



WHO WANTS WAR?

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WHO WANTS WAR?

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WAR AND WAR PREPARATIONS

WHAT is all this talk about war?

Nobody wants war,—says “the man in the street.” The “average” man, who recalls the horrors of the last war and knows the privations of its aftermath, the endless years of depression, certainly does not want a new war.

But is it true that nobody wants war?

Aren't there some countries, or some groups of people in most countries, who do want war? Aren't there some countries which are actually at war at this moment, and others which are preparing for war? Japan, for example? Aren't the kings of finance in the capitalist countries, the munition makers and professional patriots planning war, isn't Germany or Italy?

Let us consider.

The common people of Japan do not want war. Yet the Japanese rulers have been carrying on war these past three years. It is a good-sized war, which is likely at any moment to assume much larger proportions. For a year or more the campaign has simmered down to small engagements, without the spectacular features of wholesale destruction, nevertheless fighting is going on continuously. The Japanese call it euphemistically fighting “bandits.” Actually they are fighting the people of Manchuria, who will not accept Japanese lordship over their country. Reports of this fighting appear in the press from time to time; large numbers of Chinese “irregulars” and Japanese “regulars” are killed in these battles. While “pacifying” the newly created kingdom of Manchukuo, Japan is spreading her tentacles over the adjacent Chinese territory—Jehol, Chahar, Inner Mongolia, and at the same time making preparations for wider conquests. The next move in the campaign, in accordance with Japanese plans, is to be directed against the Soviet Union. Admiral

Yamamoto, in an interview in New York on October 8, stated: "if Russia invaded China or allied herself with China, Japan would not be an indifferent bystander." Behind such diplomatic phrases is a threat of war.

Japan Makes Ready to Attack

Japan's preparations for war on the Soviet Union have now reached a stage of practical completion; numerous Japanese spokesmen, including the Minister of War, have so stated. The preparations consist in turning Japan proper into a fortified camp, in the enormous strengthening of the naval, military, air and submarine bases, in transforming Japanese industries to war uses, in greatly increasing the military and naval effectives, and in training the civil population to defense against attacks from the sea and air. The plan of defense against air attacks is ingenious: Japanese cities and fortified places are to be covered with camouflaged roofs made of strips of material painted the colors of the surrounding country. Other preparations consist in the building up of huge stocks of war materials: cotton, scrap iron, copper, oil, chemicals, purchased mostly in the United States and England, and of finished munitions of war, including heavy artillery, tanks and bombing planes, supplied by the large European and American manufacturers. In addition, Manchukuo has been prepared as a war base. In the two years since the conquest of this territory, Japan has built nearly 1,500 miles of new railroads for military purposes, over 3,000 miles of automobile roads, established air bases at different points housing over 500 military airplanes, and a network of telephone, telegraph and radio lines and stations. Three new harbors have been constructed on the shores of Korea, at Yuki, Seishin and Rashin, 15 to 70 miles distant from the Soviet border. 160,000 Japanese troops are concentrated in Manchukuo, together with 15,000 Russian White Guards, who are kept up and armed by Japan, and in some cases by American money.

While these war preparations are directed definitely

against the U.S.S.R., Japan is also arming with the view of a possible conflict with the United States, and for war on the Chinese Soviets.

What Is Happening in China

Few people realize that within the immense territory of China a new State has arisen, that of the Chinese Soviet Republic. This State has been created in the interior of China in the course of the last seven years by revolutionary workers and peasants under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and comprises a territory equal to about one fourth of the United States, with a population estimated at 80,000,000. An exhaustive description of the Chinese Soviets is given in two recent books: "The Chinese Soviets," by General V. A. Yakhontoff, and "China's Red Army Marches," by Agnes Smedley. Suffice it to say here that the growth of the Chinese Soviet Republic, from the establishment of the first Soviets in the province of Kwantung in 1927, to the present day, when the Soviets extend over an area of 75,000 square miles, was accomplished at the cost of bitter and bloody struggles with the armies of Chiang Kai-shek, the dictator of the Kuomintang, (the Nanking Government). Chiang Kai-shek had carried on campaign after campaign against the Soviets, and is in the midst of the Sixth Campaign at the present time, with a million troops engaged on both sides. The Nanking Government was and is supported in these campaigns by the United States, England and France, with money and munitions.

It is well known that the American "cotton" loan of \$50,000,000 to the Nanking Government has been used for the purpose of crushing the Soviets, that American airplanes and aviators participate in the campaigns against them, and that American, English and French warships are at hand to give assistance. German officers, with General Von Seeckt at their head, are in China training and leading the Nanking armies. Nevertheless, every cam-

paigned waged against the Soviets by Chiang Kai-shek with the help of the imperialist powers, ended in victory for the Soviet Republic. Thousands of Nanking soldiers, often whole regiments with their officers and arms, went over to the side of the revolutionists; after every campaign the Red armies grew in numbers, became stronger and better equipped, and the Soviets gained more territory. The present Sixth Campaign is much more fierce and extensive than the previous ones; Chiang Kai-shek has thrown his most reliable troops and formidable armaments supplied by foreign powers, with foreign officers in command, against the Red armies; at Foochow and points on the Yangtse River they were stopped by foreign warships. However, there is every reason to believe that the Chinese Soviets and the invincible Red armies will come out victorious in this campaign, as in the last ones. They "will conquer in the end," says Agnes Smedley, "for their aim and program are in harmony with the processes of historical progress. . . . Nothing can stop them." The reasons for the Soviet victories are given by Chiang Kai-shek himself: "When not fighting they (the masses in the Soviet regions) work in the fields, but wherever needed they all arm themselves and go to the aid of the Communist Army." He might have added another reason: the peasants and workers of China within and outside the Soviet districts, realize more and more clearly that there is but one way for them to escape the black misery to which the present rulers of China have reduced them, and that is—to fight their domestic and foreign oppressors, and to establish a state of their own, a Workers' and Farmers' Soviet Republic.

