

July-August of this year will mark the tenth anniversary of the imperialist war, that continued for four long years and caused enormous loss to mankind. It has devastated whole countries and sowed seeds of a hatred and national enmity a hundred times more deadly than those sown before the fatal year 1914.

Only a few years separate us from the day when the imperialist holocaust ended, and slowly mankind is frantically endeavouring to erase the memory of the horrors of the imperialist war, all the private tragedies and the enormous tragedy of a flourishing world buried in ruin. But imperialist war is not a question of yesterday.

Military preparations are continuing in full swing even more than before 1914. Methods for exterminating and destroying mankind are being devised, compared with which the horrors of the previous war will be but child's play. In secret conclaves the European, American and Japanese general staffs are feverishly working out plans for mutual extermination: the greatest men of science have been mobilised by capitalism to help this work. The best scientific minds are persistently searching for new, more perfect weapons of extermination in the best equipped laboratories in this "civilised" world: armament factories, chemical arsenals, naval shipyards and aero factories are working in full swing and are ready to respond to the first order to increase their production to a hundredfold: milliards of money are being spent to subsidise the "great" work of preparing a new, unheard of imperialist slaughter instead of being used to satisfy the urgent requirements of the nation.

Who would dare to forget for even one minute these grandiose devilish preparations? Who can refrain from thinking of the persistent approach of the day when all will be thrown into the consuming flames, when once again the world will hear the imperious command:

All for the war—everything must be devoted to extermination.

Let the miserable, cowardly philistines like the ostrich hide their heads in the sand and calm their fears with the empty hope, "Perhaps a miracle will happen and the war will pass us by." Such cowardice is unworthy of the proletariat. The proletariat must look facts straight in the face, it must see the coming danger in all its magnitude, and clearly and definitely decide what it must do to overcome this danger. Then every proletarian will clearly see that his open enemies are not so terrifying, he could shake off his oppressors, the capitalists, but that those traitors who declare themselves the friends of the working class while actually serving with heart and soul the interests of the bourgeoisie—these are the most dangerous.

The Causes of the War of 1914.

It is essential to find the cause of the imperialist war first of all so that every workman and labourer can clearly understand the situation. We must find out whether it was caused by an unfortunate event, or by the evil will of some state, or whether this war as all other wars is an inevitable product of the capitalist society.

Had the leaders of European socialism remained true to the covenants of the great teacher of the working class, Karl Marx, they would have revealed to the proletariat the horrible mechanism of imperialism and would have clearly outlined the fearful picture of new, inevitable wars that await the proletariat after this war. But the leaders of European socialism betrayed the interests of the working class. Throughout the war they zealously and constantly drugged the vigilance of the proletariat and distracted their attention from the real causes of the imperialist war.

The French and English social traitors told the workers of their countries that the sole cause of the war was the aggressiveness of the German imperialists, and William the Second. At the same time no less eloquently, the German social patriots argued that the Germans were fighting an honourable war against Russian despotism. The German socialists asserted that they were saving civilisation from the Russian Tsar while the French and English socialists were also saving the same civilisation from the attacks of the German kaiser.

Only a few voices—the voices of Lenin, Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg—were heard in the hellish outburst of military madness despite all the barriers built by military censorship. They explained the real meaning of the imperialist war and the fact that new wars were inevitable under capitalism.

On the 1st of November 1914 Lenin wrote:

"War is not accidental, it is not a 'sin' as priest and parson would have us believe (sermonising on patriotic humanity and peace is no worse than opportunism), it is an inevitable stage in capitalism, it is just as a legitimate form of capitalism as peace."

Powerful world powers that are nothing else than strong organisations of the bourgeoisie, in their tendency to unlimited expansion must inevitably come into conflict. Since this tendency to expansion, and in consequence, seizure of new markets is not a "sin" and not an accident but is part and parcel of the capitalist system, it is evident that no capitalist group would of its own free will abandon its desires without attempting to assert its right by force of arms.

Great Britain was interested in maintaining its dominance against the powerful competition of Germany. At the same time it continued inflexibly, insistently and tenaciously its attempt to realise its plan to unite its possessions in India and South Africa through Egypt by direct railroad connections from Cape Town, through Cairo to Calcutta. These plans were hindered by the resistance of Turkey who sided with Germany.

The French imperialists raised a wail against the historical injustice, against the fact that Alsace Lorraine was annexed to Germany in 1871. However, they had in mind not the affliction to national sentiment but the rich iron mines in Lorraine. Besides this, they hoped to annex purely German territory—the Rhine Basin. This hope has been laid bare by the French policy in the Ruhr.

