

The COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(Published twice monthly).

Vol. VIII. No. 14.

Workers' Library Publishers,
35 East 125th St., New York.

August 15th, 1931

Death under Im-
perialism—or
workers'
victory?



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TEN CENTS

FRIEDRICH ENGELS ON WORLD WAR

From an unpublished letter by Friedrich Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht.

The following extract is taken from a letter by Friedrich Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht, dated February 23rd, 1888. Referring to a speech by Bismarck in which armaments were touched upon, Engels in his letter raises the question of the possibility of a European war and points out its probable course and outcome. The prospects outlined by Engels were verified in 1914-18 with remarkable accuracy.

In the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin there are many instances of such scientific forecasts based on a profound study of contemporary problems with the aid of the revolutionary method of dialectical materialism.

Marx Engels Institute.

F. Engels to W. Liebknecht.

London, February 23rd, 1888.

. . . How things will turn out when it actually comes to war it is impossible to foresee. Attempts will no doubt be made to make it a sham war, but that will not be so easy. If things turn out as we would like it, and this is very probable, then **it will be a war of positions with varied success on the French frontier, a war of attack leading to the capture of the Polish fortresses on the Russian frontier and a revolution in Petersburg, which will at once make the gentlemen who are conducting the war see everything in an entirely different light.** One thing is certain: there will be no more quick decisions and triumphal marches either to Berlin or Paris.

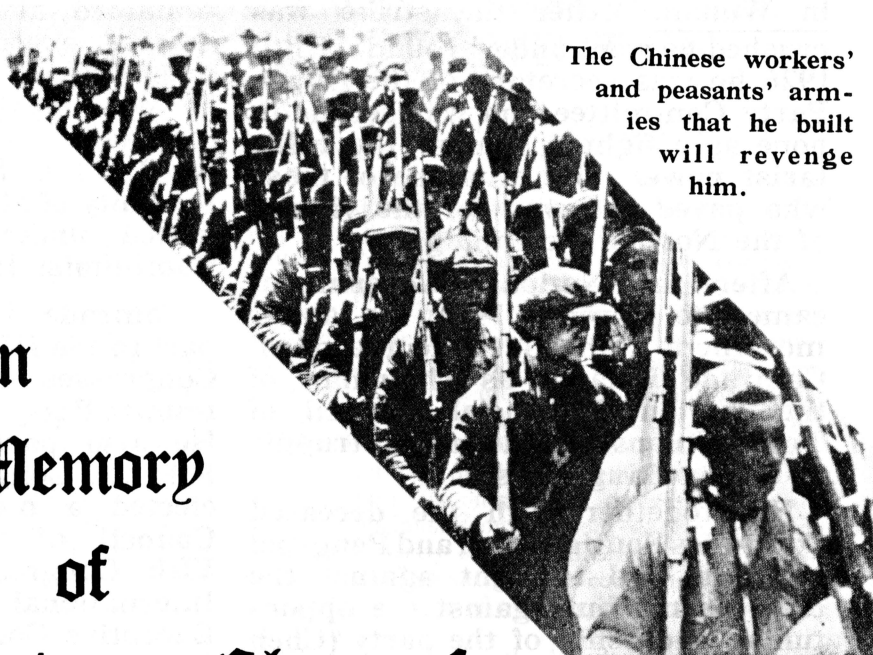


In
Memory
of

Comrade Hsiang Chung-fa

At the very height of the embittered civil war, when our Red Army was winning victory after victory over the Kuomintang Army, the Nanking executioners and the Imperialist authorities in Shanghai, snatched our leader, Comrade Hsiang Chung-fa, general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, from our midst. He was executed on June 24.

Comrade Hsiang, proletarian in origin, spent the last ten years or more in China, in the bitter School of underground work and civil war. His death, particularly when the party and the revolution needs the best leaders, is undoubtedly a heavy loss for the party, for the whole working class and for millions of peasant masses who are fighting for the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeois-land owners' counter-revolution and world imperialism,



The Chinese workers' and peasants' armies that he built will revenge him.

who are fighting for a new world, for the power of the Soviets,

Comrade Hsiang, worked as an apprentice in the Han Yeh Ping arsenal and then for many years as a water-transport worker in the Han Yeh Ping Co. In 1922 he led the strike of the water-transport workers in the Han Yeh Ping mines and that of the workers in the Hanyang Iron Works. He was elected chairman of the water-transport workers' union in the Han Yeh Ping iron ore mines and member of the executive committee of the Han Yeh Ping and the Hupeh Council of Trade Unions. He joined the Chinese Communist Party in that year.

In 1923, when General Wu Pei-fu shot down the Peking-Hankow railroad workers, Comrade Hsiang organised a huge protest demonstration and later a general strike

in Wuhan. After the strike was crushed he went underground. Until 1926 he was secretary of the Hupeh Party Committee and was second to none as a fighter against the militarist power. He was one of those who paved the way for the victory of the Northern campaign.

After the National Government came into power in 1926, the labour movement came out into the open. Comrade Hsiang, as chairman of the Wuhan Provincial Council of Trade Unions, led the entire struggle of the working class.

He, together with the deceased Comrades Sou Jao-chen and Peng-pai not only had to fight against the class enemy but against the opportunist leadership of the party (Chen Du-hsiu), particularly against the disarming of the worker pickets.

In 1928, after the VIth Party Congress, he was chosen secretary of the Central Committee and there he

remained, at his militant post, until he was executed. Throughout the most difficult days of the white terror he was loyal to his class and a consistent Bolshevik. As leader of the Party, he fought hard to preserve the unity of all the ranks of the party united under the banner of the Communist International.

Comrade Hsiang took an active part in the IIIrd, IVth, Vth, and VIth Congresses of the Chinese Communist Party and in all the plenums. He also participated in the IVth R.I.L.U. Congress at which he was elected a member of the Central Council of the R.I.L.U. At the VIth Congress of the Communist International he was elected to the Executive Committee.

Comrade Hsiang is dead but hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants will take his place and will carry on the struggle until final victory is secured.

BROADEN THE FIGHTING FRONT AGAINST THE BROADENING FRONT OF INTERVENTION

By BELA KUN

THE Sections of the Communist International have again this year decided to call upon the workers to convert August 1st into a day of struggle against preparations for imperialist war, primarily against preparations for military intervention against the U.S.S.R. The XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. made it clear that in circumstances of deepest economic crisis in the countries of capitalism and of the sturdy successes of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., military intervention is becoming more and more essential to capitalist countries, and the danger of military intervention has become a *direct danger* to the entire world proletariat. The fact that the international situation of the Soviet Union has improved of late, for the time being at any rate, does not in any way contradict this state of affairs. The dialectics of the historic process consist of just this "mutual penetration" of opposites and, with the given circumstances present, the conversion of one into the other opposite. The economic crisis is deepening in the capitalist world; side by side with this, the might of the Socialist State is developing; its popularity is growing among the broad masses in the capitalist and colonial countries. Around one pole we find the forces of capitalist exploitation and imperialist war; around the other, there are gathered forces fighting for the emancipation of the oppressed and exploited, and for peace among nations. The very same combination of reasons which brought about the temporary improvement in the international situation of the U.S.S.R., at the same time carries with it the pre-requisites, the stimulus, which further intensifies preparations for military intervention against the countries building up Socialism, and raises these preparations *on to a higher level*.

The task of every Communist on the eve of August 1 is to bring to the consciousness of the oppressed and exploited masses, to the most backward sections of the working class and peasantry, the fact that *preparations are going on for military intervention against the U.S.S.R. under cover of a subtle pacifist policy on the part of the bourgeois and Social Democratic parties*; and to explain to them why it is that *after every re-grouping, and as a result of each of them, these preparations are lifted to a higher level and take place on a more extensive front*.

This is the more necessary *to-day*, because the revelation of the military intervention schemes made at the "Promparty" and Menshevik

"Union Bureau" trials, the rigid peace policy of the workers' and peasants' government in the U.S.S.R., and the struggle of broad masses of toilers; alarmed at the almost tangible menace of war, for peace under the leadership of the Communist Parties—because all this has compelled the bourgeois and social-democratic parties to resort to *new* pacifist manœuvres. The exposure of these pacifist manœuvres is all the more necessary *to-day*, because the temporary improvement in the international situation of the U.S.S.R., in consequence of the growing inner-imperialist contradictions, of the growing revolutionary activity of the oppressed and exploited masses and the increasing successes on the field of Socialist Construction, of the increased fighting capacity of the U.S.S.R., may create in the minds of some *illusions* concerning a lessening of the danger of military intervention against the U.S.S.R.

World politics for the last few months can be characterised as a new wave of pacifist manœuvres and at the same time as a sharpening of the inner-imperialist contradictions, both in the sense of a deepening of the contradictions between those countries grappling in the throes of the capitalist crisis, and of these countries which are victoriously developing along the upward road to Socialism. On this background we find new attempts being made, inner-imperialist contradictions having been mitigated, to splice together in a firm united front those forces also—up to now sundered by inner contradictions — which despite their common fear of revolution, were not able until now to act jointly, let alone fight in a common cause.

The Pan-European plan put forward by M. Briand — the plan to muster all European and imperialist countries against the U.S.S.R. under the hegemony of France — has ended in fiasco. The power of Imperialist France, reinforced by the British Labour Government, was certainly sufficient to muster together into a military front all those countries bordering upon the U.S.S.R. but it was not sufficient to unite all the large imperialist Powers into a unit of struggle against the U.S.S.R., although their addition to the anti-Soviet Front is of decisive importance in connection with preparations for an interventionist war against the U.S.S.R. France, as the main defender of the predatory system of the Versailles Peace, has found it possible to draw both small and large vassal States into the anti-Soviet front

created with the help of this system. France has found it possible to create an armed camp against the U.S.S.R. from Roumania, through Poland, to Finland. She has organised an arsenal on a world scale in Czecho-Slovakia and Sweden to supply the anti-Soviet armies which she can already muster. But she has not sufficient power to include Germany and Italy in the anti-Soviet front, and to create a united front against the Soviet Union on such a scale as would, from the point of view of world imperialism, counter-balance the increased power of defence of the U.S.S.R. resulting from industrialisation and the collectivisation of agriculture.

Industrialisation in the U.S.S.R., the liquidation of the kulaks as a class on the basis of collectivising agriculture, the increased popularity of the U.S.S.R. among the toilers of all capitalist and colonial countries—all this means not only an increase in the capability of the Soviet Government to defend itself *at home*, but also,—in view of the menace of revolutions led by the workers and peasants in capitalist countries—a much greater element of risk for the rear-guard of the imperialist army, connected with any anti-Soviet war. This risk cannot be laid entirely upon the shoulders of the border States even given the assistance of leadership by France and England.

In circumstances of deepening world economic crisis, the menace of bankruptcy in Germany and revolution inside the country, on the one hand, and the extreme consolidation of the fighting capacity of the U.S.S.R., which is successfully fulfilling the Five Year Plan, on the other, a more "liberal" state of affairs, is required both on questions of inner-European relations and in questions concerning the relationship between the United States and Europe, than that which France is capable of producing *at the present moment*, since she is the country which gets more benefit from the Versailles Peace than all other European countries and which enjoys the hegemony in Continental Europe.

At first the English Labour Government took upon itself the rôle of mediator between these States which are situated in the hindmost position of the *main* anti-Soviet front, *without curtailing* the rôle of France, as *organiser* of military intervention. Hence the efforts of Henderson in the early part of this year to peacefully arrange relations between Italy and France by means of a naval convention. Hence the milder tone of Henderson in Geneva on the question of an Austro-German Customs Alliance and simultaneously, however, the support of France on *vital questions* concerned with *the maintenance of the system of the Versailles Peace*. The meeting

between the representatives of the English and German Governments in the country-palace of the "labour leader" Macdonald in Chequers to no less a degree aimed at the institution, *for the time being*, of tolerable relations between Germany and France. Although the steps taken by British capital, in giving a new lease of life to the Vienna "Kredit Anstalt" (the proposal of credits to the extent of 1½ million Austrian shillings) which was almost strangled to death by France, were not accepted by France as a friendly act, nevertheless these steps were a definite link in the chain of unifying English policy, which objectively saved *France, as the best organiser of the anti-Soviet war*, from an outburst on the part of the European bourgeoisie of universal indignation.

Finally, on the arena of European politics we again find *American capital in the form of President Hoover*, the old barterer, who has so long been dilating on the subject of "prosperity." The long-term credits offered to Germany by American capital, and the risk of losing them as a consequence of the approaching bankruptcy of Germany, the interests of American export in the countries of impoverished Europe, the fear of a German revolution and to no less a degree the necessity for Hoover of raising his tarnished prestige before the presidency elections—all these factors compelled President Hoover to make a *gest* worthy of Wilson—to launch his *plan for the postponement of the reparations and inter-allied debt payments for the period of one year*. This was indeed a Wilson-like gesture in a double sense! Hoover is seen in the capacity of *Europe's pacifier*, à la Wilson with his fourteen points; he *at the same time arrives on the arena in the midst of preparations for military intervention against the U.S.S.R.*, in order to give the casting vote—just as Wilson, by the interference of America in the world war, prepared the outcome of the world war—in the work of inspecting and consolidating the united front against the U.S.S.R.

There is no possible doubt that the Hoover plan will not mitigate the crisis on a world scale, and will not lessen the crisis and class contradictions in Germany, where all the pre-requisites for a revolutionary crisis are ripening. The one and a half milliard postponed payments, covered by the Hoover plan, are not capable of making the slightest difference to the deficit budget of the German Government. They can still less improve the catastrophic situation of German national economy, and it is certain already that in any case these one and a half milliard, which will be invested by German finance capital, cannot in the slightest improve the position of German workers and toiling masses. *This is not*

even a blow at the Young Plan, let alone its destruction. It is enough to remember that even Brüning expressed a doubt that the carrying out of the Hoover plan would lessen the crisis of German economy, and declared that the emergency decrees must remain in force as previously. Only ardent advocates of the capitalist system—the Social Democrats—are trying to use this plan to stir up the *illusion* in the ranks of the international proletariat, that the united forces of American capitalism, the English “Labour” Government, and French and German Social Democracy can bring about any enlightenment of the catastrophic position of the working class. The true meaning of the Hoover plan—besides defending the long-term credits advanced by American capital to Germany from the impending proletarian revolution, besides weakening the tendency towards the formation of a European front against American capital—consists in the future, not far distant prospect of *drawing* Germany into the anti-Soviet front.

For the entire world proletariat the Hoover plan signifies the complete recognition by international Imperialism of the fact that *the armed forces of the Border States* are only sufficient for a “little war” against the U.S.S.R. But a “little war” even in present conditions, from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, cannot solve the historic contradiction between Socialism and capitalism. This is why it was found necessary to convert the “little war” into preparations for a “big” war, in the true sense of a *world war* against the Soviet Union. Inner-imperialist contradictions, the growth of revolutionary activity among the toiling masses in capitalist and colonial countries, and the rapid development of Socialist construction and the might of the Soviet Union, have postponed intervention against the U.S.S.R. But for the capitalists, this compulsory postponement of military intervention means only that preparations for war have been lifted to a *higher stage*. In preparing for war on a European scale, France will continue to maintain its rôle of *organiser of war and the military leader of the anti-Soviet front*—she has been prepared for this by her armed forces, and by the creation by her of a system of military allies to surround herself. But the rôle of supreme guide and leader in the work of broadening the anti-Soviet front and of preparing for a big war is more and more obviously being taken over by America.

This, together with the revelations in the Soviet Court concerning preparations for intervention, accounts for certain changes in the methods to be used in connection with military intervention. *New pacifist manoeuvres* were necessary to screen the *transition* from preparations for a “little” war

to preparations for a “big war.” Phrases concerning “friendship among peoples,” concerning disarmament, will have to be used more extensively than of late.

Of course, the Second International is the most suitable agent for this empty hypocritical cant. The organ of the advocates of the assistance rendered by Rothschild to Austria—the “Wiener Arbeiterzeitung”—is already offering the Second International as the “saviour of Germany:” The German “left” Social Democrats are already wagging their tongues in connection with the Hoover plan: on the basis of this plan they have issued a call to the C.C. of the Social Democratic Party, asking the latter to “demand” the annulment of the Emergency Decrees (which it seems were necessary yesterday but are not needed today). At the last three national congresses of Social Democracy (in France, Germany and Poland), the “left” Social Democrats uttered many platonic declarations against military intervention. And the Second International forwarded to the Vienna Congress a resolution passed by the Commission on Disarmament of the Social Fascist International, informing them of the “campaign for world disarmament.” This “campaign for world disarmament,” of course, is represented as being nothing more than a campaign to collect signatures for a petition to the League of Nations—a campaign organised by the Second and Amsterdam Internationals; whereas the true meaning of this campaign is given away in its chief slogan: “War threatens us from the East, from the direction of the Bolsheviks.” In the resolutions concerning this “campaign for world disarmament,” of course, no single word is to be found concerning the policy of peace conducted by the U.S.S.R., of the repeated suggestions of Litvinov at the Geneva sessions in the interests of maintaining peace. Such slogans as the “friendship of peoples” and “disarmament” serve merely as an addendum to the various Geneva conferences, where the united front against the U.S.S.R. is being formed; as an addendum to manoeuvres like the Hoover plan, the meaning of which in the long run amounts to the reinforcement of the anti-Soviet front on all sides.

Simultaneously with the preparations for a war of intervention, like the “big war” against the Soviet Union, diligent work is being carried on in connection with the Hoover plan to prevent the successful achievement of the Five Year Plan. The “Bergwerkszeitung” and the “Daily Express” write that the Hoover Plan contains a *political condition* which amounts in the long run to the obligation of Germany to join in the boycott of Soviet goods. The Paris correspondents

of the American press are writing that France demands that those sums of money which will be freed in Germany as a result of the postponement of payments should not be utilised for crediting Soviet orders.

