all hindrances. She wrote:

"When the revolutionary period is here in its full development, then the struggle will acquire such a stormy character that the party leaders will not be able to do much to curb it, for the masses will simply push their leaders on one side if they try to resist the movement." (Rosa Luxemburg: *Collected Works*, volume IV. Prag 592.)

This is a point where history has proved Rosa Luxemburg, in contradiction to the Bolsheviki, to be wrong. The Bolsheviki were quite capable of appreciating the spontaneity of the revolutionary masses, but they proclaimed that revolutionary organisation and revolutionary leadership are an indispensable prerequisite of the revolution.

Thus the party of the Bolsheviki became, through their theory and practice, the victorious iron cohort of the proletarian world revolution.

¹⁾ French Yellow Book L'Alliance Franco-Russe, Page 136.

With Full Speed Towards the Balkan War of 1912.

The Slow-match to the Powder Barrel.

By M. Pokrovsky.

The Constantinople question was a big question of Russian imperialism, . . . which already in the Spring of 1912 led to the possibility of a European war. The Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of 1912, of which Poincaré claimed to be ignorant, represented nothing more nor less than a plan to divide up European Turkey, i. e., a far more drastic operation than the notorious annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina by Austria-Hungary in the year 1908, although this action had almost led to a war. The "peaceful" character of this treaty is best illustrated by a short extract from a secret telegram sent by the head of the Russian Foreign Ministry **Neratov**, relating to the first wording of the treaty in Autumn 1911. This telegram states, inter alia:

„The whole wording of this agreement, especially however of article 4, is based on the idea of war actions and forcible occupations, whereby the same idea could be expressed in the form of distribution of cultural spheres of influence."

This little fact shows how far Russia and its Foreign Minister **Sassanov** "had nothing to do" with the conclusion of the Treaty, and how far **Sassanov** up to May 1912 "had no information whatever regarding the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty" (this is what Poincaré actually said) . . .

It is important for us to record that Tsarist Russia, already in the year 1911/12, was preparing the carving up of European Turkey, which was bound to lead to a European war. For a European war however, Russia required European allies. These allies, however, were not to be moved by arguments about the necessity of Russian grain ships having free passage through the Dardanelles. Quite other inducements were required.

These are plainly shown by **Suchomlinov** in his memoirs. He writes: "To throttle Germany was the slogan which determined the entire activity of our (the Russian and French) armies; the moment for fulfilling this military task was determined not by the soldiers, but by the diplomats."

And that is the result of the common work of **Suchomlinov** with General **Joffe**, the chief of the general staff of the French army before the war.

(From Pokrovsky: "How the World War Arose".)

International High Finance as a "Guarantee of Peace."

In circles of high finance there is being discussed the formation of an international Banking alliance with its seat in Washington. In a programme it is stated:

"High finance will become arbiter of war and peace, and as the maintenance of peace lies in its interests, it will always impose peace on the nations. In this way it will earn the tithe which it draws from the work of the individual as well as from the public wealth. It will be blessed unceasingly, as it aims at closing the temple of Janus for ever."

"Staatsbürgerzeitung" Beginning of 1912.

The Practical Example.

The chairman of the Paris stock-brokers guaranteed Russia an annual loan of 400/500 million gold francs under two conditions:

1. Russia shall commence immediately to build strategic railways, as recognised as being necessary by the conference of the French and Russian general staffs.

2. The peace footing of the Russian army is to be considerably increased.

(Pokrovsky: "How the World War Arose".)

The Meeting between the Tsar and the Kaiser in the Baltic.

Reval, Juli 4. After the arrival of the German squadron, the Tsar, along with his suite, went on board the "Hohenzollern" in order to greet Kaiser Wilhelm.

Petersburg, Juli 4. The official "Rossija" describes the meeting as a great event for the whole national political life. Berlin "Lokalanzeiger", July 4, 1912.

How the Pacifists Judged the Kaiser's Visit to Russia.

"The meeting of the Tsar and the Kaiser in the Baltic port, which was followed with close attention by the whole of Europe, is over. The expectations cherished on both sides have, it appears, not been disappointed. That international politics, and especially the situation which has arisen as a result of the Turkish-Italian war, were thoroughly discussed, was to be expected. What is probably more important is that in diplomatic circles the opinion is generally shared that the meeting has created the basis for an rapprochement between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente."

("Der Friede", August 1912.)

What the Real Meaning of the Meeting was:

"At the Conference between the Russian and French General Staffs in August 31, General **Gilinsky** said to General **Dubail**: "Russia appears for at least two years to be unable to wage a war against Germany with certainty of success."

Letter from **Sassanov** to **Isvolski** on 14th November 1912.

Russia was therefore not quite ready for a war against Germany. German imperialism also had still to make a great part of its war preparations. (New armaments, development of the Triple Alliance etc.) Therefore the outbreak of the war had to be delayed by various peace manoeuvres.