Russia dreamed of further extension to the East and South chiefly at the expense of Turkey so as to round off her possessions in Trans-Caucasia, obtain possession of the Dardanelles and strengthen her influence in the Balkans. The growing German capitalism strove to extend its possessions in Africa, smash Britain's rule on the seas and economically subordinate Turkey.

The aims of the various imperialist countries armed to the teeth and well supplied with cannon fodder, crossed and recrossed here and at numerous other points of less importance. All these questions were quarrels over the division of spoils and could not be solved in any other way than by the use of force and force was called on to decide.

War was inevitable... war was declared!

Words and Reality.

The French, German, English and Russian social traitors each took upon themselves the mission of convincing the proletariat of their respective countries that they were defending civilisation against the attempts of their enemies to destroy it. Time has shown how false and base were these statements. German Social Democrats justified the war on the grounds that they were fighting against the Russian autocracy. Nevertheless the Germans continued the war with the same energy even after the fall of Nicolai II.

The French and British reiterated that they were fighting only Wilhelm II and that the sole aim of the war was to destroy his power. One of the leaders of the French socialists—René Rostaix—wrote at the beginning of the war:

"We are not fighting the German people, we are fighting the German Government."

The German government fell; Wilhelm was driven out of Germany; but the French imperialists, with the aid of the Renaudel phrase mongers have achieved complete victory. Now, with their hands at Germany's throat are squeezing the last drop of blood out of the German people and not out of the German government.

"War for the interests of civilisation."

What effrontery!

Civilisation was almost destroyed by the war. The culture and culture accumulated by the labour of millions was destroyed to an extent unparalleled in the history of war.

The Italian ex-premier Nitti, one of the most prominent politicians of the Italian bourgeoisie, expressed his views on the war of 1914-1918 in the following terms:

"In general all the wars of the XIX century, national wars, wars of independence or for union, even colonial wars, were less disgusting in character than this last war that ravaged Europe and destroyed world industry. It is not only the war, its consequences make it one of the worst wars that have devastated Europe in modern times."

The statistics showing the effects of the war are sufficient to astound the boldest imagination.

The Costs of War.

In round figures 10,000,000 were killed or died of wounds and diseases during the war while thirty millions were wounded and crippled. Here is a striking illustration of the horrors of war taken from the above quotation from Nitti's book.

The terrible wars of the great French revolution, 1793-1815 cost humanity one million nine hundred lives. All the numerous wars in Europe, Asia, Africa and America beginning with the war of 1793 and ending with the Balkan war in 1913 killed in a little over four millions killed, while the imperialist war that lasted only four years resulted in casualties two and a half times as great.

The enormous sweep of the imperialist war is still more appreciable if we compare its cost with the cost of previous wars.

The amount expended on wars from 1793 to 1905 positively amounted to 20.5 milliard dollars, while the expenses of the war of 1914 to 1918 amounted to 208.2 milliards. In other words they are more than ten times the amount spent on all wars waged for one hundred and twelve years.

One can hardly estimate the devastation caused by the imperialist war. Every gun shot cost enormous money. Nearly a million men were under arms during the war. One can imagine the loss caused by withdrawing such an enormous number of men from productive labour.

When the Entente Countries first placed their demands on Germany they calculated that the destruction caused by the war alone amounted to three hundred and seventy five milliard gold marks.

One would think this sum was greatly exaggerated. But it includes only the destruction caused by Germany. How much is the ruin caused by the other warring nations! The total damage caused by the war amounts, approximately to 500 milliard marks. Taking the average wage of the skilled worker in England of 10 pounds a month, ten millions of industrial workers would be able to work steadily for fifty years, in order to earn this sum.

Such in their palest aspects are the results of the war. In the defence of civilization we had nothing but the physical work of destruction on all sides. The motives voiced by the social traitors at the beginning of the war of the necessity of defending the interests of civilization were utterly hypocritical. The end of the war exposed still other lies of theirs, no less some.

When the war began, the social patriots said "Well, we can do nothing against it; but as soon as it is in full swing we shall rebuild the world on the foundations of just and peaceful relations between the nations."

The leader of the British Labour Party declared:

"The labour movement has fulfilled and will fulfill its duty of our supreme national duty, believing that the brutal and ways of German militarism must be destroyed. When the time comes for the consideration of peace, the labour movement will stand as it has always stood, for an international understanding of all nations to the effect that future quarrels and misunderstandings must be settled not by machine guns but by peaceful means."

