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TO
THE SECOND**

AN ARSENAL of Anti-War Materials

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FROM THE FIRST WORLD WAR TO THE SECOND

By NEMO



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HOW THE SHOT AT SARAJEVO CAME TO BE FIRED

THE first World War broke out in August, 1914, not like a lightning flash from a clear sky, but like a heavy storm, the coming of which had been long before announced by the rolling of thunder. The war ripened out of the world of "civilized" plunder, of powerful capitalist monopolies, of big imperialist powers.

The whole globe had been conquered and divided up; the predatory rule of the imperialist power extended from mid-Europe to South America, from Africa to Eastern Asia and Australia. The imperialist powers came into contact with one another in the competitive struggle for the subjugation of each and every portion of the earth, however small, in the greedy striving for sources of cheap raw materials and new markets.

Ever more jealously did each of the imperialist robbers note the growth of the others, ever more ferociously did they **contend against one another for the booty**, booty which consisted as much in the coolies of China as in the coal mines of Alsace-Lorraine, in the peasants and shepherds of Russia as in the Negro tribes of Africa, in Constantinople or Trieste, in the Bagdad railway, South American oil fields, East Indian rubber plantations, or Ukrainian grain fields. The intensifying struggle for a "place in the sun," this was the struggle of the ruling class in every country for new unrestricted possibilities of exploitation and profit making, the

struggle for the domination of the whole world.

In order, however, to plunder the world and to safeguard what they had plundered, the imperialist powers proceeded more and more to arm themselves to the teeth. The embittered competitive struggle for the world market was accompanied by an extraordinarily intensified and growing competition in armaments. In the forty years from 1872 to 1912, the expenditure on armaments of the leading big powers increased by the following percentages:

Germany	325%
Russia	214%
Italy	195%
England	180%
Austria-Hungary	155%
France	133%

Secret military alliances and open formation of **blocs** followed and they announced the coming of a great armed conflict. Already at the beginning of the century, the two groupings of the imperialist powers which marched against one another in 1914 had taken shape. The Triple Alliance, founded in 1882, under the leadership of Germany, was confronted by the Entente formed in 1907 under the leadership of England. All the other imperialist antagonisms were over-shadowed by that between England and Germany. After the Franco-German War of 1871, at the end of which came the formation of the German Empire, German capitalism began a period of impetuous growth. German finance capital pressed forward beyond the frontiers of its own country and conquered ever wider spheres of influence and ever larger colonial areas. The building of a mighty navy was intended to serve to safeguard the connection between Germany and its

areas of exploitation overseas. At every step the advance of German finance capital encountered the old "spheres of interest" of British imperialism. With growing bitterness England pursued the competitive struggle and the competition in armaments with Germany.

From the beginning of the twentieth century, numerous crises and small wars occurred as clear forerunners of the decisive conflict of 1914. The Boer War of 1900-01, the Moroccan War of 1905, the Agadir incident of 1907, the Balkan crisis of 1908, the Turko-Italian War of 1911, and the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, formed the separate steps of a path which led to the World War of 1914-18. Even as late as the year 1913, France lengthened its period of military service, Russia increased its quota of recruits, Germany adopted a new army bill, and England enlarged its naval program. The Peace Conference at the Hague did not for a moment give pause to the armament race. In 1914, the antagonisms between the powers had already been sharpened to such an extent that the German ambassador in Paris, Schon, noted with a shrug of the shoulders: "Peace is relegated only to the mercy of chance."

In the summer of 1914, Europe resembled a loaded powder magazine. It needed only the shot fired at Sarajevo on July 22, to which Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, and his wife, fell a victim, in order to explode this powder magazine into the air and to unleash all the antagonisms in the form of war. It is true that in August, 1914, the armament programs of the imperialists had by a long way not been completely carried through. However, even these incomplete armaments sufficed to submerge the world in the greatest of all wars for a period of four and a half years. In 1914, Germany possessed not less than

thirteen double lines of railway track leading to its west frontier, which allowed of the passage of 550 railway trains over the Rhine bridges every day. In the two first weeks of the war, a train passed over the Rhine bridge at Cologne every ten minutes. When, in August, 1914, the storm broke loose, the rulers only needed to press a button, the general staffs to open their secret archives, and the governing officials to pull out the drawers of their desks, in order that the whole system of military alliances and war plans, which had long before been prepared in every detail, should begin to function with mechanical precision.

The shot fired at Sarajevo was in the first place an issue which affected Austria and Serbia alone. But following in its train, the four Central Powers on one side and twenty-three countries on the other side were drawn into the vortex of war. It is true that Turkey desired to remain neutral, but the influence of the German bank treasuries interested in the Bagdad Railway proved to be more powerful. Germany's 60,000,000 mark loan to Bulgaria and England's \$25,000,000 loan to Greece, bought also the entry of these powers into the war.

Already in 1912, Poincare had predicted the outbreak of the World War in 1914, for he was aware that by this time a decisive stage in the armament programs would have been accomplished. The war of 1914 was bound to become a world war for the issue lay not only in the deep antagonism between Great Britain and Germany and the traditional hereditary enmity between France and Germany, but also in the antagonism between Austria-Hungary and Russia in the Balkans, in the struggle for the Near East, in the expansionist aims of Japan and Italy, and in the dreams of world domination on the part of American imperialism. The whole capitalist world was, therefore,

caught in the toils of the war. The area of the territory of the Central Powers amounted to 2,225,000 square kilometres with a population of 158,000,000 and an annual income of \$4,000,000,000. On the other side stood the Entente with its area of 37,267,000 square kilometres, and a population of 1,392,000,000, possessing an annual income of \$6,881,000,000.

The shot at Sarajevo was no accident and it was not the real cause of the World War. Nor did the outbreak of the World War depend on the personality of the leaders of the government at that time, Bethman-Hollweg, Poincare, Grey or Sazonov. In order that the wide masses of the people, who after the World War were full of indignation at the war horrors which had been endured, should be deflected from a struggle against the real causes of the war, the imperialists cast the blame on one another for the outbreak of the war. The war guilt lie was the great lie of **all** the imperialists, the accusation against persons and governments in order to protect the capitalist **system** which really bore the guilt. The responsible governmental leaders were only the executive organs of finance capital, the rule of which leads to struggle for the division and re-division of the world. The capitalist social order which develops unevenly is the source of all the contradictions, antagonisms and war conflicts. After 1871, Germany grew in strength four times as fast as England and France, Japan ten times as fast as Russia. The process of this uneven development naturally altered the relations of power between the imperialists and the altered power relations in their turn determined an alteration of the existing division of the plunder, i.e., a new partition of the world. In his article, "On the slogan of the United States of Europe," Lenin wrote:

"There is and there can be no other way of testing the real strength of a capitalist state than that of war. War does not contradict the principles of private property—on the contrary, it is a direct and inevitable development of those principles. Under capitalism, the even economic growth of the individual enterprises, or individual states is impossible. Under capitalism, there is nothing else that periodically restores the disturbed equilibrium except crises in industry and wars in politics."*

II.

FOR GOD, KING AND COUNTRY

The fact of the uneven development of capitalist society led again and again to the disturbance of the so-called balance of power in the sphere of world politics; it was also the cause of the origin of the first world war, for which the shot at Sarajevo was only the starting signal.

The Entente entered the war with the slogan of the liberation of all oppressed peoples. The Central Powers issued the call to war for the struggle for a "place in the sun." The issue in the World War was proclaimed to be one of "national interests," of honor and glory. The widest masses of the people in every country obeyed the call of their governments and believed it their duty to sacrifice themselves for the greater glory of the so-called fatherland. The wives and mothers bestrewed with roses the path of their husbands and sons going to the trenches, on the confident assumption that the war would only last a few months and that the fighters returning from the

* Lenin: **Selected Works**, Vol. III, "The United States of Europe Slogan." Russian Ed.

front would receive the warm thanks of the "fatherland." The working class, which, on the basis of the resolutions against war adopted by the Second International at the Congresses of Stuttgart and Basle, had hoped that when the time came these resolutions would be followed by deeds, were betrayed by the Second International. Only the Bolsheviks in Russia under the leadership of Lenin, the Spartakus Bund in Germany founded in the midst of the fire of the World War by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, as well as a few other small groups in Serbia, etc., upheld the banner of proletarian internationalism and rallied the masses to struggle against the imperialist war and for the formation of a new international inspired with a revolutionary spirit.

The first world war lasted from Aug. 2, 1914, until Nov. 11, 1918, i.e., 1,565 days, and when the war had come to an end humanity could draw up the following balance sheet:

Casualties of the Armies in the World War

Army	Killed	Wounded	Invalided
France	1,550,000	3,100,000	800,000
England	725,000	2,050,000	350,000
Germany	1,835,000	4,215,000	665,000
Russia	700,000	2,750,000	410,000
All belligerent countries	10,000,000	29,000,000	5,000,000

Diminution of Population Due Directly to the World War

Population of 10 European states at end of 1913	400,850,000
Probable population under normal conditions in 1919	424,480,000
Actual population in 1919	389,100,000
Total loss due to war	35,380,000
Including: Dead and wounded	9,829,000

Thus, it is seen that in ten European states alone the population decreased during the war by 35,000,000. The World War demanded from the civil population as many death sacrifices as among the soldiers at the front. Millions were brought to the grave by starvation and mass epidemics. No less than 70,000,000 men were mobilized during the World War, of whom 10,000,000 were killed, 20,000,000 wounded, 5,000,000 made cripples and a further 5,000,000 were reported missing. According to calculations of the American Professor Langdon, the World War caused the death of twice as many men as all previous wars from 1790 to 1913 put together, including the Napoleonic Wars, the Crimean War, the Danish War of 1864, the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866, the American Civil War, the Franco-German War of 1870-71, the Boer War of 1900-01, the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, and the two Balkan Wars of 1912-13. If all those killed in the World War were buried in separate graves, it would require a cemetery of 100 square kilometres.

During the war, some 70,000,000 persons were withdrawn from the process of production, while those who were allowed to work were occupied in the preparation of the munitions and tools for mass murder.

For the production of these enormous quantities of war material there were withdrawn in 1914-18 from normal production, in France 1,800,000 workers, in England 2,000,000 workers, and in America 1,200,000 workers. The German army alone used up in the World War a total of 286,000,000 shells of an estimated value of over 24,000,000,000 marks. The destruction due to the World War was enormous; no one up to the present day has been able to calculate it exactly. Thus, for example, in Northern France there were destroyed 290,000 dwelling houses, 500,000 other buildings, 65,000 kilometres of roads and rail-

ways, 22,160 factories and 9,700 railway bridges. That is the balance for one stretch of country alone; what would the figures look like if Belgium, Russia, the whole of the Balkans and the Near East were taken into the calculation? During the first two years, the World War involved a daily cost of 123,000,000 gold dollars; in 1918 the figure had risen to \$244,000,000 daily, i.e., every hour \$10,000,000 were blown into the air. The direct costs of the war are calculated at not less than \$186,000,000,000, the indirect costs at \$337,000,000,000. The war devoured not only the entire national income of the chief belligerent states but also a considerable portion of their national wealth as can be seen from the following table (figures in thousand million dollars):

Country	National Wealth	National Income	Direct War Expenditure	Average Per Annum
Great Britain	70.5	11.0	33.4	7.7
France	58.5	6.0	31.3	7.2
Germany	80.5	10.5	46.3	16.8
Austro-Hungary ..	40.0	3.8	24.8	5.7
Russia	60.0	6.5	26.5	7.6
Eleven chief belligerent countries	567.0	80.8	249.4	57.5

The immediate war expenditure devoured the total national income of the warring countries for three years. Besides that, damage to private property amounted to \$30,000,000,000, ships were sunk to a value of \$6,800,000,000, losses to neutrals amounted to almost \$2,000,000,000, the loss owing to damage to persons is reckoned at \$30,000,000,000, and the drop in production is estimated at a loss of \$45,000,000,000. It is no wonder, therefore, that world economy only reached the pre-war level in 1925-26. The capitalist economic system, however, was so shattered that it

could not recover, and in the course of the last crisis dating from 1929 it was thrown back to the level of the previous century.