The Tripoli War still Goes on.

"The war will cause the Italians enough trouble. But it is their own fault; they have deliberately embarked on this war, they will have to see it through now. Was it at all necessary? If Italy, instead of blindly declaring war, had reasonably negotiated with us, then it would have achieved every cheap advantage without bloodshed and costs.

(**Djelid Bey**, Governor of the Vilayet of Smyrna, in the "Neue Freie Presse", Vienna, July 2nd 1912.)

Mass Desertion of Italian Soldiers.

A deserter declared: "If the frontier were not so strictly guarded, not only the men but even the mules would desert.

Berlin, "Lokalanzeiger", Juli 5, 1912.)

The Revolution in China.

"In China there is at present taking place a transformation process, the issue and results of which cannot be foreseen. One thing, however, is certain: the rule of the Manchu dynasty has been overthrown. Russia is lying in wait in order, at the suitable moment, to tear a piece away from the defenceless opponent. Its attitude in regard to Mongolia is regarded with suspicion.

(Bourgeois press reports, January 1912.)

Lenin:

Regenerated China.

"Progressive and civilised Europe has no interest in China's rejuvenation. 400 million backward Asiatics have won freedom, are awakening to political life. A quarter of the population of the globe is awakened, so to speak, out of slumber to movement and struggle.

This does not interest civilised Europe. Up to now even the French Republic has not officially recognised the Chinese Republic . . .

Chinese freedom was achieved by an alliance of peasant democracy with the liberal bourgeoisie. Whether the peasants, who are not led by the party of the proletariat, will be able to maintain their democratic position against the Liberals, who are only waiting for the first opportunity to make a turn to the Right—the near future will show.

(Lenin: Vol. XVI. Russian edition, Page 188.)

The Chemnitz Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

In the middle of September 1912, there took place in Chemnitz the Party Congress of the S.P.G., which dealt exhaustively with the question of war. The chief report on the war question was delivered by the Centrist Haase. His report was a confused mixture of Left revolutionary phrases and opportunist pacifist camouflaging of the tasks of the class struggle. Haase recognised the danger of a war:

"In Turkey a huge conflagration can break out at any moment. The Serbs, Bulgars and Greeks have entered into an alliance for common action. Russia which aims at enforcing a free passage for its ships through the Dardanelles, is only waiting for a favourable moment. Austria has announced through its Foreign Minister Count Berchtold that it also has interests in the Balkans: it would like to seize Salonica. Italy has its glance turned to Albania, and Germany has great economic interests in Turkey. Thus the situation is exceedingly tense . . . We therefore in no way fail to realise the dangers which threaten us."

"It is true, we must not forget that imperialism is very powerful, but the tendency to incite the predatory States into a war against one another are countered by other tendencies. The capitalist groups of the various countries are becoming closely interlocked and interconnected with one another. The well-known big industrialists in Germany, Stinnes and Thyssen, have, in the monthly journal "Nord und Süd", pointed to such co-operation of English and German capital on the world market as the best means of alleviating the Anglo-German antagonism.

Liebknecht's Appeal for Class Struggle against War.

Karl Liebknecht spoke during the discussion and declared:

"For us the old proverb, *si vis pacem para bellum*, if you want peace be ready for war, is still true. We can say, if we want peace between the peoples, we must prepare the war, the class war, and conduct and incite it more and more on an international scale."

The Way to the 4thth of August is Paved with "Ultra-Revolutionary" Decisions.

The Congress adopted unanimously, with two abstentions, a resolution on the war question. Such "revolutionaries" as Eduard Bernstein and Paul Lensch also voted for this resolution. The concluding portion of this resolution reads as follows:

"The Party Congress proclaims its determined will to do everything in order to bring about an understanding between the nations and to safeguard peace.

"The Party Congress demands that an end be put to competition in armaments which threaten peace and drive humanity into a fearful catastrophe, by means of international agreements.

The "most Left", ultra revolutionary resolutions—and the most shameful disregard of these resolutions or abandonment of them—that is one of the most striking signs of the collapse of the International. (Lenin on the Chemnitz and Basle resolutions.)

"The Party Congress expects the Party comrades unweariedly to exert all their forces to build up the political, trade union and co-operative organisations of the class-conscious proletariat in order to combat brutal imperialism with increased power until it is overthrown.

The Bloodbath in the Lena Gold-Fields.

In March 1912, thousands of workers in the Lena gold-fields in Siberia went on strike. They demanded an increase in their miserable wages, an improvement in the quality of the food supplied them and the eight-hour day. In order to give greater emphasis to their demands, some groups of workers, on April 17, gathered in front of the offices. The gendarmerie which had been posted here, carried out a frightful bloodbath among the peaceful demonstrators. 270 workers were killed and 250 wounded.