Dictator Chiang Assisted by Imperialists

The Nanking Government, dominated by Chiang Kai-shek and foreign imperialists, instead of fighting the Japanese invaders and trying to rehabilitate the country, is actually fighting the Chinese people. Chiang had given up a huge slice of China to Japan without a fight and is

ready to shed more blood and sacrifice more territory to the imperialists in order to suppress the Soviets and maintain himself in power. Negotiations between Nanking and Tokio for joint action against "the Reds" have been going on for some time. Japan has already proclaimed to the world that it considers itself the guardian of Asia against the invasion of communist ideas. But the Japanese ruling class is shrewd, cautious and methodical; it believes in long range preparations. The conquest of Manchuria was the result of long preparations—it was outlined in the famous Tanaka memorandum years ago; and the subsequent steps of the Japanese imperialists are carefully planned. First must come the elimination of the Soviet Union from the Far East, which will be followed, if successful, by a wide campaign for the subjugation of China; and next, should this campaign meet with success, a clash of arms with the United States for the mastery of the Pacific.

Nobody wants war. What about Nazi Germany? Aren't the present rulers of Germany feverishly preparing for war in Europe? Hitler is an exponent of "revenge" and conquest by force of arms. His lieutenants, Goering, Goebbels, Rosenberg, Hess, advocate a Germany armed to the teeth and taking by force not only what was taken from her by the Allies in the last war, but of additional territory—Austria, the Baltic States, parts of Denmark and Czechoslovakia, Soviet Ukraine. The German press and Nazi literature are full of elaborate plans of conquest. One can cite numerous passages from Hitler's book, "My Battle," to prove this; but recently a more important document came to light: a letter from Hitler to von Papen, dated October 16, 1932, when von Papen was Chancellor. In this long letter Hitler disclosed his future policies. Briefly they can be summed up as follows:

Germany must arm despite all obstacles. The chief enemy of Germany is the U.S.S.R. The "fascist" world must combine with the "democratic" world against the

"bolshevik" world. We should count on imperialist England and could talk about a tie with France, but only after we are armed. About an alliance with Japan let us not talk now; this should be done, but not spoken of. When we take power, we shall carry through this policy; to gain time we shall make pacifist speeches and try to impress the world of our peaceful intentions; but we shall prepare in the meantime.

Not a single copy of this letter can be found in Germany; Hitler would deny that he ever wrote it. But other Nazi spokesmen are more open. Rosenberg, in a speech at Halle on August 16, called upon sympathetic nations to join with Germany in a fight against Marxism and Bolshevism." He told his hearers: "We shall fight for the realization of the old Germanic dream, and there will arise the Holy German Empire of German Nationalities." The dream of a "Great German Entity," of a "Greater Germany" of 100,000,000 Germans, is haunting the Nazis. A recent book by Wirsing has as its subject Central Europe (from the Rhine to the Dnieper) and the German Future; Prof. K. Kreuger in another book states: "Economically and politically we can consider Austria, Hungary and Rumania as a safe rear; from the French, and possibly Italian side, efforts will be made to create obstacles. But we can count on the benevolent neutrality of the Anglo-Saxon countries. Poland will accept our expansion Eastwards as Germany will not prevent her from expanding in the direction of the Dnieper."

Plans of Invading the Soviet Union

To further Nazi plans of expansion towards the East—into Soviet Russia—Hitler is encouraging the formation of Russian White Guard regiments, in the same manner as the Japanese are organizing the White Guards in Manchuria. At the end of May a conference of White Guards was held in Berlin, under the patronage of Rosenberg, where plans for an attack on Soviet Ukraine were discussed; Skoropadsky, the Hetman (chief) of Ukraine

in 1918, was named Supreme Commander of all the Russian White Guards in Eastern Europe. Hetman Skoropadsky is well remembered in Ukraine for his brutal pogroms and his assistance in 1918 to the invading German armies.

The Nazi friendship for Poland, thinly disguised as it is, is accepted by the Polish fascist dictatorship for true coin. Poland, while ostensibly on friendly terms with the Soviet Union, is actually just as hostile to it as is Nazi Germany. Recently Polish newspapers launched a campaign of slander against Soviet White Russia, similar to the Nazi campaign against Soviet Ukraine—tales of millions of people starving, of cannibalism, of ruined industry, etc. The steady advance of the Soviet Union, the rise of the material and cultural level of the workers and peasants in Soviet White Russia and Soviet Ukraine, is too evident to the neighboring Polish peasants and workers, to permit the Polish ruling class to rest in peace. Then, too, Polish militarists have designs on neighboring Lithuania, with which they have been at odds for years, and which they aim to incorporate in the Polish state.

Poland, therefore, would welcome any attempt to invade and dismember the Soviet Union; her response to Hitler's overtures, her refusal to join the "Eastern Locarno" pact against war, her attempts to sow confusion in Eastern Europe, are dictated by the fear and enmity of the Polish ruling class for the Soviet Union.

Nazi Alliance With Poland

In Poland Nazi Germany has found an ally which she is cultivating assiduously, forgetting for the moment her claims to the Polish Corridor, the rivalry of Gdynia and Danzig and persecutions of Germans in the border region. The Nazis hope to detach Poland from her alliance with France, and to use her as a catspaw in their war schemes.