Side by side with this, of course, is a continuation of the correspondingly vile anti-Soviet campaign of the Social-Fascists. The toilers of Europe are still being fed with awful stories about "Soviet dumping" and "forced labour." With joy the Social Democratic press seized upon the news that during the Franco-Soviet trade negotiations, the radical Cailleaux, in a provocative form, proposed a plan for French capitalist trading monopoly as against the Soviet *Socialist* monopoly of foreign trade, in order to complicate trading relations between the U.S.S.R. and Germany. "Vorwärts" published base lies to the effect that the wages of German workers are falling because the U.S.S.R. is concluding agreements to supply goods at lower prices.

Provocation against the peace policy of the Soviet Union still continues. Demonstrations against the Soviet Union are increasing in Finland. In Middle Asia, in Afghanistan, the agents of British imperialism are diligently working against the Soviet Union. Litvinov's proposal concerning a treaty of economic non-aggression which he made at the Geneva conference, to which certain imperialist Powers were at first against admitting the U.S.S.R., was actually turned down by the Powers with the approval of international Social Democracy. The oil kings of the United States are arranging a new case against the Soviet oil undertakings and their lawyer in the American court will be the famous Social Democratic pillar of the Second International in the United States, Morris Hillquit. In France, Russian white guards continue to organise, and secretly tour those countries where — as for instance in Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Bulgaria—remnants of the white guard armies continue to exist as organised units, supported by the respective governments of those countries. The organisers of works of treachery and espionage—the Russian Mensheviks—not only enjoy the hospitality of the Second International, but also the special escort of the German Social Democratic police force.

The toiling masses of all capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries are perfectly justified in starting a decisive struggle against preparations

for war. The cost of these preparations for a "big war" against the U.S.S.R. will constitute a heavy, intolerable burden upon the toiling masses.

Of all the existing branches of industry, the *war industry* alone is prospering, and wages there have been reduced to a minimum, because the capitalists are able to use the crisis in other branches of industry, and in agriculture, to bring pressure to bear on wages in this industry. Schools are being closed down in several countries (Poland, Rumania). The children of the workers and peasants are doomed to illiteracy. The rate of benefits paid for unemployment, sickness, and for injury, are being lowered in the interests of inflated war budgets. The war against the Fatherland of the Proletariat is being prepared for *at the expense of hunger and misery among the toilers, and will be waged at the cost of their life-blood.*

Our preparations for a militant August 1st and for the conducting of demonstrations on this day must correspond in nature to the increased preparations for military intervention. The weak point on August 1st in 1929-30 was that the campaigns were in the nature of narrow party demonstrations, and the broad masses of workers and peasants were not sufficiently mobilised. This year this day of struggle must be organised and conducted in the form of *the widest possible united front of all serious, class-conscious workers*, in the form of an alliance between the working class, the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois strata in the towns. *More intensified preparations for war must be counteracted by a broader fighting front against imperialist intervention against the U.S.S.R.* The ring of defence formed by the proletariat and peasantry around the U.S.S.R. must be broadened out to correspond with the attempts being made to develop the Imperialist fighting front against the Soviet Union. If the bourgeoisie and its mainstay, Social Fascism, are hailing this year as "Hoover's Year," then the proletariat, the peasantry and all the toilers of the world are fully justified in converting this year into one of defence of the Soviet Union from increased preparations for war, into a year of intensified struggle for a revolutionary outcome of the crisis, against capitalism, against fascism and against social-fascism. The First of August must be estimated as the prologue to the unfolding of this intensified struggle.

THE COMMUNIST PARTIES ON THE ANTI-MILITARIST FRONT

By A. VASSILIEV

IN connection with the approaching XVII. anniversary of the imperialist war of 1914-18, in preparing for the new anti-militarist Red Day, the *first* duty of all Communist Parties is to check up what they have done in fulfillment of the directives of the VI. Congress of the Communist International on the question of the struggle against imperialist wars and how the question stands in respect to the fulfillment of these directives in the very near future. This calls for a very detailed, unsparing and really Bolshevik and Leninist self-criticism, and moreover one which has no respect for persons.

The analysis of the international situation, made by the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. pointed out an immediately impending threat of new imperialist wars and a special menace of a fresh intervention of the imperialists in the U.S.S.R. All events which have taken place since the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. have fully confirmed the unconditional correctness of this analysis and place before all the Communist Parties, before the whole international working class movement, a task gigantic, historic in responsibility, in preventing a repetition of the autumn of 1914, and at all costs not allowing the proletariat, as in 1914, to find itself politically and organisationally helpless when faced with new imperialist wars. The sad experience of the Communist Party of Finland, finding itself politically and organisationally helpless at the time of the Fascist revolution in the autumn of 1930, serves as a warning to all the Communist Parties; nothing like that ought to take place anywhere.

* * * *

The first question which all the Communist Parties must answer in a checking up of how far they have implemented the decisions of the VI. Congress of the C.I. on the struggle against imperialist wars, consists of how much they have done to make these decisions the subject of widest publicity among the masses of workers and peasants and to get these masses to feel these decisions their own.

Up till now in all the Communist Parties and in their affiliated organisations, our aim in this respect has not been attained, but frankly the situation is even worse. It is a regrettable and ascertained fact that in all countries not only have wide masses of workers and peasants no knowledge of the decisions of the VI. Congress on the war question, but the most active Party members, as a rule, are very badly informed

with regard to the decisions and very little is being done by the Parties to propagate them among the masses and to get down to the task of working out fundamentally and concretely their applicability to local conditions in the ranks of the Party and even in the ranks of the most active members.

Meanwhile the primary and most important question for the correct initiation of the anti-militarist work of the Communist Parties,—and all Parties must assuredly begin with this is to broadcast the decisions of the VI. Congress on the war question at once to the masses—and to begin to work out concretely the application of these decisions to the specific conditions of every country and every local organisation in that country and arrange for a systematic and practical checking up of the fulfilment of all these concrete decisions, and to institute a very severe self-criticism with organisational extirpatory measures in regard to all signs of openly Right and “Left” opportunist deviations, indecision and bureaucracy affecting the transferring into life of the resolutions of the VI. Congress on the struggle against the danger of fresh imperialist wars.

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With regard to this self-criticism, all Communist Parties must before all put into effect the following section of the resolution passed by the VI. Congress: “Par. 12. The first duty of Communists in the struggle against imperialist war is to tear away the veil under cover of which the bourgeoisie are preparing for war and show the broad masses the real position of things. This means primarily a very stubborn political and propagandist struggle against reformism.”

How very often, particularly in the most recent period, have the imperialists practised unprecedented pacifist demagoguery simultaneously with feverish preparation for new intervention against the U.S.S.R.! And this demagoguery has already considerable success among the masses.

It will suffice to point out what has been done on these lines in France. France is acknowledged to be the chief organiser of fresh military intervention in the U.S.S.R. She carries on especially wide-spread mass pacifist agitation and spends time in complicated pacifist manoeuvres very nearly leading to a pact of non-aggression with the U.S.S.R. Manoeuvres like this, serving as far-reaching demagogic agitation, are very dangerous. In France there is an appreci-

able growth of pacifist illusions among the masses of demobilised men organised in the ranks of the Party. Thus the exposure of the true nature of the pacifist manœuvres of the ruling class and its Social Fascist lackeys and of how these pacifist manœuvres conceal continuous preparation at a feverish pace of new imperialist wars, still remains the centre of attention for the agitational, propagandist and organisational work of all the Communist Parties without exception.

* * * *

The resolution of the VI. Congress echoes the words of Comrade Lenin, that war is prepared in enormous secrecy. All the Communist Parties in their every-day work must determinedly unmask this secrecy. How can this be done?

It is obvious that any secret treaties, Government proposals and military orders which by one means or another fall into the hands of Communist Party organisations must be published without delay, but the centre of gravity of the work of the exposure of the secrets of the preparation of new imperialist wars and simultaneously the centre of gravity of real anti-militarist work does not lie here: it lies in the industries,—and in the railway centres, and especially in the automobile industry, import and export transport centres—which have military importance. In summing up the factors on the combination of which the militarist adventures of the bourgeoisie are calculated, these quantities have a decisive significance. The ruling class carefully masks the war industries. For example such an externally peaceful branch of industry as the production of artificial silk is developed. But at the same time all the world knows that artificial silk factories can be converted in the course of a few hours into undertakings for the manufacture of poison gas.

This is what it means to penetrate the mysteries of the preparation of fresh imperialist wars and primarily to teach the workers in these undertakings, who have military knowledge to recognise how such undertakings are transformed into munitions works and how it is possible to paralyse this transformation.

This is the primary task of the every day mass work of the Parties. The directing organs of the Communist Party can—and must—give special allocations to selected Party members or special groups to carry on concrete work in relation to industries of military importance. But the chief task which the Party must undertake is the mobilisation for carrying out these tasks of the initiative of the mass of workers in these industries. To do this very great perseverance is needed. The ruling class will bring into action

the whole repressive apparatus of the Government of the day or summon to its aid the Fascists and Social Fascists. The Communist Parties and the whole working class must make sacrifices in the form of the discharge of known active members, as these active members will be involved in every sort of so-called "trials for espionage" and so on. The Communist Parties must unmask these charges of espionage and continue inevitably to inculcate the technique of the preparations for imperialist war in the war and transport industries.

* * * *

A fundamental means of struggle for the Communist Parties against imperialist war is illegal factory cells with illegal factory papers operating on a broad basis of worker-correspondents in every company, section, shift and brigade. But along this line, very little has been done by all the Communist Parties, they are all extremely weak in the industries of military importance. This is comprehensible. The boss-class admirably understands the significance of industries of military importance and therefore preserves them as the apple of its eye from Communist agitators and particularly from factory cells. However, without the strengthening of our organisation in the industries and transport centres of military importance, all resolutions on the most enormous scale dealing with the task of the struggle against imperialist war remain empty prattle. Hence all the Communist Parties must take the necessary inevitable steps. So long as they are organisationally weak in the industries of military importance, their anti-militarist work must remain without any basis and not have the necessary practical significance.

But here we must remember what the VI. Congress of the C.I. said with regard to the rebuilding of the Party organisation for assuring a real struggle against the dangers of imperialist war.

The war resolution of the VI. Congress recalls the statement of Comrade Lenin:

"It is necessary to make clear to the people the real position, the terrific secrecy in which war is born and how the ordinary organisations of the workers are helpless even though they call themselves revolutionary when faced with a war that is actually approaching."

The VI. Congress discussed this dictum in detail and formulated the following concrete tasks for the Communist Parties:—

1. The spreading of the network of factory cells by the Parties which, in the teeth of the terroristic measures adopted by the employers and police, must be reorganised under certain conditions on an illegal basis, and all the neces-

sary conditions created in preparation for this reorganisation.

2. To organise and prepare for leading organs, liaison apparatus and Party printing presses to function under conditions of stringent illegality.

These instructions of the VI. Congress of the C.I. still hold good at the present time. To them it is only necessary to add that the moment has now come when the factory cells must be transferred into illegal Party organisations. This particularly applies to Party cells in undertakings of military importance. These important directions of the VI. Congress have not been carried out by the Parties to any serious extent. Meanwhile it is perfectly obvious that in case of war the Parties will be isolated from the masses on account of the lack of strong illegal factory cells.

On the development of the decisions of the VI. Congress it is possible to recommend the following particular concrete measures for transforming the structure and methods of work of factory cells:—

a. Not to talk about Party affairs or on the theme of the class struggle generally when anyone is near.

b. Making use of Party cypher words when talking about Party affairs and meetings.

c. Choosing meeting places carefully and making them doubly secure by patrolling and other measures of precaution.

d. Breaking up a cell into company cells and company cells in their turn into threes, or at most, fives, in sections, workshops, brigades, shifts, etc.

The question of the combination of illegal organisations and methods of party work with legal ones, of the correct and possibly wider exploitation of legal and semi-legal possibilities, using restricted underground Party organisations to protect and widen the scope of contacts with the masses has at the present time a doubly great importance especially in relation to work in the factory cells. The parties must place among their tasks, the creation in industries, in companies, brigades and shifts, everywhere where there are Party members and sympathisers, of every possible sort of legal and semi-legal organisation, trade unions, loan and benefit societies, sporting, musical and choral circles, etc., general educational courses and so forth. All these organisations must be built up as completely self-supporting, and having no connection with one another, the more there are of them the better, since it is the easier to develop the initiative of the mass through them and more difficult for the police to combat them, and the Party, operating through its fraction inside these organisations, will be able to continue its great historical work.

To this we must also add that all party organisations—and the factory cells in particular—for the consideration of all concrete plans of mass work in industries of military importance, *must every time without fail take special measures to keep the leaders of the factory cells safe from arrest.*

In particular, in the composition of the leading factory organs of struggle — strike committees and so on—it is, as a rule, desirable, that only the minimum number of comrades from the Party leadership should be members of them, and if possible none at all, so that by this means, the leadership of the Party functions through the fraction by means of the allocation of a special representative on the Party committee, taking part in the sessions of the committees of struggle only in specially important cases, etc.

The leaders of the factory cells must generally endeavour to avoid revealing themselves externally in the factory as active politically-minded workers and yet more as members of the Communist Party.

* * * *

In relation to the decisions of the VI. Congress of the Comintern on the work in the army, it must also be stated that these decisions have in general been unsatisfactorily carried out by the Communist Parties. No doubt attempts to do so have been made, but these attempts are inadequate confronted with the present general international situation. In the first case this relates to countries playing a specially active rôle in the preparation for fresh intervention in the U.S.S.R., as Poland, Roumania, Finland and especially France, who is at the moment doing the policing and defending internationally of the whole black reaction. The following important tasks confront the Communist Parties to-day along this line.

A far-reaching and very determined building up of a strong special apparatus, not connected with the general party apparatus. As the duty of this apparatus, as laid down by the decisions of the VI. Congress, there lies the organisation of work in the army, that is the foundation of a network of army cells and other forms of contact, and the securing of circulation in the army of illegal revolutionary literature revealing to the soldiers for what purpose the boss-class is preparing them by the instrumentality of their officers and at the same time making it clear what the soldiers must do to overthrow the power of capital in combination with the workers and peasants.

One of the most important concrete tasks of the parties and Y.C.L. on this score is the utilisation of contacts with young recruits and newly-enrolled men coming to their army service in the

making of cells and local party organisations, and also of former members of various revolutionary mass organisations such as trades unions, the Union of Red Front fighters, etc.

Yet further, as in the factories, having organised in the barracks strictly illegal party cells, it is essentially simultaneously to resort to the organisation of all sorts of circles or clubs which can be utilised as auxiliary, semi-legal organs of the party cells. To do this is much more difficult than doing it in the factories, but it is not impossible and the repression by the commanders and their staff of cultural-educational, sporting soldiers' clubs, etc., will only exasperate and revolutionise the mass of the soldiers.

It is necessary also specially to note the insufficient attention paid to work among the coloured soldiers. The imperialists—specially those of France and England—set great stake on the coloured army. The Communist parties also from their side must be able to set great stake on these strata of "cannon fodder," but for this very persevering work by a special apparatus is necessary for the formation of cadres for work among the coloured soldiers, special literature, etc.

* * * *

Simultaneously with a further strengthening of the special apparatus, according to the decisions of the VI. Congress of the Comintern, the Communist parties must strengthen in the highest degree the work of the general party apparatus, among others the party fractions in the mass organisations exercising mass pressure on the army.

How can this be done? The anti-militarist practice of the French Communist Party affords a series of methods of work in this direction, which can be utilised with great success in other countries, e.g., *a*, the formation of mass non-party recruits' organisations; *b*, farewell reunions reservists and recruits going into the barracks; *c*, fraternising of strikers with soldiers sent to repress them; *d*, delegations from factories

and trade union organisations to the barracks; *e*, cultural-political patronage by the workers of definite factions of definite regiments, etc.

Attempts to organise recruits in 1930 gave better results in Poland, in spite of exceptionally bad conditions of white terror in that country. In the recent period, in a number of countries, the signs of the growth of serious revolutionary fermentation in the army have begun to be observed.

This has been specially clearly observed in Roumania and Poland, concerning which in both lands so far as we know there were no leaders or organisers of these movements. Such facts as the simultaneous mutinies of the soldiers in four important garrison towns on February 8th of this year on the anniversary of the arrival of the present "crowned" lackey of French imperialism, Karol—set before all parties—especially the communist parties of Roumania and Poland—a very serious means of proving the question of the struggle against the backwardness of the work of their apparatus compared with the growth of revolutionary activity among the soldiers.

* * * *

A very important condition for success in all the anti-militarist work of the parties is a systematic living checking up of the fulfilment of the responsible directions by the leading party organs and specially the checking up of the fulfilment of the decisions of the VI. Congress on the military question which still remains for the present the fundamental guiding document for all the anti-militarist work of the Parties.

This checking up must be accompanied by the adoption of rapid concrete measures for the correction of the faults admitted and the recollection of blanks and insufficiencies. A fundamental method for checking up in this sphere of party work is vital instruction of specially skilled and tried party instructors, subordinated to a member of the Political Bureau allocated for the leadership of this work.

ON THE DEFENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION

By HERMANN REMMELE

THE main contradiction in the centre of the antagonisms shaking the capitalist world is the antagonism of the two economic systems—Capitalism and Socialism. This main contradiction supersedes more and more the inner antagonisms of capitalism which are shaking the world system of capitalism at its foundations.

