

industry, politics, economics, Russia, etc. The resulting picture of Millikan's ideology is thus well rounded and complete. And it is an accurate reflection of the snobbish, bitterly reactionary cast of official bourgeois thought today.

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1. On the economic and social system in the U. S. A. today.

"Could any man fail to reflect that our scientific civilization is the first one in history which has not been built on just such human slavery."

"No country ever had such an opportunity like ours, no country ever had such a wide-spread stimulation of individual initiative, such a large

heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament sheweth his handiwork."

Millikan's books are the clearest indication of the great truth of Lenin's words (*Materialism and Empirio-criticism*):

"... It is impossible not to discover clearly the partisan (that is, class—J. C.) struggle in philosophy, a struggle which ultimately expresses the tendencies and ideology of classes hostile to one another in modern society. Recent history is as partisan as it was two thousand years ago."

—JIM CORK.

The Next War

By Bertram D. Wolfe

3. What Will It Be About?

In the preceding articles we saw how all the imperialist powers are preparing for war at top speed. We saw that they are spending 200 to 225 million dollars more per year to prepare for the next war than they spent on the eve of the late world war. We found President Hoover admitting that the United States is making war preparation expenditures "in excess of those of the most highly militarized nations of the world." And we saw that each of the so-called disarmament conferences was really a step in further arming, a part of the preparations for the next conflict.

There are those who believe that the war preparations are bringing on the war, that the cause of war is preparedness. That is like the argument that it rains because people take umbrellas out onto the street. Preparedness is a symptom of the approach of war, not the cause of its approach. When we see Governments preparing for war, we can know that they are expecting war, that war is on the way!

There are those who tell us: "If only you wouldn't talk about it! It's war talk that brings on war! Think peace, talk peace, believe in peace, and have peace in your heart, and there will be no war!" Others imagine, or pretend to imagine, that we can stop war by talking it to death with peace talk. But wars can neither be averted by a policy of "Hush! Hush!" Nor an ostrich policy of burying one's head in the sand and saying "I don't see anything coming." Nor by talking war to death at peace gatherings while the imperialist governments are busily preparing for the conflict.

The question of war can only be handled by knowing its causes. The curse of war can

only be abolished when we have abolished its causes. And what are these causes?

"Gradually it is becoming clear to even the dullest mind", writes Albert Jay Nock, liberal historian, "that the real causes of war are never talked about; and no more are the conditions under which war is entered into ever talked about."

Mr. Nock is correct. Peace societies, "institutes on international relations," "disarmament" conferences, official government "papers" of capitalist governments, and liberal historians—never talked about the real causes of war. Neither before beginning wars, nor while they are in progress, nor after they have been completed.

WHAT CAPITALIST WARS ARE FOUGHT FOR

1. **Struggle for colonies.** Every imperialist power tries to grab as much territory as it can. Colonies mean markets for goods, spheres of investment, a cheap labor supply driven to work at the point of the bayonet, sources of raw material, naval bases, etc. Since modern imperialism developed, all the so-called backward and undeveloped portions of the earth, have been gobbled up. America had to go to Byrdland in the Antarctic to find land still unoccupied by other imperialist powers. The dawn of the twentieth century found the entire world divided up among a few great powers.

But the word does not remain stationary. Germany, for example, which up to 1870 was not even unified as a country and therefore in no position to acquire colonies as an imperialist power, after 1870 found itself strong, unified, with a powerful army and navy. Germany suddenly demanded colo-

nies, its "share" of Asia, Africa, South America, etc.—its "place in the sun." There was no "unoccupied" land to colonize. The world was all divided up. The only way Germany could get more was thru a forcible redivision of the earth, thru war.

In the same way, Japan was until recently a semi-colonial country. Then it suddenly developed a powerful capitalist imperialism of its own. From "object" of colonial exploitation, it changed to "subject"—to an exploiter of colonies, to an imperialist power demanding its "share" of an already divided world. Again the only "solution" was war. (Russo-Japanese War, war on China, occupation of Korea, World War).

Or let us take the rise of the United States to the position of a world power. Prior to 1890, no colonies. Then annexation of Hawaii, and Guam, war with Spain, annexation or "protectorate" over various Spanish colonies (light for the "open door" in China in order to get a foothold in a land which had already been divided up into "spheres of influence" by other powers, etc.