The World War left a legacy of 5,000,000 widows and 10,000,000 orphans. When "peace" was declared in November, 1918, Europe was fully exhausted and drained of blood. The whole of Europe resembled a heap of ruins, its fields had been watered by streams of human blood. It was a blood-letting unprecedented in the history of the world.

In the name of "God, King and Country," Europe was converted into a human slaughter house.

III.

WHEN ROBBERS MAKE PEACE

"The War to End War," such was the slogan under which the World War was carried on. The task of the Versailles Treaty was proclaimed as the replacement of war by a "firm, just and lasting peace." Wilson's Fourteen Points, through which America announced its role as arbiter over the world, promised the ending of secret diplomacy, freedom of the seas, the abolition of all barriers, the reduction of armaments, the liberation of the oppressed peoples and the creation of a League of Nations for the establishment of a permanent instrument of peace. The Versailles Treaty was supposed to guarantee the realization of these points.

In the Covenant of the League of Nations, created in 1919, which formed the first section of the Versailles Treaty, it is solemnly proclaimed:

"Whereas, it is essential for the promotion of collaboration among nations and preservation of international peace and international security, to undertake definite pledges not to proceed to war; to preserve international relations with all

frankness founded on justice and honor; to accurately observe the prescriptions of international law, which henceforth are recognized as guidance for the actual behavior of governments; to ensure that justice prevails and to observe all treaty obligations in the mutual relationship of organized peoples; the high Contracting Parties adopt the present Covenant which establishes the League of Nations."

The disarming of Germany was characterized as the first step on the way to general disarmament, "which the powers seek to realize as one of the best means for the prevention of war and which it will be one of the first tasks of the League of Nations to bring about." The protection of the political independence and inviolability of all states and the adoption of measures against any disturber of the peace were sacredly promised by the League of Nations through the Versailles Treaty.

In the sober light of day the reality was seen to be different from what was written on paper. The shimmering contents of the Wilsonian Fourteen Points, of the pact of the League of Nations and of the Versailles Treaty, only aimed at deceiving the masses of the people. Boundless hatred had accumulated among the wide masses of the people on account of the war crime which had been committed and on account of the unspeakable sufferings which they had endured, and was expressed in tremendous outbursts of feeling hostile to war and to the capitalists, in the enormous revolutionary actions of the post-war period. Only the absence of revolutionary parties and the hangman's service performed by the Second International for the bourgeoisie prevented the overthrow of capitalism in Russia from being followed by its overthrow also in all the other countries of Europe. By asserting their belief in peace, the imperialists and their Social-Democratic

lackeys found a means of escaping the wrath of the people. In addition, there was the fact that the powers, exhausted by the World War, were in need of a considerable breathing space.

The Versailles Treaty, concluded by the imperialists as the sequel to an imperialist war, could not help leading to an imperialist peace. The treaties of capitalist society based on exploitation and oppression could only be treaties for the safeguarding of the capitalist exploiting rule over the toilers in their own country and over the millions of the colonial slaves. The victor in this war was not the toiling people of any country but only a section of the world bourgeoisie. In the conquered countries, however, the workers had to submit to the double yoke of exploitation of both internal and external capitalists. Only in one country did the working class emerge as victor from the World War, viz., in the land of Soviets, where 160,000,000 workers and peasants put an end to the imperialist war by the path of the October Revolution.

With its victory over its own bourgeoisie, the Russian proletariat was victorious also against the world bourgeoisie. Liberated from all fetters in its own country, it became at the same time free from external fetters. The Russian working class was the only one which did not have to pay tribute either to its own capitalists or to foreign capitalists. The tsarist treaties and debt obligations were torn up like the dictates of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. Soviet Russia was the only one of the belligerents whose signature was lacking from the Versailles Treaty. Only where the working class was in power did this class emerge from the World War as the victor.

The new relations of power in the imperialist camp determined by the outcome of the war found their expression in the Versailles Treaty. The world was divided up afresh, and thereby at the same time the germ was laid for efforts at revision on the part

of those who had been deceived in the division of the booty and for hankerings for revenge on the part of the plundered. The Versailles Treaty became an inexhaustible source of new contradictions and materials for conflict, of new antagonisms and war dangers. While the Versailles Treaty satisfied an old desire of French heavy industry by the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, it inflicted new wounds on German finance capital by the separation of Upper Silesia and Danzig. The Versailles Treaty destroyed the rule of German imperialism over the colonies, but it handed over these colonies to other powers and entrusted the League of Nations with the subjection of the colonial world in the form of "mandates." The League of Nations became an instrument of force of the victors for the maintenance of the relations of power created by the Versailles Treaty, and the focal point of all counter-revolutionary forces against the Soviet Union. Numerous countries, directly relying on the Covenant of the League of Nations, increased their armaments and stressed the anti-Soviet aim of these armaments.

Thus, for instance, it became known from the secret naval memorandum of Groener, the army minister of the Social-Democratic Hermann Mueller government, that this government was actively speeding up the development of naval armaments in readiness for taking part in the application of sanctions by the League of Nations in the North Sea.

Instead of the promised peace without annexations, there came into being the plunder treaty of Versailles, which was in no way behind the plunder treaty of German imperialism concluded at Brest in 1917. The Versailles Treaty reduced the area of Germany by one-eighth and its population by 6,000,000. Austria was divided into two and lost three-fourths of its territory. Even as late as 1932, the Reparation Bank fixed Germany's indebtedness at

132,000,000,000 gold marks. The whole post-war period confirmed Lenin's prediction of 1920, according to which the Versailles Treaty put some 250,000,000 of human beings, partly belonging to the most advanced countries, into such conditions that they fell "into colonial dependence, misery, starvation, ruin and deprivation of rights."

Four great monarchies were overthrown by the first World War. Instead of five republican states, Europe found itself at the end of the war with a dozen, which proclaimed themselves as representatives of democratic freedom. The treaty created 20,000 kilometers of new frontiers, and the number of customs areas was increased from 26 to 35. The Versailles Treaty led to the territory of 5,400,000 square kilometers westward of the frontier of the Soviet Union being divided among 32 European states with a population of 360,000,000, while the Soviet Union included 160,000,000 within its frontiers.

IV.

THE THANKS OF THE FATHERLAND

During four and a half years the masses of toilers of every country sacrificed their lives and possessions on the altar of capitalist profit. During four and a half years they allowed themselves to be slaughtered and made into cripples, they allowed their wives and children to toil and rot in the hell of the armament factories, their fields to be laid waste and the basis of their existence destroyed. And all this happened during a period when the possessing class was pocketing rich war profits.

"You are sure of the thanks of the Fatherland," they shrieked into the ears of the soldiers at the front and those left behind in the country. Fifteen years have passed since the ending of the World War, but the "thanks of the Fatherland"

have not yet made their appearance. Where is the soldier from the front, war invalid, war widow or war orphan who can say, in what country can the working class as a whole say, that they have been able to perceive and appreciate the "thanks of the fatherland"?

When the masses of the workers returned from the front, they found the conditions of production and family relations at home undermined, the factory gates closed and a general increase of prices and taxes. The war brought with it a tremendous intensification of the international class struggle. If, for the ruling class, the war was excellent business, for the wide masses of the toilers it meant death, starvation, suffering and desperation. After four and a half years of unspeakable deprivations and death perils, the soldiers from the front returned home full of hate against the rulers. Full of hate against the rulers were also the wives who had been left behind, robbed of their husbands and sons, subjected to the most shameless exploitation in the hell of the munition factories and left to suffer want and starvation. The question of revolution, the question of the political seizure of power by the proletariat, came onto the order of the day. The ruling class in those days would have been irretrievably lost if the leaders of the Second International had not taken up the historic task of acting as the "bloodhounds" of the bourgeoisie and crushing by force the struggles and strike actions. In Germany and Hungary, in Poland and Finland, in the Balkans and in Czecho-Slovakia, the bourgeoisie answered the demands of the proletariat with mass terror and a mass blood-bath. In the countries of the victors, in which it was declared: "the enemy will pay for everything," the tribute payments flowed into the pockets of the French armament trusts and into the treasuries of the City of London and of Wall Street, New

York. From 1919 to 1923 a serious economic crisis raged which, after a short period of relative stabilization, made way for the most intense of all economic crises which up to the present day prevails in more or less violent form.

The bourgeoisie in the conquered countries, who had been compelled by the Versailles powers to make heavy payments of tribute, shifted the payment of the costs of the war exclusively onto the shoulders of the masses of the people. The restoration of the damage inflicted by war was a new profit-making business for the capitalists of all countries. For the toiling masses, however, the burden of taxation had never been anything like what it was in the post-war period. In the victor-countries, the toilers waited in vain for the coming of a decisive improvement in their condition of life. The inflation wave swept over the whole of Europe and plundered the workers and peasants, the employes and petty-bourgeois masses of their last penny. The workers had to pay for the restoration of the capitalist production apparatus in the period of relative stabilization through rationalization, which subjected them to a murderous system of exploitation. In so far as the bourgeoisie had made concessions out of fear of the social revolution, by granting the eight-hour day, social insurance and certain parliamentary rights, it now took these back again by means of a systematic, reactionary offensive. Mass unemployment became a permanent phenomenon. Some fifty million workers were thrown on the streets for years, cheated of work and bread, and put off at best with a "dole" which was insufficient either for life or death. The working youth on leaving school found the factory gates closed. They could not learn any productive occupation and entered manhood without any prospects before them. Millions were condemned to short time, millions were robbed of

wages and relief. The bourgeoisie did not even halt at the scandalously meagre relief given to war pensioners, war widows and orphans, but systematically robbed them of their support. If the ex-soldiers and war invalids dared to demonstrate they were met by the bourgeoisie with police bullets.

In the post-war period in every country the toilers were subjected to mass suffering. Stones instead of bread, that is what the bourgeoisie presented to the toiling masses. The "thanks of the fatherland" proved nothing but a bloody mockery.

The more fiercely the economic crisis raged, and the more it caused the revolutionary wave to mount, the more desperately the bourgeoisie clung to their tottering domination. The moment arrived when the bourgeoisie could no longer conceal its rule behind democratic screens, but was compelled to pass over to open fascist dictatorship. The methods of bourgeois democracy became a hindrance for finance capital, both in the struggle against the proletariat and in the question of preparation for war and a new partition of the world. Fascism, which Social-Democracy had cultivated by its policy of the "lesser evil," grew out of the body of bourgeois democracy. During fourteen years, Social-Democracy had characterized the path of bourgeois democracy as the path of the working class toward freedom and power. With the fiasco of this path, with the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy, the mass influence of the Social-Democratic leaders began to wane. Thus, the ruling class found itself compelled to support itself, not primarily on Social-Democracy, but on fascism as well.

If fascism has become, in the words of Stalin, "the most fashionable commodity among bourgeois politicians," the reason is not least of all because of its great role in the preparation of the coming war. Chauvinism and the preparation of war as the mainsprings of foreign policy, and terrorist

suppression of the workers in the sphere of home policy as an indispensable means for strengthening the rear in the coming war, take a central place in present-day imperialist politics. Just as the transition to terror internally is a sign of weakness of the bourgeoisie, so is also the transition to the open policy of war. The development of fascism has immensely intensified the general danger of war.

The establishment of open fascist dictatorship, the unleashing of an unheard of terror for the purpose of complete economic and political enslavement of the toiling population, was the crowning achievement of the "thanks of the fatherland." The heroes of yesterday became for the bourgeoisie the "submen" of today.

Fascist dictatorship prevails in Germany and Italy, Poland and Austria, in the Baltic countries and Hungary. It has robbed the toiling masses of their last rights and established a medieval regime of terror. Under the sign of the executioner's axe and the gallows, fascist dictatorship is attempting to save bourgeois class rule which has been shattered, to solve the capitalist economic crisis at the cost of the masses and to find a way out through war adventures. It is not from strength but from weakness that the bourgeoisie has been forced to have recourse to its last fascist reserves at the moment of the revolutionary upsurge. The bloody mass terror against its own toiling people is for the ruling class the consummation of the past war and the prelude to the coming war. Such are the "thanks of the fatherland."

