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TWO CAMPS -- TWO CLASSES



Some Problems in the Fight Against the Developing World War

By EARL BROWDER

THE capitalist world, trying to find a way out of the crisis, is moving ever faster to military action—to the "solution" of this crisis by war. The war which has already begun in the Far East will in the process of its development inevitably involve the entire world. The struggle against war is the first problem of the day for all workers and especially, therefore, for our Communist Party.

Each new phase in the spreading of the military areas is not always possible to see in all its details in advance. The main outlines of the war front, however, are clear. The war is, in the first place, a mobilization of all the forces of imperialism against the Soviet Union, against Soviet China and for the partitioning of China at the cost of a greatly intensified exploitation of the Chinese people, against the colonial revolution throughout the world, for the further colonial enslavement of the dependent and oppressed peoples and working-class movement in the imperialist countries.

Against the U. S. S. R. against the Chinese People

The developing war is in the first place a war of imperialism against the proletarian revolution, against the new world of socialism which has its stronghold in the U.S.S.R.

Simultaneously the war becomes inevitable as an instrument for the armed redivision of the world as a result of the growing contradictions within the imperialist camp. Here is taking place a regrouping and shifting of forces, which is not completed and by no means rigid and set, reflecting the depth of the crisis and the resulting growing contradictions. Therefore, it is impossible to clearly see the final alignment between the imperialist powers, which will assume a definite character in the course of the development of the war itself.

The principal immediate moving force of war against the Soviet Union—France and her vassal states in Europe in alliance with Japan in the East—is at the same time one of the decisive factors in the process of regrouping of the imperialist powers, trying to use and play upon the fundamental antagonism between the United States and British imperialism and their principal and common hostility against the Soviet Union.

The fierce struggle that is taking place between the imperialists as well as the contradictions within the various camps of imperialism

cannot be considered, however, as a factor delaying the war against the Soviet Union and the partitioning of China. The point has been reached where the main effort is being made by the imperialists to find a solution first of all by common hostile actions and war against the Soviet Union. Tremendous war mobilization, including the "preparation" of the so-called public opinion is now taking place for this purpose. Every lie factory against the Soviet Union is busily pouring forth its poison to prepare various sections of the population of the imperialist countries for the war and to mobilize them in its support.

Socialists Play War Games of their Masters

Above all, do the parties of the Second International carry out the war game of their imperialist masters in deceiving the masses and involving them in a world slaughter. The social democracy in Germany, under the leadership of the monarchist Hindenburg, is definitely throwing all of its forces in the scale of capitulation to the French imperialist war plans and the complete entry into the anti-Soviet front.

The British Labor Party is carrying through by means of its fake opposition a policy of complete support and solidarity in deeds with the Baldwin-MacDonald government, above all on all questions of foreign policy.

The Japanese Socialists openly endorse the Japanese imperialist aggressions in Manchuria and China as those who "carry forward civilization."

Although the American Socialists are not yet a governmental factor like the German and British parties of the Second International, already they are increasingly becoming a part of the whole imperialist state system. Morris Hillquit, theoretical leader of the Socialist Party of America, publically appears as the attorney for the former Czarist oil capitalists demanding the return of the Baku oil fields to their capitalist "owners." Norman Thomas, the "mass" leader of American Socialism, covers the imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union with pacifist phrases, while publically solidarizing himself with each specific maneuver of Hoover and with the League of Nations—one of the chief pacifist masks for war preparations.

Abramovitch, one of the leaders of the Second International and big brother of Norman Thomas, writes openly in the whole Socialist press inciting to war against the Soviet Union. A typical example is his article published in the New York

Forward of March 20th, which describes the Soviet Union as the "red imperialist" aggressor, which has brought about the beginnings of war in Manchuria, and justifying wars against the Soviet Union as a war of "democracy" against "dictatorship." He repeats the classic capitalist lie that the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1929 by the militarist tools of world imperialism was an effort for "revolutionary justice," instead of the first war move in the East of the imperialists, especially American imperialism. It is no accident that it was only the next day that was printed Trotsky's article, syndicated throughout the capitalist press, which contained his special counter-revolutionary contribution to war preparations in the assurance to the world that Japan will "not decide to take directly aggressive action against the U. S. S. R.," that such a move "cannot be a first line plan" of Japan, precisely at the moment when the main concentration of Japanese military forces is on the Siberian border in Korea and Manchuria.

It becomes more clear every day that the forces released by the crisis are rushing the imperialists into a new world war. The argument that the "fear of revolution" will restrain the imperialist war makers in the mouths of the social fascists, who are the henchmen of the revolution, becomes one of the most insidious weapons in their hands to dampen the workers' alertness and readiness to struggle to prevent the carrying through of mass revolutionary actions. All with the main purpose of dissipating the fighting energy of the workers with the plea that there is no danger of war.

Only to the degree that the workers in large masses actually arouse themselves to struggle and organize this struggle against each and every stage in the preparation and the development of war can the "fear of revolution" really influence the actions of world imperialism and in preparing the workers for their great historical mission of transforming imperialist war into civil war. Every argument which tends to quiet down the anger of the workers and their struggle in the stages of preparation of the war and during the war is a direct help to the imperialist war program.