This contradiction has become a life and death problem for capitalism now when the world economic crisis is sharpened from month to month affecting all capitalist countries, while in the Soviet Union Socialist construction is attaining such successes of economic development as have never been recorded by any previous economic system. If these two systems in the long run cannot exist side by side even in the "normal" course of development, then it is quite impossible for the capitalist system, in a situation where the weakest links as a result of its own contradictions are threatened with collapse. The economic system of Socialism, recognised as superior, becomes ever more and more the aim to which the toiling masses of people are striving in the capitalist countries which are the weakest links and threatened with ruin. The masses see in it the way out of the suffering resulting from the capitalist collapse: the economic crisis becomes a revolutionary crisis. The proletariat is turning to Communism and is more and more ready to finally solve the crisis through the revolution. This danger makes the existence of Socialism in the Soviet Union intolerable for the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries. It is precisely the success of the Socialist economy which becomes the chief source of the danger because the broadest masses of toiling people, even beyond the ranks of the proletariat itself, recognise in the superiority of the Socialist economy the way out of the destruction which is threatening them.

In this situation, the danger of imperialist intervention and war against the Soviet Union, organised by the great Powers, has entered a new, extremely intensified and more serious phase. Indicative of this is the fact that American dollar imperialism, directly linked up its moves to support the bankrupt Hindenburg Republic with interventionist moves against the Soviet Union. Simultaneously, with the Hoover declaration of one year's moratorium in the Young tribute payments, American dollar imperialism proclaimed the necessity of an economic boycott against the Soviet Union and in this way takes over not only the leadership in the attempt to solve the unsolvable problem of the Versailles system, but also the

leadership in the attempt to organise, together with France, the interventionist war against the Soviet Union. After the exposures in the trial of the Industrial Party and against the Menshevik "Union Bureau," the "monopoly" of French imperialism in this question became more difficult. Furthermore, the experience of the past year has shown that the task of uniting the great imperialist robber States in the war against the Soviet Union is beyond the strength of France. Under these conditions, the tendency has become apparent for the leading rôle in the struggle against the proletarian State to pass over into the hands of the strongest imperialist Power—America. Imperialism sees no other way out than an imperialist war against the Soviet Union in order to overcome its own inner difficulties. From this the working class must recognise that the danger of war against the Soviet Union to-day has entered a definitely new stage as compared with the situation in previous months and years.

The new phase of the danger of imperialist war against the Soviet Union was brought in, just as the previous stages, with an attempt to befog the minds of the masses of working people. Dollar imperialism bases its economic boycott against the Soviet Union on the supposed existence of "forced labour," which is made out to predominate there. That is an exceptionally brilliant witticism. At a time of world economic crisis, when the wage slavery of the capitalist system imposes unbearable suffering on the workers, the masses of toiling peasants and small artisans, at a time when in the Soviet Union the enthusiasm of labour among all the working people without exception is bringing to completion the most gigantic fruits of their labour—at such a time to speak of "forced labour" in the Soviet Union is, indeed, a good joke!

The imperialists and also their lackeys, the Social Fascists, who shout louder than their masters about "forced labour" in the Soviet Union, know that the victory of Socialism over Capitalism, is not only an economic and moral victory, but is at the same time a victory of political power, a military political victory. Not the least reason for the enthusiasm of labour of the proletariat and peasant masses of the Soviet Union is the imminent threat of the war danger, and the tremendous progress of industry, the enormous extension of the industrial basis of Soviet economy draws its power from the iron will of the whole toiling people to be prepared against any attempt to destroy the Soviet State.

Whoever has the best industrial equipment, has the strongest military power. The general slogan of the proletariat of the Soviet Union of catching up to and surpassing the level capitalist industry draws its strength from the determination of the 160 million people to make Socialism in the Soviet Union an unvanquishable bulwark of the world revolution, of world Communism.

With the growth of the revolutionary forces in the Soviet Union which has found expression in the energetic socialisation of the whole national economy, industry as well as agriculture, there grows also the international Communist movement in all capitalist countries. Even in countries, where for a whole decade the proletariat and poor peasantry has been literally butchered under the bloody Fascist terror, as in Bulgaria, Communism raises its head anew with far greater audacity and determination than before the Fascist dictatorship and forewarns that the banner of Communism will be raised more widely and boldly than we have ever seen before. This is in an agrarian country. The Hoover moves show that not only

has Communism become a danger to the existence of the capitalist system of exploitation in such countries as Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and France, but also in England and America, which have felt up to now immune from Communism.

Imperialism seeks a way out of its impassable situation through an imperialist war against the Soviet Union in order to secure a new basis for its existence. Under the present conditions, the danger to the bourgeoisie of being destroyed in this attempt by the wave of world revolution disappears before the hope that along this road, which is the only one possible, they will find a way out. It is the task and duty of the proletariat in all capitalist countries to face with full clarity the danger of the coming imperialist war against the Soviet Union and to carry through all preparations so basically and thoroughly that there will be no doubt about the outcome of this greatest and last passage of arms between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

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THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE COMING WAR

(Towards the International Day of Struggle against Imperialist War).

By A. LOZOVSKY

ACCORDING to all imperialist calculations and presuppositions, there ought to have been a war against the Soviet Union in 1929-30. The fact that this war did not take place was not the fault of the imperialists. It was prevented by the shattering economic crisis, the growth of the revolutionary working class movement, the internal friction between the imperialists, the peaceful policy manifest to all of the U.S.S.R., the revelations of the two trials of the Industrial Party and of the anti-Soviet conspiracy of the Mensheviks and finally the plain and unanimous disinclination of the wide masses of the workers to fight one another or yet more to fight against the U.S.S.R. The war miscarried. But does this mean that it has been postponed for long? Far from it. Although the events thrown on the international screen change with kinematic rapidity, although one government makes way for another and yesterday's heroes of prosperity become to-day's heroes of economic catastrophe, yet, more surely than ever, war remains on the order of the day. This is not only because war has never ceased in China and a large number of the colonial countries, but also because the contradictions between the imperialist Powers have not been in any way settled and the contradictions between the capitalist and Socialist worlds have become more and more manifest. Just now it would be especially silly to become doped by pacifist illusions and proceed on the hypothesis that, since the imperialists did not succeed in organising a war in 1929-30, this question may be postponed for a considerable period of time. So assuredly the International Day of Struggle against War, fixed for August 1st, has a special meaning. To estimate the significance of this day, let us stop and glance fleetingly at the setting of the international stage, at the groupings of the inter-governmental and inter-class forces which have taken place during the last few years.

A very marked and especially important factor determining the policy of all the capitalist countries is the world economic crisis. Although this crisis has affected the different countries in a varying degree of intensity, it has touched the organism of capitalism on its most sensitive parts. We have before us a partial paralysis of the nervous system of the capitalist order. This determines the policy of the capitalist governments towards one another and it also determines their policy in relation to the U.S.S.R. A particularly important consequence of the deepening

of the crisis is the catastrophic economic conditions in Germany and Poland, which have brought both those countries to the threshold of not only economic but also of political bankruptcy. So far as Germany is concerned, this is clearly the result of a combination of the consequences of the Young Plan and the world economic crisis. But the crisis is so intense that it causes a reflection of these catastrophic conditions even in those countries which have so far been profiting from the Young Plan. Thus before the capitalist world is posed the question of how to avert catastrophe in Central Europe. This concerns not only the German bourgeoisie, but also the English and American boss class. The French bosses are less worried about this question than all the others because they hope in this event to crush revolutionary Germany with the mailed fist, but then they have to reflect on how to avert catastrophe to the weakest links of European capitalism (Poland and the Balkan countries).

The numerous sessions at Geneva, deliberating there on the problem of the economic crisis, the agrarian conferences, the congress of chambers of commerce at Washington and the participation of the agents of the various governments in them, all have to do with the struggle against the crisis, wherefore this "struggle" bears the character of attempts to exorcise the evil and of optimistic hopes of the future. Every government agent, in consequence, has his own remedy for the salvation of capitalist Europe, but their prescriptions not only do not revive hope in the patients, but also do not raise their confidence in the governmental sorcerers who want to treat them.

Under cover of the din of speeches and moans, optimistic hopes and inauspicious forebodings, the principal partners in the international arena continue to rival one another in armaments and secure new positions on the world market. The external dissensions of England and the U.S.A. seem to have been somewhat softened, but as a matter of fact the crisis has already rather sharpened the reciprocal relations of these two creditors. England helps France to defeat the Customs Union between Germany and Austria, but, on the other hand, England, in concert with the U.S.A., tries to devise measures to save Germany from catastrophe. The U.S.A., whose people have heard from the lips of their own government agents a hundred times that European affairs do not concern them, are now ran-

sacking their brains to save Germany from social revolution. The governmental alchemists are seeking a panacea for all evils and, of course under various sauces, serve up one and the same conclusion, that there would be no crisis at all, or at least that it would be very much less serious if the Soviet Union did not exist! Thus from the intensification of the crisis and the vigorous growth of the U.S.S.R., resulting in tens of millions of unemployed in the capitalist countries and a deficit of man-power in the U.S.S.R., the threat of revolution in the capitalist countries and the danger of war against the U.S.S.R. are ever increasing. The successes of the Red Army in China, the growth of the revolutionary movement in India, all this persists in posing the same problem, *who will conquer whom*, "which will hold his own in the unequal fray?"

* * *

In order to save Germany from catastrophe, the American bourgeoisie and their bankrupt prophet Hoover have come out with the scheme of a remission of reparations and other payments for one year. The English, Japanese and Italian Governments also pronounced in favour of this proposal. The French boss class is not against it on condition that it should lose nothing thereby, but receive a percentage for the sums due—but not paid—according to the Young Plan. But does the remission of payments for a year mean the solution of the developing crisis? Will unemployment be diminished thereby? Will it remove those very deep-seated causes which are shaking the capitalist world to its very foundations? On this score the governmental agents of the boss class have no vision. This "heroic" gesture which the international bourgeoisie is making to-day to have its wealth amassed during the ages weighs on the scales in comparison with this crisis like a grain of sand in relation to Mont Blanc. In the meanwhile it would have been possible to take in hand a series of radical measures to relieve the pressure on the masses of the workers, put an end to budgetary deficits, etc. These radical measures include the reduction of army and navy estimates and a considerable curtailment of the war industries. But in the meanwhile we see a continuous growth of expenditure in this direction while the governments of all countries are now drafting measures to economise expenditure on social insurance and all the social needs of the broad masses of the workers. The war industries expand: new strategical railways are being built, machines for the destruction of humanity are working at full speed and at full capacity. And this homicidal machine does not work for nothing. The milliards spent bring in profit to the capitalists and they hope to receive

yet greater tribute in the event of war, whether that war be against another capitalist country or against the Soviet Union.

In its pursuit of safe investment for its capital in the war industries, the bourgeoisie of the powerful imperialist countries is seeking allies. This year especially has been characterised by every sort of secret conference, attempts at groupings of the Powers, formations of new blocs, etc. If France has the solid support of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia, then Italy, securing the support of the U.S.A., establishes a united front with Hungary and has no objections to raise to the union of Austria and Germany in the name of the "protection of the interests of the Italian people." No less active than Mussolini and Briand, is the hero of the Second International, Ramsay MacDonald, who also slips into the Balkans and the Baltic Border States neighbouring on the U.S.S.R. to protect them against "Red Imperialism." So this year there have arisen a series of new secret alliances and a regrouping of forces has taken place. From time to time wordy controversies have been staged at Geneva before which everyone knew that behind the verbal controversies during which peace, freedom and the happiness of the peoples were hymned in every key, the mouths of the guns were gaping and the odour of poison gas was in the air. As they prepare their forces against one another, the imperialists are still considering the problem of how to unite to strike a blow at their common enemy, the U.S.S.R.

That the Five-Year-Plan is an enormous evil, is an elementary truth for the boss class in all lands. Not one of the exploiters would deny that the capitalists would be better off if the Five-Year-Plan were not in existence. But the question is not whether anyone likes or dislikes our Five-Year-Plan, but whether the imperialists have sufficient strength to bring it to nought. What is needed for this? United action by the strongest imperialist Powers with Germany among their number. But how can Germany join in the united front so long as the Young Plan continues with rectilinear inexorability beating out of the brains of the most hopeless German Francophiles the idea of orientation to the West against the East? The German boss class is not unwilling to enter a united front against the U.S.S.R., but it wants something substantial in return for this—the abolition of the Treaty of Versailles. On the other hand, the German bosses are afraid of their own workers. Can France and England, with the sole support of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania and the Baltic Border States, count on military success against the U.S.S.R. if, in the rear of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, lies a

despoiled and dismembered Germany? It is very hard to say. The very adroit English and French diplomats are putting their heads together to find a means of contenting the German bourgeoisie which is not detrimental in any way to their own interests. Each partner is willing to do all he can on the other's account, but so far they have not succeeded in solving the insoluble conundrum and, although the German Fascists are openly up for auction, they will not bid, for the price is too high even for the victors. But if Germany does not enter the united front, will that fact make war against the U.S.S.R. impossible? That is unlikely. The imperialists will first try to force Germany to make a united front with them, but finally they can risk beginning the war without Germany, leaving the question of drawing her into it in the future to depend on the course of the events of the war. The bosses are driven to the wall by the crisis and are searching an exit in desperation. All attempts to end the crisis have been of no avail, an effort to find an outlet through a military adventure is not only possible but exceedingly probable. The anti-Soviet position has its own logic. It is impossible to go on screaming year after year that the U.S.S.R. is the root of all evil, that Soviet dumping is ruining the whole civilised world, that "Red Imperialism" threatens humanity and do nothing resulting from these conclusions. Capitalism does not dream of leaving the historical arena of its own free will, it is struggling and will struggle yet more furiously for its life. What is driving on the imperialists to-day to war against the U.S.S.R.? More than anything unceasing contradictions in the economic life of the capitalist States, and, secondly, the quite exclusively revolutionary significance of the vigorous Socialist growth of the U.S.S.R. It is not in idleness that the exceptionally greedy American bosses observe with panic the successes of the Five-Year-Plan. Not in idleness do the capitalists of all lands reflect with terror on the thought that the U.S.S.R. may produce a second plan when the first is completed.

It follows therefore that war is not only possible and probable, but also inevitable. But why have not the treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and other countries removed the dangers of war? How many times have treaties been concluded between France and the U.S.S.R.? In Polish capitalist circles they are beginning to talk about the possibility of concluding a commercial treaty with the U.S.S.R. Is not this sufficient proof that war has been put away in a long box? Such a conclusion is radically incorrect. Why has France begun negotiations with the U.S.S.R.? Because he is driven to it by the intensification of the crisis. If it was impossible

to go to war in 1929-30, then it was essential to begin to trade while preparing for war at the same time. It is essential to bear in mind the furious competition between the capitalist Powers. However much the capitalist press might abuse the U.S.S.R., no one could deny that the orders of the U.S.S.R. were increasing daily. The Soviet Union, as a centralised purchaser, has a great effect on the world market. Individual capitalists, trusts, amalgamated industrial undertakings deem it necessary not only to take these orders but also to grant to the U.S.S.R. long-term and short-term credits. They do not do this from love of the Soviet Union, but because there is no other way out; they must close down their undertakings or work for the U.S.S.R. Of course every capitalist chooses the "lesser evil." A buyer with hundreds of millions at his disposal, able to switch his orders from one State to another, represents a serious economic force. If it is impossible to compel him to submit by force, then compromise must be resorted to, so as not to lose even part of the order. Hence negotiations with the U.S.S.R., hence invitations to all kinds of international conferences, hence these negotiations carried on with gnashings of teeth. But woe to the workers who trust in the peaceful assurance of the imperialist gentlemen, in their hypocritical conversations about peace and who take seriously the documents and treaties which they sign. Mistrust of the imperialists and their agents is a necessary precedent for a definition of a correct line in the struggle against war.

* * *

Such is the position. What are the international reformists doing against the danger of war? In the first place the international reformists do not deny the danger of war. They constitute themselves very loyal agents of the League of Nations according to which the problem is how to pass off hypocritical speeches at Geneva as activity in the struggle against war. Every leader of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals feels it his duty from time to time to say a few bitter words about the terrors of war, besides which they usually introduce into their discourses a particularly venomous attack on the Comintern, the R.I.L.U. and the U.S.S.R., which these creatures exaggerate into war dangers. A very impudent and cynical game is played around the question of war. The reformists know well that war is being prepared, they know this is the first case because they are actually in power in some lands (England and Prussia), and in others they are taking a share in the government or are official members of very important parliamentary commissions (France). They received hundreds of thousands of francs (our reformists are up-to-

date people and not content with thirty pieces of silver) for representing their imperialist governments on commissions at Geneva on disarmament . . . of the proletariat. They are better informed than anyone about the designs of their masters and they go on shouting that nobody is thinking about war, that all are pacifically disposed and that the danger of war threatens from the East from the side of "Red Imperialism." In this respect special agility is shown by the scoundrelly secretary of the French Reformist Trade Union Confederation, Léon Jouhaux, who specialises in disarmament conferences. Citizen Jouhaux loses no opportunity of making an oration on the pacific endeavours of the rapacious and shameless French imperialists. Several times a year this object delivers one and the same speech, goes to the treasury and gets his reward for it and calls this a struggle against war! It is necessary to realise that Jouhaux is a very adroit person since he has succeeded in the course of twelve years in getting paid for one and the same speech. In truth, Léon Jouhaux is a very "expensive leader." In the reformist arena, struggles against war take place principally in Geneva and her environments where there are many most excellent restaurants. And these "leaders" do not go to the workers, for how could one speak to a simple "uneducated" worker on a question of such delicacy? Nothing consoling for the imperialists and their agents! "No one outside the U.S.S.R. is thinking about war," shout the reformists with one accord. But when the reformists consider war at their own congresses, they are not unwilling to expatiate on the terrors of war and strike an attitude and even threaten to take steps should war break out. But the boss class does not take threats of this nature seriously, for it knows that the authors of these resolutions are preparing for war in practice and will prepare for it with all the fervour that is left to them. The governments naturally do not pay any attention to such threats, knowing that such anti-war speeches and resolutions were designed not for them but for the workers who genuinely do not want war and whom it is possible to hold back by veiling the nakedness of imperialism and using anti-militarist phrases.