This bloodbath let loose an unprecedented wave of revolutionary protest strikes and demonstrations in the whole of Russia. The revolutionary proletariat of Russia replied to this monstrous bloodbath with a tremendous mass strike on 1st of May.

Lenin on the Bloodbath on the Lena.

"The third Duma commenced with bloody crimes and ended its days with bloody crimes. . . . The bloodbath on the Lena is merely the fit child of that 'renewed regime', in which the hangmen and the provocateurs are the real masters of the State. Of the crowd numbering 3000, 500 were shot down. That means that every sixth worker was hit by a bullet fired by the soldiers: a cruelty and deliberateness in shooting hitherto unknown even in Russia, where ever since the first inception of the labour movement the authorities have never been sparing with cartridges.

"The reply which the workers of St. Petersburg, Riga, Saratov, Kiev, Odessa, Jekaterinoslav, Kharkov, Cherson, Nikolajev, Sormovo have given by meetings and demonstrations to the shootings on the Lena proves that the working class of Russia are preparing to oppose to the union of all exploiters the union of the workers in the fight against the present order."

INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

Against Robber War on the Chinese People.

A Joint Manifesto by the All-America Alliance of the Chinese Anti-Imperialists and the Japanese Workers Club, U.S.A., April 6th, 1932, National Anti-War Day.

Japanese imperialism has been carrying on a robber war against the Chinese people for the partition of China.

The heroic struggles of the Chinese masses and soldiers in Manchuria and Shanghai, the increasing guerilla warfare of the Manchurian and Korean soldiers and masses against Japanese imperialism and its puppet state, and the sweeping wave of anti-imperialist activities all over China prove that the imperialists can no longer rob without resistance.

The vanguard of the Japanese masses are also fighting determinedly against the robber war against the Chinese people and war plots against the Soviet Union. They held mass anti-war demonstrations in Tokio, Osaka, Yokohama, Kudan and various parts of Japan before and after the invasion of Manchuria and Shanghai by Japanese imperialists. Over one hundred Japanese soldiers who refused to murder the Chinese people were executed by Japanese imperialists in Shanghai. Japanese soldiers also mutinied in Manchuria. The slogans of the Japanese revolutionary masses, as put forth in the demonstrations is: "Down with imperialist Japan, for Soviet Japan!"

The All-American Alliance of the Chinese Anti-Imperialists and the Japanese Workers Club, affiliated to the Anti-Imperialist League of the United States, join hand-in-hand with the toiling masses in the United States and all over the world under the leadership of the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence in the fight against robber war on China and war plots against the Soviet Union. Yankee imperialism, besides sending gunboats to China, El Salvador, Nicaragua, the Philippine Islands and other colonial countries to exploit and murder the colonial people and to attack the Chinese soviets, is doing its utmost to fool and suppress the American masses into submission as part and parcel of its feverish war preparations. The block aid system, the denial

of immediate unemployment relief and insurance, the murder of Harry Simms, the massacre of the unemployed workers in Detroit, the confirmation of the death sentence of the seven Scottsboro Negro boys by the Supreme Court of Alabama, and the increasing fascist terror against the toiling masses are measures of American imperialism to divide up and intimidate the revolutionary masses for the coming imperialist world slaughter.

The White Guardist Assassination

The Fuse to the Powder Barrel.

By M. Louis (Paris).

On the eve of the French elections **Millerand** declared that **Gorguloff**, the murderer of the President of the French Republic, was a Bolshevik. On the election day **Tardieu**, the French Premier, declared that Gorguloff was a Communist and that his party belonged to the Right wing of the Communist International. In the official communiqué issued by the French Minister of the Interior it was further declared that Gorguloff belonged to an "All-Russian party of the Neo-Bolsheviks" which was "inspired and led by the Third International".

The French government, headed by Tardieu, thus attempted to convert the white-guardist Gorguloff into a Communist. Tardieu, the French Premier, attempted to make a white guardist fascist party into the Right wing of the Communist International. The French Minister of the Interior made a criminal attempt to designate a white guardist organisation—which has made it its task to exterminate all Communists in the Soviet Union, and which set up as its programme the overthrow of the Soviet dictatorship,—as a "neo-Bolshevist Section of the Communist International". And a great part of the French press—from the fascist "Ami du Peuple" up to the government organ "Le Temps"—have engaged in an unprecedented incitement against the Soviet Union. The world-historical crime of French reaction can only call forth indignation, disgust and contempt. Two days after the statements of the assassin Gorguloff had been made public, after Gorguloff had described himself as a fascist, as a convinced white guardist, a declared enemy of the Soviet Union, after it was known that Gorguloff, in his writings and also in his depositions had represented provocation of war against the Soviet Union as the highest task of white guardist emigration, after the white-guardist emigration had proclaimed the murder of citizens of foreign States as the best means of war provocation—this attempt is particularly distinguished even among war provocations by its clumsiness and baseness.