The French Socialist Party, which sent its representatives Renaudel and Sembat into the ministry, declared in its manifesto of August 1914:

"Now, as at the first moment of mobilisation, we are not fighting for the greatness of Germany, but for freedom, for the republic, for civilization. We are fighting for the world, freed from the crushing weight of imperialism and from the cruelty of war, may at last enjoy a peaceful and happy life."

Pierre Renaudel, leader of the socialist renegades, wrote in "L'Humanité" on the 4th of August, 1914: "The International Labour movement, which has revealed to the people of the Century this hostile and dangerous situation which must be brought to an end once and for all."

The social traitors of Germany said in their declaration of August 4th:

"We hope that the cruel school of the sufferings of war will awaken a hatred of war in millions of people, and will turn them to the ideal of socialism and world peace." After four years of bloody carnage, after the destruction of millions of human beings, the imperialist war came to an end. And how did the social-patriots make use of this peace? They hasten to establish strong international organizations, which would demand a decisive reckoning with the imperialist

instigators of the war just ended, and the organizers of future wars?

They did nothing of the kind.

The social traitors of all countries sought for peace and justice in those institutions created by the imperialists to drug the workers, they entered into friendly alliance with the imperialists. The social traitors became a part of that organization which arrogated to itself the pompous title of "League of Nations".

The League of Nations has an impressive programme, in words—it is the very angel of peace. Thus the founders define the tasks of the League:

"The High Contracting powers, with the aim of guaranteeing international cooperation, peace and security,

by the adoption of pledges not to commence war,

by the signing, of open, just and conscientious covenants among nations,

by establishing solid foundations of international law as maxims for the conduct of governments in their mutual relations,

by maintaining a just and scrupulous respect for all obligations entered into by the nations,

do hereby undertake the organization of the League of Nations."

Does the League of Nations fulfill these tasks? Has it removed machine guns from the international practice? Has it weakened in any degree the militarism that reigned in Europe up to the war?

Instead of long discourses we shall quote a little phrase made by one of the founders of the League of Nations, one of the shrewdest craftsmen in the line of fooling the masses of the people, that most clever bourgeois politician, Lloyd George:

"Europe has become more militarist than ever. Militarism has brought Europe to its present miseries. In order to save itself from such misfortunes in the future, it has become more militaristic than ever. Every country, even the smallest, is dotted with cannon, to repel the enemy. At the same time no country in Europe can balance its budget. The economic reconstruction of Europe has been delayed for a long while by the rise of the new militarism."

The League of Nations is a pure fraud because there can be no peace, there can be no just relations between peoples, as long as there is militarism which inevitably carries in its wake the competition of the strongest powers.

Before the imperialist war had succeeded in cutting the old knots of conflicts and antagonism, new forces came to the front, new conflicts, new contradictions, which due to the very essence of capitalist society, cannot be solved otherwise than by force, i. e., by new wars.

The question of domination over the Mediterranean Sea has called forth the Italo-Spanish alliance aimed against France.

In middle Europe France has set a circle of watch dogs against Germany.

In the Near East, in the German question, in the question of hegemony over Europe, the interests of Britain and France come into the sharpest conflict. At the same time we have open rivalry between Britain and the United States over world domination, a mad rivalry over the seizure of new oil wells, a struggle for power between Japan and America, an open and cruel feud over domination in the Pacific, over domination in China.

Which of these conflicts, has been softened by the League of Nations in any appreciable measure? Lloyd George, reviewing the activities of the League of Nations for three years, placed to its credit only one measure—the peaceful solution of the Swedish-Finnish contention concerning the Ananas Islands. But it is known to everybody that neither Sweden nor Finland are serious representatives of modern imperialism. What then has the League of Nations done in serious questions? Has it even attempted to moderate, by means of the "justice" of which its constitution speaks so pompously, the demands of France concerning Germany, does it attempt to guard the world against new conflicts which grow in an insane fashion, and assuredly lead to a new war? It is absurd to even speak of this. The work of the League of Nations is guided by two great powers—France and Britain—and it is a secret to nobody that the war ministries of these powers are busy preparing a grandiose Anglo-French war in the air, on the water, under the water, and on land. The League of Nations exists in so far as France and Britain are still capable of reaching an agreement in individual questions concerning the division of the loot, concerning the common robbing of oppressed nations, and in so far as all powers are interested in a "peaceful", camouflage hiding military preparations.

Mechanisation of the Army.