If we take the history of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals during the last two or three years we shall see by what means these "pacifist" Internationals have joined in the anti-Soviet policy of their governments, how armies, air forces and navies have been built up with their help and how they have attempted to popularise among the masses the idea of war against the "Red Imperialism" of the U.S.S.R. under the banner of the fight for democracy against

dictatorship. It is no secret to anyone that the Second International now is an instrument for the preparation for war. The value of their resolutions is considerably less than the value of the paper on which they are written. How many times in recent years have the workers who were doped with the hope that Social Democracy was the party of peace and pacifism been able to convince themselves many time over during recent years that this pacifism was only show and that the boss class had in the form of the Social Democrats a genuine help in the preparation of war; an anti-Soviet shock brigade! But why do the Second and Amsterdam Internationals deny their participation in the war preparations? Why do they repudiate this with "dignified" indignation? Why will they at the coming International Congress at Vienna pretend that they have been slandered? Because they know about the anti-militarist disposition of the workers. To step forward openly for war against the U.S.S.R. would mean to lose the workers to a man. They are not such fools as to say openly to the workers where they are going and where they are leading the masses. These politicians fear to pose the question openly as do Kautsky and the other open agents of the boss class. These reformist gentlemen do not say openly that they are for war against the U.S.S.R., but from time to time they even step forward apparently in defence of the Soviet Union only to keep the workers in their organisations. Struggling against war means in the first place struggling against that reformism which is rotting the working class movement, i.e., to destroy the influence of the lieutenants of capital in the midst of the workers, to detach the workers from the influence of Amsterdam, to reveal the gulf that lies between the masses and the Social Democrats. Apart from this, all struggle against war is mere empty and cheap declamation.

* * *

War, as Clausewitz said and Lenin has more than once emphasised, is a continuation of policy by other methods. That means that the struggle against war is a continuation of policy. So far as reformism does not struggle against capitalism, it cannot struggle against war. So far as the revolutionary workers' movement leads a stubborn and systematic struggle against the capitalist system, it can lead a real struggle against war. I have purposely written "can lead" because in this sphere all is not well with the revolutionary trade union movement, all is not well because the struggle against war is not carried on with that verve and strength which the situation demands. Is, in actual fact, the struggle against the war danger a primary ques-

tion for the sections of the R.I.L.U.? No. This question is one of secondary consideration, a question about which much is written, but which is not posed as an actual question of the day. Why is this? For two reasons: 1. We have doubts as to the nearness of war. 2. There is an opinion abroad that it is only possible and needful to fight war once it has begun. How do workers manage to dope themselves with unbelief in the nearness of a fresh imperialist war? By the influence of the bourgeois and Social Democratic press. There are comrades who in their heart of hearts believe that "they (meaning the imperialists) will not dare." This is a false, pernicious and dangerous outlook which will dare, especially if we are passive. The second dangerous and pernicious viewpoint is that the struggle against war can be postponed till the beginning of actual hostilities. This is a very dangerous manifestation of opportunism against which it is essential to conduct a determined struggle. To postpone the struggle against war till hostilities have begun is exactly the same as to put off sowing till the harvest on the excuse that up to the time of harvest everything grows up the same or to postpone the curing of a poisoned finger till the whole body is infected. The struggle against war in war time must be a continuation of our pre-war policy, and it will be fruitful and energetic then in proportion as it is the consequence of the struggle we were carrying on against war from day to day in the period of preparation. This question is one of primary importance and without overthrowing this opportunist policy, not one step forward is possible. *He who postpones the struggle against war till it breaks out helps to bring imperialist war nearer.*

Thus the struggle against war must become an organised part of our day-to-day work. How to begin? This is the invariable question asked us. First of all it is necessary to unveil before the workers the secrecy in which the preparations for war are made. Everything connected with diplomacy and the armed forces is hidden under a veil of mystery in the capitalist countries. We must pull off this mysterious covering and reveal in all their nakedness the dirty machinations of the diplomats, general staffs and war missions. We must unmask at once the governments and drag into the light all that they are trying to hide from the workers. "No diplomatic mysteries and secret treaties! Unmask the diplomats and general staffs!" Such must be our slogans at the start of the anti-war campaign.

It is essential to conduct a struggle against the doping of the workers by pacifist slogans and hypocritical phraseology. The boss class and Social Democratic press go on lying every day,

assuring the workers that war is not on the order of the day. Against this purposeful lulling of the vigilance of the proletariat, the best remedy is facts,—armaments, new war inventions in the sphere of chemistry, aviation, guns, tank construction and so on, and the secrets of the ins and outs of the international conferences. If it is true that the capitalist governments do not want war and are only thinking of disarmament, why did they not only not accept the Soviet Government's disarmament proposals, but also continue to arm? This is followed up by a particularly violent cannonade to expose the rôle of the Social Democrats in the preparation and hiding of the increasing danger of war. Every worker should understand that the imperialist war is not a *to-morrow* in distant perspective, but a *to-day* which is threatening to take place at once. Without this preliminary work, it is impossible to raise a present alarm and wave of anti-war feeling among the workers to a higher stage.

The next question which must be put to the workers is this: In the name of whom and in whose interests is war fought? Here it is essential to be as clear as possible. It will not do to fall into abstract and barren pacifism and shout against war in general. We are not against all war, we are for the war of the colonial peoples against the imperialists; we are for the war of the exploited against their oppressors. We oppose war not from the point of view of the blood spilt, not from the viewpoint of the destruction and victims sacrificed, but from the viewpoint of the name in which this blood was spilt and of the cause for the triumph of which the victims were sacrificed. Is the war for a new partition of the colonies for the consolidation of British or French imperialism? Is the war against the Soviets to bring to nought the Five-Year-Plan, for the destruction of the proletarian dictatorship and the restoration of the rule of the bourgeoisie? These are war aims contrary to the interests of the workers and the support of such a war is tantamount to support of imperialist brigandry and counter-revolution. Must we support the Chinese Red Army waging war on the Chinese militarists and imperialists? Obviously and with all our strength. Shall we support the Indo-Chinese and Indian peoples revolting against French and British imperialism? We must. He who does not support the masses of the people of China, Indo-China and India in their struggle, is supporting the imperialists. From this it follows that the question of the nature of a war and in whose name and interests it is being waged is of paramount importance. Let us emphasise this: *The struggle against war cannot be a question for the whole nation irrespective of*

class, but it is doubly a class question. In fact, for a real struggle against war, not one waged on paper, it is necessary to operate in the holy of holies of capitalist society, in the armed forces and diplomatic service. And the class which must do this must be one that is not interested in the preservation of this mystic secrecy and not slavishly inclined before boss-class institution. Running off the class lines, the question of the struggle against war becomes abstract and entirely inoffensive to war and the warmongers. War "in general" is an abstraction behind which all sorts of elements hostile to the working-class may shelter. More than this, there is not a single banker, industrialist, stockbroker or minister—and in many cases one individual may incarnate all these trades—who is not against war in general. Therefore our struggle must be as concrete as possible. *Beware abstractions, they are the coffin of revolutionary tactics.* Thus to introduce the necessary concreteness, it is essential to enlighten the workers on the preparation, beginning and outcome of the "Great War for Freedom," from 1914 to 1918. This war is instructive in all its aspects, especially from the point of view of the methods used to deceive the workers by the social imperialists. The lessons of the war from 1914 to 1918 must be the pivot of our anti-war campaign since, from the "war to end war," all the workers have been able to realise how much the cry of a war against militarism, a war for democracy, a war for the self-determination of the peoples, etc., means on the lips of the imperialists and their allies. As a contrast there must be introduced the most equitable of all wars, the war of the workers and peasants of Russia against the bourgeoisie, the landlords and interventionists of Europe, Asia and America. Thus is it possible and essential to bring out the class character and class origin of all wars.

Just as the struggle against war cannot and must not bear an abstract character, so we must ask ourselves this question: Among which strata of the workers must we primarily carry on our work for the unveiling of the true character of the coming imperialist war? War to-day is primarily a war of machines, a war of industry and transport, and so our forces must be directed on to those workers in those branches of industry which are found to be continually "booming." It is not only a question of those workers who are directly engaged in the manufacture of rifles, big guns, bullets and powder, but, to a greater extent, among the broad strata of those employed in the key industries. The mining, metal, chemical, automobile, aeroplane, arms, small arms and tank construction industries and also sea and rail transport, all these are branches of industry on which

we must primarily concentrate our attention. This does not mean that the textile, leather and food-producing workers play no rôle in contemporary warfare; not at all, without them the armies could not play their part. It simply means that *we must concentrate our attention on the key industries* in order to be able to press on that lever to lessen the danger of war and, if it does break out, to be able to reduce it to chaos more quickly. Intensive work among the war and transport industries is the more necessary because there are intentionally employed in these industries consciously reactionary and specially backward workers. Workers in these industries are weaker in organisation than in any others. Assuredly then it is essential to treat this question concretely, at all costs to win over the workers in the transport and munition industries. It is true that the task is a hard one, but it is a possible one, if we apply ourselves to the work and make it not an improvised raid as it were, but mobilise for this work perseveringly and systematically the fundamental strength and resources of the revolutionary trades unions.

However fast and furious the growth of military technique, the decisive rôle in the immediate future will still belong to the human mass. Of course, inventions will bring about changes in the relations between the different kinds of tools. Aviation will play a very much larger rôle in war and generally the mechanisation of the army will bring the machine into a position of primary importance, but it would be a mistake to conclude that in this war of machines men will play a secondary rôle. The part of the engineers and workmen will be more important, for without the workers the army of to-day will not be able to advance. This means that the army of to-day will absorb for a shorter or longer period skilled workers both organised and unorganised. Must the trade unions know where each member has been taken or what he is doing and when he has been accepted for military service? Must the trade unions keep in touch with the soldiers and sailors who are not excluded from the trade union during their period of military service? Obviously they must. Otherwise this would mean automatic exclusion from the trade union. And it is not enough to keep in touch; it is necessary to give the member who finds himself in the barrack real help, to help him both morally and materially. First of all, moral help must include enlightenment as to the rôle of the army and navy, as to how they defend private property and exploitation. Every soldier and sailor must know this, as the sharper become class relations the more frequently the boss-class will resort to the use of armed force to crush the working-class movement. In some

countries (France) the boss-class avoids disquieting the army and makes shift with the police and gendarmerie, but the army is the last and highest trump in the hands of the boss-class and one it does not hesitate to play. It is essential to take this trump from the hands of our class enemies, and the best means of doing this is the establishment of close fraternal relations between the workers and the soldiers, the merchant service and the sailors of the fleet. The fundamental mass of the army and navy are workers, and we must win them to our side, to the working class, in the first place, that the soldiers and sailors may not take part in the fight against the strikers, and in the second place, that they may take their place with the working class against war. It is impossible to explain the particular forms of contact between the trade unions and the soldiers. Where the trade unions are legal, such relations may be formed openly so as to correspond to the pre-war traditions of the French trade unions. In those countries where the trade unions are illegal, driven underground, all work and forms of contact must be organised in another way. It is important that this work should not be considered of secondary importance and that the partisans of the R.I.L.U. should not forget for a moment that not only the trade union members in the army and navy should not be allowed to be cut off from their unions but should remain trade unionists, but we must also have close contact with those workers who are not in our trade unions before their war service, so that at the end of their term they will be able to join up in the revolutionary trade unions.

A very serious problem for the trade unions is their relations with the coloured forces which are recruited and trained in some countries not only for a future war against an external foe, but for use against the internal enemy. Such a coloured army, attaining considerable dimensions, exists in France and presents no small problem to the revolutionary trade unions. In fact the capitalists organise these coloured armies expressly because they have begun to lose hope in the possibility of utilising white soldiers and sailors for crushing the working-class movement. The revolutionary trade unions have not usually the slightest conception of the living conditions, life, pleasures or language of these soldiers. To get into contact with them is a very difficult task but one whose difficulties must at all costs be overcome. First of all there must be workers in France of the same race as the coloured soldiers. Contact must be established by means of these workers with this army called into being for anti-working-class ends. We must learn how to enlighten the soldiers as to why and wherefore they have been taken for military service. If the

trade unions pay attention to this coloured army they may succeed in enlightening at any rate a part of the troops as to the rôle they are designed to play. In the meanwhile the trade unions of the imperialist countries must carry on broad mass work in the colonies from which the coloured soldiers have come. The trade unions which do not pay attention to the coloured forces will pay dearly for their neglect of this exceedingly important work.

We see that all the work of the trade unions in the sphere of the struggle against war is mass work to-day, but are the tasks of the trade unions exhausted by this in this domain? Is it possible to forge serious anti-war militants if all our work results in mere agitation and propaganda? If the trade unions were only to busy themselves with these aspects, they would be doing a very small part of their work. The struggle against war is a very serious business and requires serious training and moulding. Where can the worker receive this moulding? Where and when will the steadfastness of our cadres be tested and the capacity for militancy of the whole workers' army be tested? The testing will be done in the day-to-day struggle for the immediate economic demands of the proletariat. But does there exist any direct connection between the struggle against wage reductions and the struggle against a fresh imperialist war? The connection is much closer than can be seen at first view. Contemporary economic struggles, more than at any other period, have a profoundly political character, since they bring the strikers into opposition to the owners, reformists and bourgeois governments. A worker exposed to most cruel capitalist rationalisation, finding himself in the Damocles grip of unemployment, with a 10 per cent. to 20 per cent. cut in his miserable wage, and who receives "help" from the government in the form of compulsory arbitration, bayonets and tear-gas bombs, will be a very bad defender of the privileges of the boss-class and imperial brigandry. Under the strokes of the crisis, hunger and unemployment will spread rapidly and form a class-conscious proletariat. And when a strike breaks out in such a situation of increasing poverty and hunger, then every worker will estimate for himself that all is at stake which he has struggled for over the course of many long years, and therefore he will struggle with great bitterness (e.g., the strike of 40,000 miners in the U.S.A., the strike of 125,000 textile workers in France, etc.). When in the course of a struggle for his elementary needs the worker is met with the armed forces by the government, a wave of class hatred rises in him and he becomes a poor defender of the bourgeois fatherland. The strike is ever the best school of

solidarity. Not in vain did Engels call the strike a school of militancy. To-day, every strike, every unemployment riot detaches fresh and further strata of the workers from the boss-class and their reformist agents. A strike is a school of militancy in this respect, that during it the proletarian mould is formed, the workers learn to act together and make sacrifices to attain a given goal. A worker who has not taken part in a strike is still raw; that is why those who have played their part in economic battles have a special knowledge of how to convert backward, unorganised workers and those still under the influence of the reformists into a strongly knit united militant class army. Finally, the worker who has not strike experience cannot be a serious fighter on the anti-war front, since the struggle against war demands much greater tension and sacrifice than the economic struggle.

But the economic struggle in itself does not play such a big rôle if it is divorced from the general class problems of the proletariat. Hence arises the necessity to raise every strike to a higher level, linking up economic and political demands. Only from such tactics does the worker on strike extract the maximum material and political profit from every strike. But if every economic struggle is a step forward on the path leading to the knitting together of the masses of the workers against capital, then the political strike, which openly and directly brings the working class into collision with the bourgeoisie and bourgeois government plays a still more important rôle. The political strike is undoubtedly a school for militancy of the highest type for every worker, and accordingly the preparation of the proletariat for the struggle against war also includes this trenchant weapon. The fundamental tactical task consists in not divorcing the struggle against war from the day-to-day struggle of the working class; only thus shall we be able to augment our anti-war forces from day to day and be sure that the outbreak of war will not find us unprepared for it.

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But can the trade unions, these proletarian economic organisations concern themselves with these questions? Is it impossible so to arrange the division of labour that the Communist parties busy themselves with the struggle against war, since this is a political question and the trades unions only concern themselves with the immediate, i.e., the economic demands of the proletariat? We would ruin the trade union movement by accepting this point of view, since this would mean adopting the viewpoint of the non-political unions. A trade union unites the mass of the workers and therefore it cannot remain unconcerned about the struggle against war. It

goes without saying that the Communist parties and the trade unions have special tasks in this domain, but to say that the anti-war work of the Communist parties makes anti-war work by the revolutionary trade unions unnecessary means putting the trade unions back many years. The revolutionary trade union movement must struggle decisively against lesser attempts to weaken the struggle against war under whatsoever pretexts they may be made. The trade union which does not make a clear stand on this point is in actual fact helping the imperialist warmongers. Not only neutrality but also passivity in this connection is a violation of the most elementary principles of the class trade union movement. A trade union, as a mass organisation, has the task of rousing and organising the workers of all tendencies against war. That is why the trades unions cannot and must not stand aside on August the 1st, the Day of International Struggle against War. This is not *somebody's else's day*, but *our day*, that is, the day of the mobilisation of all the revolutionary forces of the proletariat against imperialist war and its incendiaries. In what way must the trades unions participate? To lay down a single hard and fast rule for all countries would not answer the purpose and would be incorrect. Everything depends on what place the boss-class of the given country occupies in the war preparations, what is the relative strength of the working class and the boss class, what is the proportionate strength of our forces to the working class itself, whether the revolutionary forces are legal, semi-legal or illegal, etc. The methods of participation must be and should be various, ranging from meetings and demonstrations to political mass strikes, but all participation must have a mass character, and it must be compulsory for all sections of the revolutionary trades unions to take part in it. This means that *the fundamental principle in the preparation for the International Day of Struggle against Imperialist War is the formation of a united front from below*, a united working class front for the struggle against the imperialist warmongers and their reformist allies. The successfulness of this day will be measured by the number of workers belonging to the reformist parties and unions whom we succeed in bringing on to the streets. We must prove by action that the working class does not want imperialist war and war against the Soviet Union and to prove this is possible by hard work put into the preparation for August the first, by mass participation on this day and persevering and systematic work for the organisation and consolidation of the masses of the workers on the basis of the class struggle after this day. Other methods of struggle against war there are not and cannot be. Comrades, to work!