Today England is the greatest colonial power on earth, but the United States is stronger economically and in a military sense. The United States wants a "place in the sun" proportionate to its strength and rising power. Altho England's power is on the wane, it is still mighty and holds on to all it has. Once more a redivision can only be accomplished by force. In short, **the capitalist world develops unevenly—now one country forges ahead, now another—but the world is divided up and can only be redivided, on the basis of the ever-changing relation of forces, by means of gigantic wars.**

2. **Struggle for investment markets.** Capitalism today has already reached its highest form. It is already exporting, not merely commodities but capital itself. It feels cramped in the suell of its national limitations and seeks not only colonies, but even the subjection of advanced industrial countries. Such industrially developed countries as Poland or Czecho-Slovakia are absorbed under the influence of French, English and American capital.

3. **Struggle for commodity markets.** Speed up and technical improvements make ever greater the productive capacity of the workers. Low wages and unemployment reduces more and more the share of their product which they can buy back for their wages. Therefore the pressure for new markets becomes sharper and sharper. Tariff walls rise higher and higher. Gigantic monopolies controlling armies navies and governments compete with each other for the diminishing markets and the "competition" takes on ever more violent forms culminating in periodic wars on a world scale.

4. **Struggle for raw materials.** Modern industry is international in scope. It gathers

its materials from the ends of the earth and to the ends of the earth it sends its products. Such raw materials as oil, coal, iron, copper etc. are sought for by huge trusts. To grab up the places where they are found, it is necessary for these trusts to get concessions, control governments, drive out rivals. Such giants as the Standard Oil and the Shell Company are wrestling for control of the oil of the entire globe. Their conflict ranges from Persia to India to Peru and Mexico. The conflict culminates inevitably in war.

5. Struggle for control of communications and transport. Every big imperialist system is held together by rail, ocean and radio-telegraph communication. Every dream of world empire involves the attempt to build up a connecting "nerve-system" on a continental or world scale. Thus there was the Moscow-Port Arthur Railway which precipitated the Russo-Japanese War; The Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway scheme of Germany which contributed to the outbreak of the war of 1914-18. The British railway scheme from Cairo to the Cape. The American New York-to-Buenos Aires Railway, more than two-thirds completed and already superseded by the New York-to-Buenos Aires Airways. There is the struggle for control of the Mediterranean between France, Italy and England.

Then there is the Suez Canal which links Britain with India and China and enables Great Britain to throw its Atlantic Fleet into the Pacific. Because of the desire to control the approaches to Suez, England holds Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, tightens its hold on Egypt and the Sudan, and Lord Balfour becomes a "Zionist" so that Zionism can be used to set up a buffer state against the Arabs just above the Canal.

Similarly there is the Panama Canal which makes the United States a Pacific Power because it enables the union of the Atlantic with the Pacific fleet. In order, primarily, to control the approaches to the Panama Canal, the United States has intervened 30 times in the last generation in the countries of Central America and the Caribbean.

Next there is the gigantic struggle for control of the cables under the sea and the ether waves in the air, between Great Britain and the United States.

And finally there is the struggle for the control of the sea.

6. Wars on colonies and to enslave less "developed" sections of the earth. Such are

the wars that England wages on India; America on the Latin-American Countries; the various imperialist powers on China. Brutal wars for the right to rob, to reduce free countries to colonial status and to keep colonies in continued subjection. From the standpoint of the colonial country, these wars are struggles for freedom; from the standpoint of the imperialist powers struggles for enslavement and pillage. Bourgeois writers usually do not call them wars at all. England is merely "restoring order" in India. The United States is just "aiding the Haitians to govern themselves". And so on. Such is the hypocrisy of imperialist apologetics!

The reader will notice that none of the familiar "causes" of war as advanced by capitalist governments to fool their people, are in the above list. There is nothing about "war to end all war", "make the world safe for democracy", "defend national honor", "save civilization or kultur", "repel the invader", defend the hearth and home" or any of the false slogans with which the big imperialist powers each sought to camouflage their struggles for lands, markets, colonies, investments, raw materials, and the right to rob, enslave and exploit.

Nor is there any such fairy story explanation of war as the one involved in the explanation that "the other fellow started it." All the imperialist powers are preparing for war. The very imperialist system makes this inevitable. When war comes each country will seek to prove that "the other fellow started it." In the late war each country "proved" that it was on the defensive and the enemy was the aggressor. That is one of the reasons why there is so much "peace" talk and "peace" maneuvering as a new war approaches; and all the big capitalist powers arm to the teeth while they talk disarmament, and prepare for a new blood bath while they elaborate Kellogg Pacts.

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In the next article we will examine two of the main sources of conflict that are bringing on another "bigger and better" world war at breakneck speed—the Anglo-American conflict for world supremacy, and the plot of the imperialist powers to make a united attack on the Soviet Union. Article 5 will describe the coming war—"improvements" in tanks, gases, poisons, bombing planes and the "civilized" technique of mass murder. And Article 6 will take up the various methods proposed to prevent and abolish war.