V.

NEVER AGAIN

"The first and the last World War" was the slogan put forward when the imperialist peace was

concluded on the fields of Europe, which were strewn with corpses and ruins. "No more war," was the cry on every First of May of the Social-Democrats who but yesterday had voted the war credits. The toiling masses of the people were thirsting for peace and disarmament.

Article 1, paragraph 2, of the deceitful League of Nations Covenant laid down that only such states could become members of the League as accepted the reduction of armaments fixed by the League of Nations. Fifteen years have passed since the solemn proclamation of this principle, but instead of disarmament the members of the League have gone forward to increased armament.

The so-called disarmament negotiations of the League of Nations lasted from 1925 to 1933 and even today they have not yet come to a termination. The number of declamatory speeches, of sessions, proposals and projects, has taken on boundless dimensions. Mountains of dossiers have been accumulated. Long pauses were interpolated between the separate negotiations, ostensibly in order to make better preparation for the sessions. The elite of the world of bourgeois diplomacy gathered at Geneva. The year 1932 was declared "disarmament celebration year." It was the memorable year in which the Geneva peace speeches were reinforced by the bursting of the shells from the Japanese bombing airplanes.

Up to today not a single soldier has been discharged, not a single warship dispensed with, not a single airplane dismantled, not a penny spared from armament expenditure. Can one speak of the bankruptcy of Geneva on that account? Nothing would be more incorrect! By making the League of Nations the guardians of disarmament, the imperialists were, so to speak, setting up the wolf as

shepherd. As an executive instrument of the imperialists, the League of Nations could not and was not intended to encroach upon the apparatus of armed power of the bourgeoisie. Under cover of the Geneva peace screen, the governments of the capitalist countries succeeded in deceiving general public opinion as to the seriousness of the war danger and in accelerating their own armaments without disturbance. Finally, the imperialists declared that they were compelled to arm in the interests of "national security," referring cynically to Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations which makes disarmament dependent on the minimum amount of armaments compatible with national security and the execution of international duties. Instead of creating the best security against war by general disarmament, as demanded by the Soviet government, the imperialists brought about security against disarmament, an armed peace.

Each imperialist power looked on the struggle at Geneva as a struggle for disarmament of the others, a struggle for winning an increase of its own military powers. The deceitful disarmament maneuvers only became impossible when the sharpening of the imperialist antagonisms endowed the war danger with a new acute character.

Japan and Germany, those two chief war-making powers of the world, turned their backs on the conference. When the imperialists had already extensively armed themselves for war and now wanted to undertake their last war preparations without restrictions, they noted with hypocritical regret: The Disarmament Conference is bankrupt. The Geneva Conference became a new source of incessant conflicts which further stimulated the imperialist antagonisms. The Geneva Disarmament

Conference proved to be a stage in the progress to war of the imperialist groupings. The Geneva Disarmament Conference has encountered the same fate as that peace committee in the year 1912, of which the symposium published in Zurich, 1932, by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, under the title of "What would a new war be like?" records.

Immediately before the war a very representative special committee was set up and entrusted with the task of examining the technical side of the problem; but the committee was prevented by the outbreak of the World War in 1914 from taking up its activity.

Let us take the question of naval disarmament. The Washington conference of 1921-22 laid down a definite proportion for the strength of the fleets of the five leading Great Powers. It limited the construction of heavy battleships, forbade the building of new naval bases and agreed upon a united action of the powers in China. The London Conference of 1930, in continuation of the Washington Conference, was intended to limit also the smaller units such as cruisers, destroyers and submarines which are decisive for a future naval war. And what was the result of these two disarmament conferences? The naval building yards working at high pressure, the launching of warship after warship, war fleets consisting predominantly of new vessels, general feverish competition in naval armaments, the Pacific Ocean converted into a huge naval base and the chief hearth of the war conflagration of 1934.

Then came the treaty of Locarno. With the "spirit of Locarno," the war period was supposed to have come to a final conclusion and the promised era of peace to have begun. Had not the hereditary enemies, Germany and France, become

reconciled for ever and ever by renouncing any alteration of frontiers or employment of force? No less than seven treaties were concluded, in order, it was alleged, to protect the partners "from the scourge of war" and to "provide for peaceful settlement of all conflicts which might possibly arise between them." The International Court of Arbitration was given the sublime task of arbitrating on all disputes between the nations. At the same time, however, the Locarno treaty envisaged a united advance of the powers against the Soviet Union. Crowned with the Nobel Peace Prize and accompanied by the Hosannah paeans of the Social-Democratic press, Stresemann, Briand and Chamberlain returned from Locarno.

VI.

THE EVAPORATED "SPIRIT OF LOCARNO"

Since the conclusion of the Locarno Treaty, hardly ten years have passed. The "Spirit of Locarno" has, however, long since evaporated. German fascism is pursuing an intense policy of rearmament in order to replace the French Versailles by a German Versailles. French imperialism, for its part, is firmly resolved to defend its Versailles booty against Germany by all the means of armed force. The cry for military sanctions against Germany is once again resounding in France, the eastern frontier of which has been transformed into an unbroken fortress wall. The Saar territory has become a new Alsace between Germany and France. The completion of Western Locarno by an Eastern Locarno is no longer talked of. Britain, which signed the Locarno Treaty in order to set bounds to Germany's expansion towards the west, is the leading force in

preventing any Eastern Locarno. British imperialism has no objection to an alteration of frontiers in the east at the expense of the Soviet Union. The dreams of Pan-Europe and of the United States of Europe have long since come to an end. If in 1914, the Balkans represented a hearth of war, in 1934, the whole of Balkanized Europe represents a hearth of war conflagration.

The "Outlawry" of War

Let us not forget that the imperialists have even "outlawed" war. No less than 15 powers solemnly signed the Kellogg Pact in 1928 and thereby declared war to be outlawed. The renunciation of war as a means of national policy—that was the official contents of the Kellogg Pact. According to Article 2 of the Pact, the signatories agreed "that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, from whatever cause, which might arise between them, shall never be solved by other than peaceful means." The powers attached in advance so many reservations to the Kellogg Pact, they reserved so much "freedom of action" for themselves, that the whole worthlessness of the agreement becomes obvious. War is to be outlawed? Yes, but not war against the colonial peoples. War is to be outlawed? All right, but not the war against the proletariat. War is to be outlawed? But, of course, in no case war against Bolshevik Russia! We are ready to outlaw war, but of course, "wars of defense" will be permitted. By 1932 the number of signatories to the Kellogg Pact had risen to 62. It was the same year in which the flames of war broke out in the Far East and in Latin America. . . .

Even today, when the post-war period has long passed into a new pre-war period, the imperialists are concluding "peace pacts." After the Four Power Pact, the fiasco of which was obvious after only a

year, came the organizational pact of the Little Entente which represented its closer military union. This was followed by the Three-Power Agreement of Mussolini, which resulted in the creation of a war bloc between Italy, Austria and Hungary, and which is directed towards South-East Europe. Finally, Hitler himself concluded a non-aggression pact with Poland, the object of which is to obtain a breathing space for the purpose of adequate arming of Germany and the establishment of a united front of intervention against the Soviet Union.

All Hate U.S.S.R.

The German-Polish non-aggression pact is a typical example of the possibility which exists at all times for a temporary agreement between the imperialists, in spite of the existing insoluble antagonisms between them. The common hatred of the Soviet Union forms the central axis around which the imperialist powers are gathering. The conclusion of the German-Polish non-aggression pact aimed not at safeguarding peace, but at the creation, with British assistance, of an intervention bloc for which it was intended to win the fascist military dictatorships of the Baltic countries as immediate allies. German fascism has rejected the guarantee pact for the independence of the Baltic countries proposed by the Soviet Union in the same way as Japan has refused the Soviet proposal of a non-aggression pact. German fascism regards the Baltic region not only as its future colony but also as a bridge for its crusade towards the Soviet East.

The system of non-aggression pacts was introduced by the Soviet government and could only be put through by it against the sharpest resistance of the imperialists. Thus, the non-aggression pact concluded between the Soviet Union and Poland in 1932 has behind it a ten years' history of incessant

sabotage on the part of the imperialists. Today, the Soviet government is able to point to a whole series of non-aggression and peace pacts which have been proposed and carried through by it. The imperialist war blocs would have long ago come into operation if it had not been for the peace maneuvers of the Soviet Union, which have put the greatest difficulties in their way.

When two people do the same thing, it is still not the same thing. When the imperialists conclude non-aggression pacts, they are only making maneuvers in order by this means to deceive the masses as to their real intentions and to gain time for a **better** preparation for war. Imperialism is as little able to renounce war as a beast of prey can renounce its predatory activities. In full agreement with the world proletariat, the Soviet Government is well aware that the roots of imperialist war are not to be eradicated by paper treaties. The imperialists will tear up even their most sacred treaties without a scruple if the moment seems to them suitable for so doing.

The conclusion of non-aggression pacts between the Soviet Union and the imperialist states renders, it is true, the war plans of the imperialists more difficult to realize, but does not decrease in the slightest degree the seriousness of the danger of intervention. Only the most intense revolutionary struggle of the masses of workers in all countries will safeguard the real content of the system of non-aggression pacts of the Soviet Union as a guarantee of peace.

VII.

WAR PREPARATIONS INCREASE

The whole profundity and complication of the internal contradictions are brought out in the

question of the development of their war preparations. However much, for example, Italy has need of Germany's help against France, it is equally as much against the union of Germany and Austria and against a common German-Italian frontier. However strongly Great Britain feels itself united with Japan in hatred of the Soviet Union and the colonial revolution, it is equally strongly driven by the Japanese economic offensive to a trade war with Japan. However much Hitler Germany would like to advance against the Soviet Union in unison with Poland, still it has not the slightest thought of giving up its claim to Upper Silesia and the Polish Corridor. However sharp the contradictions which are driving the imperialists into a war against each other, they would prefer to put off such a war and settle their differences at the expense of the Soviet Union. The complicated character of the situation evokes continual vacillations in the imperialist camp and this very uncertainty is a further factor against peace.

In 1934, the world has had fifteen years experience of the "era of peace." Was it a concatenation of unfortunate accidents that the pacifist "era of peace" has turned out to be a most pronounced era of war and that every "peace conference" and every "peace pact" has given rise to new contradictions, new conflicts, new war dangers and accelerated rates of arming? Not at all! Pacifism has not failed, rather it has proved itself the best means of the imperialist war-makers for the deception of the masses. Behind the so-called peace conferences and peace pacts of the post-war period stood the new grouping of the imperialist powers, their advance to a new war. There never was so much talk of peace at any time as in the post-war period and never did general competition in

armaments assume such a feverish character as in the "era of peace" of the League of Nations.

These Fifteen Years

Fifteen years have passed since the end of the World War, years that have been under the sign of the liquidation of the first world war and the simultaneous preparation of the second. During these fifteen years of "peace," a chronological table would show the following picture:

1919, Intervention of the Czechs, Rumania and the South Slavs against Soviet Hungary.

1919-20, Intervention of Poland and the border states against Soviet Russia.

1919-25, the Spanish War against the Riff in North Africa.

1920, Poland occupies Vilna.

1921-23, Greek-Turkish War.

1921-25, British War against the Wahabites in Arabia.

1922, Japan occupies Vladivostok; the Irish rising against England.

1923, Lithuania occupies the Memel region; the Entente occupies the Ruhr.

1925-26, French war against the Jebel Druses in Syria.

1925-26, Spanish-French punitive expedition in North Africa.

1926, U. S. A. intervenes in Nicaragua.

1927, Italy's temporary seizure of Corfu; Dutch regime of terror in Indonesia.

1927-34, Seven expeditions against Soviet China.

1930, French punitive expedition against the Annamites in Indo-China.