AMERICA, EUROPE AND THE WAR QUESTION

By R. PALME DUTT

THE latest stage of the world economic crisis and its growing political consequences has brought the whole relations of America and the European Powers anew to the front plan. Once more, as in 1923, the capitalist order in Europe finds itself faced with insoluble problems and the menace of collapse. Once more Germany is the centre of the crisis, and the question of social revolution draws near. And once again America steps forward as the would-be "saviour" of capitalist restoration—under American hegemony. But in fact the conditions have deeply changed from 1923-24.

The essential foundations of the "restoration" and "stabilisation" of capitalism, which were laid in the Dawes Plan of 1924, turned on the relations of America and Europe. They rested especially on two pillars: first, American financial aid to rebuild and strengthen capitalism in Europe, and particularly in Germany; and, second, the ever-growing economic preponderance of America compared with Europe, and increasing subordination of the reparations mechanism, carried still further in the Young Plan and International Bank, to American financial control.

Both these pillars are now shaken to the base. America is brought down heavily in the common economic weakness; the credits to Europe have dried up. At the same time the tribute from Europe, which in practice increased with each year of stabilisation, has now become a direct leading factor endangering the whole structure. The whole painfully built structure of "restored" Europe is revealed as in break-up.

The Hoover move for a one year suspension of international debts and reparations payments is no more than a last-minute desperate move to hold off the crash; it is only a beginning of larger issues that are now opened up. *What is in question is no longer an adjustment here and there, as in the Young Plan; it is the whole basis of the capitalist stabilisation that is now brought into question.*

We enter into a period of desperate measures of capitalism to meet the crisis, which throw into the melting pot all the previously existing relations, and lay bare the deeper antagonisms that underlay the whole previous period. *A transformation of the world situation and international relations now begins, which registers the break-up of the old forms of stabilisation, and brings closer than ever the war question.*

* * *

In 1919 Hoover, then engaged in the direction of economic "relief" in Europe to counter the

spread of revolution, declared on the proposal to grant American financial credits to Europe as a means of hastening reconstruction:—

"If such credits be obtained for more than temporary purposes, it would result in the economic slavery of Europe to the Western Hemisphere, and the ultimate end would be war again."

Within ten years, Stresemann, the statesman who did more than any to assist the transformation and the restoration of European capitalism with American aid, declared in his last speech to the Reichstag in 1929, just before his death, defending the Young Plan:—

"All Europe is in danger of becoming a colony of those whom luck has favoured more than us."

To-day the world economic crisis has let loose the underlying antagonisms and dilemmas of this whole unreal "stabilisation."

At the time of Hoover's cautious declaration in 1919 the United States was not yet ready to risk long-term investment of new capital in Europe. The early ambitious dreams, expressed through Wilson, of an easy immediate American hegemony in Europe and the world through the League of Nations, with himself as perpetual president, soon shipwrecked on the objective difficulties. For four years America pursued a policy of relative isolation from European affairs, leaving the discords to simmer, and enjoying the position of *tertius gaudens*. Its principal activity in the international field, the Washington Conference, was concerned primarily with the problems of the Pacific, with breaking the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and with taking the first step to break British naval dominance.

It was only the growing chaos of the whole capitalist order in Europe, culminating in 1923 with the occupation of the Ruhr and the eve of revolution in Germany, that at once compelled American intervention in the interests of capitalist security, and offered it now a more fruitful field for its penetration. The result was the Dawes Plan of 1924. With Britain as willing assistant, the United States curbed French dominance, rebuilt capitalism in Germany, and laid the basis for its accelerating economic and financial penetration in the next few years. Gold and credits flowed from the United States to Europe. European capitalism took on a new blossoming.

This was the starting-point of the "era," the whole era of "restoration" and "stabilisation" of capitalism in Europe, so loudly acclaimed by all the bourgeois and Social Democratic spokesmen. The gold standard was restored, in Germany, in Britain, and step by step in other countries. The

debts were funded. On a basis of intensified pressure on the working class, capitalism was got moving again, despite the increased burdens and contradictions, none of which were solved. There followed the burst forward of the rationalisation drive, the rise in production, and the short-lived upward curve of 1927-28, which gave rise to all the theories of the "new capitalist era" and "organised world capitalism."

But in fact the whole basis of this stabilisation was false and rotten. The contradictions underlying the post-war crisis were partially concealed for a short period; but, in fact, so far from being solved, they were actually increased by the means adopted. For the essential character of the post-war world was the increasing inequality of development, the widening of contradictions in every direction to breaking point. Just as the contradiction of capitalism and the working class expanded to the new form of the direct division between the capitalist world and the Socialist world, so the contradictions within the capitalist world, mainly expressed before in the division of imperialist and colonial countries, now expanded into a whole series of antagonistic types: colonial countries, defeated capitalist countries, victor capitalist countries, and America. The colonial countries paid tribute to the capitalist countries; the defeated countries paid tribute to the victor countries; but all alike, colonial, defeated, the victor countries paid tribute to America. In fact, however, this whole system of juridical and financial relations was in direct contrast to the forces of production. American capitalism was still rapidly expanding, its export surplus increasing, and its rising tariffs keeping out goods. Capitalism in Europe, as a result of payments to its creditor, was faced with a heavy passive balance. This increasing disequilibrium was reflected in the steady stream of gold, the lifeblood of capitalism, to America and its "sterilisation" there. The apoplexy of capitalist development was thus reaching a stage where it became visible to every capitalist.

How did the whole Dawes stabilisation meet this dilemma? By the simple device of an enormous flow of American loans and credits, public and private, to Europe, and especially to Germany. The volume of these far exceeded the volume of reparations and debt payments during the years 1924-28. But this meant that the solution was in fact wholly unreal. The gold temporarily flowed back to Europe, but only to forge new chains, not to diminish the previous ones. The volume of debt was actually piling up higher each year; and at the same time the American financial grip was extending, giving rise to new antagonisms and preparing a growing counter-wave against

American dominance. So soon as the inevitable saturation point of profitable further lending should be reached, a much higher total volume of tribute, plus interest, would have to be paid, and the crisis and antagonisms would be revealed greater than ever. In fact, by 1929 the flow of credits already died down. Meanwhile, the most intense efforts were made in Germany and other countries to force up production, to drive down the workers' conditions, to push forward exports, and so achieve a balance—without success.

Thus the world economic crisis, which was itself the outcome of this process of intensified production and restricted consumption on a world scale, only laid bare and brought into a sharp relief an already gathering storm. The political reflection of this is seen in the rising social conflicts in Germany and other countries, in the new diplomatic movements in Europe, and in the new critical point in the relations of America and the European Powers.

But the relations of America and Europe are not the relations of two *blocs*. On the contrary, America plays just on the divisions in Europe. American finance-capital has by its penetration endeavoured, and not always without success, to make the German bourgeoisie its ally and bailiff, not only against the German working class, but also to a considerable extent in relation to the other Powers. The sharpest expression of the imperialist antagonisms is found, not in any general American-European relations, but in the Anglo-American antagonism which reflects itself in the European questions. British policy, despite its weaker economic and financial position, seeks to play on the problems of debt and reparations in its own fashion, no less than America. The British policy was expressed already in the Balfour Note of 1922: first, to propose a general cancellation of debts (to the disadvantage of America and advantage of Britain); and, failing that, to disclaim the desire to collect more on debts and reparations than would be necessary to pay America. In this way the odium of the whole tributary system was to be pointedly turned against America, and a common interest built up in Europe under British leadership against the American "Shylock." Just as America used the debts question to extend its financial and economic hold, so Britain sought to use the debts question to build up its *bloc* against America, and for pressure on America.

Chequers, on the one side, and the Hoover proposition, on the other, are only the latest moves in this conflict.

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The varying political expression of the continuous Anglo-American antagonism has thus

developed upon this background of the general European situation, and in relation to it; and it is this aspect of the Anglo-American antagonism that is especially important at the present point.

The period of the Dawes restoration of capitalism in Europe saw a short-lived period of Anglo-American co-operation in this process — equally necessary to either antagonist.

So soon as this process was completed, the real conflict became open. British capitalism's energies were at first absorbed in its inner conflict with the working class, through Red Friday, the General Strike and the miners' lock-out, in 1925-26. But with this once out of the way, we reach a high point of Anglo-American tension in 1927 with the complete fiasco of the Geneva Naval Conference, and in 1928 with the Anglo-French Naval Agreement, regarded as directed against America, and in the end formally annulled by the opposition of America.

This development of conflict was, however, too rapid for the existing stage of forces. British continued economic weakness, at a time when the rest of the world appeared in full advance, compelled a moderating of the line in 1929, and the retreat to an attempt at temporary compromise, expressed in the MacDonal visit to America in the autumn of 1929.

The outcome was the London Naval Conference of 1930. The London Naval Conference has been widely proclaimed as a triumph of peace and a step to the limitation of armaments. It was, of course, the opposite. It regulated, not diminution, but increased construction; and the closeness of the haggling on the measure to be reached, the jealous weighing and counter-weighing of tons and guns, revealed the intensity of the competition. As the "Economist" declared already (21/9/29) of the provisional agreement that provided the basis of the subsequent treaty: "To make out that this provisional agreement is an essential step towards the reduction of naval armaments is sheer mystification." And as the same Journal declared of the finished agreement (19/4/30):—

"When allowance is made for improvements in naval construction, the combined strength of the cruiser, destroyer and submarine fleets of the three contracting Powers can hardly fail to be greater in 1936 than it is to-day, if the provisions of the London Treaty are carried out."

Or as MacDonal himself declared in Parliament in answer to questions as to the adverse effect of the Naval Treaty restrictions on building in the naval shipyards:—

As a matter of fact there is no restriction at all, because other types will be built in substitution." (MacDonal in House of Commons, July 21st, 1930.)

But the London Naval Treaty did in fact represent a retreat of Britain before American power, a definite step to surrender of the claim of naval superiority. At Geneva in 1927 the Admiralty's minimum claim in respect of the three types of secondary vessels under discussion was for 874,000 tons, later reduced to 737,000 tons, as against the American proposition of 525,000. At London the Admiralty was compelled to agree to 541,000 tons alongside the American 526,000

The character of this surrender should not, however, be exaggerated. British imperialism beneath the formal acceptance of limitation and parity, is undoubtedly determined to maintain in practice its naval superiority, and to raise the whole issue anew, as soon as conditions are favourable. This is shown by the utterances of the Conservative Party leaders, who not only bewailed the treaty, in even exaggerated propagandist language, as a national misfortune, but—what is more important than the wailings, which can be paralleled by the equally exaggerated wailings of the American admirals—officially proclaimed their intention to repudiate it when the time should arise. Thus Churchill declared in the House of Commons' debate on the treaty that it marked "the formal acceptance by Great Britain of a definitely inferior sea-power," and went on:—

"The signature and ratification of this Treaty would be a memorable and melancholy event in our history. The opposition were powerless to avert such a decision; but they could not accept the slightest responsibility for it, and they held themselves free to review the whole situation." (Loud opposition-cheers.) (Times, 16.5.30.) Chamberlain shortly after declared:—

"I think this agreement definitely seals the inferiority of the British to the American Navy." (Times, 24.5.30.)

And Amery, questioned in the same House of Commons' debate as to whether the Conservative Party officially upheld the repudiation attitude expressed by Churchill, replied:—

"It was difficult for anyone to go back on a Treaty once achieved, but the Unionist Party must disclaim responsibility for this Treaty."

Thus, through the mouths of the Conservative spokesmen, expressing the ruling forces of the bourgeoisie, British Imperialism openly proclaims its intention to go forward with the fight, even at the moment of the necessary temporary compromise effected through MacDonal with Hoover. Nor was the opportunity for a new offensive move long delayed.

At the time of the London Naval Conference the American economic crisis was still in the early stages. The gravity and duration of the crisis, and still more its extension to a profound world crisis, was still not understood or foreseen by any

of the bourgeois spokesmen. (Snowden, in his Budget speech this year actually defended his too optimistic expectations of a year ago, in April, 1930, on the grounds that "no one at that time had foreseen the full extent of the crisis through which the world was about to pass, or had then realised how slow recovery would be. It was not until 1931 that the opportunity provided by the crisis to attempt a new line of action and pressure on America was seen and taken up. The world economic crisis, which for the first time brought down America and the other leading capitalist countries to a similar level of chronic crisis as had been continuous in Britain, gave opportunities for a wider range of action to British policy in the conditions of the crisis. There followed the concerted aggressive stand of the British representatives, with German and Italian support, against the opposition of the American and French representatives at the International Chamber of Commerce at Washington; and thereafter the Anglo-German move of Chequers, followed by the counter of the Hoover proposition.

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The world economic crisis let loose in an extreme form all the antagonisms of the existing situation. First and foremost, it brought the opposition of capitalism in crisis against the rising strength of the Soviet Union to its highest point. The collapse in the price of raw materials accelerated the colonial struggles, in India and China and Burma, as well as developing crisis in the financially dependent countries of the type of Australia and the South American republics. The capitalist offensive consequent on the crisis, the redoubling of all rentier burdens, and unemployment thrust forward rising social conflicts in the capitalist countries. At the same time it intensified all the existing antagonisms between the capitalist States. The question of debts and reparations, of tariffs, of Versailles and the Young Plan, of existing economic arrangements, of the distribution of colonies, all took on a new acuteness. The movement against the previous victor settlements gathers force on all sides. Alongside this, the questions of the relations of America and the European States came to the front. The American colossus was proved to have feet of clay; the stream of gold and credits was no longer flowing to cast a spell, the burden of the chain of debts was doubled in weight; the tendencies revealed in the Pan-Europe type of movement, while having their principal point directed against the Soviet Union, had also a visible point directed against America. Thus the existing order was shaking and threatened at many points at once.

Versailles and the Young Plan, with Germany as the principal field, constituted the burning centre of this whole process of crisis in the capitalist world. Here alike the social conflict and the antagonisms of capitalism found their most acute point. The German elections of September, 1930, were the signal of the new stage developing in Europe, revealing the growth of the mass revolt against the tribute of the Young Plan. The German bourgeoisie sought, through the Nazi movement, with its slogans against the Young Plan, to draw aside the rising mass revolt and utilise it for its own purpose. But Communism, directly expressing the interests of the broad masses' revolt, was growing alongside. At the same time the crisis was affecting conditions and policies in the succession States and in Italy. Under the pressure of the crisis, the movement against the shackles of the Versailles system was growing on all sides.

In consequence a new diplomatic situation, and a series of new diplomatic movements, began to develop in Europe. On the one side, German policy made a series of efforts at a more independent line, although with great vacillation and hesitancy, owing to its financial weakness and dependency. On the other side, France sought to strengthen and rebuild its threatened dominance through the new forms of Pan-Europe. In the first stages British policy played little active part in these processes, following more or less grudgingly at the side of France, although with obvious distrust of Pan-Europe, while America remained a passive observer. *It is only as the new European situation has developed that Britain and America have come increasingly forward to play a leading rôle.*

A flood of light on the new groupings and diplomatic alignments was thrown by the November, 1930, sitting of the Disarmament Preparatory Commission at Geneva. As is well known, the significance of this notorious Commission has never been disarmament, but the opposite. Its successive meetings have marked successive stages in the growth of armaments, of strategic policy of the different Powers, of military alliances, of the armed camps. In this sense, it has been a barometer of the approach to war. At previous sittings the successive Soviet proposals for disarmament, whether immediate or by stages, has been long ago rejected. At this sitting the principal question of controversy was the further Soviet proposal that the objective should be at any rate definite "reduction" of armaments, and not the familiar bog of "limitation" without reduction. These proposals were equally rejected. But for the first time a definite break was revealed

in the imperialist camp, which is of significance for the alignment of forces.

Three sets of proposals for reduction in varying forms were put forward by three States and rejected. The first came from the Soviet Union. The second came from Germany. The third came from Italy. All three were rejected. Finally, the humbugging Cecil resolution was carried against the votes of these three States. The detail votes are worth noting for the tendencies revealed.

The Soviet proposals received five votes: the Soviet Union, Germany, Italy, Turkey, Holland. Against them were ranged Britain, France, America, Japan, and satellite States in Europe (Belgium, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Greece, Finland).

The Italian proposals were defeated by eleven votes to nine. Here Britain voted with Italy against France; the United States abstained.

The German proposals received nine votes to nine, and here the grouping has still further significance. With Germany voted, not only the other "opposition" States, but also the United States and Canada. The French side was reduced to France and its satellites, plus Japan. Britain, manifestly torn between its alliance to France and the fear of offending the United States and Canada, abstained.

This further division received another reflection in the last vote on the Cecil proposals, which were carried by sixteen to three. Although only three votes were actually recorded against, the United States abstained from voting for the British proposal, as also did Turkey, Bulgaria and some other States.

What is the significance of these groupings, which marked a definite stage in diplomatic development, and throw warning shadows in front? It is certainly not, as the British-French bourgeois press widely described it, a "re-division of the Powers of Europe into two opposing blocs." On the contrary, the grouping is still shifting and uncertain; the only definite bloc that votes as a compact body in every division is the Versailles bloc of France and its satellites. What these votes do show is, first, the growth of definite opposition tendencies to the Versailles bloc, even to the extent of voting on the same side as the Soviet Union, though with considerable vacillations. Second, they throw light—and just this has been ignored by all bourgeois comment—on the relations and antagonisms of Britain and the United States.