The Social Fascists are especially clever in their distortion of revolutionary slogans for counter revolutionary purposes. They have a special department for this purpose which is led by the renegades from Communism, the Trotskyites and Brandlerites. At the moment when

Japan leads the military action in the first steps of war against the Soviet Union, these "revolutionary" gentlemen rush forward with the slogan, "Don't fight against Japanese imperialism, leave that for the Japanese workers. We must only fight against American imperialism." Only! It is not merely confusion on the part of these capitalist agents which is behind such agitation. They, who disarm the American proletariat in its battle with the American capitalists understand quite well their function, which is to prevent the workers from fighting against imperialist war in a concrete form in any of its phases and to deliver them helpless to the American war lords.

Japanese Imperialism Executioner for World Imperialism

In the past months of Japanese imperialism's mass slaughter of Chinese men, women and children, of Japanese imperialism's moves towards Siberia, it is no accident that all of the pacifists and "Socialists" who for years have been trying to lull the watchfulness of the workers by the assertion that boycott can prevent an imperialist war suddenly become the bitterest enemies of the boycott movement, which is an expression of the growing indignation of the population and the means of mobilizing the broadest sections against Japanese imperialism, the executioner for and spearhead of world imperialism.

The Communist Party Leads Struggles Against War

The real expression of the mass anger against bloody Japanese imperialism was that given under the leadership of the Communist Party in the meetings and demonstrations that have taken place throughout the country, especially in Chicago and Washington. It is further no accident that this struggle against the immediate imperialist aggressors, Japanese imperialism, resulted in especially vicious and bloody suppression of these demonstrations by American police with the profuse thanks and appreciation of Japanese ambassador and counsels. Precisely because the Communist Party is leading the American working-class in the struggle against American imperialism, that is playing a leading role in organizing the mass movement against Japanese imperialism, which at this moment is ALREADY waging war against the Chinese people and openly moving against the workers' fatherland.

The same purpose of paralyzing the mass revolutionary activity for the defense of the Chinese people

and the Soviet Union has the counter-revolutionary theory of Weisbord and his little clique that of raising by the Communists the demand for American imperialist war ships under the direction of Hoover to convey American capitalist ammunitions to the Soviet Union in China for a revolutionary war.

It must be clear to the American workers that, however sharp the struggle between American and Japanese imperialism, and how many manouvers there may be, especially the manouvers of American imperialism to help by all means the further development of the war in the East as the prelude of the general world war (and the possibility and necessity of utilizing all contradictions in their various shades between the imperialists in each stage of their development), that all of this must take place within the limitations of the fundamental irreconcilable contradiction, the main contradiction between the two worlds, the world of decaying capitalism on the one hand and the world of rising socialist construction in the Soviet Union on the other.

The revolutionary workers must everywhere make use of the concentrated work of the Anti-War Week, culminating April 6th, the anniversary of America's entry into the World War of 1914-1918, to really rouse the million masses to the fact that war is already begun, a war which will involve the entire world. We must sharply expose the slanderous lies of the parties of the Second International who are the most dangerous agents of the war makers among the toiling masses. We must arouse the hatred and the resentment of the masses against bloody Japanese imperialism and strengthen the proletarian solidarity with the growing heroic revolutionary movement in Japan and organize the struggle against American imperialism's participation in the rape of China and the preparations of the war against the Soviet Union. We must arouse and organize the vigilance of the workers in the war and transport industries to actively prevent the shipment of ammunitions of war to Japanese imperialism and to demand the withdrawal of all imperialist armed forces from China.

The Anti-War Week must be not the climax but merely the beginning of an even broader mass mobilization of the struggle against war. After April 6th comes the mobilization of May Day, international labor day which will be an even greater day of struggle against imperialist war.

U.S. Entered the Last War April 6 -- Make This a Day of Fight Against Imperialist War

THE AMERICAN SOCIALISTS AND WAR

By JAMES LERNER

The formal "declaration" of war is a minor matter in warfare of capitalist nations. As a matter of fact the present Japanese War shows that it is possible to carry on wars without the President announcing it or the "notary public's seal." But preceding a start of war a long, steady campaign to convince the masses who are to give up their lives in the battles, why war is necessary and must take place.

In the United States, the leading organ of the socialists is the Jewish "Forward." It is enough to recall that in the last war, the paper's editor, Cahan, publicly urged the Jewish youth to fight for American democracy. He is still editor and has learned much more. The present deeds of the socialists are even more bold. On May 17 of last year this sheet printed an editorial which embodies in it the socialist-pacifist attitude towards war.

"The overwhelming majority of the representatives of merchant and finance capital in all countries are now opponents of war and supporters of a policy of peace and disarmament." And in this vein the editorial, basing itself on the Kellogg Pact, Locarno, and so forth, continues to wipe away the danger of armed conflict. But not stopping at this pacifism, the socialist ends by stating that "In truth, however, the Soviet government is the only government which does not cease to inject itself into the internal business of all countries and which lays all its hopes on a new European War."

"The Bolshevik militarism really represents a great danger for peace —." Twelve years of this and think what not only the many readers of the "Forward," but the millions of socialist press readers in the world have been told. The forced labor campaign and the anti-terror campaign carried on even at this very moment by the socialist press is doing its best to convince the workers that the Soviet Union is a plague; that it would be an aid to peace and liberty to destroy the country. Leave it to the capitalists to announce war when the ripe moment has arrived. The socialists are preparing the masses to respond.