Colonel Fuller, one of the most prominent officers in the British tank corps, characterised the general tendencies of contemporary warfare in the following words:

"The entire history of the evolution of machine methods of production consists in the exclusion of the worker, and the replacement of muscle power by steam, electricity, or other forms of energy. The less people and the more machines the greater the productivity"—that has been the slogan of every progressive workshop for the last hundred years. Henceforward we are convinced that every progressive army will also adopt the slogan.

"Granting that the main change in military affairs in the future will be the replacement of human power by machine power, we come to the logical conclusion that the ideal army which we should strive is not an armed nation, but one man not a super-human being, but simply a man able to press a button or to remove a stopper, and thus to bring into action a machine contrived by the best brains of science in time of peace.

The technique of war is still far from the "ideal" of British Colonel, it has still not attained such a degree of perfection that a single human being would be in a position by mere pushing of a button to bring into action all the destructive machines of an entire front. But the general tendency here indicated is undoubtedly true. Technical warfare already occupies a place in military affairs which would formerly have appeared utterly fantastic. But the last word has not yet been said on a single sphere of military technique. Instead of serving the interests of construction, creation and life, the best forces of science have been applied by imperialism to the business of death and destruction. The best scholars are working constantly over the perfection of methods of annihilation.

The Mechanisation of Infantry.

Every section of the army has taken lessons from the experience of the last war. On the basis of this experience infantry—the foundation of the modern army—has been entirely reconstructed. And here we find the same tendency—the growing importance of machines. The deadly fire poured out by the artillery in the imperialist war has made the former formation of the infantry entirely unthinkable. A way had to be found of decreasing the number of losses, without decreasing the strength of the artillery fire barring the advance of the infantry. This way was found in the change from the former close formation to broken formation, and in re-arming the infantry so that their main weapon should be the machine gun in place of the rifle as formerly. And the staff officers sing paeons of glory to the machine gun, which can kill so much better, so much more accurately, and so much more economically, than a human being.

But if such a technical revolution has taken place in the re-arming of the infantry, a still more striking technical revolution has been made in other sections of the army.

Artillery.

All the mad thirst for destruction, for the extermination of people and material wealth, under the impulse of which the last war was carried on, was bound to lead to an extraordinary development of such an important destructive force as artillery.

Like most other means of destruction, artillery only revealed its real strength in the actual process of the war. The composition in technical methods between the hostile countries became largely a competition in artillery armament and in the preparation of artillery equipment. A corresponding growth took place in the role of artillery in the war.

In the wars previous to 1914 from 75 to 80% of the losses were due to the infantry, and only from 12 to 15% to artillery. The war of 1914 brought about a radical change in the relationship in favour of artillery. According to statistics of the French army, 58% of the losses were imputed to artillery, 20% to the infantry and 20% to miscellaneous weapons.

At the beginning of the world war there were 1,000 rifles five or six ordnance pieces, and by the end of the war from 17 to 20.

After the close of the war the work on the perfection of artillery did not cease.

On the basis of the experience of the war the governments set themselves the task of constructing long range guns with a range of 36.5 kilometers. At the present time

The League of Nations is an absolute fraud. Nobody speaks of it any longer—nobody except the social-patriots who seem to think that this institution has not yet been fully utilized to befog the consciousness of the workers.

"Peace among Nations" crushing "German Militarism".

This is the great slogan in the name of which the working masses of Europe, Asia and America were called to exert their efforts to the utmost in the course of the imperialist war "only the crushing of German militarism can secure permanent peace among the nations"—this was the slogan of the powers of the anti German coalition. But now Germany has been crushed. Its powerful navy exists no more. The German army has been reduced to one hundred thousand men, one third of the Greek army. German military aviation has been liquidated. After eighteen months occupation of the Ruhr, after the most shameless management of the Ruhr territory by the French, it is ridiculous to even speak of German militarism.

The task by which the war was justified by the Entente—crushing of German militarism—is thus completely accomplished. It would seem that there is no further obstacle to disarmament, to the cutting down of the armies. But look at the war budgets of the four strongest countries in the world, and you will see an astonishing thing—these budgets considerably exceed the pre-war budgets.

Here is a short table of the military budgets:

	Military budget	
	1913/14	1924
		150,500,000 Pounds Sterl.
France	916,750,000 gold francs	1,453,162,000 gold francs
United States	316,000,000 dollars	652,516,000 dollars
Japan	97,645,000 gold yen	390,000,000 gold yen

Thus not one budget has remained at the pre-war level of 1913/14. All budgets have grown considerably, and most of all the budgets of the United States and Japan, the two powers which will be in the center of the impending world war.