Germany may not be ready to make war tomorrow, but that her Nazi rulers are preparing for "The Day" is

no secret to the world. It is well known that the German regular army was increased from 100,000 permitted by the Versailles treaty, to 300,000; that the 2,000,000 storm troopers, the several hundred thousands of special police, the extensive spy system, the labor camps where German youth is trained in military practice, are all parts of a gigantic military machine that can be set on foot on 24 hours notice. Since March 1933, when Hitler came to power, Germany has built new military roads, revived her munition industry, expanded tremendously her aviation, built battleships, erected fortifications and developed poison gases and bacteriological means of warfare on an unheard of scale. S. Erckner, former officer of the German General Staff, in a book which he recently published in Paris, describes in detail Germany's war preparations; "Hitler," he says, "is working feverishly upon Plan X, which is the plan of systematic preparation for war."

Do the German toiling masses want war? Most assuredly, not. Five million of them risked their lives on August 19 by voting NO against Hitler and his war schemes. But the German Junkers and capitalists, the Thyssens and Krupps, do want war. The Hitlers, Goerings, Rosenbergs are their star actors whom they groomed and placed in the forefront, in order to regain power and profits for German capitalism, badly shattered after the defeat in the last war. Germany is one of the most industrialized nations in the world; her agriculture does not provide enough foodstuffs to feed her population of 65,000,000. Before 1914, German industry practically lived on foreign markets and it became so powerful that it had to have a greater share of the world's business, "a place in the sun," as the Kaiser called it. Germany gambled on a war and lost the gamble. During the years following the war German industry was rebuilt and re-equipped, largely with the help of money furnished by American bankers out of American savings. German workers and farmers were exploited and taxed beyond endurance on

the plea of the Social-Democratic, and later, bourgeois governments, that it was necessary to suffer privations in order to provide reparation payments to the Allies, to maintain German credit abroad and to pay dividends to the capitalists. The German masses fought back as best they could against the hardships imposed upon them by the ruling class; they built a strong Communist Party, which in the elections of 1932 received over 6,000,000 votes. German finance capital, industrialists, large landowners were being threatened on two fronts: by the rising anger of the masses on the one hand, and by foreign pressure on the other. The capitalist system in Germany was visibly cracking.

War Fever in Germany

Since the crash in 1929, conditions in most capitalist countries were going from bad to worse with temporary improvement here and there; and in Germany more rapidly than elsewhere. The country lives on borrowed capital, it has insufficient natural resources, no colonial possessions. Alsace-Lorraine, one of the richest iron and coal districts in Europe, was taken away by France; the Saar District, another region of great natural wealth, was placed outside of German jurisdiction; the German colonies were given to Belgium and England. Poland and Denmark have other slices of German territory, or territory that was under her influence. The world economic crisis cut deeply into German industry and finance, threw millions of workers on the streets. The remnants of German nobility, whose prestige and income were dwindling, the white-collar and professional classes who had nothing to live on, the impoverished farmers, the young men and women who never had jobs and saw no prospects of any in the future, embraced Hitler's National Socialistic demagoguery, financed by the great industrialists and bankers. The poor accepted Hitler because he promised them a division of riches; the rich—because they saw in Hitler's strong arm methods a way out: to squelch the rebellious

proletarians on the one hand and to recoup wealth and power at the expense of foreign nations, on the other. The German ruling class injected a dose of Hitler into dislocating capitalist Germany; its immediate effect was war on the German people, the next effect will be to carry the war upon foreign soil.

Nobody wants war.

War in South America

For over two years a war has been raging in South America, between Bolivia and Paraguay.

Who are these peoples and why do they want war?

The fact is, neither the Bolivian miners, peasants and laborers, nor the Paraguayan farmers want to fight one another. There is plenty of room in both countries for their small populations. But Bolivia is rich in metals and oil. The National Lead Company, the Standard Oil Company and American bankers practically own the country. Paraguay is mainly agricultural, deeply in debt to English bankers. The war is ostensibly for an outlet to the sea for Bolivia, which Paraguay holds, and for a piece of territory, the Gran Chaco, rich in minerals and oil, which both countries claim. Actually the fight is between two groups of capitalists, spurred on by England and America, for the wealth of the two countries. The ranchers, miners and other workers of Bolivia and Paraguay are footing the bill—already the war has cost over 100,000 killed and wounded.

Since the war of 1914-1918, numerous local wars have been fought in different parts of the world, not counting the three year war of intervention against the Soviet Union and the present Japanese war in China. There was war between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925, between Italy and Tripoli in 1929, between France and Morocco, between Spain and the Riffs in North Africa, the British wars against Arabs, Burmese, also in India, Afghanistan, Tibet; only last spring a war flared up between Saudi

Arabia and Yemen in the Near East. Capitalism today cannot do without wars; war is but an extension of economic competition and a source of enrichment for one group or another.

The United States Prepares for War

Yet some people assert that "nobody wants war." Surely the vast majority of people in the United States do not want war. Some of us, who lived through the horrors of the last war, who lost their kin or were maimed in it, shudder at the thought of a new war. Nevertheless the country as such is preparing for another war. The imperialist plans of the ruling class in America are based on war. The United States Government war budget exceeds the budgets of Japan, Germany, France or England. Over two billion dollars has been appropriated for war purposes this year. War industries—gun and powder mills, navy and private shipyards, airplane factories, chemical plants and subsidiary industries, are working full time; civil plants have been transformed into war plants. Mr. Harry Woodring, Assistant Secretary of War, is in charge of listing and coordinating the industrial, economic, transportation, power, raw material and human resources of the country in preparation for war. Mr. Roy Veatch, economic adviser to the State Department, complains about the shortage of tin. Of this essential war metal the United States has only a two months' supply, Mr. Veatch said. Tin will be needed in quantities when the United States army goes into action. Secretary of war Dern advocates the increase of the regular army to 165,000 enlisted men and 14,000 officers. The American Legion demands universal conscription. The Legion would have in the United States a standing army of a million or more, in line with European practice; not for war purposes, God forbid, but to inspire foreigners with respect for the United States. Hitler expresses his peaceful intentions in exactly the same language.