Lies, provocation, slanders against the Soviet Union, are among the weapons employed in election campaigns under bourgeois "democracy". The "Zinoviev letter" furnished an example; and Tardieu attempted to translate the Zinoviev letter of the English Conservatives into the language of French imperialism. And just as MacDonald screened those responsible for the Zinoviev letter swindle, so the French democracy, with Herriot at the head, maintained silence and tolerated the provocative crime of reaction. The French social democracy could not find anything better to do than to take the white guardists under their protection, and **Leon Blum**, the leader of the socialists, declared:

"It is impossible, by honourable means, to deliver a counter blow. We on our part would be ashamed to misuse the declaration of this maniac for the purpose of rousing the indignation of the public against the Russian white guardists, although the military organisations of these white guardists are tolerated for some strange reason."

Leon Blum, the socialist, takes the white-guardist war provocateurs under his protection at the moment when Tardieu represents the white guardist provocateur as being a Communist.

It would be a very great mistake to regard the contemptible, unscrupulous, scandalous crime of Tardieu solely as an election manoeuvre. It is true the leader of French reaction, the most active organiser of war of intervention, also aimed at mobilising the backward petty bourgeois and

We call upon all anti-imperialists to intensify our struggle against imperialist war and imperialism itself under the following slogans:

Hands off China! Stop the transport of arms and ammunitions to China! Drive out the representatives of Japanese imperialism in the United States! Stop the legal lynching of the Scottsboro boys! All war funds to the unemployed! Defend the Chinese people and the Soviet Union!

peasant strata in the interests of the parties of the Right. It is true he desired by this shameful act to secure a majority. But that was not his only aim. Tardieu also attempted to set up the most convenient platform of understanding for all imperialist governments; the platform of understanding against Bolshevism, against the Communist International, against the Soviet Union, and to gather the imperialist governments under the banner of the holy crusade against Bolshevism. Nothing would be more erroneous than to assume that this criminal coup has ended with the election. The French police, the French general staff, French class justice and its white-guardist agents will continue farther along the path indicated by Tardieu, the assassination of Doumer will be made use of as a means of war-provocation.

As an election manoeuvre it has not achieved the success which Tardieu hoped. He has not succeeded in rousing an anti-Bolshevist hysteria among the petty bourgeois and peasant strata of the population; in calling forth a pogrom mood against the Soviet Union even among these strata. Tardieu has suffered a rather serious election defeat. The toiling masses of France—and not only the proletarian masses—have rejected the provocation of intervention against the Soviet Union. In this sense the elections in France can be interpreted as a demonstration against the war of intervention, against the policy of war provocation. This does not mean, however, that the vote of the French masses against war will not be falsified in the French Chamber into a vote for the policy of intervention, just as Gorguloff has been transformed from a white guardist into a Communist. We have still to wait and see whether the foreign policy of France will still remain in Tardieu's hands. There exists no doubt that a Herriot government, with the support of Leon Blum, would continue, even if with other methods, the policy of French imperialism. We have no illusions whatever regarding this.

Tardieu's provocation took place at a moment when the entire international situation, the whole international atmosphere is heavily charged. War has already broken out in the Far East. After the armistice in Shanghai, Japanese imperialism is increasing its military preparations in Manchuria and is employing the same white-guardist provocation methods as Tardieu. Poland, Rumania and Finland have already been converted into arsenals bristling with weapons. The English Conservatives are driving for a breach with the Soviet Union. One can rest assured that in the very near future the English diehards will find some pretext or other in order to launch a blow against the Communist International, against "Bolshevist propaganda".

The outrage in Moscow, the outrage in Shanghai, the assassination in Paris show the tenseness of the international situation. All the warmongers are eagerly at work in order rightly to apply the spark which shall cause the explosion.

"The only salvation, the last hope is war. It is a matter of indifference whether it is a civil war, or a war of intervention, so long as it is war and only war. War is the only hope for the Russian emigrants, who are scattered all over the world. War would be the end of the Bolshevik power. The continuation of the present peace will be the end of Europe and the end of the world. Therefore, long live war. It is our only hope."

Thus wrote Gorguloff in his brochure. And work is being feverishly carried on in Paris, London, Tokyo, Warsaw, Bucharest and New York to realise this programme.

The White Guardist Assassination and the Anti-Soviet Press Campaign in Great Britain.

By R. Bishop (London).

The assassination of **President Doumer** by a mad Russian White guardist in Paris has been seized upon by the bourgeois press, regardless of all the facts, to intensify their war campaign against the Soviet Union, which has steadily been gaining momentum during the last few weeks. Regardless of all the known facts of the assassin, **Gorguloff**, is represented as being a Communist, and the statement of the notorious Millerand has been eagerly seized upon to this end.