1930-31, British colonial war in Burma and Northwest India.

1931, Italy occupies Tripoli region.

1931-32, Japan occupies Manchuria; fighting at Shanghai; French war in Morocco.

1932-33, Japan-Chinese war; War between Peru and Colombia; War between Bolivia and Paraguay.

1933, France occupies Yunnan, and nine South Sea Islands; Britain advances into Tibet.

1934, Spanish-French war against North Africa tribes; War in Arabia; Japanese advance into Mongolia.

* * *

Thirty military actions in fifteen years. Thirty wars under the auspices of the League of Nations. We can ask, has that been peace? No, this first world war, which passed over into wars of intervention against Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary, into colonial wars against the awakening peoples of Asia and Africa and into civil wars against the toilers, this world war has in reality led only to an armed peace. Where in all this was the League of Nations Covenant, the Locarno Treaty, the outlawing of war and agreement for peace?

From 1917 to 1920 Soviet Russia was immersed in war by the armies of world imperialism. More than once in the course of the last fifteen years a new intervention has been imminent, more than once the imperialists have conjured up the danger of a new world conflagration. From 1919 to 1934 the colonial and semi-colonial world was shaken by the plundering expeditions of the imperialists. Waves of national revolution mounted high in China and seized on India and Indonesia. For fifteen years there has been incessant war in the colonies. The French shooting in Damascus alone left behind a thousand dead. In Iraq and in Morocco, war has never ceased. Hundreds have

been killed in the "promised land" of Palestine and in Egypt. The imperialists have poured out seas of blood in China, India and in Indonesia. The Latin-American continent, where the advance-guard fighting between American and British imperialism has taken place, was never tranquil; insurrections and wars followed one after the other.

Did not the actions of the imperialists against the oppressed national minorities in "civilized" Europe bear a resemblance to wars? Did not the massacres in Macedonia and Carpatho-Russia, the suppression of the risings in Ireland, the pogroms against Jews in Rumania, the Polish Uhlan expeditions in West Ukraine and "pacification expeditions" in Western White Russia cost tens of thousands of lives, convert whole villages into smoking heaps of ruins and lead to humiliating oppressive decrees? Do not the occupants of the regions of national minorities still today live as in an enemy country?

From the robbery of Bessarabia by Rumania, of Vilna by Poland, of Memel by Lithuania, right up to the occupation of the Ruhr, from the sharp conflict over Danzig and Austria up to the recent struggle over the Saar region and the war advance of the Japanese, there has occurred an endless chain of war onslaughts, robberies and conflicts which have again and again threatened the outbreak of war. The Italo-Yugoslavian frontier conflict almost led to war. The incessant friction between Danzig and Poland caused Marshal Foch to designate the Polish Corridor as the future theatre of war of Europe. The problem of Austria has threatened to become the Sarajevo of the second world war. The struggle over the Danube area and the Balkans raised the antagonism between France, Italy and Germany almost to boil-

ing point and drew the whole of South Eastern Europe into the main stream of war.

The struggle of the German bourgeoisie for the revision of the Versailles Treaty became the focal point of all the war dangers in Europe. German fascism has converted the whole country into a military barracks and seeks to buy from world capitalism a revision of the Versailles Treaty by offering its hired services against the Soviet Union. German fascism hastens the formation of its front of intervention, since it hopes in this way most easily to arrive at the fulfillment of the predatory plans of its politics of force. "Space in the East" is the slogan of the Brown murder fascism, the slogan under which it is attempting to organize the crusade of world capital against the country of free socialist labor. At the London World Economic Conference, Hugenberg handed over a memorandum in the name of the Hitler government in which the following was put forward for overcoming the world economic crisis:

"The second means would be to give the nations which lack space territories which will permit them to hand over a colonization region to an energetic and creative race where they could accomplish great work on behalf of peace. . . . War, revolution and internal chaos are the causes of this phenomenon. In Russia and a great part of the East this process of destruction is continuing up to the present moment. A halt must be called to it."

The proposal for the colonization of the Soviet Union which is contained in the Hugenberg plan today still corresponds to Hitler's ideas. In the **Daily Express**, Hitler demands the right of expanding into the wide territories on Germany's eastern frontier in order to make use of those auxili-

ary sources which under Bolshevism are lying fallow. Hitler declares that this is the only possibility of saving Germany and Europe from going under. In order to reach this counter-revolutionary goal, Hitler is ready to make an agreement with the devil himself. When Herve proposed a Franco-German military alliance against the Soviet Union, Hitler regarded the proposed alliance as too narrow and he answered:

"Precisely in view of the enormous danger threatening all civilized countries, I consider the conclusion of a military alliance limited to two states as very dangerous. Every doubt which can be attached to the inner meaning of this alliance weakens the sum total of forces which can be set up against Bolshevism. Precisely on account of this danger, I consider the drawing of Britain, America, Italy and Japan into this front of anti-Bolshevik resistance to be indispensable."

Hitler offers his services for sale particularly to the British bourgeoisie in order to bring about a German-British military alliance against the Soviet Union. Of the 25 points of the National-Socialist program, there is only one which has not been broken by Hitler, namely, point three, which demands lands for the Third Empire, and, therefore, blatantly brings out the imperialist character of German fascism. Hardly was fascism in power before the fascist dictatorial regime went over to an aggressive anti-Soviet policy. It is no wonder therefore, that the *Koelnische Zeitung* of June 25, 1932, could write:

"In no other country have the recent events in Germany evoked so much sympathy as in Japan."

In a report in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (March 26, 1932), it is remarked:

"Japan desires a well-armed Germany and sees in Hitler the strongest opponent of Marxism and Bolshevism."

Why, we may ask, does Japan desire a well-armed Germany? Shall the German Reichswehr perhaps assist in protecting the former German South Sea Islands against American battle cruisers?

Or shall not rather well-armed Germany, together with Japanese imperialism, encircle the Soviet Union? Ever more clearly have the contours of German-Japanese "friendship" shown themselves to be the contours of an anti-Soviet war bloc in which Great Britain appears as the third member of the alliance.

In the post-war period, a gigantic struggle set in between Britain and America. Britain had got rid of the commercial and naval competition of imperial Germany and had exchanged it for the far more powerful competition of American imperialism, which emerged from the war as creditor of the whole world. The Anglo-American struggle for world domination found expression in the struggle for the settlement of the war debts, for domination of Canada and Australia and the Far Eastern and South American markets, and in the competition of naval armaments. The development of Anglo-American contradictions in the past years has brought the world to the brink of a new war precipice.

Fascist Italy also is raging against the Versailles Treaty, which awarded her too small a share of the booty. More than once the two "Latin sister nations" have threatened to come into collision because France has stood as an obstacle in the way of the Italian drive for expansion in the Mediterranean, in North Africa and in the Balkans.

With the advance of the Japanese troops, the struggle for the repartition of the world by means

of armed force was put concretely on the order of the day. Japanese imperialism seized Manchuria, with its 30,000,000 inhabitants, it commenced a war against China with aerial bombs and poison gases, it prepared the occupation of Mongolia and converted Manchuria into a strategical base for an onslaught against the Soviet Union. The Japanese attack has ushered in the new partition of China and has led to an extraordinary intensification of all the antagonisms in the Pacific. The question of a Japanese-American war has assumed an acute character. The preparation for a decisive armed struggle for domination in the Pacific constitutes the basic content of Japanese-American relations. Great Britain also has been seriously hit by the violent Japanese economic offensive in the whole of the British Empire and by Japanese expansion in the Pacific. Once more peace has become dependent on chance.

Fifteen years of so-called peace have passed, years which have been filled with the most intense conflicts, war dangers and preparations for war, 15 years in which bitter trade wars have been raging such as have always proved to be the forerunners of armed conflicts.

The ending of the first world war did not bring tranquility and peace to the wide masses of the toiling people, either in the countries of the conquerors or of the conquered. Britain sacrificed in the war 750,000 dead, twice as many wounded, £8,000,000,000 war expenditure, a tenfold increase of the national debt and the loss of over 2,000 ships with a tonnage of about 8,000,000. And what was the result? Great Britain, which went forward in order to safeguard its world dominion against all competition, had to cede the first place in the world market to the United States. It is true, German hegemony on the continent of Europe has been broken, but in its place has come French hege-

mony with its serious air threat to the island kingdom. The proud structure of the British Empire is marked by cracks and fissures. The British budget deficit in 1931-32 amounted to £37,000,000. The decline of the British Empire, the proud victor of the World War, was clearly expressed in its departure from the principle of free trade and the giving up of the gold standard. At the end of the war millions of workers found themselves on the streets and even today the factory gates have not opened to them. The burden of taxation has mounted steadily. That the position of the victorious states in Eastern and Southeastern Europe has been an extremely desperate one in the post-war period, is well known to all.

During these 15 years there has been neither tranquility nor peace. Bloody war has been followed by armed peace. The struggle over the preparation of the second world war has developed directly out of the struggle over the liquidation of the first world war. During these 15 years, the imperialists used the peace as a breathing space for better preparation of a new war, of a second intervention. Under imperialism, war and peace are two sides of the same medal.

In August, 1934

Exactly two decades have passed since red posters and the shrill call of the bugles proclaimed general mobilization. Two decades which have witnessed the first world war and Versailles, the collapse of four monarchies, the first Soviet Republics in the world, the fascist reign of terror and the most tremendous of all economic catastrophes. The awakening of the colonial peoples, the construction of a new socialist society is bound up with these two decades.

Only two decades, but in them the wheel of

world history has revolved at furious speed. Bourgeois society, condemned to destruction and lying at its last gasp, hurtles into the ravine with the gathering speed of an avalanche and there is no power on earth that can save it. Ever shorter become the intervals between the separate crises and conflicts, ever deeper traces are left behind by the economic and political catastrophes in the severely tested body of the capitalist social order.

August 1934. Once again the mood of August 1914 prevails. The international situation is strained to the utmost. The principle which held until 1929, according to which there would be no large-scale war during the next ten years, today no longer holds—so declared Mr. Churchill to the House of Commons as a justification for England increasing its armaments. And indeed the situation in the summer of 1934 bears all the marks of the eve of a great world conflagration. All the agreements made after the first world war have become scraps of paper, all the pacts have been torn to pieces. The partition of the world on the basis of the alteration in the relations of power after the first world war has proved to be out of date. The Washington Agreement, like the Versailles Treaty, has now only historical value. The struggle for the new partition of the world in the summer of 1934 is in full swing, the plunder of Manchuria acting as the stone which is setting the second world war into motion. In August 1934 it must be clear to all toilers that the blood of the ten million victims of the first world war was shed only on behalf of capital.

A straight road leads from August 1914 to August 1934. The first world war shook capitalist society to its foundation, and made a great breach in the imperialist world system, but it still did not bring with it the final and complete overthrow of

this society. Because private property and the means of production remained in existence outside the Soviet Union, because the capitalist economic anarchy led to new serious contradictions, because the first world war accumulated new inflammable materials, mankind is confronted today by the grinning spectre of a second world war. Capitalism— is war.

Today it is clearer than ever that imperialist peace is only a continuation of imperialist war by other means, that war is a normal phenomenon of capitalism. The whole capitalist world has been transformed into a single armed camp and in the utmost haste is making the last preparations for the daily possible, daily awaited slaughter. Just as in 1914, so today it is said to be a question of the "salvation of democracy," "national security and national interests," the freedom of the seas and unpeopled spaces for the people who have no space.

Already the barometer of the shares of the bloody armament international is mounting feverishly upwards and announces new profitable deals in death.

According to a statement in the **North American Review**, anyone who searches for a practical way of bringing back the good old times to the world will find only one method, *viz.*, a new war which would last longer, and be more deadly and expensive than the last one. The only alternative is a return to cannibalism.