The bourgeois pacifist Nitti wrote in 1922:

"The old rivalry in land and sea armaments continues among the victors, and in ever more treacherous forms, threatening the very existence of Europe.

There are now more people under arms in Europe than there were before the war. The vanquished have been disarmed, but the victors are arming more and more."

The words of Nitti describe accurately the present situation in Europe. But the Imperialist Powers of the Pacific, America and Japan do not lag behind Europe—they outstrip her in military expenditures.

The preparations for a new war sweep onward at full speed.

"The Last War."

With this hope, with this belief, millions upon millions of workers went into the world war. Naive people believed that after the world war, war would vanish from the earth. Masses of the workers believed that war would be consigned to the archives and that only school children would study it as the most striking memorial of human barbarity.

But the very day after the war was over it became a matter of the most careful study not for the historians, not for the school children, but for chiefs of military staffs. The military chiefs set before themselves the entirely practical task of learning from the experiences of the last war, of gleaning from it every lesson that would help to guarantee further perfection of the methods of warfare.

War exists and will exist as long as imperialism exists. The socialist betrayers of the working class did not understand nor wish to understand this fact. But the directors of the trusts and banks and the members of the headquarters and field staffs of the army knew and still know it very well. The latter in all imperialist countries are applying themselves assiduously to the perfection of the army, seeking the cheapest means for exterminating the largest number of enemy soldiers, establishing the best means for the destruction of communication lines in the rear, and of annihilating their enemies.

All these questions are to be solved in one way—by intensive development of technical means, and the maximum mechanisation of the army.

14 inch gun with a range of 35 kilometers is already being perfected in the American army, and in coast and naval artillery they have even attained a range of 50 kilometers. Electrical propelled super-long range cannon will increase this distance several times. All the equipment in recent American projects is very heavy. The experience of the war, with the development of motor transportation and tanks has resulted in the application of mechanical power in the transport of artillery. Motor transport makes it possible to convey equipment to places where manual transport is difficult or impossible to obtain.

Aviation.

The war of 1914-18 developed to an enormous degree the constructive capacities of all previously existing methods of warfare. But further than that it introduced and developed new means formerly unused, or used only to a limited extent, such as aviation, chemicals, tanks.

Let us begin with aviation. At the beginning of the imperialist war air-craft were regarded merely as subsidiary weapons to the basic military forces of land and sea.

But in the course of the war, according to the imperative demands of the situation, more and more functions were given to aviation. The types of aeroplane for the execution of various tasks were thus gradually differentiated and each type was adapted to its particular task. Thus the light scouting plane, the bombing plane, the destroyer appeared. During the war aeroplanes were built at a mad rate of speed. In 1914 France built 10,000 aeroplanes in its own factories in 1914, and 32,000 in 1918.

After the war there was naturally a considerable decrease in the building of air-craft. But the work is going on as feverishly before in the sphere of perfecting the different types of aeroplane and the adaptation of each of these types to its special military task. At the present time the air-craft are armed to the teeth with eight machine guns. The latest speed record is 507 kilometers, and the height of ascent, 5,535 meters.

Chemicals.

Just as aviation was introduced for the first time as means of warfare in the imperialist war, so were chemical means of warfare applied for the first time. And as every new and effective means of destruction, the use of chemical methods became widespread in the course of a short period. Scientific investigators have discovered 45 poisonous combinations which can be used in war and the effects of these gases are of a very diverse nature. There are tear-producing gases, gases which irritate the breathing passages, gases which produce sores, burning gases, etc. The gases also differ in the duration of their effect—some of them will disappear from the constitution in a short time, others are mortal. The gases differ in their own stability. Some of them disintegrate in two or three hours, others remain in the air for many days. On all these points the scientists of the bourgeois world are intensifying their work to obtain the maximum deadly effect in every respect.

Up to the present time the "king of the gases" has been phosgene gas, or "iprit", a lingering, odorless gas, which burns the eyes, destroys the sight, and is distinguished by its enduring effect. But it would be naive to suppose that this is the last word in war chemicals. The scientists of the imperialists are constantly carrying on investigations, and the results of their investigations are already prepared for the next war in the sphere of chemicals. To this end many laboratories are working—among them the Edgewood Chemical arsenal in the United States—the central military laboratory of the richest and most technically advanced country in the world.

Tanks.