But the "**Daily Mail**" did not wait for the Millerand statement. In its edition on Saturday morning it came out with the heading: "French President Dies From Assassin's Shots: Murdered By Russian Communist's Bullets." The story starts with the statement that "M. Doumer died at 4.45 a.m. to-day after being gravely wounded by the bullets of a Russian Communist assassin yesterday afternoon". This introduction to the story was followed by two messages from the Paris correspondent of the "**Daily Mail**". Neither of these stories contained any reference to the allegation that Gorguloff was a Communist. As a matter of fact the "**Mail**" very carefully omitted to give any details about his career previous to the assassination. The statement that he was a Communist was deliberately and wantonly inserted in the belief that the readers of the paper would believe any lie directed against the Bolsheviks.

The "**Morning Post**" was equally venomous although more subtle in its methods. In a leading article it admits that Gorguloff was no Communist, but nevertheless, by means of special pleading of its own, endeavours to get its anti-Soviet propaganda across. Says this precious effusion:

"The hand which struck down the President was Russian: but, if report be correct, neither Communist nor Anarchist, and yet the desperate attack may be called a result of the Russian Revolution. ... The madness which is Russia infects Europe to its westernmost isle, and is at the root of this present misfortune to France. The distraught fanatic, by his blundering crime, has in no way weakened the system he abhors... But the crime should suggest again to the statesmen of Europe the need for a common policy on this gravest of all dangers which threatens civilisation."

A more subtly poisonous piece of speciousness it would be hard to imagine.

Millerand's statement gave the Sunday press far greater scope than the Saturday papers had, and they took full advantage of it. Practically all the popular sheets joined in the cry that the "Communist assassins were at work".

"Assassin of French President A Bolshevik", said the "**Sunday Pictorial**". "Gorguloff Said To Be Bolshevik", said the "**Sunday Graphic**", whilst the headline of the others were of a similar character.

The "**Sunday Chronicle**" went so far as to issue what purported to be a message from "Our Special Correspondent in Moscow". This paper has no correspondent in Moscow and the message from its first word to its last bears the imprint of being an impudent fabrication. "Soviet's Veil of Silence", this lying story is headed. It says:

"A veil of silence has descended over Soviet Russia following the death of President Doumer. Stalin the dictator refuses to discuss the matter. His secretary cannot say anything about it. When I called on M. Stalin to-day I was told that he was out. His secretary told me that she was unable to discuss the matter. A secret order has been passed by the Cheka that in no circumstances may the matter be discussed."

This "special correspondent" is so ignorant of Soviet affairs that he is not yet aware that the Cheka was dissolved ten years ago. Yet while the "**Sunday Chronicle**" talks of the Soviet "veil of silence" it along with practically the whole of its contemporaries refused to publish the statement of the Comintern on the assassination which it received on Saturday afternoon, many hours before it went to press.

The sheer, deliberate war provocation is well illustrated by the treatment accorded in the "**Sunday Pictorial**". This

journal, directly underneath their highly imaginative story of the assassination, print an article by their Political correspondent calling for the rupture of relations with the Soviet Union by Britain and for renewed repressive activities against the C.P.G.B. and its press.

This follows close upon the heels of a similar article which appeared in the "**Morning Post**" earlier in the week, and is very similar in tone to an article appearing in the "**Sunday Dispatch**".

These articles are based upon a number of questions that Tory M.P.s are asking Ministers during the week. One of these is to ask the Home Secretary whether he is aware of **the growth of Communism in Britain and if he will take steps for its restriction.**

Another question concerns the publication in a recent number of "**Inprecorr**" of the Draft Platform of the Y.C.L. of India. This is represented as being "a flagrant violation of the Russian Trade Agreement", by the simple device of describing "Inprecorr" as the official organ of the Comintern and representing the Comintern and the Soviet Government as one and the same thing. The Sunday Pictorial article commences:

"The sinister activities of the Communists not merely in this country but in various parts of the Empire will be brought to the notice of the Government this week. During the last six months the terms of the Russian Trade agreement relating to the cessation of propaganda have been frequently violated and the Government will be pressed to take immediate steps to bring the agreement to an end. I understand the matter is already engaging the serious attention of the Government."

The language used in the "**Morning Post**" and the "**Sunday Dispatch**" was almost identical with this.

The similarity of these statements, appearing simultaneously, points strongly to a common inspiration. As part of their war preparations the imperialists grow ever more reckless in their lying against the Soviet Union, hoping to develop a war hysteria which will enable them to consummate their war plans. As another part of this same preparation they are getting ready for still further attacks on the Communist Party and its press, believing that by so doing they will weaken the resistance of the British workers to war.

On every hand and in every country the war clouds gather, affording irrefutable proof of the imminence of the long-planned attack.