In all these votes Britain and the United States never vote together except against the Soviet Union. Where Britain supports Italy, the United States abstains. Where the United States sup-

ports Germany, Britain abstains. Finally, where the British proposal is carried by an overwhelming majority, the United States abstains. Thus on every side we see antagonism. It is temporarily smoothed only when it is a question of one common front against the Soviet Union. At the same time America and England are careful never openly to vote against each other. This is a useful index of the present stage of Anglo-American relations. *The one common ground, which delays open antagonism, is the fight against the Soviet Union.*

* * *

These signs of groupings at the end of 1930, of the growth of open opposition tendencies to Versailles, and even of possible alignment alongside the Soviet Union, aroused alarmist sentiments in the Western European Powers. Immediate steps were taken to draw back, first, Italy, and then Germany, to the Western bloc. The first step was the drawing in of Italy, with liberal financial advances from London and Paris, to the British-French-Italian Naval Agreement of March 1st.

But this temporary closer union of the original Versailles Powers produced a counter from Germany in the shape of the proposed Austro-German Customs Union. And here the double rôle of British policy revealed itself. British expression showed an extremely benevolent neutrality towards the Austro-German Union, and was obviously cognisant of the step, and assisting it from the first. British policy was not at all averse to strengthening the German position as a counter to French dominance in Europe, so long as Germany could be secured for the Western bloc against the Soviet Union. And further, Britain was now seeing the possibility of active assistance and encouragement to Germany, in order to exert pressure on America on the question of the debts. There followed at once, at the same time as France was expressing its violent indignation at the Austro-German move, the announcement of the British invitation to Germany for the Chequers meeting. The reflex of this was seen in French obstacles at once raising a hitch in the British-French-Italian naval agreement, and the French move to renewed Soviet negotiations. But the Anglo-German move was successful in bringing the whole question of the debts and the Young Plan, as a question dependent on America and its tribute exactions, to the front plan.

The United States had so far resisted every attempt to raise this question. In the MacDonald-Hoover conversations in 1929 it was notorious that it was ruled out. In 1930 several reported British semi-official attempts, as well as the

Schacht visit to America, produced no success. Throughout the first half of 1931 the flood of British suggestions, pleadings, hints to America from leading bankers, journalists, business men, etc., no less than the floating of constant unfounded rumours that America was about to act, was ceaseless. Britain, declared Goodenough, the Chairman of Barclays' Bank in his annual address, had sacrificed £2,550 millions in war debts; she had "definitely and directly lost" this amount from debtor countries, but thereby "enabled these countries and their peoples to continue their economic existence" and trade to the advantage of the world. "The same would happen in the case of America if she would cancel the war debts due to her, which amount to nearly £2,400 millions"; the gain to American exports would be "immense"; America "should seriously consider" this kind advice. America, however, was not prepared to consider it. Certain leading Wall Street influences, which were more vitally concerned with the risk to their investments in Europe, advocated a revision of the government debts as "good business" for America (so the Chairman of the Chase National Bank). But official policy stood firm. The visit of the Governor of the Bank of England, Montagu Norman, to America in April, and his proposal of an international—in effect, Anglo-American—financial consortium to organise long-term credits and loans for "reconstruction" in Central and Eastern Europe, also fell on stony ground. It was pointed out that American finance preferred to maintain its independence. The same failure resulted at the International Chamber of Commerce biennial Congress at Washington in May. "Would it perhaps be better," urged the head of the British delegation, Sir Alan Anderson, "to cancel international debts of political origin?" He was supported by the Italian and German delegations. All alike, the London "Times" was careful to explain, "were approaching the subject from the realist point of view, not with the object of securing some advantage at the expense of the United States" (6.5.31). But the American delegation continued "steadily resisting all attempts to get the Chamber to discuss and pass a resolution upon international debts" ("Times," 9.5.31). In the end a meaningless compromise resolution was adopted. America was determined not to lose the advantage of the debts weapon. In fact, right up to the very eve of the Hoover statement, the official negative attitude continued.

What caused the sudden change of front expressed in the Hoover declaration of June 20th? It is clear that the American hand was forced by two main considerations.

First and foremost, the desperate situation in

Germany, the menace to American investments estimated as high as £500 millions in Germany, and the menace to the whole capitalist order, compelled action.

Second, the Chequers meeting showed that, in the event of further resistance, the diplomatic situation might change rapidly to American disadvantage. If Germany were to declare, with British connivance, its inability to pay, and Britain and France were to follow with the consequent declaration of their inability to continue the debts payments, America would be faced with a fait accompli. Rather than face this, it was necessary for America to take at any rate a minimum step at once.

The Hoover declaration represents such a minimum step—and only a minimum step so far. It postpones payment for one year; but it says nothing on reduction or revision, still less cancellation, as the British urge; on the contrary, it maintains the inviolability of all the obligations.

Further, it is so framed as to raise the maximum discord in the European camp. By making the terms applicable to all payments or none, it automatically raises the opposition of France, which stands to lose heavily: and this may readily give rise to new complications.

Finally, there is a strong hint of *conditions* attached to the proposal. One of these conditions is stated to be the necessity of a measure of disarmament in the European States; and the actual Hoover statement does contain a diplomatically worded hint in this direction. What is the significance of this continual American stressing of disarmament in close connection with the debts question? Clearly, it represents the desire to use the economic and financial power of its creditor position to compel a weakening of its competitors. *For even if any measures of reduction of armaments were to be imposed equally in Europe and America, the ultimate advantage would be to the United States, since the most advanced nation in industrial technique and equipment is potentially the strongest for war; and that advantage stands out more and more clearly.*

The second alleged condition is only contained so far in unofficial report. The "Daily Express" has reported that the further condition of any American assistance has been declared by Mellon to be the formation of an international united front for the boycott of the Soviet Union (i.e., for the immediate step preceding war). Whether this particular report is correct or not, it is clear that the inevitable significance of the whole line of policy lies here. The restoration of capitalism in Germany in view of the menace of revolution means the drawing of Germany close to the

Western Powers and a better chance of drawing it into the Anti-Soviet front, as the leading organs of the German press, such as the *Germania* and the *Bergwerkszeitung* have clearly stated.

Thus behind the questions of debts and reparations, which form at present the diplomatic façade, lie the basic questions of the present world situation: (1) *The inner-imperialist antagonisms, using these questions as weapons in the struggle for position;* (2) *the question of the restoration of capitalism in crisis at its weakest point, Germany, against the revolutionary struggle of the working class;* (3) *the building up of the anti-Soviet front.*

* * *

What, then, is the prospect of the outcome of the United States move? What is its bearing on the war question?

At the time of writing, immediately after the Hoover declaration, before any of the responses of the governments are available, it is too early to determine how far the Hoover move in its present form is likely to receive acceptance or to become only the basis of further negotiations: that is to say, how far it will only give rise to new imperialist antagonisms which will paralyse its effect and only intensify the already existing conditions of crisis; or how far it will prove the beginning of concerted action by the Powers in the hour of capitalist danger, thus signifying the development of the crisis as a whole to a new and more critical stage.

It is clear that the measure proposed in itself solves nothing. Only further positive action, not merely the suspension of payments, but the large-scale new supply of further credits, can even temporarily strengthen the capitalist régime and delay the crisis in Germany. But this process means in fact the still further increase in the volume of debt and the ultimate tribute to be exacted; and the amount of tribute already due has confessedly reached danger-point. The question of cancellation becomes only the more acute; and this in its turn raises all the imperialist antagonisms involved.

Thus the whole tangle of the present situation of imperialism remains.

What is further clear is that the significance of the Hoover move, of the re-emergence of the United States as active leader in European affairs, is the fusion of the world situation that it represents, and that is a measure of the growing intensity of the crisis. *All the immediate issues, the economic and political issues, the imperialist antagonisms and the question of the working-class revolution, the European issues and the European-American issues, and at the same time the question of capitalism and the Soviet Union, are increasingly tied into a common knot by the intensity of the crisis.* The Anglo-American antagonism can at the present stage less than ever be understood in isolation. It can only be understood as a factor in this process. To the extent that this antagonism is still visibly sharpening on all sides, and inevitably from the very conditions of the crisis, it may yet delay the building of the common capitalist front to which increasing strivings go forward. But in fact the tendency is strong to find the sole common ground during the present crisis in the organisation of the common front against the working class and the Soviet Union.

To sum up. The Anglo-American antagonism is breeding war. It is increasing in intensity, and is drawing all secondary imperialist issues and combinations into its wake. All attempts at reconciling the contradictions only end in their increase; and the manœuvring for alliances and strategic position is in full swing. But at the same time the intensity of the crisis of capitalism, while in fact sharpening all the causes of antagonism, complicates the situation; it may hasten, but it may also delay, the immediate working out of this antagonism to the point of war because of the urgency of the danger to the whole capitalist order. Such a delay would only mean, however, that the war danger is brought closer in a different form.

THE CIVIL POPULATION IN THE COMING WAR

By NEMO

I. THE AIR WAR OF THE FUTURE

HOWEVER much bourgeois military scientists may differ in their opinions on the most varied problems of future warfare, they are unanimous in their judgment on one point, namely, that aerial warfare, the development of air forces and the decisive attack by air will determine, to a considerable extent, the outcome of the next war. Imperialists of all nations devote their chief attention to the preparation of aerial warfare within the framework of their general armaments. The rapidly-growing number of military aeroplanes, the creation of aeroplane plants with a maximum capacity of production which is quite unestimable to-day; the rapid increase of all air force budgets; systematic aerial manoeuvres; and ever new inventions in aeronautics, improving the motor capacity, speed, loading capacity and mobility; and finally, the rôle of military aeroplanes in suppressing colonial revolutions, in Morocco, China and India, show clearly that the aeroplane has ceased to be merely an auxiliary weapon of the army used for the purposes of observation and carrying reports, that, on the contrary, it has been developed into one of the most decisive weapons of attack of the whole machinery of warfare.

However significant the fact of a rapid numerical growth of air forces may be in itself, it nevertheless cannot serve as an indication of the extent of aerial warfare in the next war. True, the five largest Powers alone have increased the number of their military aeroplanes from 2,655 in 1923 to 5,880 in 1930. But only the use of civil aeroplanes for purposes of war, large-scale construction of aeroplane plants and standardisation into unit types will make mass production of military aeroplanes possible and will thereby verify Mussolini's prophecy that military aeroplanes will darken the sky with their wings. The following table shows to what extent the effectiveness of military air forces has been developed:—

Type of Aeroplane.	Speed— Km. per hr.	Maximum height in Mtrs.
Fighters ...	250-300	8,000-8,500
Day Bombers ...	220	6,500
Night ,, ...	180-200	4,000-6,000
Observation ...	190-210	7,000

Type of Aeroplane.	Arms.	Bomb-carrying capacity.
Fighters ...	2-4 M.G.	—
Day Bombers ...	2-3 ,,	400 bombs.
Night ,, ...	2-4 ,,	800-1,000 bombs.
Observation ...	2-4 ,,	—

This table shows that a single aeroplane is capable of carrying a thousand bombs. It is estimated by reliable sources that the weights of bombs thrown by the air forces during the entire last war will, in future, be a normal daily ration. In almost all countries the equipment of aeroplanes with bombs is the same: everywhere incendiary bombs of light weight, explosive and gas bombs of heavy weight, are the weapons of attack against the earth, and their effectiveness is incessantly being tested, increased and strengthened. The limit of 2,000 kilogrammes for one single bomb will soon be reached in America. The shooting speed of an aeroplane machine gun has been increased from 1,000 shots per minute in 1918 to 2,000 shots in 1928. The certainty of aim in bombing from a height of 1,500 metres has risen from 15 to 60 per cent., and in shooting objects on the ground with a machine gun from 10 to 75 per cent.

It will undoubtedly be the task of air forces in the coming war literally to rain thousands of bombs on to concentrations of troops, battle formations and stores. But before the air fleets will approach this task, they will appear, surprisingly, far in the interior of the enemy country, fill town and country with poison gas, convert everything into a field of ruins by the use of explosive and incendiary bombs, create panic and thus exterminate the will of the enemy population to carry on the war, while at the same time destroying the material sources of technical warfare in the future.

"Doubtlessly one must conceive of the commencement of war in the future as a merciless attack by air on the enemy interior and the civil population carried through as surprisingly as possible, according to a gigantic plan."

Thus the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (11.5.28), during its propaganda campaign for air armaments for Germany. Similar opinion was uttered by the bourgeois military scientist, Max Schwarte, in his book "The War of the Future":

"In order to take full advantage of the element of surprise, one will brush aside the impressive ceremonies of former days. The bursting of air bombs will be the war declaration of to-morrow."

On another page Schwarte says:

"It is inevitable that in air raids old people and children, who even to-day would be spared, will equally suffer. The large concentration of the population, particularly of industrial workers in the large towns and near works, makes them the most important aims of attack immediately the war begins. Even if it has been planned to remove the population incapable of military service, there will not be the time to do this—at any rate in Europe."

It is certain that bourgeois military scientists have no illusions concerning the effects of future aerial warfare. Yes, it is true to say that just because they have no illusions in this respect, they carry on their preparations for future warfare in the air with the intensity found everywhere to-day. Of special significance in this respect are the remarks of Foch and Winston Churchill, who could not be loud enough in their claims of being the saviours of European civilisation in the fight against the Soviet Union. Churchill, once Minister for War, wrote the following passage in the "Pall Mall Magazine," September, 1924:

"Should it not be possible to invent a bomb which, though no larger than an orange, would contain the mysterious power of destroying whole blocks of houses—what am I saying—that would unite the explosive power of thousand tons of cordite, and would be capable of blowing whole towns in the air?"

"And why should we assume that we shall be content with the reserves of organic chemistry? In the laboratories of more than one country research workers are seeking for methods by which disease germs could be spread to man and beast in the country of the enemy; mildew which will destroy the crops; anthrax, which will wipe out horses and cattle; plague, which will kill not only whole armies but also the inhabitants of wide territories—these are the means towards the use of which military science is relentlessly progressing."

The capitalists of the world know that the result of the future war will be decisively determined by the morale and ideology of the population, and therefore these professional warmongers do all in their power mortally to hit this weak point of the opponents' military strength. It is the air force which is the most effective weapon for this purpose. Marshal Foch hoped that an attack by air

"will influence public opinion in the attacked country, thanks to the chaos and panic it will spread among its population, in such a way that the Government will be forced to surrender arms."

Whether the coming war will be fought by a small army of specialists or by the usual large conscript armies with strong technical formations, in either case unimaginable quantities of ammunition, motors, bombs, poison gas, transport lorries, aeroplanes, guns, etc., will be needed, and therefore also millions of working people to supply these needs. Even in the last war four workers were required for each fighting soldier; this ratio will be considerably higher in the next war. The last woman, the last child, old people and invalids will be forced into the service of imperialist warfare. The entire production of a country will be subordinated to the purposes of war, and the smooth functioning of the transport net will be the indispensable condition for main-

taining contact between working and fighting armies. If the enemy succeeds at the outset to wreck these points of concentration for future warfare, victory will be his. But that just this attempt will relentlessly expose the civil population to the incendiary and gas bombs of the air forces, is no hindrance to the imperialists.

"War will frequently look more like mass extermination of the civil population than like a battle between armed forces."

The correctness of this cynical statement of the *Militär Wochenblatte* is beyond any doubt.

In order to deceive the masses of the population in regard to the dangers confronting them, the bourgeoisie is entering on an active propaganda campaign for air protection with the object of proving that there are still sufficiently effective means to escape from the attacks of the air forces. This propaganda is so much the more ignominious as it is carried out consciously against better knowledge. The times when France maintained 2,000 fighters because it believed to be able with them to resist air attacks by the enemy, have long passed. All air manœuvres up to now have proved, without exception, that not a single attack by air can be beaten back, and that it is only possible to chase back the aeroplanes of the enemy when towns and villages are already enveloped in clouds of gas and have been turned into smoking ruins. This is the unanimous conclusion arrived at after all American, English and French air manœuvres to date. This conclusion has found open expression in the ever-dwindling ratio of fighters used for defence as against bombers for attack, which latter now form over 50 per cent. of the air forces. Gotthard Sachsenberg, one of the best airmen of the world war, admitted openly ("Vossische Zeitung," 6.10.29) that a defence against aerial attack can no longer be guaranteed by even the strongest military and air power of the world. It is to-day *practically impossible*.

The British Brigadier-General Groves, who, in 1918, was in charge of the British air force, admitted in a speech that experts are unanimous in their opinion that local defence against aerial attack is valueless, that no suitable measures of defence had been invented or could be expected in the near future, and that the best defence against such attacks consists in a counter-attack of their own air forces. One of the most prominent military experts of England in air matters, General Seeley, who calculated that each ton of bombs should cost one hundred lives, replied to the question whether there was no means of defence against air attack, with the dry statement: "Oh, yes, other aeroplanes." For Seeley, as for the other experts, the problem is to provide sufficient

means "in order to be able to threaten or to carry out reprisals." It can be said that bourgeois militarists are entirely unanimous in this opinion. Air attacks with incendiary and gas bombs against the peaceful civil population, therefore, appears as the first offensive weapon in the history of warfare, against which bourgeois military science is incapable of providing any defence.

As aeronautics have developed to-day, it is easy for military aeroplanes equipped with noiseless motors, hidden by artificial smoke screens, to cover hundreds of miles in a few hours, and to throw thousands of bombs on to the large towns of the enemy, and it is entirely immaterial for the result, whether even one single aeroplane returns. The "value" of an annihilated large town must be far greater for the murderous system of imperialism than the value of a loss of an air squadron, for it must be remembered, that even to shoot down an aeroplane loaded with poison gas and incendiary bombs means death and disaster for the population below.