The deadly power of artillery and machine gun fire, the barbed wire entanglements protecting their position, have greatly increased the difficulties of cavalry attacks which were prepared the way for the infantry. The war of 1914-18 introduced armoured cavalry—the tanks, which were prepared the way for the infantry when they could not advance.

The tanks are impervious to bullets, and can be injured only by heavy artillery fire. Light or even medium shrapnel do not present the slightest danger for them. The ordinary French tank can travel at a speed of eight kilometers an hour. They can climb over the most uneven places—fences, pass

through young woods (from 8 to 10 years) stone walls up to 40 centimeters in height, river fords not deeper than 70 centimeters—none of these represent obstacles to the tank. Adding to this the arming of the tanks with machine guns or light ordnance, their military importance is obvious. The tank fully proved their effectiveness in the last war, and now all the large armies are increasing their tank sections, and working constantly on the improvement and perfection of the various types of tanks.

In order to make clear the present mechanization of the army it is sufficient to point out that in war time, according to the plan, France must have 200,000 machine guns, 40,000 ordnance pieces, 12,000 tanks and 60,000 aeroplanes.

Naval Armament.

Together with the growth of land and aerial armaments naval ship-building is going ahead with feverish energy. One must bear in mind that the two main opponents in the coming war, Japan and America, cannot come into conflict with each other anywhere else but on the sea, or when one has already secured control of the seas. It is sufficient to glance at the present naval power of Japan and America to visualise the enormous extent of their armaments. According to American statistics their forces are expressed by the following figures:

	United States	Japan
Battleships	29	11
Battle cruisers	6	12
Light cruisers	18	42
Destroyers	330	147
Submarines	166	100

The work of strengthening their fleets is going on persistently and continuously. The United States are devoting all their energy to enlarging their flotilla of light cruisers as their number is much less than those of the Japanese. They are paying great attention to forming a strong naval aircraft force and are devoting considerable sums to building new naval bases. The question of bases for the navy is one of enormous importance in the future naval warfare. The most trustworthy base of the American fleet in the Hawaiian islands is five thousand sea miles away from the probable region of naval operations, while battleships and cruisers with a maximum supply of oil fuel have a radius of action of only three thousand miles.

Japan is energetically building her navy. According to her programme eight new cruisers, eleven mine layers and thirty submarines have to be completed by 1927.

Here is an interesting detail: after Japan was visited by the catastrophic earthquake some members of the government proposed to limit the number of ships and use the money saved on this for the purpose of aiding the sufferers. These proposals were peremptorily rejected.

Intensive naval construction is going on in other imperialist countries. England, which was removed from its position as a first rate naval power by the Washington agreement is improving her tanks, ships and naval aircraft forces. France is unable to keep up to England and American large vessels, and is specialising in the construction of submarines.

The New War will be much more destructive than the War of 1914.

The facts given above give a very weak representation of the present state of military science. At the same time it is difficult to outline the intensive continuous work that is carried on in the laboratories and general staffs to counteract and nullify the technical achievements of their enemies and invent such weapons against which their opponents would be powerless. Imperialism is showing amazing responsiveness in the field of military science. The competition between the imperialist states seems like some devilish game, and includes all branches of military work, beginning with the armament of a dreadnought and ending with a record carrying capacity of an aeroplane-bomber or a record speed of some aerial destroyer. The tank is invented against rifle and machine gun fire and immediately the attention of military experts is directed to inventing an armour piercing bullet of greater force. As soon as aeroplanes had shown their great value in military operations we see that intensive work is carried on to develop and improve anti-aircraft artillery and to find some means of stopping the motor from a distance. Before these rays had been found by the

Englishman Mathews, the French directed their attention to inventing a motor that would not be affected by them.

Before the great war that is inevitable under the rule of capitalism, there will be (and are) numerous conflicts, large and small, round questions connected with strategical considerations for future offensives. The question of naval bases in the Pacific Ocean, the question of re-dividing the French spheres of influence in the north west of Africa—near the Gibraltar Straits—the question of being able to extend one's influence on small countries whose borders or territories are of strategical importance—all these questions are nothing else than the constant revelation of colossal military designs, they reiterate every day that wars are inevitable under capitalism.

The horrible picture of the future war becomes more distinct than in the previous war if we watch the concentration of all the forces of the nation, universal mobilisation for the front and army service work; destructive infantry fire; the thick columns of tanks, the hellish work of super-long distance guns extend the sphere of immediate bombardment many miles into the heart of the country; thousands of aeroplanes bomb the population of industrial centres even those that are hundreds of miles away from the front, the frightful work of poisonous gases that the chemical factories are producing in enormous quantities... And above all this there is the great naval war that will be carried on simultaneously in the air, on the surface and under the surface of the seas. The capitalist science of destruction is progressing; it will become still further developed before the war breaks out, although it is impossible to say as yet when it will break out; and it will certainly receive a great impetus during the war, if it does break out.