The Legion has evidently overlooked one small item: the United States has already a large army in training; George Durno, a well informed journalist, writing in the *New York Post*, September 1, said that the Administration will ask Congress next January to perpetuate the Civilian Conservation Camps on the ground that "This forest army stands as Uncle Sam's answer to the compulsory and semi-military training in which nearly every other world Power is indulging. . . . Yankee traditions are flat-footedly opposed to compulsory military training as such. The exigencies of the depression have made possible a voluntary approach."

Franklin D. Roosevelt as War President?

If Mars were at the helm in Washington he could not have done better: the Administration is creating a standing army on the European model, a navy more powerful than any afloat, a formidable air fleet, extensive poison gas facilities, a comprehensive war program of industrial mobilization. Franklin Roosevelt may yet become a war President.

Why these stupendous war preparations? Not alone in the United States, but in England, in France, in Italy, in Japan, in Germany and every other country? Surely a nation doesn't train soldiers, build battleships, bombing planes, guns and accumulate war materials as a child accumulates playthings, just for fun?

But, you say, nobody wants war.

Sir Henri Deterding, the oil king, says he doesn't want war. And yet he would "shoot all idlers at sight," presumably the thirty or forty million "idlers" whom the world capitalist system has thrown out of work since 1929. Sir Henri decries war—on profits; for the sake of profits he wouldn't mind war in the least. Sir Henri wants the Soviet oil fields; he doesn't care by whom or by what means these may be obtained for him. Sir Henri subsidized the White Guard enemies of the Soviet Union,

and he subsidized Hitler, as "The Berlin Diaries," edited by Dr. Helmut Klotz, disclose.

Mr. Irene du Pont doesn't want war. He manufactures war chemicals and sells them to anybody; he sells a lot to Japan for example. The Japanese militarists use the duPont chemicals to kill Chinese and may soon use them to kill Russians or Americans. Of course Mr. duPont cannot be concerned about that; he is a manufacturer and he has to find his markets where he can. But Mr. du Pont is sore at "Reds" and pacifists for agitating against war,—it hurts his feelings and it is bad for business.

Munitions Scandal

Senator Nye and his fellow Commissioners, in their investigation of the munition industry, discovered the obvious truth that there is an international Munition Ring, in which Americans participate; that graft is widespread in the munition business and that munition manufacturers make huge profits out of war. Will Senator Nye and the readers of the sensational reports from Washington draw the inevitable conclusion that to remove the evils connected with munition making, the whole business of war must be abolished? Foreign Commissar Litvinoff suggested as much to the Disarmament Conference at Geneva: the way to disarm is to *disarm*.

But Senator Nye represents a capitalist government; the Deterdings, the du Ponts and legions like them in every capitalist country represent their class. Whether they are government officials, munition makers, oil kings, or in other types of big business; whether they are the bankers who control the financial nerves of a country,—they are all concerned about one thing—to maintain the capitalist profit system. And war making is one of the methods used by capitalists in their pursuit of profits. The *New York Annalist*, March 17, 1933, clearly admits this: "We were lifted from a business depression in 1914 by the outbreak of a great war. It would be a curious

repetition . . . if another war should again come to our industrial rescue."

War Is Part of Capitalist System

The profit system requires markets, colonies, docile workers in office, factory and farm. The last war was fought for a division of markets and colonies. The division of the world which followed the war, with the setting up of new States, new border lines, new colonial subdivisions, new spheres of influence, has intensified the capitalist struggle for markets, has created new jealousies and new enmities. Appetites which were loosened by the war—for quicker and greater profits, brought about as an inevitable sequence heightened competition and economic warfare. The period of post-war capitalist prosperity, due to the extra exertions in rebuilding, opening up of new markets, soon passed; permanent depression set in. The profit system is wearing out; the flush of prosperity hastened the crisis. Of course, the first step the capitalists took in the crisis was to throw millions of men out of work, slash wages, reduce the farmers to penury, professional and middle classes to much lower levels. The second step was to increase international competition thanks to lower production costs and devaluated currencies. Next, in the United States followed the introduction of the N.R.A., pumping billions of dollars into banks, railroads and large corporations, and strengthening, through Codes, monopoly capital. Corporations profited immensely from the New Deal; the New York Times, May 5, 1934, reported: "400 industrial concerns raise income to \$558,000,000 from \$69,000,000 in year." The great mass of the American people, workers and farmers, face again a winter of undiminished hardships, unemployment, charity handouts, sickness and suffering. The N.R.A. has by no means solved the riddle of the depression; the profit system cannot be rejuvenated by injections, cannot go back to pre-war times, to the time of its bloom.

World capitalism can no longer regain its strength because the world is not the same as it was before the war. A Workers' State has come into being, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a country 170,000,000 strong, with vast natural resources, unbounded enthusiasm, a planned economy and a government "of the people, by the people and for the people" in the widest sense. This country has abolished the profit system, has wrenched itself free from capitalism, its competitions and wars, and is rapidly building a socialist classless society. Another people is following in the footsteps of the Soviet workers and farmers, the Chinese people. 80,000,000 of them have broken away from the capitalist rule of the Kuomintang and are building a Soviet State. The toiling masses in capitalist countries are no longer as docile as they were. Inspired by the example of their Soviet brothers, they show greater resistance to capitalist attacks, their attitude is becoming more militant, their demands more articulate.