It is not often that the masses of the people are able to listen to such cynical confessions as that which finds expression here. In whichever direction one looks, one encounters the spectre of war. Sir Austen Chamberlain drily records that the position in Europe, public opinion and the actions of the governments are today more threatening to peace than at any time since the ending of the

World War, while Mussolini pathetically declares that war is an accompaniment of the evolution of humanity and that war is to the man what motherhood is to the woman. "I not only do not believe in permanent peace, but I find the thought of permanent peace a depressing one. Permanent peace is a denial of the fundamental human virtues which only attain their full expression through bloody exertion of force." Thus, Mussolini announced in the summer of 1934, amid the applause of his assembled satellites.

"We do not say that it is certainly war, but we do say that it looks as if it was coming to the next war," writes the organ of the French general staff, *L'Echo de Paris*. The correspondent of the **Evening Standard**, on his return from the Continent, recently reported that in well-informed circles of Berlin, Paris and Warsaw, all the talk was about the moment of outbreak or the field of operation of the next European war.

Finally, we may note what is written by the **Pester Lloyd**:

"Everyone in Europe is saying to himself: a new war would be suicidal madness. And yet everyone has the instinctive feeling that such a danger is imminent. It is exactly as it was in the spring of 1914. At that time, on every side in Europe people were dominated by fear of war and from this fear of war, war resulted by inevitable necessity.

"Today Europe again constitutes a great powder barrel. And around this powder barrel sparks are incessantly flying which alight now here and now there, and of which a single one is sufficient to blow into the air the whole of the stored-up explosive materials."

It is exactly as it was in the spring of 1914, says this bourgeois paper. And, in fact, exactly as

in 1914, the war parties are pressing forward, but the imperialists talk and talk of peace and wash their hands with a gesture of innocence in order to make an alibi in good time for themselves for the judgment of the world. Exactly as in 1914, the capitalist world in 1934 stands fully armed for war, even if it is still making the last preparations. Exactly as in 1914, the imperialist powers stand in arms, split into hostile camps, partly allied by secret war alliances and ready at any moment to hurl themselves on their adversary and on their prey. Whether it is a question of Japanese or German fascism, of French or Anglo-Saxon "democracy," of big powers or little "neutrals"—they all stand so heavily armed that it would be no wonder if they were to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the war in the trenches.

"Remember the imperialist war," cried Lenin to the toiling masses of the people in every country. Very well then, on the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of war, remember more than ever the first imperialist war, its causes and victims, its history and its results! Remember that the war made the rich still richer, but the poor still poorer! Remember that the war brought, not tranquility and peace, not work and bread, but new conflicts and struggle, new suffering and new oppression! Remember that the first world war will be followed by a second world war unless the wide masses of toilers at the eleventh hour deliver the death blow to the imperialist Moloch!

VIII.

THE WORLD IN ARMS

"In the present position, Europe is condemned to destruction if it begins an armament race," de-

clared the French Prime Minister Daladier in Parliament, in the calm certainty that his country was sufficiently armed. What, however, is the appearance, not of Europe, but of the whole capitalist world on the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of war? An armament competition unknown in the pre-war period has been established and the whole capitalist world converted into an armed camp bristling with weapons.

The standing armies of the five leading imperialist big powers have grown from 1,541,500 men in 1914 to 2,123,500 men in 1934. Looked at superficially this enlargement of the armies does not appear so very great. Actually, however, the present-day armies cannot be compared with the armies of the pre-war period either quantitatively or qualitatively. The five leading big powers, which in 1934 controlled eight millions of trained reserves have today a reserve army of twenty million men behind them. To this must be added the further reserve of millions consisting of fascist and semi-military organizations. Thus, Germany has besides its regular army of 350,000 men (Reichswehr and police) a further reserve of one million men from the World War, and yet a further million from the fascist storm troops. Strongly militarized police armies and colonial armies and the militarization of women and youth, have strengthened the imperialist armies by several million more. The standing armies, half of which consist of professional soldiers have an enormous fighting force at their disposal; the framework of their organization can absorb millions of reserves. The number of reserves embodied in all the fascist unions in the world would amount today to about ten million men.

Of even wider import is the revolution in the sphere of the technique of war, of firing capacity

and the mobility of armies. If, for example, an American division in 1914 could fire 163,000 shots per minute from its guns and machine-guns, or a French division 103,000 shots, today they could fire 442,000 and 212,000 shots respectively. The firing capacity of an American division has thus been increased by 258 per cent and that of a French division by 206 per cent. If the German army alone during the World War fired 286,000,000 shells and 8,000,000,000 cartridges, one can get an idea of the material which will be used in the coming war when three times the amounts used in the past war will be consumed and correspondingly more victims claimed. While in the course of the Franco-German War of 1870-71 about half a million shells were used up, the fighting on the Somme alone required a million shells. But what will the coming war be like, when one takes into account that an American division which in 1914 fired 8.1 tons out of all its guns, today is able to fire 17.6 tons?

The engine in an automobile, tank and aeroplane will be the heart of the future war. The average daily marching capacity of twenty-five kilometers for a division can be increased to 200 kilometers by motor-lorry transport, as a result of which the fighting capacity of the soldiers has been considerably raised. The motorization of the French army has, for example, advanced so far that a possible destruction of the entire French railway network would lead to no delay in the advance of the army. Even the development of the tank weapon has made enormous progress. The first tank attack in 1917 was even then able to accomplish in three hours what would otherwise have required three months. Today, France alone possesses 8,400 tanks, i.e., more than all the powers

together at the end of the war. The heavy, ninety ton tanks carry two guns, two howitzers, 18 machine-guns and up to 100 men, and represent real mobile fortresses.

"I have for a long time been convinced that the decision in future wars will be brought about by the aerial weapon." This conviction of the former Italian air-minister Balbo is shared by nearly all soldiers and reflects itself in the comprehensive aerial armaments. The number of war aeroplanes has been doubled in the period 1923-33. Today, the total number of war planes amounts to 16,796 with reserves of about 25,000 planes. The transition to mass production has today been prepared for and assured to the last detail. The figures of bomb-carrying capacity have been quadrupled within the period mentioned above. Today, the bombing aeroplanes of the five leading great powers can carry ten times as many bombs as were dropped by the German air force during the whole period of the war. The technical advances of war aviation come crowding on one another. Speeds of 400 kilometers per hour, climbing capacities of 8,000 meters in seven minutes, transport possibilities of 100 soldiers with full equipment and effective range of 1,000 kilometers, have today become an ordinary phenomenon.

In recent weeks, aerial armaments have undergone a renewed acceleration. Hitler Germany will soon belong to the first aerial powers of Europe. France has allotted about ten thousand million francs for aerial armaments during 1930-34. In England, the well-known instigator of intervention, Lord Rothermere, demanded the construction of 25,000 aeroplanes; the British air budget for 1934 has been increased by £135,000, compared with 1933 to a figure of £17,561,000, in order to build

four new squadrons. America has adopted a construction plan for doubling its air fleet consisting of 2,000 units.

In the sphere of naval armaments also, the imperialist powers are developing feverish efforts. On May 15, 1914, the five leading great Powers possessed 1,453 ships with 4,806,710 tons. Although this naval power had sunk to half by the end of the war, and the Washington Conference limited the construction of heavy battleships, these powers built altogether 618 ships of 1,843,533 tons during 1922-32, so that on May 15, 1932, they again had at their disposal more than 1,393 vessels with a tonnage of 4,138,130. This navy contains not only 50 per cent of new constructions but also predominantly consists of smaller, more mobile units with simultaneously an unheard of increased fighting capacity and enlarged radius of action through the carrying of war planes. For the development of naval armaments in the post-war period, the following table is of special interest. It gives the expenditure of armaments in the last decade before the war in comparison with the first decade after the war (in gold marks):

Country	1905-14	1922-32
England	7,991,910,000	11,440,486,000
America	5,308,946,000	14,621,541,000
Japan	1,589,731,000	5,305,743,000
France	3,191,350,000	3,397,041,000
Italy	1,747,032,000	2,157,026,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	19,828,969,000	36,921,637,000

The expenditure of the five leading naval powers in the first decade of the World War is

seen to be over 17,000,000,000 gold marks higher than in the last decade before the World War! Since, also, Germany during this time expended 1,500,000,000 gold marks on naval armaments and since numerous subsidiary and colonial fleets have come into being, it can be said that up to the end of 1932, some 40,000,000,000 gold marks had been expended. If the naval conference for prolonging the Washington Treaty is convened in 1935, the total balance of naval expenditure for the post-war period up to then may be given at the handsome sum of 59,000,000,000 gold marks.

The real competition in naval armaments has only set in since the entry of the Japanese into Manchuria and the struggle which has consequently flared up in the Pacific. In 1933, the five leading Great Powers had 626,000 tons in construction. Since then the British naval budget has been raised by £3,000,000 compared with 1933 to a total of £56,550,000, and covers, among other things, the building of seven new cruisers. America's five-year plan foresees the construction of 102 ships at an expenditure of \$500,000,000. Japanese naval plans are to be realized in three stages, with a total expenditure of \$605,000,000. Italy at the present moment has 22 submarines as well as numerous other units under construction. The naval budget of Germany for 1934 has risen to 236,243,200 marks. And all this is in the interest of the "freedom of the seas."

That the mad competition in armaments on the part of the imperialists must devour inconceivable sums is obvious. In 1868 the whole world expended \$460,000,000 on armaments; forty years later, in 1908, this amount had risen to \$1,455,000,000, and in 1913 it had gone further to \$2,531,000,000. In the post-war period, however, expenditure on armaments even according to the official data, which

are underestimated, amounted to the following sums:

1925	\$3,497,000,000
1926	3,557,000,000
1927	3,837,000,000
1928	3,950,000,000
1929	4,107,000,000
1930	4,128,000,000
1931	4,440,000,000
1932	5,000,000,000

From the time of the Geneva Disarmament Conference meeting in 1925 up to the so-called disarmament celebration year of 1932, i. e., in a period of eight years, the official war budgets have amounted to a total sum of \$32,476,000,000. From the end of 1919 to the end of 1934, the official armament budgets, which represent a very incomplete picture, would show a total sum of \$50,000,000,000.

When, however, the American delegation to the Geneva Conference claimed \$450,000, i. e., a percentage of the armament budget for their expenses, they encountered violent opposition in the U. S. Congress. In 1931, the total exports of Germany, England and the U. S. A. did not suffice to pay for the competitive armaments. The French military budget is 50 per cent higher in 1934 than in 1914. Japan's war budget rose from 494,000,000 yen in 1929 to 1,330,000,000 yen in 1934, i. e., from 28 to 58 per cent of the total budget. In 1932, England's expenses for liquidating the old war and preparing for the new amounted to 63.1 per cent of the total budget. In June, 1934, Britain refused payment of the interest on the war debt to America, since this payment, as was stated in the British note, "would be equivalent to throwing a bomb into the European arena."

Hitler Germany is spending over a third of its

whole budget on armaments at a moment when the toiling masses are subjected to an intensified starvation regime. In almost all capitalist countries some 70 per cent of the income from taxes and customs is made over to the war account. The capitalist world is expending £4,500,000 on armaments every day.

Such is—in the briefest outline—the picture of the capitalist world in August, 1934. Incapable of mastering the economic crisis and satisfying the masses, incapable of ensuring peace and solving the contradictions, the capitalist world is bristling with weapons and preparing a new slaughter.

IX.

POISON GASES AND PLAGUE GERMS

“Air protection is urgently required,” the rulers shout every day into the ears of the masses. Certainly air protection is urgently required for the threatening dangers. Air protection is urgently needed for the internationally-linked armament industry for which the organization of air protection opens new sources of profit. Privately, however, the military chiefs admit that there is no effective means of protection against modern air attacks, and all the aerial maneuvers have strengthened them in this view.

The time of August, 1914, has gone by, when unctuously worded ultimatums and notes were exchanged and solemn war declarations issued before war was begun. Today the world is sliding into war. The population will only be made conscious of the beginning of war actions by the bursting of aerial bombs. The time has also gone by when the men went to the battlefield and left wives and children safe at home.