Would any workers who believed that "Russia today is a government of a small minority which has taken advantage of special conditions to gain and hold power. It enjoys power through force and terrorism. Its reign of blood is almost as abhorrent as war among nations," (Morris Hillquit) or that "Bolshevism lives on the idea of a permanent state of war" and so does fascism" (James O'Neal! New Leader Aug. 2, 1931) be ready to defend the Soviet Union or to oppose war?

But let us put the past aside. What is happening today? What are the socialists saying today not of a war which exists only in the minds of the Bolsheviks, but of a war which has already taken tens

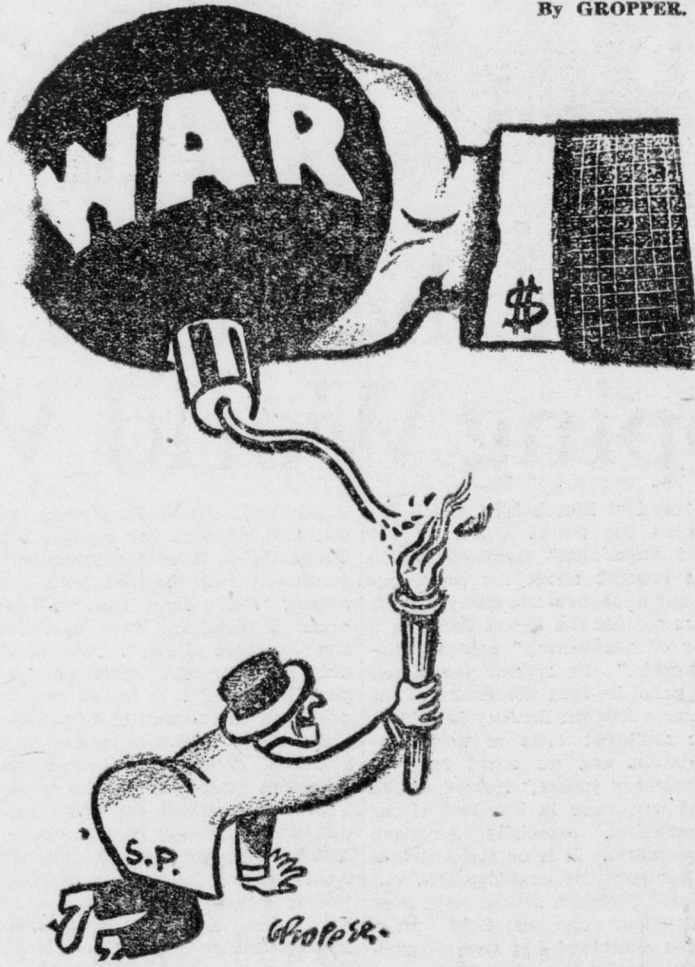
of thousands of lives and which as other articles in this paper show, is about to be launched against the Soviet Union, to become a World War?

The attack of the Japanese bandit capitalists upon Manchuria was answered by Norman Thomas with an attack upon the Soviet Union. When the anger of the workers of the United States against the Japanese imperialists started to rise, Thomas attempted to link the Soviet Union with the war. He wrote:

lov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars said last November: "Nevertheless, the Soviet Union has not concealed and will not conceal in the future, its attitude towards the Chinese people, towards its struggle for emancipation from the imperialist yoke, towards its struggle for national independence and unity. In these intang expelled Borodin, agrees with respects the workers of our country are wholeheartedly with the Chinese people.

THE SOCIALISTS LIGHT THE WAR PATH . . .

By GROPPER.



"The incidents in Manchuria seem to indicate that the Soviet government and Japanese imperialism have a secret understanding on the Manchurian war." Again on Feb. 20 of this year the New Leader wrote under the heading "Have Russia and Japan a Secret Pact?" "That question is being debated today and nobody has a definite answer. It is significant, however, that no bristling manifestoes have been sent out by Moscow against the Japanese seizure of Manchuria and the undeclared war on China." Then it tries to act impartial but "shows" that the Soviet Union is in favor of Japanese dismemberment of China because the Kuom-Japan and "has no love for the League of Nations" which Japan is supposed to be fighting.

But listen to what Comrade Molo-

"The events in China show that the imperialist powers are now dividing up China, each relying on one or the other militarist cliques in China. The policy of dividing up China is shamelessly disguised by them—" Rather plain talk by a high Soviet official. But listen to this. Comrade Bluecher, commander of the Soviet Far Eastern Army recently declared after Japanese soldiers led by the white guardists had started their march to the Siberian border. "We won't permit any white guard imperialist rascals to tread upon our socialist soil with their dirty feet. If any one is thinking of stretching forth his dirty paws toward our coal, forests, or other riches, then let it be understood that for every ton of coal, every cord of wood, every tractor, we will fight much harder and with much more obstinacy than in 1929" (Reported in the N. Y. Times Feb. 27). Where is the secret pact? In the lying imaginations of the socialists, of the preparers of war.