Another factor undermining the world capitalist structure is the impatience of the ruling class in the defeated countries—Germany especially, as the largest and most industrialized, with the bonds imposed by the victors; also the inordinate appetites of the younger capitalist countries, like Japan, for conquest and plunder, appetites which were kept too long in check by the older capitalist brethren.

"Be Ready for War Today"

Thus we face a complicated and threatening world situation. Imperialist Japan is on a rampage in the Far East, acquiring by force of arms huge territories and millions of slaves to exploit; and now, flushed with victory, threatening greater attacks. The German ruling class is making a desperate attempt to save itself from revolution and to revenge itself at the same time for the defeat of 1918. Fascist Italy is rattling the sword; the plight of the Italian people has become unbearable and is

threatening to topple over the fascist dictatorship; so Mussolini has donned armor and warns Italy "to be ready for the war of *today*." The rest of the capitalist world, unable to master the depression, unable to cope with the rising anger of the masses, facing war threats by the more bellicose, and fearing the extinction of the profit system, turns now to fascism, now back to "liberalism," and all the time to the one solution it knows of when it runs into an impasse,—to the force of arms, to war.

THE SOVIET UNION AND PEACE

War kills men, women and children and destroys man's works. Over 30,000,000 people were killed and wounded in the last war. The next war will be tremendously more destructive; who can guess the number of victims? Nine tenths of the victims were common people, workers, farmers, employees. In the Soviet Union the life of every worker and farmer, of every child, is precious, it is an asset to the State. The Soviet Union is in the midst of building a new world, a world of security and abundance for the common man. The Soviet Union does not want war. The Soviet Union is not suffering from the depression, which is ravaging the capitalist countries, it does not seek glory on the battlefield nor foreign plunder. It wants to be let alone to continue with its construction of a Socialist society. And yet the shafts of all the imperialists are directed at the Soviet Union; Hitler Germany and imperialist Japan are openly threatening invasion and destruction. The Soviet Union has no fear of the Japanese or Nazi aggressors. It has built up a powerful Red Army against foreign attacks, well provided with implements of war and able leadership. Every Soviet citizen able to bear arms will enthusiastically respond to the call for defense of his Socialist fatherland. But the Soviet Union does not want to shed the blood of its workers, nor that of the foreign workers who make up the armies of the attackers, nor to extinguish the lives of millions

of helpless women and children, whether in the Soviet land or elsewhere. Nor does it want cities destroyed, factories ruined, the work of years and of millions of toilers turned to ashes. It needs none of these things.

The Struggle for Peace

For this reason the Soviet Union is exerting every effort for peace. In the present state of the world, when "the idea of war is floating in the air," the slightest spark may set the world ablaze. For this reason does Litvinoff travel to Geneva and to the various European capitals, urging disarmament, urging non-aggression pacts and strenuously working for peace. The Soviet Government has recently proposed a peace pact for Eastern Europe, the "Eastern Locarno Pact," to include the Soviet Union, Poland, Germany, and the smaller neighboring countries. This pact is to be a counterpart of the existing Locarno Agreement, which embraces the countries of Western Europe, France, England, Italy. The Baltic countries have subscribed to the Eastern Locarno Pact, but Germany and Poland will not subscribe; they refuse to be bound by a peace agreement with the U.S.S.R., the same as Japan has steadily refused to sign a non-aggression agreement. It doesn't require much imagination to picture the tenseness of the situation; if the Soviet Union were not so thoroughly determined to preserve peace, the Far East might have been ablaze now, for Japan is doing its best to provoke the Soviet Union to war. Within the last weeks over 100 Soviet citizens, employees of the Chinese Eastern Railway, were thrown into jail in Manchukuo and tortured by Japanese agents; wrecks are perpetrated on the C.E.R. with loss of life and untold damage to the road, which the Japanese charge to "bandits"; yes, bandits, many of whom are Russian White Guards in the pay of Japan. Recent reports tell of the easing of the tension in the Far East. Maybe the typhoon which struck Japan recently, destroying many lives and part of her war plant, has affected the immediate war plans. Japan is re-

ported to be willing to purchase the Chinese Eastern at the ridiculously low figure set by the Soviet Government. But the dispute over the railway is only a play for time on the Part of Japan. Her real aim is the conquest of Eastern Siberia with Vladivostok and the rich island of Sakhalin as the objectives. Hence the attack on the Soviet Union may be delayed, but not abandoned.

Should war break out in the Far East, to be followed by a German-Polish attack or should this happen the other way around, where will the other Powers be? On the side of the Soviet Union, or on the side of the aggressors? To be sure, Japan and Germany are not on the best of terms with some of the other capitalist Powers. Relations between Japan and the United States are pretty strained; between France and Germany, or Germany and Italy, relations are very much strained indeed. The recent assassinations of King Alexander and Barthou have created new strains. The agitation in the Saar around the question of the plebiscite next January is another highly disturbing factor. No single country in Europe may be prepared to push things too far at the present moment. Germany also will bide her time until she is ready to strike with full force, that is, until her military organization and supply of arms is fully completed. But this is only a question of months.

No Neutrals in Coming War

Very properly does Karl Radek, one of the best informed students of the international situation, say in a recent article: that it is silly "to believe that peace can be maintained in one half of Europe while the other half sinks into blood and mud. . . . In the event of war it will be extremely difficult . . . for countries to maintain neutrality. . . . Any attempt to pursue a policy of 'my house is my castle and what goes on outside of it does not interest me,' is quite out of question."