The genuine means of fighting against all the horrors of air warfare is the revolutionary rebellion against the rule of the capitalist organisers of this war. But this means, of course, cannot be employed by the trained specialists of the bourgeoisie, but by the masses of the toilers under the leadership of the Communist Party.

2. POISON GAS AGAINST THE MASSES

Although thirty-one States have signed the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting gas warfare, the imperialist Powers are to-day prepared for no aspect of the coming war better than for the gas war. The chemicals necessary for the preparation of poison gas are of great importance for industry in times of peace, it follows that like no other product, it can be held in preparation for the emergency of war in large quantities even in times of peace. "No conference in the world can abolish chemical warfare," from this declaration of bankruptcy of the Geneva Disarmament Commission, the English military reformer, Liddell Hart, concluded that no nation would be prepared to throw away its strongest trumps, namely, "gas, the *ideal* weapon." The leader of the Bureau of Chemical Warfare in the United States of America, General Fries, concurred with this opinion, when he stated that those General Staffs would win the war in future which were able to make the "greatest use of the chemical weapon."

The immense development of the chemical industry in all countries, uninterrupted experiments in the use of poison gases, regular gas manoeuvres and the organisation of strong gas-fighting formations, finally the ever-growing volume of gas bombs and gas ammunition gener-

ally, show beyond all doubt that next to the air weapon, poison gas has been selected as the "most ideal" weapon of future war.

The last war has only given a modest example of the effects of poison gas, since the numbers of gases have in the meantime increased from 30 to 1,000, and since immense progress has been made in the technique of gas warfare. But it is well-known that even the first German gas attack against the English trenches (25.4.15), into which thirty tons of gas were blown, resulted in the death of 6,000 English soldiers. During the last war the mortality of gas casualties amounted to 65 per cent., a ratio which doubtlessly will appear as a minimum limit in the next war. It is so much the more necessary to point out this fact, since prominent bourgeois scientists and military theoreticians do not hesitate to call poison gas the most humane of all existing weapons. It is, however, a fact that even the "harmless" group of tear gases having the function of forcing soldiers to remove their gas masks are followed by grave bodily harm. In addition it must be remembered that all gas charges consist of various combinations: tear gas, in order to force the opponent to take off his protecting mask; gas harmful to the lungs, in order to make him incapable of fighting; arsenic gases, in order to kill him. Burning, poisoning, asphyxiation, insanity and painful death are the results of poison gas. The asphyxiating chloride gases are capable of spreading over vast distances and are therefore especially dangerous for the civil population. Burning gases, such as Yperite, cause mortal burns and remain effective for several days.

If these barbarous preparations on the part of the bearers of European culture and civilisation for the gas war of the future are ignominious, their preparations for bacteriological war are so, to an even greater extent. Thus, the most dangerous germ cultures are kept in the secret laboratories of the Aniline Works of Baden. There are bred the germs causing gangrene, tetanus, meningitis, typhus, plague, cholera, rabies, small-pox and tuberculosis.

The fact that already during the last war, cultures of germs, with detailed instructions for the infection of the Rumanian cavalry, were found in Bucharest, shows that bacteriological war does no longer belong to the realm of fantasy. The debate on the admissibility of spreading plague germs of the Disarmament Commission in Geneva during April, 1929, proves on the contrary, that bacteriological war against the interior of the enemy country has become a serious proposition.

It is difficult to estimate whether the gas war of the future will be directed primarily against the fighting armies or against the civil population in

the towns. But, it seems likely that the chemist, who said that in the future war he would prefer to stay on the fighting front rather than in town, was not very far wrong. The imperialists could not be as interested in the rapid technical development of air forces if they were not planning to fly across the front lines in order to bomb and gas towns situated far in the interior of the enemy country. Combined explosive, incendiary and gas bomb attack by the air fleets on large cities will, in all probability, be the centre of future strategy. Far more barbaric than the change in the weapons of imperialist war is the change in the aims of that war, the fact that air forces, against which there is no defence, will be let loose on the masses and will cause destruction for them which is without parallel in the history of mankind.

According to the will of the imperialists air war against the peaceful working population, will proceed in three stages closely following upon one another: fighters protect the attacking force against the defence planes of the attacked; bombers throw thousands of kilogrammes of incendiary and phosphorus bombs in order to convert whole districts into smoking ruins and to cause desperate panic. Only then the third force arrives carrying hundreds of thousands of gas bombs and containers, the contents of which will envelop the town for the period of several days in a fog of poisonous gases. Any modern passenger aeroplane is capable of carrying six hundred of the gas containers, each of which weigh 5lbs. and can throw them without any alteration in its construction. A single chemical factory is to-day capable of producing gas in such quantities that to-morrow dozens of large cities can be converted into cemeteries. These gas containers hold heavy gases which are absolutely mortal even in small quantities, and which penetrate into all rooms and cellars. In her book, "The Coming Gas War," the well-known chemist Gertrud Woker, paints the following realistic picture of such an air attack:

"In this visible or usually invisible cloud of poison gas a horrible death sinks down upon the unfortunate town and follows its victims into their last hiding-places far below the surface of the earth. What are the air raids of the last war compared with these newest achievements of aerial warfare in which the circle covered by the flight of a single aeroplane is co-terminous with a shroud covering within a few minutes whole armies, whole fleets, whole towns, with the cultural values of generations and millions of living people."

Professor Haber, "the father of German gas warfare," was led by his investigations to the conclusion that a future air attack with gas bombs

"would lead to an indescribable panic" and thus bring about a state of affairs "in which no State authority and no further warfare would be possible." Thus the attack by air has achieved its aim: it has undermined the morale of the masses, a large part of which it has exterminated; it has destroyed the centres of war economy, has destroyed all reserves for the army and has, in short, given a decisive turn to the whole war by leaving behind a vast field of ruins and deathly desolation.

Gas masks and gas suits, decentralisation of towns and gas-proof shelters in connection with the ever-growing propaganda of the bourgeoisie for "aerial protection" will, it is claimed, serve to protect the civil population against the menace of gas attacks. But just as it has been impossible so far to find preventative measures against the attack by air, just as impossible is the protection of the population of a large city against the effects of this air attack. Quite apart from the enormous monetary cost of such an affective protection, which would have to include sick people and infants, vast masses and single individuals, horses and cattle, and even the vegetation, it is sufficient to point out that it is sheer bluff to talk of an effective protection against poison gas at all. It has long ceased to be a secret that there are now numerous varieties of poison gases, against which military science knows no means of defence. It is furthermore well known that the English bacteriologist, Leonard Hill, has found a poisonous germ which is easily bred, and of which one single gramme in the form of dry toxin is sufficient to kill thousands of people without the slightest possibility of a defence. Aerial attacks come suddenly as a surprise, the cloud of gas is invisible, its composition and the effects of its various elements will differ in each case. Since it remains effective for many days it will, in the long run, permeate gas masks and protective clothes, no less than the smallest crevices in doors and windows. It takes years of practice to learn the effective use of the gas mask. In particular the invisible mustard gas or Yperite, which is primarily destined to gas towns, knows no resistance, and remains effective for days, whereas the effectiveness of even the best gas mask only lasts for two hours.

The coming war of aeroplanes and poison gas obliterates all distinctions between front and home. It is directed with the same cruelty against the civilians in the towns as against the soldiers in the trenches. Next to the murder of defenceless masses by capitalist barbarians even the disastrous campaigns of Vandals and Huns will appear as harmless and insignificant games.

3. THE LABOUR ARMY IN THE SERVICE OF WAR

Not merely because they are the defenceless victims of air and gas attacks, but also because their services as a working army are indispensable for the imperialist war, the working population in the coming war will realise that the distinction between front and home has been obliterated. The mechanisation of armies has revolutionised the rôle of the civil population in future wars, for the formation of a labour army under military discipline and strictest control is the foremost condition for the conduct of technical warfare. The century-old practice to prepare immense stores of ammunitions, weapons, clothes and other requirements, which are taken out of arsenals in case of war, has been made superfluous through working out of standardised types which it will be possible to manufacture in case of need, in quantities which are to-day unimaginable, and which must continuously be renewed.

How immense the material requirements of the next war will be is shown by an estimate, according to which the States on the Western border of the Soviet Union will use during the first year of war, 9 million cartridges and more than 60 million shells. In addition it will be necessary to replace the entire material equipment of the artillery at the end of the first year. It must also be remembered that losses of tanks are estimated at 300 to 400 per cent., and those of the air force at 250 to 300 per cent. per year for the coming war, and that the speed of shooting of all weapons, from the simple gun to the heaviest naval cannons, will uninterruptedly be increased; then it is easily realised that the requirements in ammunition and material will reach astronomic figures in the future war. It is the logical consequence of this that the imperialist warmongers regard the manufacture of war materials by the working population as of equal importance with the use of the finished weapons by the military forces. It follows that the mobilisation and militarisation of the population in so far as it is not part of the ruling class, must keep equal step with the mobilisation of the army. The service of the working army will be war service which the enemy will attempt to disturb with all the means described above.

Realising that there can be no question of lengthy exchange of diplomatic Notes and ultimatums, or of any ceremonial declaration of war in the future; realising that the decisive extermination of the opponent by a surprise air attack will determine the outcome of the war, the ruling classes are carrying through industrial mobilisation already in the midst of peace. In almost all capitalist countries, but in particular among the leading Powers, this economic preparation for war

can be regarded as largely completed. Disregarding the immense development of all armament industries themselves, there is to-day scarcely a branch of production, scarcely a single works, to which there has not already been attributed its particular task for the emergency of war, and which would not be reorganised for war production within twenty-four hours. This industrial preparation of each country for war means, according to the American War Minister Davies:

"An approximation to that ideal state in which all men, all women and children in the country will be prepared to play their rôle in the national defence, in which the use of finance, of the sources of energy, of labour, of the transport system, and of war materials will be guaranteed everywhere, carefully planned to work harmoniously in complete co-operation; in which every dollar of the people, the potential output of all mines, forests, farms and factories will be directed against the enemy, and will protect our front."

Add to this the statement of the American General Williams:

War has "gone beyond the arsenals," it is carried out by the entire people which, thereby, will have decisive influence on the conduct of war, and later also, on its strategic forms. It is well-known that just the American "pacifists" are intensively carrying through their industrial mobilisation, for, even in times of peace, they are spending hundred million dollars annually for this purpose alone.

There is a special Bill providing for the mobilisation of all capable of bearing arms and of all other human, financial and economic resources.

In this connection it is well shortly to point out that the increasing importance of the workers in the coming war is by no means regarded as an advantage by bourgeois militarists. The border line between the significance of the army and the general population which, already during the last war, was "menacingly thin," now appears to have disappeared entirely. The dependence of the coming conduct of war on the preparedness for war, and the willing co-operation of the working population, is already to-day one of the greatest worries of the imperialists; this fact is abundantly demonstrated by their theoretical discussions and practical measures concerning industrial mobilisation.

There can be no doubt to-day that it will be again the Social Democrats who will support the imperialists and help them, with all means in their power, to carry through the industrial mobilisation of the working population. In the struggle against anti-imperialist elements, the reformists will take the lead, just as they welcomed the state of martial law during the last war as an opportunity for suppressing the revolutionary workers' movement. The reformist Party and Trade Union leaders will leave no stone unturned to

carry through the will of the military authorities when they are requiring the introduction of compulsory labour for the proletarian youth, the mobilisation of working class women for the armament industry, the campaign of persecution against Red trade unions, shop stewards, worker correspondents and factory papers, and the struggle against so-called industrial espionage. With a clearness that cannot be surpassed, the "Left" Paul Levi, calls for the "defence" of the democratic achievements of the German Republic, when he writes:

"A possible future war will demand the highest fortitude, persistence, goodwill, devotion and sacrifice of the broad masses. The State is lost, which does not succeed in gaining the last sacrifice from these masses. The masses will give their last at the fighting front, the women and girls in the factories, only when they know their own interest is at stake, the interest of their class."

Paul Levi mentioned the trade unions as the most important corporations capable of "increasing industrial production to the maximum if truly proletarian interests are at stake." Just as the Social Democrats in August, 1914, sent the proletariat into the firing lines of the imperialist war in order to fight "Tsarism," they will lead it in the coming war "in the name of the Republic" to militarisation as a fighting and working army, and to the gas death. Paul Levi stands by no means alone in this question. He is merely the propagandist of a very strong school within international Social Fascism. Thus the periodical "Gesellschaft," November, 1928, pointed out that the German Reichswehr could be utilised 90 per cent. if a civil organisation would undertake for it any work other than that of the actual fight. In this paper of Hilferding proposals were made to recruit the entire reserve force from the trade union movement and to hand over the control and organisation of the manufacture of munitions and war materials, the construction of military buildings, and the running of military transport, to the respective unions. That leading light of Austro-Marxism, Herr Julius Deutsch, also insisted that the democratisation of industry must necessarily be followed by a democratisation of the war machinery, and that "to work with this aim is one of the most important political tasks of the working class."

This attitude of Social Democratic Party and Trade Union leaders proclaimed in a manner which cannot be misinterpreted, with regard to the future militarisation of the entire working class, for compulsory labour in the service of imperialist war, and under the iron heel of a military dictatorship, is only the logical consequence of a policy of national defence which

already to-day, in all countries, is granting the necessary financial means for armaments.

4. THE NATION IN ARMS

As already mentioned industrial mobilisation for the war of the future pre-supposes a thorough militarisation of the entire population. But to the same degree to which the bourgeoisie can only start a war after having completed its industrial mobilisation in times of peace, to that degree the militarisation of the masses must have been prepared long before the outbreak of war. Military training of youth, obligatory in almost all countries, frequent projects of compulsory labour service, the introduction of emergency service laws in addition to normal military constitutions, the creation of semi-military formations, and Fascist trade unions, formally far-going preparations of the "state of the nation in arms" show clearly in which forms the militarisation of the entire populace for the coming war is being prepared.

It is again significant for the rôle of the II. International that the first fundamental law sanctioning the militarisation of the civil population bears the name of a Social Democrat. The Paul Boncour Law of the armed nation is not merely the corner stone of the military system of French imperialism, it has already been imitated in different countries such as Poland and Czechoslovakia, and has also been recommended most warmly by the German War Minister, Gröner. It will not be long before the Boncour Law has been accepted in all imperialist countries as the classical example of the militarisation of the populace. According to the Paris "Temps" the necessity of the Boncour Law followed from the following characteristic considerations:

"It is no longer the armies but the entire people who conduct a war; a nation must fight with all its powers, and must throw into the struggle the sum total of its geographic, technical, economic and intellectual resources. France must no longer be content to maintain its army, it must itself be its army, in which each has his assigned place, whether in the front row or in the rear, for common action in the interests of the whole nation. There arises, therefore, a conception of national defence very different from that which has so far been valid. Now the highest exertion is demanded no longer only from the active army, the primary rôle of which is that of schooling and protecting, but from the reserves which form the true army, the nation in arms; this nation in arms, on the other hand, is in itself supported by the nation in its totality which similarly takes part in the fight, in infinitely varying forms."

These ideas have been faithfully incorporated in the law of Paul Boncour, which, unfortunately, is known only to a very limited portion of the

proletarian public. The notion of "the war of all" is the basis of this law, which provides for the absolute militarisation of the entire national life in times of peace, and its hitchless functioning when needed, no less than for the complete removal of any distinction between civil and military persons. Article 1 of the Law says clearly and distinctly:

"In times of war all Frenchmen and descendants of Frenchmen, without distinction of age or sex, and all legally-formed corporations, are ordered to take part in the defence of the country and the maintenance of its material and moral life."

That the complete militarisation of public life must be the consequence of such a law, a militarisation comprising not merely all civilians but also all organisations of the working class, particularly sports and trade unions, is obvious. It is, moreover, specifically stated in article 2 of the Law, which empowers the Government to requisition the services of all persons, trade unions, clubs, societies, undertakings, or groups of any kind for the supply of any needs of the armed forces. The significance of this article lies in its complete surrender of the organisational and political independence of the working-class movement, and in its voluntary sacrifice of leading any economic struggles, although it is abundantly clear that the formation of a militarised working army under conditions of martial law is synonymous with the complete surrender of the most fundamental social achievements of the proletariat. A considerable lengthening of the working day, cancellation of holidays, introduction of night and Sunday work, compulsory work for children, removal of all protective measures in works injurious to the health of the workers (manufacture of poison gas), abolition of the right of coalition and strike and many more attacks of the capitalist class will proceed at equal pace with the militarisation of the population. The working army will receive just as miserable pay and treatment as the fighting army. Listen to this announcement by Schwarte:

"Highly paid workers at home, miserably paid fighters at the front, work in the service of war on the one hand, private work on the other, different food in either case, will no longer be possible in the war of the future."

"The entire nation, inclusive of the women doing supplementary labour service, is working in the support of war with equal duties, equal pay, equal food and equal rights."

It is superfluous to mention that members of the owning classes will, of course, do everything in their power, to find ways and means of evading the standards of payment and food determined by the General Staff.

