

The Next War

What's to Be Done?

Peace Pacts - Pacifism - Religion - Refusal to Serve -
To Fight War We Must Fight Capitalism
The Race with Death - For a Warless World

by Bertram D. Wolfe

The question has been on your lips a dozen times as you were reading these startling revelations out of the mouths and writings of statesmen and generals: "What can be done about it? What can we, what can I, do about it?" Let us examine some of the answers that are being given to that question.

Peace Pacts

First there are the "disarmament" conferences and peace pacts. But these, we have seen, do not avert war. They are symptoms of the approach of war. They are part of the war preparations. They serve a double purpose: 1) to keep the masses, who are opposed to war, in a stupor of confidence till the ultimatums and airplanes begin to fly; and 2) to put the "enemy" in the wrong, to prove that "our" country wanted peace and only armed "in self-defense."

Is your memory so short, reader, that you have forgotten the epidemic of peace pacts, Nobel prizes, Bryan arbitration treaties and Hague conferences, that prepared the last war? The fruit of the Kellogg pacts, the Washington, London and Geneva treaties, and all the disarmament talk, is the largest expenditure on armies and navies the world has ever known, many millions more than in 1914, a billion-dollar naval building program by 1936 for the United States alone, 30,000,000 men under arms and in trained reserves, waiting for the last peace pact and the first war move.

"1930," boasts a Times dispatch from Geneva, dated February 27, 1931, "was a banner year for peace treaties." There were fifty-two bilateral pacts, eighteen more than in 1929. The nearer we get to war, the higher the figures on peace pacts:

In 1927 there were 6
In 1926 there were 15
In 1929 there were 34
In 1930 there were 52.

What they are worth can be indicated by the words of Ramsay MacDonald just before he became Prime Minister (The Nation, January 10, 1929):

"The usual committees of friendship are being formed—always an ominous sign, and the usual signals of a faith in doubt are being flown, such as: 'War between the United States and Great Britain is unthinkable.'"

Or in the words of George Adam who wrote in the Century Quarterly (Spring, 1930):

"Just as the fevered efforts to create peace machinery before 1914—such as the Hague Conference, and disarmament propaganda of those days—were due to a world apprehension of the imminence of war, so today's pacts and protocols are more a symptoms of the world's war-disease than they are likely to be a cure."

Pacifism

Second, there are the pacifists. They are for peace—until war begins. They do not tackle the cause of war. They are ignorant of or lie about the causes of war. For them the London Treaty, with its billion-dollar building program, is "a step forward." The fifty-two peace pacts of 1930 are a "step nearer peace."

The nearer war comes, the more "victories" they see—until war comes, and overwhelms them. They are the people to applaud the "disarmament" fakery. They serve only to disarm the workers who listen to them. They buzz like flies on the axle of the wheels of the great war chariot and cry "What a dust we are raising."

They fuss with putting salves on the symptoms, and do not touch the disease. They tie pink ribbons on the cannons and say: "There now, that looks more peaceful!"

Here is the "good" Mrs. Russell telling the Brooklyn League of Women Voters on Armistice Day, 1930, that they must hasten America's entrance into the League of Nations! As if the League were not a product of the iniquitous Versailles treaty; a weapon of the imperialist powers against China, India and the colonial peoples; a League for waging imperialist war on the Soviet Union; the stage manager for the fake disarmament comedies; a battleground on which the diplomatic maneuvers and skirmishes are being conducted that are leading the world headlong towards the next world war!

Toy Pistols and Tin Soldiers

Or here is the good Mrs. Summerfield, telling the same Brooklyn Woman Voters that:

"Toy pistols instill in children's minds the instinct to kill... Tin soldiers create the idea of enmity and revenge. Ban the manufacture of toy pistols and tin soldiers and you will aid world peace!"

That's disarmament for you! Take away the cap pistols! Spike the pop-guns! Demobilize the little tin soldiers!

Such fluttering pattering with toy guns and tin soldiers while the cannon are being wheeled into position and the laboratories are breeding germs and making gases, can disarm only the masses that should be struggling against capitalist war and its causes.

Religion

Third, there are the churches. "Apply the principles of Christianity," they tell us. "Love your enemies. Talk peace, think peace, have peace in your hearts,

pray for peace, and you will have peace." For almost twenty centuries there have been Christian churches and Christian nations. When have they stopped war? How many wars have they blessed, and started, and even led?