Statement of C.I. on Paris Outrage.

Moscow, 7th May 1932.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has issued the following extremely important statement on the perfidious attempts to misrepresent the significance of the white guardist outrage committed in Paris:

"The Havas Agency reports that as a result of an important conference at which Tardieu and other Ministers were present, an official communiqué was issued in which it is stated that the murderer of President Doumer is a member of 'a Pan-Russian Party of a neo-bolshevist character' inspired by the Third International."

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International protests indignantly against this slanderous fabrication issued by the Havas Agency which is attempting to clear the White Guardists and place the responsibility for the provocative act of the fascist Gorgulov onto the shoulders of the Communist International. Quite apart from the fact that Gorgulov is one of the most bitter enemies of Communism, as can be seen from his pamphlet and from the statements made by him after his arrest, the whole world knows that the Communist International, being a mass organisation of the working class, in accordance with its programme has always rejected and still rejects individual terrorist acts.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

(Signed) **Pieck** (C.P. of Germany)
Shields (C.P. of Great Britain)
Manuilsky (C.P. of Soviet Union)
Shvabova (C.P. of Czechoslovakia)
Desrumeaux (C.P. of France)
Furini (C.P. of Italy)
Katayama (C.P. of Japan)."

The "Pravda" on the New Anti-Soviet Provocation.

Moscow, 8th May 1932.

To-day's "Pravda" publishes a leading article entitled, "A new anti-soviet Provocation" in which it declares that the murder of the French President Doumer by the white guardist **Paul Gorgulov** lifts the veil a little from the white guardist intrigues in Paris.

Since the final destruction of the white armies on Soviet territory Paris had become the headquarters for all the enemies of the Soviet power. There was probably no other country in the world where these elements enjoyed greater privileges. White guardist military organisations existed in Paris with the knowledge and encouragement of the French authorities, and these organisations maintained close connections with the French military authorities right up to the French General Staff itself. The French government had offered a band of anti-Soviet terrorists an asylum on its territory, and these elements never ceased for a moment in their anti-Soviet activities, intrigues and provocations.

The assassination of Doumer was a deliberate attempt to complicate the diplomatic relations between France and the Soviet Union. Imperialist France had paid for its attitude towards the white guardist emigrants with the life of its own president.

One might think, continues the "Pravda" that this would cause the French bourgeoisie to alter its attitude, but this is not the case. The French bourgeoisie has a role for the white guardists in its interventionist plans. Embarrassed by the open admission of the murderer that the assassination of Doumer was a blow against the Soviet Union, the French authorities at first spread the version that Gorgulov was a madman, but when this was not convincing enough they went still further and declared him to be—an "agent" of the Comintern!

The "Pravda" then points out that the pamphlet published by Gorgulov to which the French Ministry of the Interior appeals as a proof of Gorgulov's "Neo-Bolshevism", whatever interpretation the Ministry may later care to give to that expression, proves exactly the opposite and shows the author to be a counter-revolutionary of the deepest dye and an irreconcilable enemy of the Soviet power. In his "programme" Gorgulov calls the Soviet power "a robber band", and a "Soviet-Hebrew power". In the same pamphlet Gorgulov calls for the overthrow of the Soviets, the slaughter of the communists and the betrayal of the Red Army. This is the Neo-Bolshevism which according to the French Ministry of the Interior has the approval of the Communist International.

The "Pravda" then warns the French Minister of the Interior, **Mahieu**, who it points out failed to carry out his duty of protecting Doumer's life, against the world scandal which would ensue if he attempts to maintain his slanderous allegations. The "Pravda" declares that there is no doubt that the white guardists have now systematically adopted the tactic of assassinating foreign statesmen in order to provoke conflicts with the Soviet Union. At memorial meetings for Stern which took place in Paris, white guardist leaders openly appealed for the continuation of the new means of struggle against the Soviet Union. The white guardist newspaper "Vozrozhdenie" in Paris declared after the failure of Stern: "Stern's shots have been registered and they will be repeated. His action is by no means the end, it is the beginning."

Kerenski devoted a number of articles in his newspaper "Dni" to the Stern provocation and in No. 153 of that organ he writes:

"We have before us a classical example of a voluntary self-sacrificing terrorist act in order to defend the rights of the people. Stern has died, but not in vain... Stern was not alone. The self-sacrificing flame of individual terror is now leaping up."

The "Pravda" then concludes:

"These open appeals to terrorist acts, the reckless incitement against the Soviet Union, the impunity granted to the white guardists in France, that is the situation in which the psychology which leads to terrorist acts is fostered. If Monsieur Mahieu wishes to find the inspirers and organisers of the assassination of his President, then he must search amongst those people who have enjoyed and still enjoy the special protection of the French bourgeoisie and in particular of his own department."

"L'Humanité" Answers Government Slanders.