Thus when war starts in any part of Europe or in the

Far East, the other nations will inevitably be drawn in. Can the United States keep out of the conflict? Much less so than in the last war, for the same influences which force other capitalist powers to war, operate in the United States as well. The ruling class in America knows this full well and is preparing accordingly. In fact the present Administration at Washington has taken from the beginning an aggressive militarist imperialist position. President Roosevelt is a big navy man; he saw to it that the Vinson Bill, authorizing the construction of 102 ships at an expense of a billion dollars, was reported out of Committee in three days and passed by Congress in a hurry. He is behind the army chiefs with General Douglas MacArthur, an avowed militarist, at the head, in their extraordinary endeavors to militarize the United States. He made an inspection tour this summer, never before undertaken by an American president, of the Panama Canal, the Carribean and Hawaii, with the result that plans are afoot now for the enlargement of the Panama Canal at a probable cost of a billion dollars and for the construction of a canal across Nicaragua, at the cost of another billion, for the purpose of permitting the enlarged American fleet to maneuver freely between the Atlantic and the Pacific. On August 22 the entire Naval Scouting Force of the United States was ordered to the West Coast "until conditions there change." The entire American Fleet is again ordered to the Pacific in the spring. Air bases are planned in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, in Bering Sea. Surely the United States is preparing to take part in *any* war.

Next Line Up

What will be the line-up in the next war? Japan against the Soviet Union, Soviet China and the United States? Germany against France and the Soviet Union? England assisting France morally, and Germany and Japan materially? Poland with Germany against the Baltic States

and the Soviet Union? Italy after a Danubian Empire, including Austria and Hungary? The United States retaliating by an attack on Japan, for the domination of the Pacific? And then the British Empire coming to a death grapple with the American Empire for world supremacy? These combinations may seem fantastic, but not in a war mad, imperialist world. Except for the existence of the Soviet Union and Soviet China. The "red menace" has upset many an imperialist plan; the next war, no matter in what corner of the world it starts and who the first participants in it may be, will not end as a war for world supremacy between two or more sets of imperialists, but as a war of capitalist domination against socialist construction.

Hence it is the duty and the task of the international working class, of the toiling masses everywhere, to fight against the approaching war menace and to defend with might and main the lands of the workers building a new socialist world. It is tragic that at this time, at the moment of gravest danger to the working class the world over, there are leaders among the workers, who, in their self-seeking or stupidity, raise the cry of "red menace" against Soviet Russia, against the Communist Parties of Russia, of America, of Germany and other capitalist countries. While preparations for war go on apace, capitalist governments cover up these preparations from their peoples under the disguise of "national defense," by appeals to patriotism and national honor. The governments use the socialist and reformist trade union leaders to maintain and spread the deception among the masses. Misrepresentation of the Soviet Union, cries of "red menace," are the favored methods used by these leaders to deceive the workers. The Soviet Government is accused by them of "red militarism," because the Soviet workers have built up ample defenses against imperialist oppression. At the same time they assail the Soviet Union for temporizing with capitalism because, forsooth, the Soviet Government concludes peace treaties and non-

aggression pacts with capitalist governments, or because it joins the League of Nations to further more effectively the struggle for peace. Preposterous and silly as such accusations are, they are not due to "honest ignorance." They are practiced for the purpose of deceiving the workers, keeping their ranks divided and weakened in order to aid the fascist and war policies of the capitalist governments.

The Soviet Union and the League of Nations

The Soviet Union entered the League of Nations, fully cognizant that the League is a tool in the hands of the imperialist Powers; the turn of events in Europe and the world may depend on the way that tool is used. With the U.S.S.R. present on the governing Board, the league may serve as an obstacle to immediate war plans. Membership in the League will permit the Soviet Government to extend its sphere of action for peace, to supplement the efforts which to date have resulted in numerous peace pacts with its neighbors, in non-aggression pacts, in pacts defining an aggressor, and in the proposal for a peace pact in Eastern Europe. Upon the Soviet Union's entry to the League, Litvinoff said: "I am aware that the League does not possess the means for complete abolition of war. . . . I am convinced that in this, our common work from now on, the will to peace of the Soviet Union, with its 170,000,000 inhabitants—peace for itself and other States—will make itself felt as a powerful factor."

To be sure, no amount of pacts and peace treaties will stop a Hitler or the Japanese militarists from proceeding with their war plans and to carry their threats into effect when they feel that the proper moment has arrived. But the "proper moment" may be delayed by concerted action of the peace forces of the world, a sudden spark may be extinguished before it has time to set on fire the accumulated powder. It may be only a temporary postponement of the conflict, yet every day's delay means a day

gained by the peace forces to better organize themselves, to widen the united front. Fighters for peace have an exceedingly difficult task, requiring the utmost devotion, constant and untiring vigilance, but if they succeed in holding back a robber's war, will anyone measure mankind's gain?

FIGHT AGAINST WAR

Nobody wants war? The toiling masses of the world do not want war, the Soviet workers and farmers, large groups among the intellectuals and professionals everywhere, the friends of the Soviet Union throughout the world, all those who fearlessly and unreservedly fight capitalism and imperialism, who fight for a workers' world. Honest fighters for peace are getting together everywhere, they recruit adherents in every section of the population. They are carrying on a relentless campaign against war and the war-makers in every capitalist country; in some of the countries openly; in the fascist countries of Europe, in Japan, China, India, under terrible handicaps, at the risk of life.