Lieutenant-General Metzch writes: “The distinction between front, base and rear, which partly

impressed itself on the military character of the previous war, has vanished. Everything is front." And his military colleague, General Altrock, remarks: "The population of extensive areas is at every moment near to destruction. The next war will be rather a mass annihilation of the civil population than a fight between armies."

But let us be fair. We frankly admit that the imperialists are at least full of good will for the most rapid ending of the threatening war. Listen to what Professor Jeergensen of Denmark has to say: "In a word, if one wages war expressly against the civil population, and with the most terrible means possible, then this would appear to favor the forcing of a quick peace."

Enormous "advances" have been made in the sphere of aerial warfare. Three kinds of bombs find application: explosive, combustion and poison gas bombs. Ten aeroplanes are able to carry each a thousand bombs of 20 kilograms, i. e., 200,000 kilograms of bombs in all. Explosive bombs are of all sizes, from the hundred kilogram bomb, which can reduce a house to ruins, to the American giant bomb, which weighs 1,950 kilograms and is two and a half times as large as a man. As regards combustion bombs, the one kilogram bomb filled with thermite develops up to three thousand degrees of heat. Its "advantage" consists in the fact that it cannot be extinguished by water. And then there are the poison gas bombs. . . .

In the first gas attack during the World War (Ypres, 1915) 115,000 kilos of gas were launched on a front of 6 kilometres. The result of this first attempt was 15,000 wounded by gas and 5,000 dead. In the World War, 31 different poison gases were used; today there are a thousand. On October 13, 1933, one could read the following notice in the press: "The French Professors Rert and Vorrier have succeeded in discovering a poison gas against

which there is no remedy. The preparation of this gas is especially easy. The War Ministry is strongly interested."

In April 1934, the press announced that 20 workers of Imperial Chemical Industries had been overcome by poison gas. This concern is alleged to have succeeded in the preparation of the "deadliest poison in the world." One can note, therefore, that every day is bringing new "progress" in the sphere of gas warfare. And yet, the "achievements" already arrived at are already so great. . . .

There is an infinite series of poison gases, from the irritant gases, which compel the taking off of the gas mask up to the lung-damaging gases, including chlorine, phosgene and chloropicrin. One draught of phosgene and death occurs after two hours. One exposure to chloropicrin vapor and blinding is certain. Inhale cyanic acid and the central nervous system is at once put out of action, the respiration center destroyed and life cut short. But five times more poisonous than phosgene is mustard gas, which burns the whole living body. Inhale only .03 milligrams of lewisite, the "death dew," and an unimaginably torturing death is certain. Laughing gas, in combination with other gases, causes death with convulsions of laughter or madness.

But civilized bourgeois culture has still further surprises for the people. It is true that in the last world war poison gases were not yet employed against the civil population, although they were employed at the front. On the other hand, bacteriological war should bring with it something entirely new. War with plague germs and cholera germs? "That is a Communist provocation," we can hear it being said. Let us then allow the bearers of bourgeois culture to speak for themselves.

First of all, listen to what Professor Banse, one of the scientific lights of the Third Empire, has to say:

"Although biology still lags strongly behind chemistry, it may however be presumed that the necessities of the next war will win its position for it. The following come into account: infection of water supply by typhus germs, introduction of typhus by fleas as well as of plague by rats. In particular, aeroplanes, by landing in enemy territory and letting loose the germ carriers, could achieve especially favorable results."

Banse in no way stands alone. Long before him, Mr. Churchill had written in the **Pall-Mall Magazine** that the laboratories of more than one country have already been occupied with the question of how artificially-cultivated agents of disease could be deliberately let loose on human beings and animals in enemy country; mildew, in order to destroy the harvest; anthrax, in order to ruin horses and cattle; plague, in order to annihilate not only whole armies but also the inhabitants of wide regions—such are the means, the application of which military science is preparing with ruthless progress.

Yes indeed, "with ruthless progress" there is being cultivated today in secret laboratories the carriers of anthrax, typhus, cholera, plague, small-pox, tuberculosis, etc.

The French Professor, Andre Mayer, soberly notes: "All that can be said is that the possibility of unleashing an epidemic is not to be rejected **a priori**—quite on the contrary." And Gertrude Woker, the well-known woman investigator of poison gases, came to the conclusion: "That a new war will make use of bacteriological means of de-

struction is, in any case, to be supposed after the experiences of the World War."

There can indeed be no doubt that the coming poison gas war will be accompanied by a bacteriological war. Was it not intended, during the last world war, to smuggle German cholera germs in fountain pens through Switzerland into Russia and to infest the Rumanian cavalry with smallpox cultures? Only the ending of the war prevented the execution of these criminal plans. But for the imperialists postponement is not renunciation.

X.

STORMING THE SOCIALIST PEACE FORTRESS

"Peace, freedom, land and bread," that was the slogan of the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin, with which they began the struggle against imperialist war in their own country. In possession of political power, supported by the armed proletarian dictatorship, the victorious October Revolution in 1917 realized these four demands. The ending of the war between Russia and Germany led the way to the ending of the World War.

The young Soviet government, the first workers' and peasants' government of the world, brought about peace; it tore up all the imperialist treaties of the tsarist hangmen, and put an end to secret diplomacy. The Soviet government gave the peoples which had been oppressed by tsarism for centuries, such as the Finns, Esthonians and Poles, their national independence and solved the national question within its own frontiers by the creation of a Federative Soviet Republic in which hundreds of nationalities were united peacefully on an equal basis. National oppression, this invariable con-

stituent of imperialist war, was done away with for one hundred and sixty million people. The Soviet government voluntarily gave up all the tsarist oppressive claims against the weak peoples as also against China, Persia, Afghanistan and Turkey. The century-old hereditary enmity between Russia and its neighbors was liquidated by the Soviet government without a trace.

From the first day of its existence the Soviet government had only one aim: to carry through socialist construction in peace and thereby to be able to raise the economic and cultural position of the toilers to a hitherto unknown level. For sixteen years, the Soviet government has succeeded in carrying out this policy against a world of enemies.

The conquest of political power by the Russian proletariat denoted the first breach in the capitalist structure, the first breach in the imperialist world system. World capital lost the loans granted to tsarism, it lost one of its best sources of exploitation over one-sixth of the globe, it lost the Caucasian oil fields and Siberian gold fields. Did not the Russian workers and peasants dare to demonstrate practically to the toilers of the whole world that not only could one get along without capitalists and big landlords, but also that one could live still better than before? Were they not the only ones who were able to report an unprecedented economic upsurge, the complete liquidation of unemployment, unrestricted political freedom and undreamed of possibilities for further advance in the future, at a moment in which fifty million toilers in the capitalist countries had been thrown on to the street? Did not the example of the October Revolution inspire the millions of colonial slaves and national minorities to a triply enhanced struggle against the imperialist oppres-

sors? Was not the existence of the Soviet Union, which rallied round it an ever wider strata of toilers and enlightened intellectuals in all countries, bound to become a perpetual deadly menace to the existence of the bourgeois social order? Did not the issue here lie in the struggle between two systems, the bankrupt, decaying, murderous capitalist system and the rising socialist system bringing peace, work and bread? Stalin, the successor to Lenin, declared:

“ . . . the contradiction between the capitalist world and the U.S.S.R. . . . lays bare to the very roots all the contradictions of capitalism and gathers them up into one knot, making of them a question of life and death for the capitalist system itself. . . .”

“Hence the tendency to adventurist assaults on the U.S.S.R. and to intervention, a tendency which is bound to be strengthened as a result of the developing economic crisis.”*

A new system, a new world, that was and is the powerful lesson which the existence of the Soviet Union with the advancing victorious construction of socialism continually brings to the consciousness of the exploited and oppressed in all countries. This bulwark of the world proletariat must fall if the bourgeois social order is to be saved from the threatening revolutionary insurrection of the masses. From this standpoint, the imperialists have struggled against the Soviet Union for sixteen years and tried to provoke it into war. From the war of the intervention forces of 1917, from the robbery of Bessarabia by Rumania up to the march of Pilsudski on Kiev, from the Arcos raid in London and the occupation of the Soviet embassy in Peking, from

* J. Stalin, **Leninism**, Vol. II. “Political Report to the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.”

the murder of the Soviet Ambassadors Vorovsky and Voikov, up to the most recent sabotage of diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union, from the innumerable campaigns of provocation up to the offers of intervention of German fascism and the war advance of the Japanese troops against the Soviet frontiers in the Far East, has been **one** path and **one** goal: intervention of world capital against the Soviet Union for the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship.

However deep the differences in the camp of world imperialism may be, they still recede in comparison with the chief contradictions between the capitalist and socialist worlds. The overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship becomes crystalized ever more clearly as the main goal of the imperialists. The weakening of capitalism by the world economic crisis and the general sharpening of the war danger have not removed the possibility of an armed onslaught on the Soviet country of its force, but have, on the contrary, intensified it. Because the bourgeoisie becomes weaker at a moment when the Soviet power is growing in strength and consolidation, the question of a decisive solution by force of the antagonism between capitalism and Socialism takes on an acute character.

The imperialists hope to cut through the insoluble tangle of their own contradictions at the expense of the Soviet Union, they hope to be able to take possession of the immeasurable wealth of raw material and the unlimited market of this country and to solve their vexed problems by the partition of Soviet territory. The overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship is to be at the same time the prelude to the crushing of the toilers in all countries, to the suppression of the colonial revolution and the intensified enslavement of the national minorities.

The danger of world war is an intervention danger—the intervention danger is the danger of world war! The advance of Japanese imperialism against China is the prelude to an advance against the Soviet Union. The Japanese imperialists would like to devour the whole Soviet East from the coast of Vladivostok right up to the banks of Lake Baikal. They openly declare that they desire an anti-Soviet war, they are openly arming for this war. From the west, German fascism is pressing forward and offers itself to world capital as a storm division against the fortress of the world proletariat, its reward to consist in freedom to arm and annexation of the Ukraine. Britain stands in alliance with German and Japanese fascism and exerts all its influence for establishing a united front of intervention. Britain shows itself as the main force which is trying to solve all the antagonisms in the imperialist camp at the expense of the Soviet Union and which is exerting every effort to avoid a war in the imperialist camp. In almost all capitalist countries, the ideological preparation for intervention has undergone a significant increase during recent weeks.

Why have the imperialists, in spite of their stubborn efforts for so many years, still today not undertaken an attack upon the Soviet Union? Well, the question of intervention is not only a question of desire. it is also a question of ability. The whole inner weakness and historically outlived character of the bourgeois social order is laid bare by the problem of the Soviet Union. The world bourgeoisie, internally divided and split up and weakened by the crisis, has encountered unforeseen difficulties in the establishment of a united front of intervention. The toilers of all countries have placed themselves like a mighty wall around the socialist fortress and they have shown that they regard an attack on the

Soviet Union as an attack on their own fatherland. Supported by this readiness for defence on the part of the world proletariat, the thorough-going peace policy of the Soviet government has finally been able to achieve enormous successes and again and again to prevent the execution of the plans of intervention. Protected by its growing economic, political and military strength, and with the moral and active support of the millions in the capitalist countries who are interested in peace, the Soviet Union was able to carry out its complicated and difficult struggle for peace so successfully that it has proven to be the strongest brake on the execution of the imperialist plans of war. If humanity is still not celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the war in the trenches, it owes this exclusively to the revolutionary peace policy of the Soviet Union. From the first day of its accession to power, the Soviet government stood in the forefront of the struggle for peace. The powerful role of the Soviet Union in the maintenance of world peace found expression in its recognition by all the states in the world, in the conclusion of numerous non-aggression pacts, in the exposure of the war makers and the combating of those sabotaging disarmament, in the warding off of all war provocations and in the assiduous struggle for disarmament. The Soviet government does not orientate itself on any imperialist power, but exclusively on the peace interests of the world proletariat. It has not pursued a policy of annexations and bloc making, for only socialism, which does not base itself on the exploitation of man by man and the oppression of peoples, can renounce an imperialist policy of conquest. The Soviet government, as the sole government in the world to do so, has demanded universal, immediate and complete disarmament. Only the Soviet Union has fought for security against war in

place of the imperialist security against disarmament and peace. The more the imperialists desire to provoke the Soviet government into war, the more calmly has the latter continued its persistent peace policy, at every moment prepared to successfully defend its socialist achievements with the keen-edged sword of the Red workers' and peasants' army.