In Japan now, like in Germany, France and England in 1914, the Socialist party is supporting the war at present. The secretary of this party has stated: "The intervention in Manchuria is not of an imperialistic nature, because even socialist Japan will have to fight for the necessary raw material for its industry—"

Already in the U. S. we can see where the line of our socialists is bound to end up. Last year at a Congressional investigation on war policies, Norman Thomas said:

"If we were on the verge of war, I should probably be for it, but I have no great enthusiasm for it." "As a socialist, I rejoice at the demonstration given by the late war that planned production is absolutely essential." What a wonderful experiment it was. You see,

There Is Work for All in the Soviet Union

By D. ZASLAVSKY

Forty million strong, healthy human beings, skilled workers, capable of wielding a hammer, an axe, or a pickaxe, are doing nothing but drag out a half-starved existence. Forty million in the advanced capitalist countries, not counting those who do nothing and starve in China, India and other colonial countries. The population of an entire country of the size of France is doomed to a life of enforced idleness, dependent on charity, to an existence where there is no ray of hope; and some of them not even to this life, but to plain death. The awful pangs of hunger, and the no less awful moral anguish—the torture of idleness, the absence of any chance of turning their hands to reasonable, productive work!

The crime of unemployment is committed by capitalism, and the Social-Democrats call upon the workers to reconcile themselves to this foul crime, as the priests call upon them to reconcile themselves to the disasters of the earthly world, that they may receive their reward in the world to come. And nobody dares to encourage the workers to believe that the position can change under capitalism. They merely hold out a hope that unemployment will become less severe: not forty million will face hunger, but only thirty. And yet these hope are deceiving. The crisis becomes more intense, unemployment grows. There is no way out. And the weight of enforced idleness is felt not only by those who are thrown out upon the streets and knock in vain at the gates of the factories. Even those who are still employed feel themselves doomed. The terror of losing their work hangs over all the employed. The bony spectre of hunger grins behind the shoulder of every worker, chilling him in its icy breath.

Unemployment is the normal thing in the lands where capitalism holds sway. But there is no unemployment in the land where the workers govern. The Social-Democrats gnash their teeth in impotent fury, but they cannot deny this fact. There was unemployment even in the Soviet Union during the period when national economy was being restored, after the ravages of war and the infamous resistance of the bourgeoisie. But unemployment began to decline on a new and incomparably narrower basis. Unemployment dwindled down and vanished altogether at the moment when the capitalist crisis threw millions of workers on the streets in all bourgeois countries.

There is no longer any unemployment in the Soviet Union, and the Social-Democrats who at first tried to deny this astounding fact are now compelled to hold their peace. In the land where the workers rule there is not, and cannot be, this disgraceful, criminal state of affairs in which a healthy man, worker or peasant, who is desirous and capable of working, cannot get work. There

when the capitalists have to make war, the capitalist government has to run the railways—and that is socialism in the socialist bible as read by Reverend Thomas. Workers, take these two sentences of Thomas and you know where these fakery stand. But in case this isn't enough, just hold on. We have more. Joseph W. Sharts is a member of the National Executive Committee of the S. P. He spoke in Detroit, on March 13, 1932. The Detroit Free Press quotes him as saying that he "would much prefer to engage in a nationalist war (the kind of war Japan says it is carrying on in Manchuria and Shanghai) than in one against his fellow countrymen." A "national" war is imperialist war. A war against "his own fellow countrymen" is revolutionary war against the capitalists, Ford, Rockefeller—the war makers.

That is why tomorrow the Socialist party will be shouting: "THE WAR ON RUSSIA IS A WAR FOR DEMOCRACY. FOR PEACE, FOR LIBERTY!"

is work for all. There will always be work for all. And if this—the abolition of unemployment—had been the sole and single achievement of the ruling workers, this achievement, which is one of world-wide historical importance, would yet have been sufficient to prove the superiority of the Socialist over the capitalist form of society; it would have been sufficient to shame the Social-Democratic scoundrels, agents of capital. Socialism does not have to prove its superiority in practice. It has already proved it. The facts are here.

In the Soviet Union the number of workers long ago ceased to be comparable with the pre-war figure. That miserable figure was long ago left behind. The Russian capitalists never dreamed of such masses of workers as are now employed in the workshops and factories of the USSR. In 1930 the number of workers increased as compared with the previous year by approximately 700,000. And in 1931 the increase must amount to two million! In 1930 there were 14 million workers, in 1931 there must be 16 million.

Millions of new workers are enrolled in the mighty army of Socialist labor—and it is still insufficient! We need more. This is another answer to the question as to whether the Five-Year Plan is being accomplished. If it were not so, what should we do with all these millions of workers that are so greedily swallowed up by our industry and construction work? It is a fact that we have not sufficient workers, and that the influx of the workers from abroad is increasing.

"The Soviet Union Stands for Peace," the great speech made by Comrade Litvinov, representative of the Soviet Union at Geneva, shows the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the war plans of the capitalist nations. One cent pamphlet.

Poison Gas and Shell Production Speeded in Phila.

(By a Worker Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — Preparations for war are going on at full pace. The Midvale plant is producing shells, Budds Auto Plant making bomb carriers for airplanes. They are telling the workers that they are making release hooks.

The Barrett Chemical Works in Frankfort is working 24 hours shifts making chemical gasses for war.

The Young Communist League is organizing the workers to fight against imperialist war. On April 22 the Y. C. L. will celebrate its 10th anniversary. Young workers are urged to mobilize now for this anniversary meet and for the struggle against imperialist war and to defend the Soviet Union.

THE SECOND 5-YEAR PLAN AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOCIALIST CLASSLESS SOCIETY.