In Fascist Italy, where freedom of expression and movement has been suppressed, where the workers and peasants have been reduced to semi-starvation, and workers are not allowed to obtain better conditions by strikes, a strong movement of opposition to capitalism and war is steadily developing. Illegal papers like "Unita Avanguardia," "Battaglie Sindicali," are widely distributed and eagerly read. Forbidden strikes and demonstrations take place, often with soldiers and sailors assisting the workers. When Mussolini talks war, he means war on two fronts—war on the workers within, and for imperialist conquest outside of Italy.

German Workers Fight Against Fascism and War

In Nazi Germany, which punishes "dangerous thoughts" by years of prison, by torture and death, just as it is done in Japan, the fight waged by the working class and

poor farmers together with large numbers of intellectuals, is an organized fight, widespread and stubborn. Twelve per cent of the voters of Germany dared persecution by voting NO in the election of August 19. In the industrial centers, in working class sections of Berlin, Hamburg and other cities, constant agitation is being carried on for a united front of Communist, Socialist and Catholic workers. Millions of copies of papers, pamphlets, leaflets, are being printed and distributed; the "Rote Fahne" (Red Flag) alone is circulated at the rate of 300,000 weekly. This is done despite the fact that every pound of paper is controlled, every printing shop watched, every typewriter checked, despite the ruthlessness of the police and storm troopers, despite the spies that infest literally every house and apartment. Signs "Down with Hitler," "Long Live Thaelmann," appear in most prominent places, on walls, on roofs, on factory chimneys. Strikes, strictly forbidden by the Nazis, peasant riots, student demonstrations, take place again and again. Goering, Hitler's official hangman, may boast of his role of murderer: ". . . every bullet that flies out of a policeman's gun, is my bullet. If this is called murder, then I murdered. It is done on my orders and I take full responsibility," says his book recently issued in Berlin. But not Goering's bullets, not Hitler's axe, nor concentration camps, jails, tortures, can stop the German workers' fight against the Nazi regime, against starvation, murder, war; for a free Soviet Germany.

Signs of Revolt in Japan

The present rulers of Germany have much in common with the Japanese rulers. Japan, like Germany, jails and tortures rebellious workers and intellectuals, drives underground workers' organizations, suppresses strikes and every expression of opposition to the ruling class with the utmost brutality. In the Tokio region 9,000 people

accused of revolutionary activities were arrested in 1933, among them 22 lawyers who acted in the defense of Communists. Peasant demonstrations, known as "rice revolts," lead to savage repressions. Students and teachers share the fate of workers. The celebrated proletarian writer, Kobayashi, was tortured to death in prison. The terror does not spare even foreigners; Professor Bickerton, for ten years teacher at the College of Tokio, was thrown into prison and tortured on the accusation that he was friendly to the Soviet Union.

Japan is in the midst of war and preparing for a greater one. The rulers are using every means at their command to whip up war psychology among the masses; war books, pictures describing the conquest of the Soviet Union and of America, flood the country; attempts to mislead the workers by social-fascist slogans, such as "Down With Finance Capital," "For the Nationalization of the Wealth of Manchuria," are repeatedly made. In the meantime the drain of the economic resources of the country is so great that many sections are reduced to starvation, and the already low living standard of the workers cut down below the subsistence level. Thus, despite the fact that strikes are outlawed, the workers do go on strike and bravely battle the repressive forces of the government. In Osaka, Kobe, Nagoya, in the munition plants, shipyards, airplane factories, numerous strikes have taken place, accompanied by bloodshed and destruction of property. Numerous mutinies are reported among the active forces of the army and navy. The unrest among soldiers and sailors forced the former War Minister Araki to issue an order (June 7, 1933) in which he said: "The solution of the problem of dangerous thoughts—read "red menace" as applied to the United States—is the basis of all national questions, and on this hinges the fate of our nation." The drive against "dangerous thoughts" of the horribly exploited workers and peasants is furthered by an increasing number of

fascist organizations under such banners as "For freeing Asia from the White Race," "For the Destruction of Red Siberia," etc. Socialist and reformist trade union leaders, like Akamatsu and Nicio, are actively helping to bring about a fascist dictatorship in Japan.

Under the fearful blows of war, fascism, hunger, the Japanese proletariat is organizing its forces for a counter-attack on the whole system of capitalism and war. The anti-imperialist, anti-war sentiment of the masses is expressed not only in strikes and demonstrations, but through mass organizations, such as "The Friends of Peace Association," "Friends of the Soviet Union," the Communist Party of Japan, Peasants' Associations. Though leaders of these organizations are jailed and murdered, the movement expands and grows stronger.

We have described the Chinese Revolutionary Movement. "The Chinese Soviets are on the march" notwithstanding reports of victories by Chiang Kai-shek and the imperialists. The movement has spread to Manchuria, where 200,000 partisans are battling against the Japanese invaders. In Shanghai and other towns of Kuomintang China, workers go on strike, seize factories, organize "Committees for Struggle Against Imperialist War," gather funds for their fighting red brothers. Decidedly, China is not as easy a prey as the Japanese and world imperialists imagine.