"It is not for us who have experienced the shame of the Brest-Litovsk Peace, to sing the praises of the Versailles Treaty. We merely do not agree to the world being flung into the throes of a new war for the sake of this treaty. The same thing must be said in regard to the alleged new orientation taken by the U. S. S. R. We never had any orientation towards Germany nor have we any orientation towards Poland and France. Our orientation at the present time is towards the U.S.S.R. and towards the U.S.S.R. alone. (Loud applause.) And if the interests of the U.S.S.R. demand rapprochement with this or that country which is not interested in disturbing peace, we shall take this step without hesitation."

At the moment the only imperialist grouping which has no interest in kindling a war is that led by France in the League of Nations, the policy of which aims at the maintenance of the existing situation in Europe. France has relinquished her role as leader of the anti-Soviet front to England, since the chief enemy of French imperialism today is situated on the Rhine. Now that the League of Nations has proved itself incapable of being the political expression of the "organized" capitalist world, and incapable of bringing the interests of the latter into harmony and directing its expansion against the Soviet Union, now that the two chief war-makers in the world have withdrawn from the League of Nations, the main danger of

the crusade against the Soviet Union proceeds no longer from the League of Nations, but from its avowed opponents, Japan and Germany, and the English instigators of intervention, who are still in alliance with these. The present-day League of Nations, which now, as previously, is incapable of diminishing armaments, safeguarding peace and abolishing the danger of war, nevertheless, contains also members who are at the moment interested in avoiding war.

On this account, Stalin answered as follows the question of the American journalist, Duranty, who asked:

"Is your attitude to the League of Nations a negative one always and under all circumstances?"

Stalin: "No, not always, and not under all circumstances. I do not think you quite understand our viewpoint. Despite the German and Japanese exit from the League—or, perhaps, because of it—the League may well become a brake to retard or hamper military action. If that is so, if the League is even the tiniest bump somewhat to slow down the drive toward war and help peace, then we are not against the League. Yes, if such will be the course of historical events, it is not excluded that we shall support the League despite its colossal deficiencies."

The Soviet Government has shown by its policy and practice that it is far removed from all imperialist tendencies and that it knows only the one goal, of safeguarding the peace of the world in the interests of the widest masses of the people in all countries. Only the Soviet Union, which in Stalin's words, does not want "a single foot of foreign territory," but "will not surrender a single inch of its own," has increased its defensive capacity to a degree which, in union with the readiness for

defense of the world proletariat, makes it invincible. At the 17th Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., Stalin declared:

“Our foreign policy is clear. It is a policy of preserving peace and strengthening commercial relations with all countries. The U.S.S.R. does not think of threatening anybody—let alone of attacking anybody. We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer blow for blow against the instigators of war. Those who want peace and are striving for business intercourse with us will always receive our support. And those who try to attack our country—will receive a stunning rebuff to teach them not to poke their pig’s snout into our Soviet garden again.”

That is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which is backed by the toilers of the whole world. Thus, the land of proletarian dictatorship is standing with its rifle in readiness, completing the peaceful construction of socialism, but ever mindful of the warning of Lenin that only a hair separates the Soviet Union from armed onslaught by the imperialists. Objective difficulties have, it is true, **so far** prevented the execution of the plans of intervention, but they cannot in any way banish the danger of intervention. The trio, Britain-Germany-Japan, directs itself ever more openly against the Soviet Union. Any day can bring with it a temporary agreement between the Imperialist Powers; any day can bring an open attack on the peace fortress of the world proletariat. Nothing better characterizes the historical out-of-dateness of the bourgeois social order than the fact that it still perceives a saving way out only along that narrow path which leads it irrevocably into the abyss.

XI.

SOCIALISTS AT HEADQUARTERS

"Today we are faced with the iron fact of war. We have to decide today, not for or against war, but on the question of the means required for the defense of the country." (Vigorous approval on the part of the bourgeois parties.) "Our warmest wishes accompany our brothers who have been called to the colors, without distinction of party." (General cries of bravo and applause.) "In the case of a victory of Russian despotism, which has stained itself with the blood of the best of its own people, much, if not everything, is at jeopardy for our nation and its free future." (Renewed approval.) "Now we proclaim, what we have always emphasized: in the hour of danger we shall not leave our own fatherland in the lurch." (Vigorous applause.)

It was on August 4, 1914, that Hugo Haase read the above declaration in the Reichstag in the name of the German Social Democratic Party. The waves of chauvinism flooded the whole of Europe, the mass graves were being filled, when Kautsky was teaching that the International was not an instrument of war but of peace. The whole world was marching to war when the French Socialists and the British Labor Party members voted the war credits of their bourgeoisies and Albert Thomas became Minister of Munitions. The historic resolutions of the Basle and Stuttgart congresses of the Second International on war against war were torn up. At the moment of their historic ordeal of fire, the Second International marched into the war camp of world imperialism. The first world war was only possible through the treachery of the Second International.

Then came Versailles. Twelve years of Versailles

had already passed when Vandervelde at the Vienna Congress of the Second International could still dare to declare that not only his but also the signature of Herman Mueller and Karl Renner was attached to the Versailles Treaty, and that "if I had to repeat it today, I would do so."

United with the imperialist war, the social-patriotic leaders have also linked themselves with the imperialist peace. The bourgeois social order in the post-war period has rested on the reformist shoulders of the Second International. The policy of civil peace during the war period made way for a policy of class collaboration and coalition with the ruling class. The Second International saved the world bourgeoisie from the onslaught of the masses by betraying the proletariat, joining hands with the forces of counter-revolution, opening a bloody civil war against the proletariat and preparing the way for fascism. The pacifist deception which enabled the imperialists to undertake arming without hindrance, and which was directed towards diverting the attention of the masses from struggle against the danger of war, must be booked to the account of the Second International. The words of Hilferding, that great theoretical luminary of the Second International, who in November 1925 delivered himself as follows in the journal *Gesellschaft* (Society), will not be forgotten:

"The war has made clear the position of peace. The old thesis 'capitalism is war—socialism is peace' is incorrect in both parts. Imperialism is leading to a lasting peace. Now it is not so simple as formerly to say that capitalism is war, socialism is peace. It is precisely capitalism that in the recent period has shown that it desired peace, and on the contrary, the purely socialist policy of Bolshevism which has brought with it the increasing danger of war."

The Social-Democratic leaders prophesied, from the development of monopoly capitalism, economically the ending of competition and politically the ending of war, and they have still only seen the source of a danger of war in the "Bolshevik Dictatorship." Organized capitalism would banish all disputes by means of arbitration, an era of eternal world peace would be begun, the working class would come into power peacefully. If they were to win ministerial seats for the Social-Democratic leaders with the aid of a sufficient number of votes. Not dictatorship, but "democracy" was said to be the path of the working class to economic and political emancipation. That is what international Social Democracy whispered into the ears of the masses.

The leaders of the Second International in the post-war period linked themselves absolutely with the capitalist apparatus of government and power.

"Since the World War, participation of Socialists in coalition governments is no longer a rare exception, but a widely occurring phenomenon. But, of the many Socialists who have entered such ministries, not one has been lost to the party, not one has given up anything in character or respect."

Thus announced the poisonous provocateur of intervention, Kautsky, (Vorwaerts, Jan. 1, 1930), while Vandervelde coined the phrase of the international of past and future ministries, which was said to be a "proof of increased power."

Who is it that supplied the world bourgeoisie with hangmen for suppressing the rebellious workers? The Second International. Who is it that declared that as doctors of capitalism they must save and heal the deadly sick capitalist system? The leaders of reformism! Who is it that has pre-

pared the way to fascism through the "policy of the lesser evil"? International Social Democracy! Whose path has led to the establishment of the fascist reign of terror? The Social-Democratic path of bourgeois democracy!

The world bourgeoisie obtained their poisoned arrows against the Soviet Union from the armory of the Second International. Kautsky equally with Leon Blum, Scheidemann equally with Otto Bauer, Henderson equally with Vandervelde, stood at the head of the ideological preparations for war against the Soviet Union. There was no campaign for intervention in which the Social-Democratic leaders did not take an active and leading part. The catchword of "red militarism," which the bourgeoisie used as a demagogic pretext for sabotaging disarmament and for increasing preparations for intervention, was supplied by those Social-Democratic parties which, according to Vandervelde's words, were "up to the neck in social patriotism." If these social-patriots had had their way, the only workers' state would have had to submit to the fate of China and would have today become a part of the historic past.

The Second International disarmed the workers but armed the reaction. It divided the ministerial seats with the bourgeoisie, but it sabotaged the unity of the revolutionary workers. It organized pilgrimages to the country of the "rising sun of Dawes," but it expelled workers who went to the Soviet Union. The Second International was united in hatred against the Soviet Union, but broken to pieces when it was a question of uniting international struggle against world capital and world imperialism.

The foreign policy of the Social-Democratic parties in the post-war period was the foreign policy of their national bourgeoisie in each case. Mon-

sieur Leon Blum wrote: "If it should prove necessary to compel Germany to respect the regulations which limit its armaments, the French Government will find us by their side." And in Vorwaerts (March 11, 1931) one could read:

"At the conclusion of yesterday's session, Schoepflin (Social-Democrat) once again vigorously attacked the Communists, declaring that since 1919 he had stood in the National Assembly for the creation of a defense force. Social-democracy has always assented to the Reichswehr and in every year had voted the defense budget. That they had moved the reduction of single items made no difference to their basic attitude. On the basis of their positive state outlook, social-democracy had always given assent to the defense of the fatherland, even during the period of the Kaiser. He was not only a social-democrat but a German, and if he was reproached with having complied with orders of the Minister of the Reichswehr, then he would have to answer the Communists that if it was a question of the German people and the German fatherland he would rather go ten times with the Reichswehr Minister Groener than once with the Communist Stocker."

Can there still be any doubt that the armored-cruiser policy of the social-democratic Hermann Mueller government forms the basis for the present-day armament policy of the Hitler regime? Can one forget that a social-democratic government threw hundreds of millions into the maw of the Hohenzollerns and princes of the church, while it let the people go hungry? At the time when Paul Boncour drafted the law of the armed nation, was he not an ornament of the Second International? Did not MacDonald, as leader of the Labor government, convert Singapore into a naval base and institute bloody massacres in India and Palestine? Did not Henderson cover with his name the Geneva

disarmament deception, and did not the leader of the British fascists, Mosley, come from the ranks of the Labor Party?

August 1, 1934, with its danger of war and intervention, which has been intensified to the utmost, once more sees the Second International split up and divided among the imperialist war camps. The strongest parties of the Second International in Germany and Austria are completely bankrupt. In France, part of the Socialists have openly gone over to fascism and in other countries also the same process of the decomposition of social-democracy is being prepared. In England, Bromley, the Secretary of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, declared that a situation was possible in which trade union members would have to agree to war and one should not "prematurely" proclaim oneself against war. Under the demagogic banner of the struggle of "democracy against dictatorship," the parties of the Second International are attempting to drag the wide masses into a new world slaughter. The social-democratic parties of the victor countries, side by side with French imperialism and in alliance with the fascist military dictatorships of Eastern and Southern Europe, want to win the masses for the preservation of the Versailles system. German social-democracy, on the other hand, already on May 17, 1933, voted for the Hitler foreign policy of armaments and war.

The Second International has proved itself the most important tool for the preparation of world war and of intervention. On the eve of the second world war there remains nothing more to be done by the Second International as a whole. It can split up into its national component parts and as in 1914 openly betake itself to the headquarters of imperialist war. But, branded with the mark of Cain of August 1, 1914, and with the criminal social-fascist history of the post-war period, the Second

International will not be successful again in shattering the international working class on the outbreak of war and leading it into the imperialist war camp. The toiling masses must recognize that the struggle against the imperialist war is inseparably bound up with the struggle against the social patriots of the Second International.