"The fundamental political task of the Second Five-Year Plan is the final liquidation of the capitalist elements and of classes in general, complete removal of the causes which produce class differences, and exploitation, the overcoming of the remnants of capitalism in economy and in the minds of the people, conversion of the all of the working population of the country into conscious and active followers of the classless Socialist society."

—From the Resolution on the Second Five-Year Plan adopted by the 17th Party Conference of the C. P. S. U.

Plenty of Money for War

Expenditures of the six great military powers for land, naval and air armaments were 65 per cent higher in 1930 than in 1913, according to a Foreign Policy Association study made public in December, 1931.

This comparison showed that the United States had increased its expenditures 197 per cent; Japan, 142 per cent; Great Britain, 42 per cent; France, 30 per cent; Italy 44 per cent:

The national defense expenditure of the seven great powers in 1913 and 1930, and the percentage of increase was shown in the following tables:

Armaments Expenditure in Mil-

	lions of Dollars:		per cent increase
	1913	1930	
G. Britain	375.1	535.0	42
France	348.7	455.3	30
Italy	179.1	258.9	44
Japan	95.5	232.1	142
U. S.	244.6	727.7	197

U. S. Federal Budget, fiscal year, 1930-31, \$2,831,825,962 (will go for preparations for and results of war, according to Senator Wesley Jones, chairman, Senate Committee on Appropriation. This amount equals about 70 per cent of the total expenditures by the United States government.

All war funds for the unemployed!

The White and Negro Masses Must Save the Scottsboro Boys

"Peace" Pacts as War Instruments in the Far East and the Role of the Pacifists

By C. A. HATHAWAY

IF ONE were to read—and believe—the numerous "peace" pacts "solemnly" entered into by the nations since the last war, the world certainly would appear to have been well protected against any new imperialist blood bath until the moment of Japan's "unempected" invasion of Manchuria and Shanghai.

Such illusions of security were treacherously propagated by many forces in all countries in an effort to break down the revolutionary vigilance of the workers who are unalterably opposed to imperialist war. In the United States, a particularly dangerous role is played by the liberal groups centered around the "Nation" and "New Republic" and by the "Socialists" headed by Norman Thomas. Their acceptance and enthusiastic support of the various "peace" pacts as "an outlawry of war," as the "abolition of war as an instrument of national policy," etc., has been and is a factor in disarming the workers in their struggle to prevent war.

Dangerous Theories.

John Dewey, for example, writing on the Far Eastern war situation in the "New Republic" of March 23, naively declares:

"Lovers of peace should concentrate attention upon the Peace Pact, C.A.H.; they should deny themselves the use of all methods of agitation and appeal which are contrary to its letter and spirit."

Professor Dewey is well known as one of the "lovers of peace"; it would appear that by invoking the Kellogg Pact, which supposedly "outlaws war as an instrument of national policy," he was helping to stop the imperialist slaughter of Chinese men, women and children, and to prevent other nations from being drawn into the war. Unfortunately, such is not the case.

Even Mr. Dewey apologetically admits at the beginning of the article that all is not well with the Kellogg Pact. He says:

"The Pact should have been the conclusion of an irresistible public demand; to a considerable extent IT WAS THE TERMINATION OF THE MANOEUVERS OF DIPLOMATS. There has always been the danger that the official adoption of the outlawry idea would turn out to be AN EMBALMING OF THE IDEA RATHER THAN THE EMBODIMENT OF IT."

The so called pacifists, then, would have us confine ourselves to the "letter" and "spirit" of the Kellogg Pact. But Mr. Dewey is forced to admit that the "spirit" of the Pact is the "maneuver of the diplomats," i.e., the maneuvers of one imperialist nation against another for markets, for territory, for advantage in armaments, and for preparations against the Soviet Union. As for the "letter" of the Pact, the "outlawing of war," Mr. Dewey admits "an embalming of the idea rather than an embodiment of it." Yet in true pacifist manner he would ask the workers—the only revolutionary opponents of imperialist war—to "deny themselves the use of all methods of agitation and appeal which are contrary to its letter and spirit." In other words he would have us shout, "Long Live the Kellogg Pact!", while the imperialist diplomats, who admittedly had embalmed the idea of peace, were using the Pact for their war maneuvers and to serve as a smoke screen to conceal their war preparations.

War Preparations Aided.

That this is the actual outcome of such pacifist nonsense can easily be shown. The United States, as everyone knows, has concentrated its entire fleet in the Pacific—over two hundred ship, hundreds of airplanes and thousands of troops (in the Philippines and Hawaii); it is openly threatening to launch a huge program of naval construction; it is quite openly preparing for war. But all this is being covered up and justified by clever "peace" maneuvers in which the Kellogg Pact serves

as the chief instrument.

The "pacifist" gentlemen aid in these maneuvers. An editorial in the March 9th issue of the "Nation," for example, gives its blessings to Wall Street. We presume from this that the bankers, Hoover and Stimson are also included among the "lovers of peace," among those who stick to the "letter and spirit" of the Kellogg Pact.

"Through the Secretary of State," says the editorial, "the United States stands out virtually alone today as the champion of

private property," atrocity stories, etc., which are also supported by the pacifists, particularly by their "socialist" wing.

Peace Pacts as War Pacts.

Peace negotiations and the resulting "peace" pacts are not steps toward peace. They cannot be so long as capitalism exists. The capitalists are interested in markets, territory, raw materials, fields of investment, etc., and the "peace" conferences are only one form of the war to wrest these things away from imperialist rivals.