Paris, 7th May 1932.

This evening a special edition of "L'Humanité", the central organ of the French Communist Party, published the following statement:

"The Ministry of the Interior, the protector of the White Guardists in France, at its wits end as a result of the assassination of President Doumer by **Dr. Gorgulov**, is now seeking to turn public hostility against the Communist Party and the Communist International.

"We indignantly condemn before the workers of France the action of the Ministry of the Interior which aims at inciting public opinion against the Communist Party and the Soviet Union and in this fashion to exploit the crime of its protégé in order to continue the warlike policy of French imperialism towards the Soviet Union. The communiqué of the Ministry of the Interior is a tissue of lies which proves the embarrassment and bad conscience of its authors and their will to war against the Soviet Union. **Tardieu** accuses "L'Humanité" of having published a garbled version of the assassination of President Doumer and of having forged the first statements of the murderer. However, the same statements which prove the anti-bolshevist and anti-Soviet character of the assassin and his crime, were published by all the bourgeois newspapers including those of the government. The statement made by Gorgulov to the police in the presence of numerous journalists is now to be suppressed, because the authorities have realised the international significance of it.

"The Minister of the Interior has been guilty of deliberate lies in its zeal to pursue its anti-Soviet policy. It lies deliberately when it seeks to present Gorgulov as a Neo-bolshevist. Its action is nothing but an attempt to blacken the Communist Party and the Soviet Union in defiance of the obvious truth. Neo-bolshevism exists only in the confused imagination of Tardieu. Gorgulov is a white guardist. According to his own admissions:

"1. he is an ex-officer of the cossack troops of Denikin and Wrangel;

"2. since 1919 he has been a white guardist emigrant in France, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia;

"3. he is the founder of a fascist Pan-Russian peasant party which was formed in Prague in 1930, a terrorist counter-revolutionary organisation whose aim, according to its own programme, is to overthrow and destroy the Soviet power by force of arms;

"4. he is a counter-revolutionary and anti-Soviet author known in white guardist circles under the pen-name of Paul Brede, the author of a number of books furiously attacking the Soviet Union;

"5. he is the holder of a so-called Nansen passport, which is exclusively issued to white-guardist Russian emigrants;

"6. he is the protégé of Struve, the leader of the Russian monarchist alliance, and of Saborski, the chairman of the white Russian intellectuals organisation;

"7. he was in touch with all the leaders of the white guardist movement.

"Gorgulov was able to live in France and carry out his action thanks to the protection of the government and the police. Tardieu was lying when he declared that Gorgulov had relations with the Communist Party. The government has tolerated the existence of the white guardist organisations in France; it has supported them; in the words of Steeg, it has granted them 'benevolent hospitality'; it has permitted them to organise themselves in a military fashion; it has permitted them to march armed through the streets of Paris and to march through l'Arc de Triomphe in September 1930 and in August and November 1931 whilst the French working class is denied the right to demonstrate on the streets.

"The French government protects these bandits because it wishes to use them in its attack on the Soviet Union. For years the Communist Party has demanded in the Chamber of Deputies the expulsion of the white guardists from France. The government has consistently refused to accede to this demand. The government protects this band of counter-revolutionaries. The government has kept up the spirits of hundreds of thousands of Gorgulovs to whom it grants hospitality and a means of livelihood, by promising them war against the Soviet Union in the near future. When one of these white guardists now attacks a highly-placed person in his excitement in order to demonstrate his impatience, then this is, to

say nothing more, the result of the anti-Soviet promises which the French government has made to the white guardists.

"The murderer of Doumer is a white guardist. He was armed by the anti-Soviet government of our country!

"Workers, be on the alert!

"Demand with us the immediate expulsion of the white guardists! Join the front against the threatening imperialist war!"

Declaration of the C. P. of Great Britain.

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party adopted the following statement at a special meeting on May 8:

The assassin of President Doumer is a Russian White Guard, stated to be a mad one, but none the less a vicious depraved enemy of the Soviet Union, an avowed plotter for the restoration of the foul Tsarist regime. He belongs to the gang of degenerate parasitic emigrés who have established themselves in France with the full approval of the French Government.

Gouguloff's fierce hatred of the Soviet Union is undeniable. It is proven by his life story, his diary and declarations before the police.

But Gouguloff's open avowal of his own views does not prevent Tardieu, French Prime Minister, and Millerand, an ex-President, from declaring him to be exactly the opposite. Five minutes after the crime Gouguloff, the White Guard, has been turned into a Bolshevik!

Throughout the world the capitalist Press takes up the cry. Yesterday in Britain the million sale newspapers came out with great headlines announcing that the murder of President Doumer was a Bolshevik atrocity. The declaration of the Communist International was practically suppressed.

This brazen accusation against the Bolsheviks, begun by the French Government and echoed in every other country, can have only one meaning.