Military authorities accurately foretold a year and a half before it actually began that the war would commence in the spring of 1914. They based their estimate on investigation of the naval and army forces existing at that time. At the present time we have no such definite indications of the beginning of the next war, but the fact that the whole world is furiously preparing for it and that it will commence in the near future is clearly evident to all of us.

Not long ago colonel Fabre, chairman of the military commission of the French Chamber of Deputies stated on the 18th of March 1924: "The fighters of 1914 thought that the war in which they participated, a war so full of horrors and trials will be the last. However, those of them who have survived clearly see that this was only a phantasm." We have before us a war of extermination, a war where all the means and methods of destruction will be brought to their highest stage of perfection, where brutality and ravages will exceed those of the previous war.

The Social Traitors at their Posts.

What do the social patriots, they who called upon the proletariat to fight in the "last" war to end all wars, they who promised that international problems after the war would not be solved by machine guns or any other weapons of extermination... yes! what do they say now? Did they attack their bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie that has disgraced them and exposed them as vile liars before all the working class. If the social patriots see that their hopes have been deceived, that war exists and will exist as long as capital lives, perhaps they will call the workers to the last, decisive fight against imperialism. There is nothing more logical and simpler than to explain and say to the proletariat:

"Imperialism is preparing a new holocaust after all the horrors, all the deaths and mutilations and diseases after all the difficult victories of the imperialist war. Do not permit this slaughter! Instead of awaiting your death in gas-poisoned trenches under artillery and aircraft bombardment or in the depths of the Pacific Ocean arise against imperialism! Fight courageously and if you bear even an insignificant portion of the casualties that the imperialists will demand of you in the near future, you will be victorious... Only in this way can you really destroy the prospect of new war and bloodshed under capitalism."

This is what those who regard themselves leaders of the working class, men who assert that they are devoted to the interests of the working class, should have said.

But, they do not say this. They go hand in hand with their bourgeoisie just as in the imperialist war. They distract the attention of the workers from the looming menace; they delude the masses with empty phrases; they are not the enemies but the most important allies of the imperialists in preparing a new war unheard of for its bloodshed and destruction.

After the holocaust of 1914-1918 the problem of mobilising and dispatching the workers to war acquired great importance for the bourgeoisie. They would have been powerless to master this problem had they not had the support of the socialist traitors and the leaders of the Second International.

The working class must tear away the mask of friendship from these base betrayers of the proletariat. We must look the truth in the face without flinching, we must look at things as they are in reality.

We must learn to consider things as Lenin the great leader of the international revolution considered them. In the vanguard of the slaughter, on the 1st of September 1914, he wrote:

Lenin Indicates the Path.

"War is not accidental, it is not a 'sin' as christian preachers think (they sermonise on patriotism, humanity and peace just as well as the opportunists), war is an inevitable step in capitalism, it is just as legitimate a form of capitalist life as peace. The war of our days is a people's war. From this it does not follow that we have to drift along the 'popular' current of chauvinism, but that in times of war the class contradictions that rend the people apart will exist and will manifest themselves militantly in the war. Refusal of military service, anti-war strikes, etc. are simply foolishness, they are miserable, cowardly dreams of an unarmed war against an armed bourgeoisie, they are visions of destroying capitalism peacefully without civil war or wars. It is the duty of every socialist to propagate the class war during the war as well as in times of peace: all work directed towards converting national war into civil war is the only socialist work in the epoch of armed imperialist conflict between the bourgeoisie of all countries. Away with the christian sentimental, ridiculous sighs for peace at all costs! Raise the banner of civil war! Imperialism has placed European civilisation at stake. If a series of revolutions do not take place after this war other wars will follow very soon. The tale of the 'last' war is a dangerous empty tale, it is petty-bourgeois 'mythology'. The proletarian banner of civil war will gather round itself not only hundreds of thousands of class conscious workers, but millions of semi-proletarians and petty-bourgeois who, at the present time are drugged by chauvinism, and whom the war will not only not frighten and subdue but will educate, teach to arouse, organise, harden and prepare the fight against 'their own' bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie of 'foreign' countries.

Under the Banner of the Third International.