ING POLICY TOWARDS MANCHURIA IS NOTHING BUT A POLICY OF SUICIDE." (My emphasis.—C.A.H.)

This statement, and especially the present murderous war in China, with actual threat of war against the Soviet Union, show that the Nine Power Treaty accomplished nothing in the direction of peace, but only increased the antagonisms between the imperialist powers. The Versailles Peace and "Guarantees" offered by the Covenant of the League of Nations have succeeded

ON GUARD: THE RED ARMY PROTECTING SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION



"We stand for peaceful labor. Let no one try to provoke us. We do not threaten, but we are always ready to repulse an enemy."
—Voroshilov, Commander of Red Army and Navy.

The Red Army will be a fitting answer to all attempts of the imperialists to disturb the Soviet Union in the work of socialist construction. The Far Eastern

Red Army stands on guard at the frontiers of the country."
—General Bleucher, Commander of the Soviet Far Eastern Army.

the peace machinery that has been erected since the World War."

Norman Thomas, the "socialist" leader, contributed his bit toward preparing the masses to support the aggressive designs of Wall Street in the East, also in the name of "peace" when he declares in the "New Leader" (Feb. 20th):

"The United States and the League of Nations in different ways are putting some of the pressure on Japan which unitedly they ought to have put long ago."

This is exactly what the Wall St. bankers would say. Everything they do they do in the name of "peace" or some other equally good decoration. When they loot South American countries, they do it to maintain "order"; when they loot China they do it in the name of the "open door," and now, when they prepare for war in the East they do it in the name of "peace," of the Kellogg Pact—and with the blessings of the pacifists. In their war preparations against the Soviet Union, they use "forced labor," "freedom of religious worship," the "sanctity of

Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan shows very clearly the real motives behind the "peace" conferences of the imperialists when he gives his estimate of the famous Washington Conference of 1921 where an agreement was supposedly reached for the solution of all Pacific conflicts.

"The Nine Powers Agreement," says Tanaka, "IS EXCLUSIVELY THE REFLECTION OF THE SPIRIT OF TRADE RIVALRY. England and America wanted, by means of their great wealth, to smash our influence in China. The proposal of the limitation of armaments is merely a means of curtailing our military power and depriving us of the possibility of conquering the huge territory of China. ON THE OTHER HAND THE WEALTH OF CHINA WILL BE IN THEIR HANDS, EXCLUSIVELY. This agreement is a plan by means of which England and America wish to smash our plans. . . . THE PROPOSAL OF MINSEITO TO LEAVE THE NINE POWERS AGREEMENT IN FORCE AND PURSUE A TRAD-

only in keeping Europe in turmoil ever since they were signed. The Kellogg Pact, conceived of and executed by the same pack of robbers, has had the same results—it has embalmed the idea of peace and has become an instrument of war—especially against the Soviet Union as was shown in 1929 when it was quickly invoked against the U. S. S. R. in the China Eastern Railway dispute. The sincere efforts of the Soviet Union to bring about complete disarmament at Geneva were summarily rejected by the imperialist statesmen, who do not want disarmament, but only wish to use "disarmament" conferences to fool the masses, while they prepare for war.

The Chinese people and the Soviet Union obviously cannot be defended by following the pacifists who piously and naively place their hope for peace in Nine Powers Agreements and Kellogg Pacts.

The only way of struggle against war is the revolutionary Leninist way—the ruthless exposure of the pacifists, the mass mobilization of

The Last World War—What It Meant

FOR THE WORKERS

Dead Soldiers 10,000,000
Dead Civilians 13,000,000
Wounded 20,000,000
Widows as Result 5,000,000
Orphans as result 9,000,000

FOR THE BOSSES

Millionaires in 1914 60
Millionaires in 1916 206

Output of explosive industry 1913 \$ 50,000,000
1918 1,000,000,000
Du Pont (explosives) dividends 1915-1919 139,999,000
Copper Companies revenues (1915-1918) 485,000,000
on capital stock of 250,000,000

While the pacifist were urging the workers to fight for democracy the businessmen at home were making profits of 100 to 1,000 per cent and even more.

Armour & Co. meat packers increased profits from \$13,707,000 in 1914 to 30,628,000 in 1917.

An unnamed chemical company with stock amounting to \$17,500 made a profit of \$183,514 (1,328 per cent) in 1917.

A coal company capitalized at \$20,000 made a profit of \$286,201 or over 2,133 per cent in 1917. In 1916 bituminous coal operators were getting profits of 18 cents a ton. In 1917 this jumped to 92 cents a ton.

Groceries made as high as a 236 per cent profit. And so on and on at the expense of the masses at home.

17,000 Factories Are Ready for War Production

Today the United States stands ready to plunge into war with the greatest, most efficient war machine the world has ever known. Besides the actual arms in which the U.S. leads the world, we have what Norman Thomas gleefully called "planned production."

The country has been divided into 14 districts. Each district will be assigned a quota of production. Speaking in New York last May 21, Payne, Ass't Sec'y of War stated that a list of 4,000 items needed in warfare had been prepared by the Army. Seventeen thousand factories are all signed up ready to start when the gun goes off. And even the plans for getting the raw material are ready. In the same speech Mr. Payne hinted that he is not waiting for war to start to test his plans. No! He said: "Congress must authorize the placing of small 'educational orders' for essential munitions in peace time without advertising for bids. This must be done so that factories now producing peace time articles might know how to change over to munitions in a minimum time after Congress declared an emergency."