Economic struggles of the working class will automatically be followed by punitive measures on the part of the military authorities, they will be punished as high treason with severe imprisonment or death. No other paper than the Paris *Populaire* admitted on the occasion of the debates on the Boncour Law, that following the demands of the Socialists, an amendment was made that the army should, only in quite exceptional cases, be used in social conflicts. A more ignominious retreat of the Social Democrats in face of military dictatorship could not be imagined. However, the active participation of the Social patriots in the imperialist war, has already been secured for its preparation in times of peace, for article 5 of the Law of this prominent Social Democrat, Paul Boncour, says:

"In the case of general or partial mobilisation, all persons participating in the defence of the nation will be used at the place at which they can give their most valuable services, and this place will be allocated to them *already in times of peace.*"

The Law of Paul Boncour has also prepared the industrial mobilisation of France down to the smallest detail, in order that, according to his own words, on the day of mobilisation "all that was hitherto manufactured for conditions of peace can now be made for purposes of war, as smoothly as clockwork." All productive and commercial means of the French economic system have, in the meantime, been registered, and their rôle for the emergency of war, has been exactly determined. The militarisation of all Departments was carried through by special Mobilisation Commissions in twenty areas of mobilisation; these Commissions consist of civilians and officers, in addition to consultory Commissions on which employers' organisations and trade unions must be represented. Thus the peace pact between Social patriots and imperialists has, in this way, already been guaranteed in times of peace. The French Chamber, with the exception of the Communists, unanimously voted in favour of this Bill of their Paul Boncour, and thus clearly underlined the value of this Law for imperialist preparations.

The women of the working class are particularly hardly hit by the militarisation of the civil population in the future war. Not merely the present army of working women which so far formed almost one-third of the wage proletariat, no, the last woman of the working classes, will be forced to place her labour power at the command of the war of imperialism; thus it has been expressly provided by Boncour's Law. In many capitalist countries women are organised already to-day in semi-military and Fascist organisations where they undergo military training, for instance, in Poland and America. In Italy the

mobilisation of the women for militia service, air defence, and the guarding of public buildings has been provided. The workers, predominantly women, of the English artificial silk industry, which is of particular importance for the conduct of war, are to-day being prepared for the war emergency. The most severe methods are used in order to ensure a close grip on the employed women in case of war. Thus an artificial silk factory near Derby which can be converted within 24 hours for the production of poison gas and aeroplane parts, is surrounded with electrically charged barbed wire and only holders of permits with photographs are allowed to enter the factory. The employees, predominantly women, are severely controlled, and systematically selected in order to prevent the spread of revolutionary tendencies, and the leaking out of incriminating information concerning the works. In all English

works of importance to the conduct of war, class conscious elements are systematically dismissed.

These immense efforts and financial sacrifices which the imperialists of all countries are making in preparation for a new armed conflict, show that they are unperturbed in face of the horrors of a future war, for they see no other solution for the salvation of their shaking class rule. When the working masses of the whole world are marching on the 1st August to the fight against imperialist war, they must keep before their eyes all the torture and terror necessarily awaiting them if the imperialists succeed in bringing about a new world war. In the same way as the imperialists have already completed all their preparations for the coming war in the midst of "peace," the proletariat of the world must carry through its only effective counter-measure, the daily incessant preparation for the overthrow of bourgeois society.

INDICES OF GROWTH OF CAPITALIST ARMAMENTS

1. In order to decide the most glaring antagonism of the post-war period—that of the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist world—with the force of arms, a great war with the most perfected technique is inevitable. It is quite obvious that the large capitalist States will take part in the war against the U.S.S.R. Since this is so, the Red Army, from the very beginning of the war, will have to deal with the newest and most powerful war technique of the foremost imperialist countries. Since it has no great faith in the political stability of its armies, capitalism is relying chiefly on the power of its military technique. Therefore, the characteristic feature to-day is the military-technical preparation for intervention, the continuous growth of armaments and, in connection with this, the reorganisation of the army on a new and stronger technical basis.

2. The increased rate at which the capitalist world is arming itself is connected first of all with the "rationalisation" of the industrial base for the purposes of war. To-day, the general staffs are concerned not only with the armies and the navies but particularly with the preliminary military preparation of all the branches of economy of the capitalist countries for the coming war.

The preparation for war is not limited to one sphere of production. It has thoroughly penetrated and cannot be separated from the scientific-research and experimental-construction work of civil origin. The so-called scientific-research work in the field of *thermodynamics and the theory of combustion*, leads to the perfection of motors

and at the same time to the improved quality of aeroplanes, tanks, battleships. *Research in the field of aerodynamics* is connected with progress in aviation, with the perfecting of artillery projectiles and the production of reactive instruments. Artillery, poisonous substances, means of communication, etc., are perfected in the laboratory, in the metallurgical laboratory (the best steel, best material part of artillery, material for armoured tanks, etc.), in chemical and electro-technical laboratories (radio, infra-red rays). There are twelve engineers' associations in the U.S.A. (Engineer-Mechanics' Association, of electricians, of technologists, of radio-engineers, of mining engineers, etc.), and all twelve have "Committees of Defence," closely related with the War Ministry and working according to its instructions.

In this way the imperialists have transformed every capitalist country, every factory, every university laboratory into a smithy shop for war.

3. Consequently capitalist States have been quite successful in increasing the productive power, particularly in the field of new military means (tanks, aviation, chemistry), and in further reducing the period of the mobilisation of industry.

THE GROWTH OF MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL POWER.

1. Monthly Production of Machine Guns.

	1923.	1931.
France	7,000	8,000
England	7,000	9,000
U.S.A.	16,000	20,000

2. *Monthly Production of Tanks.*

	1923.	1931.
Finland	2	15
France	1,000	2,000
England	1,000	2,500
U.S.A.	500	3,000

3. *Monthly Production of Aeroplanes.*

France	3,000	4,500
England	3,000	4,500
U.S.A.	2,500	6,000

4. *Monthly Production of Poisonous Substances (Tons).*

France	4,000	10,000
England	4,000	10,000
U.S.A.	10,000	40,000

4. Countries with a weak economic base, as, for example, the countries on the western borders of the U.S.S.R., cannot expect to provide themselves independently with the most modern weapons. The greater the complexity and the more modern these weapons are, the greater is the need of the armies for them and the more dependent are these States on their big capitalist masters.

However, these countries must be assured a minimum of armaments from their own means, at least at the beginning of the war, i.e., before the entire force of world imperialism has developed. We see, therefore, the tempestuous growth of special war industries in the countries bordering on the U.S.S.R.

GROWTH OF REGULAR MILITARY FACTORIES IN POLAND, ROUMANIA, FINLAND AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

	1923.	1931.
Poland	6	33
Roumania	5	17
Czecho-Slovakia	21	48
Total	34	113

5. The tremendous scope of armaments is reflected in the considerable *growth of military expenditure*. In spite of the fact that capitalist countries are in a position to hide the actual expenditures on armaments (designation of civil ministries and municipalities for military work; the investment of private capital in military industries, etc.), their growth is so obvious that it is even reflected in the official military budgets.

MILITARY BUDGETS OF THE LARGEST CAPITALIST COUNTRIES (in millions of dollars).

	1923.	1930-1931.
France	258	457
England	520	537
U.S.A.	680	847
Western States Bordering the U.S.S.R.	122	176

The figures for military expenditures by France and her most important vassals are very characteristic.

THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF THE EXPENDITURES OF MILITARY OFFICES IN FRANCE, POLAND, ROUMANIA, FINLAND AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

Years	In Millions of Dollars	Index of Growth 1926=100
1926	373.3	100
1927	476.6	128
1928	552.8	148
1929	599.5	160
1930	668.6	179
1931	713.0	191

6. The growth of the military-industrial power of capitalist countries and the increase in the military budget is closely connected with the "*reconstruction*" of the armies on a new, more perfected technical base which is now going on in all countries. There is a mad chase for newer and newer technical methods. In such a setting the continuous partial rearming of the army is inevitable, i.e., the substitution of obsolete models by more perfected ones. This, in its turn, leads to a breakdown in the previous organisation and tactical forms and to the reorganisation of the whole army. The usual sections are being brought up to date and experimental sections are completely re-equipped according to the "last word" in war technique. The entire "defence" apparatus of any imperialist state is so organised that it can, as soon as war is declared, immediately start on the mass production of the very latest models of destructive mechanisms. Such a situation is considered most advantageous, since it solves the problem of "technical suddenness" which plays a very important rôle in a modern large-scale war.

The picture is somewhat different as far as sea armaments are concerned. There, the imperialists were forced to reconstruct their fleets almost completely in peace times (reduction of the number of modernised battleships, increased construction of light but powerful cruisers, the extended development of seaplanes). In the construction of light ships—destroyers, submarines, etc.—the situation is somewhat similar to what it is on land, i.e., attention is being paid chiefly to the shipbuilding industry, which makes it possible to give the fleet the newest types of boats in the shortest possible time.

7. These measures have resulted to-day (spring of 1931) in most of the old equipment which was left at the end of the World War being replaced by new equipment in all the most important imperialist armies and navies (in England, France, the U.S.A. and Italy).

In France, a new hand machine gun has taken the place of the model used in the World War and which existed until now. A battalion of light tanks (66) has been transferred by decree to the infantry division.

In the U.S.A., the war-time unit has been reorganised and the new scheme provides for almost the double number of machine guns and guns compared to the period of 1923-1928 (1,644 machine guns instead of 973; 146 various kinds of weapons instead of 82). The new scheme provides also for the infantry division being equipped with 900 automobiles and 24 tanks, completing thus the mechanisation of the existing divisions.

In England, the cavalry division has almost two complete divisions of armoured cars (64). The machine gun companies of the infantry are partly replaced by motorised machine guns (tanks, direct supports). In 1930, three combined battalions were organised in England (two companies of middle-sized and one company of light-sized tanks—120), which form the skeleton for the mechanised independent brigades during times of war.

In Poland, the armies are being re-equipped with new hand machine guns, Browning model (which replaces the model used in the World War) and new magazine rifles of their own make. The divisional artillery is being modernised (the long-distance range has been increased) and the battalion artillery is being re-equipped with modernised mine-throwers (81). The army supply offices and the cavalry are being energetically mechanised. A mechanised army group was tested at the manoeuvres.

8. The air fleet of the five most important capitalist countries (France, England, the U.S.A.,

but has a superior position with regard to sea-planes and good chances to "overtake" their competitors).

9. *Bare figures of the growth of equipment and in personnel during peace times is no longer proof of the growth of armaments under the conditions of to-day. The quality of the new weapons which, in its turn, demands more modern cadres, plays a colossal rôle.* According to the calculations of the Americans, there are 550 persons in a tank battalion which, considering the firing ability, is one and a half times stronger than an infantry division with 3,000 persons, without taking into consideration the tremendous advantage which it has because of its mobility and armed defence. The French, playing with the reduction of their army in order to prove their willingness to disarm, are silent about the fact that the reduction of the number in the army is accompanied by an increase in the number of professional soldiers, i.e., hired specialists (as much as 53 per cent. of the total number of the army in 1931).

The same holds true in regard to supplies: *there is not a general increase in the quantity of armaments but an increase in their modernisation and of new means for fighting.* This is best evident if you examine the general dynamic growth of the "new" and "old" means of armaments.

THE NUMBER OF THE MOST IMPORTANT MEANS OF LAND TECHNIQUE IN PEACE-TIME ARMIES.

10. From the point of view of modern capitalism in peace times there is no sense in having a "full-blooded" army. Imperialists find it to their greater advantage in times of peace to have a small, but politically more stable army of professional soldiers and have this army equipped

	1923 Machine Guns	1931	1923 Weapons	1931	1923 Tanks	1931	1923 Aeroplanes in Constr.	1931
France	35,000	35,000	3,000	3,000	2,000	2,000	1,250	1,800
England	13,000	13,000	2,300	2,300	200	500	600	1,150
U.S.A.	25,000	25,000	3,000	3,000	500	570	1,000	2,000
Countries on the Western border of the U.S.S.R.	15,000	25,000	2,400	4,000	175	265	350	800

Italy and Japan) is to-day, in time of peace, slightly smaller than towards the end of the World War (1918—755; in 1930—625). Aviation is completely up to date and its parts are periodically renewed.

The battleships have been almost completely modernised and most of the modern cruisers are ready (the U.S.A. is somewhat behind in cruisers,

with the most perfected weapons. Systematically militarising capitalist economy as a whole and preparing the necessary cadres of social and other fascists for war, the imperialist powers on the one hand are able to some extent to hide the true scope of armaments and, on the other, to assure a more intensive pace for the preparation of war and a more stable base for it.

THE ORGANISATION OF ANTI-SOVIET MILITARY ALLIANCES AND PREPARATION FOR WAR.

1. Beginning with 1928 France set about actively strengthening the military-political bloc from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

1928 is marked by the enlarged Polish-Rumanian Military Convention and the animated activity of representatives of the French General Staff in countries bordering the U.S.S.R. In December, 1929, the French air squadron and the French General Barres and Colonel Hilleman visited Warsaw. In August, 1930, the minister of French aviation, Laurent-Eynac, visited Pilsudsky, and in December, 1930, Pilsudsky, visiting Madeira Island, took a trip to Paris.

We should also note General Samsonovich's visit (Commander of the Rumanian General Staff) to Warsaw and General Piscar's visit (Commander of the Polish General Staff) to Rumania. In April of this year, Latvian officers visited Poland.

2. The evidence presented in the trial of the "Industrial Party" showed that France not only was preparing for intervention outside the boundaries of the U.S.S.R., but on its territory as well and supporting the sabotage and espionage work of counter-revolutionary organisations within the boundaries of the U.S.S.R. Three French Generals, Weygand, Lerond (specialist on Polish affairs), and d'Esperet (specialist on the Balkans) were assigned to lead the preparations for intervention in the countries bordering the U.S.S.R.

France is organising a special military conference of its vassal states, such as, for example, the conference which was organised in the summer of 1930 in Prague and the conference of military representatives who met in Paris in February, 1931.

3. According to the information at hand, negotiations are being carried on among Poland, Latvia and Esthonia these days which aim to compel Latvia and Esthonia to agree to call for the mobilisation of its forces just as soon as Poland has called for the mobilisation of its forces. Apparently Poland intends to occupy Lithuania just as soon as it has declared mobilisation.

4. On March, 1931, a new Polish Mission came to Paris and visited the Schneider-Creusôt Works and the Toulon dockyards. On March of the same year a special French military commission, with General Werthe at its head, was sent to Prague. The task of the mission was to investigate the fortifications of the Czecho-Slovakian boundaries. In January of the same year the French Government ratified the treaty under which France gave Poland a railroad loan. A Franco-Polish company was organised in Paris with the Schneider-Creusôt Works and several banks par-

ticipating. This company issued bonds amounting to 900 to 1,000 million francs.

5. *France itself is now adopting measures which bear witness to its preparation for war.* General Weygand was already assigned the post he will hold during war. Marshal Paten hurries to take all the measures necessary to prepare France for an air war. All the colonies and protectorates are receiving credits so that they will be able to start mobilising. In 1914 they were able to do this only after war had burst out. The War Ministry has already received credits to finance the needs of the army. Since April, France has been intending to concentrate its army on the borders in order to carry on manoeuvres and to transfer part of the colonial armies to France. Beginning with the spring of this year, almost all the new recruits will remain in the metropolis and only an insignificant part will be sent to the colonies. France's allies are receiving new loans from it (negotiations are being carried on with Rumania and Jugoslavia on the loans to be made to them).

6. As the evidence at the trial of the "Industrial Party" showed, the French General Staff had already worked out a completely concrete and careful plan for intervention. This plan, as is known, provided that Ukrainia be attacked from land and sea (as we know, France is most interested in wresting Ukrainia from the U.S.S.R., since it was French capital that was invested in the undertakings in the Don Bas), that a rebellion be organised in the Caucasus and that their support be obtained in the landing of foreign troops, that the Grozny and Baku oil districts be seized, and, finally, that Leningrad be taken.

7. All these plans of the French General Staff were to have been realised by the armies of the countries which border ours, with the participation of the French and English navy as well, and in all likelihood with the participation of the armies of Western-European countries.

8. *White emigrants* who had found shelter in France (the number of Whites in France amounts to almost 400,000 persons) played a very active rôle in these plans. They have organised anti-Soviet plots and have military organisations, schools and colleges, etc., in France. That this is not an unfounded statement can be shown by the declaration of the leader of the military organisations of the Whites. General Miller wrote in the English magazine, *The Sunday Referee*, for January 4th. 1931:—

"We are ready to begin war. We are only waiting for the appropriate moment in the international situation and financial help which one of the Powers, striving for the overthrow of the Bolsheviks, will give us. We have a well-

trained army at our disposal. Just as soon as Russia is agitated, we shall appear at her borders. We have soldiers and leaders in our ranks. There is a higher academy in Paris for military art which is attended by tens of thousands of people. When Europe, with all its combined forces, moves against Communism, we shall stand shoulder to shoulder with the other armies."

9. In order to test how well all the agents of French imperialism on the territory of the U.S.S.R. had prepared the grounds, how strong the Red Army was, and how strong the influence of the kulaks was, two experimental military attacks were undertaken. The first with the help of the English agents in Afghanistan in our Central-Asiatic republics (bandits' attacks, which are still continuing), and the second, of a more serious nature, on the Chinese-Eastern Railway this time, under the direct leadership of the French imperialists.

10. French imperialism increased its concern for strengthening the military force of all those countries which must serve as the basic links in the united-armed front on our western frontier; the military-naval base of Poland, Gdynia, has

been strengthened; a strategic railroad has been built, the Gdynia-Upper Silesia Railroad (with the direct participation of the French military firm Schneider-Creusôt); chemical factories have been built in Poland; the power of the munition factories in the "triangle of safety" has been increased (Radom-Permishel-Tarnov); automobile, aviation and other works have been built in Poland by the Czecho-Slovakian firm Škoda; the Rumanian army has been reorganised; means of communications between France and Czecho-Slovakia have been strengthened (chiefly between the Schneider-Creusôt and the Škoda Works); France has strengthened its influence in Latvia, Esthonia, Finland, etc. One need not think, of course, that England has no hand in the preparation of war against the U.S.S.R. On the contrary, the evidence in the press for the last year points to animated English anti-Soviet activity. One can register the activity of England in Rumania in creating a naval base there. A few days ago the European press carried the information that 60 English officers had come to Riga to work in various concerns in order "to study the Russian language."

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