The Anti-War Fight in Europe

In the various European countries growing anti-war offensive is gathering force. We spoke of the largest fascist countries—Germany and Italy; there is not room enough in this pamphlet to mention even briefly the organizations and activities of the advanced workers and intellectuals in capitalist Europe which are lined up against imperialist war and in support of the peace efforts of the Soviet Union. The World Committee against War and Fascism, under the leadership of Henri Barbusse,

has affiliations in every capitalist country. In August, French anti-war fighters welcomed the International Women's Congress against War and Fascism in Paris. Twelve hundred delegates came from every part of the world, including 39 from the United States, 70 from England, 10 from the Soviet Union and others from Canada, Australia, India, etc. The Congress elaborated plans for a worldwide struggle against war and fascism, especially among women, and passed resolutions outlining the immediate demands of the toiling women in the economic and political spheres, and for the support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

The fight against fascism and war in Europe has won many victories and brought to the front many heroic figures. Georgi Dimitroff, who dared to stand up against the whole of Nazidom and make them back down in their murderous plans before an aroused world protest. The heroic Austrian workers, betrayed by the Social-Democratic leaders, laying down their lives in a death struggle with the Austrian Fascist Government. The students in English Universities, who have declared they will not fight "for King and Country." Many more heroic deeds and outstanding figures in the fight against war and fascism could be mentioned. Also the splendid achievement of the French workers in forming a United Front of the Socialist and Communist Parties of France for the common fight; of the united front of the Socialists and Communists in Italy and the Saar; with the prospect, let us hope, of similar arrangements between these parties in America in the immediate future, and throughout the capitalist world.

Anti-War Fight in America

American fighters against war and fascism held their second National Congress in Chicago in September. Three thousand, three hundred and thirty-two delegates came to the Congress, from 35 states, representing 1,800,-

000 workers, farmers, church members, students, war veterans, peace organizations. Dr. Harry F. Ward, Chairman of the American League, sounded the keynote of the movement against war and fascism in America when he said: "Those at the top who are ruling our present society are trying in vain to hold back the future of mankind. . . . They are trying to force us into death. . . . They cannot do it. On our side is the greatest force in human history. . . . It is our job to mass that historic force in this crisis in the history of mankind."

The Congress was notable, in the words of Professor Robert Morss Lovett, for "the unanimity and solidarity of which its proceedings were evidence. It marked a definite step forward toward that union of radical forces known as the united front."

Among the resolutions passed by the Congress, the following are indicative of its aims:

Expose everywhere the widespread preparations for war carried on under the cloak of national recovery.

Support the peace policies of the Soviet Union for total and universal disarmament which today with the support of the masses in all lands constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world; oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union whether these attempts take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic maneuvering or intervention by imperialist governments.

The Congress Against War and Fascism clearly demonstrated that in capitalist America we are on the threshold of mass awakening and mass struggles. The long pent up anger of the American workers and farmers is bursting the iron ring of bourgeois domination. The middle class attitude of "trust the President," "trust your leaders" is giving way to militant action by the rank and file. Farmers' revolts, industrial battles, unemployed workers' and veteran demonstrations, militancy among the student youth, the rising consciousness of the Negro masses, the leftward swing among the intellectuals, show

clearly an awakening of the revolutionary spirit of the American people, a breaking away from smug complacency and bourgeois satisfaction, which so characterized the American scene. Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Woonsocket, are sign posts of the new orientation of American labor, fast learning the lessons of struggle, the power of united effort, of working class organization. The rapid growth of fascism in the United States, the massing of American diehards in Liberty Leagues, the brutal shooting and jailing of protesting workers and farmers, the revival of the "red scare" hysteria, indicate conclusively that the American ruling class has discovered the change in the temper of the masses, and is reacting to this change the way the European ruling classes do—by fascist violence and imperialist war.

But the European workers, even in the countries of fascist terror, the workers in Japan, a country that has been turned into one huge prison by the masters, fight back and organize for victory over the master class. American workers and farmers, American youth, Negro and white, through their militant struggles for better conditions, realize more and more clearly that their fight is the fight of the toiling masses everywhere. They are fighting against a system that breeds fascism and war, a system which the Russian workers with the aid of the peasants overthrew in 1917. Today the Soviet Union is an impregnable fortress against imperialist aggression. The Soviet Union feels secure not only because of its armaments, but because of the solidarity of the toilers throughout the world. For the workers realize that an attack on the Soviet Union by the capitalist powers is an attack upon the living standard of the masses in every capitalist country, an attack upon their very lives. In resisting aggression against the Soviet Union, the workers of America and of the world protect their own direct interests, their own kind.

Nobody wants war. Nobody but the financiers, the munitions makers, the militarists and advocates of pre-

paredness, the legionnaires and fascists, the enemies of the Soviet Union and imperialists of all countries. The war forces dominate capitalist governments, control the press, have unlimited means at their disposal. They dictate the policies of the reformist trade unions, and many Socialist leaders in the capitalist countries give them support by word and deed. But there are other forces which are vitally concerned in preventing war. The toiling masses, the enlightened intellectuals, standing shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers in the Soviet Union can, must prevent war. If our strength is not great enough today, if the forces of reaction still appear to be stronger, it is only for a time. Each one of us, every friend of the Soviet Union, must work harder; every conscious worker and farmer, every honest intellectual and professional, every Communist and Socialist must get together closer, must form one solid united front. By united, organized effort we shall conquer, we shall banish imperialist wars from the face of the earth.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP

At our National Convention in January 1934, it was decided to recruit Associate Members into the F.S.U. Associate Members are those who are unable to be active in branch work of the F.S.U., but who are eager to give expression to their sympathy for the F.S.U. aims. Associate Members pay \$1.50 per year, for which the member receives a year's subscription to "Soviet Russia Today," and also helps to spread the truth about the U.S.S.R.

APPLICATION *and* SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

- I wish to become an active member of the Friends of the Soviet Union, dues, 15c a month for employed, 5c for unemployed. Employed pay an initiation fee of 25c.
- I wish to become an Associate Member of the Friends of the Soviet Union, dues \$1.50 a year, which includes a year's subscription to "Soviet Russia Today."
- I wish to subscribe to "Soviet Russia Today," price \$1.00 per year.

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