Blanks on which is written what each factory in the plan can make in a short time are on file in the office of the United States government.

The manufacturers have been educated. They have a "plan" also. The planned slaughter is ready to start.

the toilers in the factories, mines and country in an effort to prevent war, the struggle for the defeat of your own country—the United States—in the event of war, and the utilization of every possibility of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war, to wrest power from the capitalists and to establish a workers' Soviet Republic. This alone will lead to the "outlawry" of war, to peace within a world soviet republic of workers.

Stop the Robber War Against the Chinese People—Rally to the Defense of the Soviet Union, the Fatherland of the Workers of the World

THE PEACE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

(Excerpt from a Speech delivered at the Geneva World Disarmament Conference. This whole speech has just been published in pamphlet form to sell for 1 cent).

By M. LITVINOV.

THE Soviet Government is not taking part in this conference on account of formal obligations, and not under any stimulus from outside. From the very first days of its existence it condemned war as an instrument of national policy; by deeds as well as by words, it declared against all indemnities and territorial annexations and the oppression of any nation by any other, and proclaimed the principal of national self-determination. Ever since it has in its own policy pursued with strict consistency the line of the peaceful and loyal co-operation with other states. Once war is excluded as an instrument of national policy the Soviet Government sees no need for maintaining armies and other armed forces and, on its first appearance at an international conference—at Geneva ten years ago—it proposed total general disarmament as the only way of putting an end to war. It renewed this proposal as soon as it was invited to take part in the work of the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament. In making this proposal my government took into consideration the demands and claims of the peoples throughout the world as well as the spirit of its own people.

Who is so optimistic as to assure us confidently that the events in the Far East are not the beginning of a new war, which in extent, scope and—thanks to the latest technical inventions—horror, may eclipse the sinister fame of the last war? Continents are no longer economically and politically isolated. There are countries belonging to more than one continent. There are not many neighbors in Europe without serious territorial accounts to settle. The extent of disputed frontiers is greater now than it was before the war. Can we be sure that these differences will not be thrown into the melting pot, if a single one of the European states should be dragged into war? Granted that all this may not happen, that the fire in the Far East may be kept within local bounds, even then can we be sure that similar fires will not break out in other parts of the world? What is to prevent this? International organizations and pacts? But we have seen that they are incapable of either preventing or ending military activities in the Far East, with all the consequences of these activities.

Literature in the Struggle Against War

THE workers feel the menace of war coming closer and closer and they want to fight against it. They not only are ready to struggle against it but also want to understand what it is all about.

As part of our anti-war campaign, both on April 6 itself, and during the period of mobilization for April 6, our great supply of anti-war literature must reach these workers. The Party has for distribution thirteen different pamphlets dealing with war and imperialism alone, and besides that, has 35 different pamphlets, both agitational and propaganda pamphlets, on the Soviet Union. Besides that, there are our unemployment pamphlets and Scottsboro and other defense and terror pamphlets, all of which can be used in the mobilization against the imperialist war.

But this literature does not reach the broad masses of workers who want to know why the imperialist war is upon us, and what they can do against it. This is because the Party has not yet learned efficient methods of literature distribution, so that there is no free flow even of our most popular and easily read pamphlets from the Party to the broad masses of workers.

Public opinion? It is still more impotent. And after all what is public opinion? Has it ever been unanimous anywhere or served a single purpose? Public opinion as expressed in the press or through public bodies, serves various interests, the multiple interests of various countries and of capitalist groups, of private enterprises and even of individ-

tempts to interfere in its internal affairs and that its peaceful economic construction will be tempered with from without. It will only feel this assurance if other states also agree to give up their armed forces.

Now, when the whole world is going through an unprecedented economic crisis, which is shaking the edifice of the capitalist system

more and more imminent. Security against war must be created. This security can never be achieved by roundabout ways, but only by the direct way of total general disarmament.

Triumph of Socialism Only Real Guarantee Against War.

This is no Communist slogan. The Soviet Delegation knows that the triumph of Socialist principles, removing the causes giving rise to armed conflicts, is the only absolute guarantee for peace. So long, however, as these principals prevail only in one-sixth of the world, there is only one means of organizing security against war, and that is, total and general disarmament. One proof of its practicability is the fact that it is proposed by a state with a population of over 160 million. This idea is by no means utopian in itself; but it can be made utopian

by its rejection by the other states represented here.

We hope that the responsible re-



COMRADE LITVINOV

representatives of states here present will treat the idea expressed by the Soviet Delegation with the seriousness which the problem of assuring to all nations real security against war, real peace, deserves.

IN THE LAND THE BOSSES FEAR



LEFT: A steel plant in the Soviet Union, which has built the largest steel plant in Europe.



RIGHT: A Soviet poster depicting capitalism sending forth its lackeys to war on the Workers Republic.

uals in these countries. Have not the acts of violence going on under our very eyes in the Far East, their advocates and instigators in the press, even the press of countries not immediately concerned? Have we not read quite lately articles in both European and American papers, urging the necessity and efficacy of the extension of the war in the Far East and actually suggesting that war would be a way out of the crisis, of that very crisis the acuteness of which must be ascribed to the late war and its consequences?