Workers of all countries! The millions of dead who bodies strewed the face of Europe, the countless disabled and orphans who fill the towns, are drawn from your ranks.

Listen to Lenin's words:

"Only civil war, only courageous, decisive offensive against the domination of imperialism can save you from this blind alley of inevitable extermination of all the cultural achievements of mankind."

Turn away from the deceivers and traitors of the Second International—that criminal international organisation that fills the commissions of the bourgeoisie to drug the workers and all the proletariat.

Follow in the steps of Lenin; follow the banner of the Third International, the world-wide proletarian organisation, devoted, fearless fight against the imperialist rule.

The history of Soviet Russia has shown that this is the only way; that only by resolutely breaking with the bourgeoisie by becoming imbued with the decision to win and arm for the fight, can we leave the vicious circle of imperialism and militarism.

Go fearlessly and resolutely along this path and victory will be yours. Workers of the world! Unite under the banner of the Third International in the resolute and determined fight against imperialism and the oppression it creates!

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The V. World-Congress of the Communist International.

Ninth Session (Evening.)

June 23rd.

Schueler (Y. C. I.)

If there was anyone who had not yet clearly seen that there is a right opportunist tendency in the Comintern, the speeches of Comrades Radek, Brandler and Thalheimer, and Comrade Smeral's declaration, have made this plain. These speeches conjured up before us the spirit of the Leipzig League theses. The Fifth Congress must make an end of these sessions.

Radek's speech especially shows us that we have among us a tendency which is fundamentally wrong, and is bound to have bad consequences especially as far as the Social Democratic workers in factories are concerned. Radek makes a declaration with the Social Democrats dependent on the question whether the Social Democrats will or will not keep up their alliance with the bourgeoisie to the end of their days. Comrades, we know that the Social Democrats will remain united with the bourgeoisie to the end. It is clear from some parts of Radek's speech that he looks upon the Social Democratic Party as a workers' party, with whom coalition for a revolutionary workers' government is possible. Such conceptions will lead us to revisionism of Communism. We must take up a definite attitude towards this revisionism, if it is not to degenerate into a devastating disease.

The Czech declaration does not make it clear if the Czech Party endorses the Prague theses or not. It is not because the situation has changed that we are against the Prague conception, but because this conception was wrong already at the Fourth Congress, and in Prague and Leipzig Radek and Brandler tried, so to speak, to scare the Comintern. They spoke as if we wanted to terminate the United Front tactics. We do not want to terminate these tactics, merely Radek's conception of them.

The party has, of course, made mistakes, but out of this cannot make, by any means, a German question. We welcome Comrade Zinoviev's severe criticism of the Czech Party, also the definite and clear statement made here by the minority and the Czech Youth. We are also very glad that Comrade Zinoviev has broached the Polish question. What he said here about the English question is also very significant. Comrade Ray's statement must be specially commended.

Today, no one will doubt that the tactics adopted by the Communist International towards the Norwegian Workers' Party were correct. I am sure everyone sees that the leadership of the Workers' Party consisted of avowed reformists, syndicalists, or in the best case, of centrists, and that it is going farther and farther on this downward path. In Sweden Comrade Hoeglund confronted the minority, which has adopted the platform of the Communist International, with an ultimatum. Not receiving a satisfactory reply, he convened a Party Congress for a date when the decisions of the world Congress will not yet be known. The Congress must at least demand the postponement of this Party Congress. The Congress must show that the entire International is solid in its support of the Russian Communist Party.

We must be prepared for a great and difficult fight. Therefore, we must protest emphatically against all prophecies of defeat, which we heard here in the speeches of Comrades Radek, Brandler, and Thalheimer. For us there are no grounds for such pessimism. We shall have great difficulties to contend with, but we can meet these difficulties courageously, and we are bound to overcome them if the Congress will give us clear and definite directions, and will work for the bolshevisation of all our Parties. We have every reason to believe that we are not appealing to the Congress in vain. (Loud applause.)

Rienzi (Italy):

explained the reason why the minority of the Italian delegation entirely approved without reservation the report of Zinoviev.

He said, we deny that this report marks "the general liquidation of the united front tactics": The letters from the Presidium to the Central Committee of the German Party, the formula for the united front given by Treint in his speech, the passage in Severing's speech referring to "manoeuvres" which might be useful and also permissible, prove that there is no question of revisionism in regard to the united front.

We think that the political judgment pronounced by the workers and communists of Germany in shifting the party centre definitely to the left was a just one, though there may be some cases of personal "injustices".