The capitalist class is attempting to utilise the Paris outrage in order to work up a wild hysteria against the Soviet Union and to foment war.

A political assassination always comes as a blessing to the warmongers and is frequently organised by them.

The "diplomatic complication" resulting from the Doumer shooting is a new world-wide, slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union which, because of the war situation in Manchuria and the existence of an anti-Soviet bloc in Europe under French leadership, may quickly develop into an armed attack on the Socialist Republic.

The propaganda of the "Daily Mail", "Sunday Chronicle" fits in with the aims of the British "National" Government which is supporting Japan in Manchuria, allied with France in Europe, and preparing to break the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreements.

The situation never was so grave and menacing as it is to-day. The new campaign against the Soviet Union coincides with the strengthening of Japanese military operations in Manchuria, the decision to transfer troops from Shanghai to Manchuria as a result of the "peace" settlement, and the torturing of Soviet citizens in Harbin.

Everything is being prepared for the approach of the weather conditions which will permit a widespread military offensive.

The wild campaign of the capitalist Press and the war moves of the "National" Government must be resolutely answered by the working-class. Nail every lie as soon as it is uttered, and show that the Fascist, Gouguloff, whether sane or insane, was striving to bring about war on the Soviet Union, striving to attain what is the declared aim of the White Guards everywhere.

Strengthen the fight to stop the making and transport of munitions to the Far East! Stop the murder ships from leaving!

Direct the fight against our own Government, against British imperialism, the class enemy nearest to us, which is organising the war in all parts of the world.

At this moment when the poisonous propaganda machine of the British capitalist class is spitting out its vile lies, a mighty working-class effort must be made to expose this foul attack, and to crush the war plans. There is not a moment to lose, every worker must rally now in defence of the Soviet Union.

FIRST OF MAY

May Day Demonstrations in Spain.

Madrid, 6th May 1932.

In co-operation with the government the Spanish "socialists" have done their best to emasculate May Day as a working class demonstration. They declared the 1st May a "holiday" and advised the workers to hold no demonstrations, but to make trips into the surrounding country. The **Spanish Communist Party** maintained the fine fighting traditions of May Day and organised meetings and demonstrations throughout the country. All the communist meetings and demonstrations were prohibited by the authorities. Despite the alliance of "socialists" and the government, the workers followed the lead of the Communist Party and revolutionary demonstrations against the Spanish reaction and against imperialist war took place throughout the country.

In **Madrid** the police attacked the demonstration which re-formed five times in the face of the police attacks. Fight policemen and many workers were injured and over sixty workers were arrested.

In **Cordova** the police opened fire with rifles against the demonstration killing two workers and wounding eight seriously. Over thirty workers were arrested.

In **Seville** a two-hour fight took place between the police and the demonstrating workers. There were many injured on both sides. Amongst the arrested was a seventeen year old girl. The police announce that a revolver was found in her possession.

In **Salvaleon** (Badayoz) the police also fired on the demonstration killing two persons, including a working woman.

In **le Bonillo** (Burgos) the police fired into the ranks of the demonstrating workers killing one. The workers fiercely resisted the police attacks and one policeman was killed and another was so seriously wounded that he had to be taken to hospital.

The Communist Party called for a **protest strike** in **Seville** on the 2nd May and despite the treachery and sabotage of the socialists and the anarchists, the strike took on a mass form.

Italian Workers Celebrate May Day.

Paris, 6th May 1932.

The Italian authorities had taken tremendous precautions to prevent any celebration of May Day in Italy. The police and the fascist militia were on the alert everywhere and scouting aeroplanes circled over the big towns all day in order to prevent any repetition of the leaflet-dropping incidents. Workers with red ties and red buttonholes could be seen frequently. A number of collisions took place when zealous fascists tried to deprive these workers of their favours. In **Milan** red flags were hoisted in the night on the chimneystacks of a number of factories and during the day they floated proudly over the town for several hours before they could be removed. About twenty arrests were made in the town.

The May Day Demonstrations in Poland.

Warsaw, 4th May 1932.

A communist demonstration took place in the Bank Square on the 1st May in **Warsaw**. The police attacked the demonstrating workers with the butts of their rifles. Many workers were injured. A second demonstration of about five hundred workers was attacked by the police on the corner of Krolevska Street and Marszalkowska Street. Twenty workers were injured and seventeen arrested. Demonstrations also took place in other parts of the town and further collisions took place with the police and with the strong-arm gangs of the Polish Socialist Party. Over 350 revolutionary workers were arrested in Warsaw altogether on the 1st May.

Other big demonstrations took place in the **Dombrova** mining district and fierce collisions took place with the police. Similar demonstrations took place in **Polish Upper Silesia**. In **Lodz** and **Lemberg** demonstrations were broken up by the police and many arrests were made.