Sole Aim of U. S. S. R. the Building of Socialism Within Its Territory.

The Soviet delegation will move a resolution to this effect, convinced as it is, that there would be no external obstacle to the carrying out of general disarmament if the governments here represented show their readiness for it.

The sole aim of the Soviet Government is the building up of Socialism on the territory of the Soviet Union, requires neither the increase of territory, nor interference in the affairs of other nations, to achieve its aim, and could therefore do without an army, navy, military aviation, and all other forms of armed forces. It does, however, require the assurance that there will be no at-

tempts to interfere in its internal affairs and that its peaceful economic construction will be tempered with from without. It will only feel this assurance if other states also agree to give up their armed forces.

Support the Chinese People Against the Robber Imperialists

By CYRIL BRIGGS

IN CHINA, the people are engaged in a heroic and desperate struggle against the imperialists who are seeking the partition of China among themselves as they partitioned Africa. In their attacks on the Chinese masses, in their attempts to crush revolutionary China, the bosses of the United States, Japan, England and France are able to secure the support of the Chinese bankers, landlords and militarists, just as in the United States the southern lynch bosses are able to secure the support of the Negro reformists in their oppression of the Negro masses and for the hideous attempt to burn 9 innocent Negro children in Alabama in the electric chair.

Japanese in Ferocious Attacks

The Chinese masses are turning on their imperialist oppressors and their native tools in the treacherous Kuomintang Party (of the landowners, bankers and militarists). In an attempt to drown in blood the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese masses, the imperialists are now engaged in a direct armed intervention against the Chinese people.

Society World Menaces Robber Rule of Bosses

Japanese imperialism lead the way with a ferocious slaughter of tens of thousands of Chinese men, women and children in the South China city of Shanghai and in Manchuria in the North. Japanese imperialism has seized Manchuria. Japanese gunboats and troops are at Hankow, Central China, threatening the revolutionary workers of that city and menacing the nearby Chinese Soviet districts in which the workers and peasants have overthrown the bloody rule of the Kuomintang and the imperialists.

In China, the new Soviet world of social and national emancipation is existing side by side with the old dying feudal capitalist system, whose existence it is further threatening and at whose expense it grows. The various Soviet districts already comprise together a territory larger than France. The population

of these districts is over 90,000,000. The revolutionary workers and peasants in the Soviet districts have created a powerful worker-peasant Red Army to defend their gains against the armed attacks of the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang and its imperialist masters. Over 300,000 men are in the worker-peasant Red Army. They capture their arms

from the enemy. Thousands of Kuomintang troops are constantly deserting to join the Red Army.

The Kuomintang has three times carried out major attacks on the Chinese Soviet districts. The imperialist gunboats have co-operated with these armies wherever possible. All three attacks were decisively beaten back by the Chinese Red Army, supported by the entire worker-peasant population of the Soviet districts. Women and children took up arms in defense of their Soviet districts.

Kuomintang in New Attack

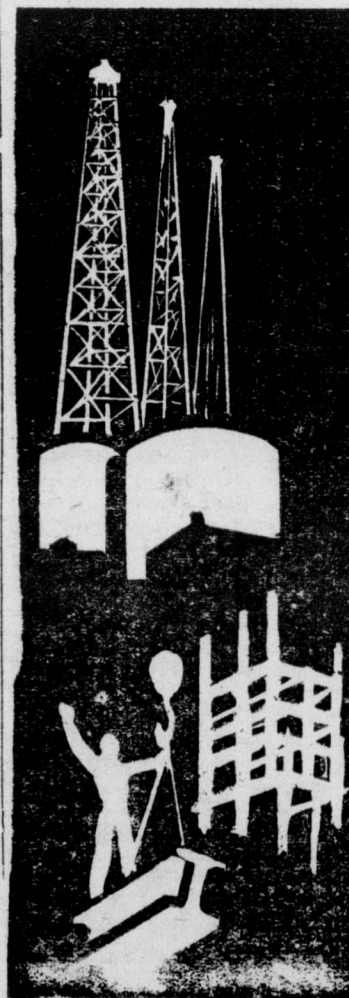
The Kuomintang is now launching a fourth attack against the Soviet districts—again at the orders of the United States, British, Japanese and French imperialists. The Kuomintang and the imperialists will again find themselves opposed by the entire worker-peasant population of the Soviet districts.

In the Soviet districts the living conditions of the toiling masses have been tremendously improved. The masses in the rest of China, groaning under the frightful conditions imposed by the Kuomintang and imperialist bandits, are looking to the Soviet districts, and are looking across the Manchurian border to the inspiring example of the masses of the Soviet Union who are successfully building socialism, and are showing the toiling masses the new non-capitalist road of development, the revolutionary road out of the misery of the world crisis of dying capitalism.

Plot Armed Intervention Against Soviet Union

The imperialists are trying to crush the Chinese Soviets. The imperialists are plotting for armed intervention against the successful building of Socialism in the Soviet Union. Already Japanese troops are concentrated in huge numbers near the Siberian frontier of the Soviet Union, carrying on a monstrous provocation against the Soviet Union and threatening to invade the workers' Fatherland at any moment.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION RISES IN THE U. S. S. R.



Capitalism Stands for Hunger and War--The Soviet Union Stands for Socialism and Peace