XII.

THE PATH

A new world war is threatened. The imperialists needed the war as excellent business, and they need it today also for the same reason. Territory and colonies, markets and sources of raw material, exploitation and oppression of foreign peoples, war and mass murder—what **toiler** requires these things? For whose sake is he again to sacrifice his blood? What interest has the worker, the peasant, the employee, the small official and small trader, the soldier and sailor, in this business of exploitation, when they are themselves exploited in their own country? What toiler can believe, after the experiences of the last two decades, that a better lot awaits him through imperialist war and imperialist peace? Who is there who still does not see that war is only excellent business for the possessing class, while the toiling people have to pay the account? See how the capitalist hyenas are already again scenting their prey, read with open eyes what the **Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung** wrote on the outbreak of the war events in the Far East (February 4, 1932):

“The stock exchanges of the world encounter the events in the Far East not only with astonishing calm, but even in some cases with a kind of joyful hope which seems only to grow with the increase of the complications over Shanghai.”

When men were falling by tens of thousands at Shanghai, the capitalist shares and profits went up. "With each new extension of the conflict we see new shares and raw material groups come into movement," wrote the above paper with the greatest satisfaction. And the Oslo **Morgenbladet** recorded: "Will it come to a war in the East? It may perhaps sound brutal, but for reasons of economic improvement, a war would be very desirable. The world is today not different from what it was before. A war will enlarge the need for shipping tonnage, will increase the risks of commodity transport and also raise prices, and with them speculation would increase. . . . But if it does not come to war, then the world will have to wait for a long time yet for a natural improvement, for this is still far off."

Once against the capitalists are hoping to be able to make money out of blood. A new war prosperity is blossoming. The armament industries announce doubling of turnover, trebled profits, increased share capital and mounting dividends. Not for nothing did four American armament firms put \$250,000 in the pocket of Admiral Shearer when he embarked on the vessel which was taking the American delegation to the Geneva Naval Disarmament negotiations . . . Profiting from the bitter position of want of the unemployed, the capitalists wish to force the latter to carry out their armament orders, and they find the most energetic assistance among the reformist trade union leaders. But, whoever eats of the fruit of imperialism, dies from it! With really touching solicitude, the armament industrialists are concerning themselves with creating work in order, tomorrow, through the work created by them to poison, destroy and send to their death millions of people.

Chauvinism is flourishing, for no war business

flourishes without patriotism. For the people, "treachery to the fatherland" is designated as the most damnable crime, but for the rulers and owners permanent treachery to the fatherland is excellent business. Up to 1911, Krupp had cast 53,000 cannon, of which half were exported to 52 different "fatherlands." A British warship was blown into the air in the Dardanelles by a British mine which had been sold to Turkey. British sailors were drowned in order that English capitalists could live. Even during the World War, the industrialists of all countries delivered war materials to the powers opposing them at the time through neutral countries, well aware that these materials would the next day be put into operation against their own "heroes at the front." The shamelessness of the internationally-linked armament industry was never so blatant as today. The whole bourgeois press is at their service in order to make the toiling masses of the people amenable to pay in for ever new armament orders.

Must and will it be again as in 1914? No! If the toiling masses of all countries stand united together and have faith in their power and their inevitable victory, it will not be so again. If the toilers draw the correct lessons from the last 20 years and march forward in united struggle against the imperialist war, it will not be so again. If the workers of Europe and America, in alliance with the colonial slaves of Asia, Africa and Australia, are aware of the path which leads out of fascist barbarism, capitalist exploitation and imperialist danger of war, and pursue this path, it will not be so again. There can be no repetition of 1914, because world history is driving irrevocably towards the domination of the working class throughout the world, to Socialism, because the forces of social revolution have grown enormously compared with

the forces of world reaction, compared with 1914.

It will not be so again, if the toiling masses of the people in every country unitedly follow the path of Lenin, the path of the Third International, which has been forged in the fire of the World War and which has proved itself today to be the main strength of the international workers' movement in the struggle against fascism and imperialist war.

The first steps of the Third International were directed against war and against the social-patriotic treachery of the Second International. With the slogan of "civil war against the imperialist war," the founders of the Third International called for the ending of the war by the struggle against the enemy in one's own country. Emphasizing the inevitable connection between war and class struggle, they characterized the eradication of the rotten capitalist roots as the primary pre-condition for the abolition of war altogether. Already during the World War, Lenin wrote:

"We will not ignore the sad possibility that in the worst case humanity will experience a second imperialist war, if the revolution is not born out of this war, in spite of the numerous outbreaks of mass fermentation and mass indignation and in spite of our efforts."

With the overthrow of capitalism on one-sixth of the world's territory, the founders of the Third International showed that their words were not empty sounds, but were accompanied by the will and ability for revolutionary deeds. During the World War only the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin, and the Spartakus Bund, under Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, held high the banner of proletarian internationalism.

From the first day of its foundation, the Third International has fought for the program of the

national and social emancipation of the toilers of the whole world. The Third International answered the conclusion of the Versailles Treaty on May 13, 1919, with a great appeal under the title: "Down with the Versailles Peace," which declares among other things:

"The Communist Parties of all countries consider the Versailles peace conditions a blow to the whole international proletariat, a blow which can only be warded off through the united strength of the proletarians of all countries."

This manifesto recorded that the League of Nations was "exposed before the whole world as a robber league, which is crucifying many millions of the toiling masses of Europe."

As against the deceptive promises of the ruling class and its Social Democratic lackeys, the Third International at once exposed the disarmament swindle and pointed out the impossibility of peaceful agreements between the imperialists and the impossibility of disarmament and peace inside capitalist society. Convinced of the inevitability of a new war, the Third International has for 15 years carried on a systematic, stubborn struggle, full of glory and sacrifice, for the defense of the Soviet Union and for safeguarding world peace along the path of the overthrow of the ruling class in the capitalist countries.

Fifteen years of "peace," fifteen years of the Third International, were fifteen years of united revolutionary struggle, of world Communism against the imperialist war. However, the struggle of the Communists against war was never based on the shallow foundation of pacifism, but always on the granite foundation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the class struggle. The war of imperialism was and is a war for safeguarding the rule of finance

capital, for the salvation of the outlived bourgeois society of exploiters, for the oppression of the small and weak nations and for the overthrow of the only workers' state in the world. Hence, **all** wars of the imperialists are reactionary and unjust, and the imperialists are always the aggressors from the standpoint of historical progress and of the proletarian class struggle. This, and only this conception determines the irreconcilable attitude of world Communism to the imperialist war.

The struggle of the victorious Russian proletariat for defense of its Socialist achievements, the revolutionary insurrection of the oppressed nations against imperialist enslavement, the war of the enslaved proletarian class against the class of the bourgeoisie—these and these alone are the only progressive, and hence, the only just wars which world Communism wholeheartedly champions as the pre-condition for the total abolition of war. The overthrow of capitalism represents the alpha and omega of the revolutionary struggle against war by the Third International.

"As long as capitalism exists there can be no lasting peace. Lasting peace can only be built on the ruins of the bourgeois social order," so it was declared in the above-mentioned manifesto of the Third International fifteen years ago, when all the social-democratic bells were pealing the announcement of the approach of eternal peace.

On the eve of the second world war the Social-Democratic path of bourgeois democracy has led to fascism and unrestricted chauvinism at the moment when the Communist path of proletarian dictatorship has made the Soviet Union the strongest peace fortress in the world, while the growing Socialist well-being in the land of the Soviets brought an enormous improvement in the

conditions of life of 170,000,000 workers and peasants. In the capitalist countries, bourgeois democracy has led to the fascist reign of terror, to unspeakable misery and to the danger of war for the toilers. Only in the country of proletarian dictatorship are the toilers sure of peace, freedom, work and bread.

For 15 years, the Communist Parties have struggled in the spirit of a truly proletarian internationalism. The national minorities and the oppressed colonial peoples, the toilers of the Soviet Union, as well as the rebelling soldiers and sailors of the imperialist armies, have found their boldest champions in the Third International. Who is there can doubt that the second world war, the second intervention, would long ago have become a fact, were it not that the relation of forces had considerably altered compared to 1914, were it not that the bourgeoisie was in fear of the uncertain outcome of the war, which can lead to the victory of the world revolution instead of to the victory of world reaction? The breach made in the system of world capitalism by the Russian Soviets and Soviet China, the mighty revolutionary struggle for emancipation of the peoples of Asia and national minorities of Europe, the persistent anti-imperialist struggle of a united Communist World Party, are new factors in contrast to 1914 which the bourgeoisie have to take in all seriousness into their reckoning. The path of the revolutionary class struggle in the sign of the Soviet Star has proved to be the sole and sure path for combatting the imperialist war.

The struggle of the wide toiling masses in all countries for defense of the Soviet Union and Soviet China, for abolition of the fascist rule of terror and imperialist danger of war, can only be successful if it is carried on by a united working class. All toilers, no matter of what party, of what race or

what convictions, who are absolutely equally affected by fascist terror and imperialist war, by exploitation and oppression, must stand together in unity, must fight in unity in order to be able to conquer in unity. As the Manifesto of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Great Britain, France, Germany and Poland*, addressed to the toilers of all countries on the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the war, states in passionate words:

"Proletarians of all countries! Young workers! Women!

"You are the force which can save humanity from the fresh fratricidal slaughter. There is still lacking the unity of the working class in order, by the overthrow of capitalism, to put an end to imperialist wars. Only the **common class struggle of the proletarians in alliance with the toilers in town and country** can bring to naught all the plans of the financial capitalists, the war criminals, the war profiteers, the diplomats, the parliamentarians and generals. To this unity in the class struggle against capitalism, against its reactionary, fascist rule, we summon all workers, all toilers, men and women, old and young in the imperialist countries, in the dependent and colonial countries. We appeal to you, no matter what the color of your skin, no matter to what nation you may belong. We call to you, no matter to what party, what trade union organization you may belong, whether you are organized or unorganized.

"We appeal especially to the social-democratic workers, to the members of the reformist trade unions, as well as to all workers who are under social-democratic influence:

* See **International Press Correspondence**, Vol. 14, No. 38, July 6, 1934.

“On the basis of the solidarity of all toilers against fratricidal war, on the basis of the common interests of all oppressed against the oppressors, on the basis of proletarian internationalism against the fierce incitement of one nation against the other, all fight with us Communists and members of other revolutionary organizations against the preparation, against the letting loose of a new imperialist war.

“We address to the social-democratic parties the following proposal:

“In spite of the fact that at the commencement of the imperialist world war you sided with your own belligerent bourgeoisie, in spite of the fact that you approved of the imperialist peace treaties and voted for fresh armaments, in spite of the fact that by this policy you have split the workers' movement, we propose to you:

“Organize and carry out joint demonstrations together with us on the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the war, on August 1, under the slogans:

“Not a man and not a penny for armament purposes—the money now expended on armaments to be used to provide unemployment, sickness, invalid and old-age insurance for the working people in town and country and for lightening their burden of taxation.

“Not a train, not a ship must be allowed to leave which is transporting munitions and implements for war for Japan or fascist Germany.

“Protect the socialist Soviet Union and its socialist construction from the counter-revolutionary war of the imperialists!

“Protect the revolutionary-democratic Chinese Soviet Republic from counter-revolutionary attacks!

“Protect China against its being carved up by the imperialist powers!

“Protect all colonial peoples from the robber campaign of the imperialists!

**“Workers and employees! Working peasants!
Small business people, small shopkeepers! Young
people and women!**

“We summon you to the common fight against those who are seeking to kindle a new imperialist war. Fight together with us against capitalism, the cause of all wars, for the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie, for Socialism!

“Down with imperialist war!

“Down with fascism!

“Long live proletarian internationalism!

“Long live the united fight of all proletarians and toilers for the overthrow of capitalism!

“Long live the world revolution!”

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