Is our memory so short that we cannot remember the role of the churches in the late world war? Have we forgotten the Kaiser's "Gott mit uns"—"God with us and we shall win?" Or Wilson's war message ending: "Here we stand. God willing, we can do no other?" Or the army chaplains? Or the church war drives? Or the prayers for victory in this "holy war?" Or the war work in the churches? The four-minute men who, having learned to speak in the pulpit, sold war bonds ("Liberty" Bonds) in the market place? The blessings on the work of mass murder?

Or if our memory is too short for that, can we forget the war offensive of the churches against the Soviet Union in the summer of 1930? How Pope and Patriarch, priest and rabbi, minister and moderator, metropolitan and bishop, united their warring creeds, for the first time in the history of Christendom, for the sake of a united drive against the Soviet Union? Is it not clear that in a war on the Workers Republic they would not only bless the sword as of old, but with Cross and Star of David and Crescent of Allah in the van, chanting masses and prayers and hallelujahs, they would themselves lead the crusade?

The "Socialist" Parties

Fourth, there is the Second International, the "International" of the "Socialist" Parties, that is neither Socialist nor international. Its leaders are the "statesmen" who are helping the ruling class of their respective countries prepare the next war. Ramsay MacDonald, builder of the British navy, murderer of Chinese and Indian workers and peasants, loyal servant of his majesty King George and his majesty King Capital. Leon Blum, French cabinet minister, mover of the motion to increase the French army. Emile Vandervelde, supporter of the Belgian-French alliance for a new war, and the preparations for war on the Soviet government. Braun and Wells and Hilferding and Loeb and other loyal ministers of the capitalist-imperialist government of Germany, etc. etc.

Their Record in the Last War

Those who cannot understand the meaning of these men's acts because of their fine words, need only remember their actions in the last war. When Clynes and Thomas entered the British war cabinet; when Vandervelde entered the Belgian; Guesde and Sembat the French; Ebert and Scheidemann the German. When the German Social-democrats voted the Kaiser's war credits; Bri-

tish Laborites and French Socialists supported their imperialist governments; and the Russian Mensheviks supported the Czar. When Mussolini (then a Socialist) supported the King of Italy.

After the war, when the Kaiser was overthrown and the German capitalists could no longer rule openly in their own name over the outraged workers and soldiers in revolt, it was Noske, Ebert and Scheidemann, German Social-democrats, who took over the government, murdered the Spartacan leaders, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and drowned the German Soviet Revolution in blood. And it was the Italian Socialist Mussolini who organized the Fascist movement and crushed the Italian working class. And the Russian Menshevik Socialists who tried to prevent the working class revolution and workers' rule in Russia. And in New York, the Socialist Aldermen endorsed the "Liberty" Loan drive, and approved the appropriation of funds for a "victory" of the American army sent to invade Soviet Russia at Archangel!

The Second or "Socialist" International died in the treachery of the world war. It became the ally of imperialism in herding the workers into a criminal war and the butcher for capitalism in putting down the working class revolution that brought the war to an end. Only the left wing Socialists (the Bolsheviks in Russia, the Spartacans in Germany, the Socialists Propaganda League and Left Wing in the United States, etc.) remained faithful to Socialism, to internationalism, and to the working class. Out of their ranks came the Russian Revolution, the Communist parties and the Communist or Third International.

In the next war, the "Socialists", who have long since abandoned Socialism except as a catch-phrase, will not only try to herd the masses into war, but if it is a war on the Soviet Union, they will be in the vanguard of the attack, side by side with Pope and Priest and Rabbi, urging the destruction of the workers' government!

This does not apply to the masses of honest workers who follow the "Socialist" parties really believing they will fight for Socialism. But it applies to the leaders of the Socialist International, to MacDonald and Vandervelde and Blum, to Kautsky and Hilferding and Bager, to Abramovitch and Dan, to Hillquit and Abe Cahan and Norman Thomas and the whole pack of enemies of the Soviet Union, betrayers of the working class and heroes of counter-revolution. The honest rank and file workers in the Socialist parties will break sooner or later with these misleaders and rally to the parties of revolutionary Socialism, the Communist parties of the world.

(Concluded in the Next Issue)

PASSAIC MAJORITY GROUP HOLDS MEET

Passaic Comrades Participate In Election Work Campaign

Two successful open air meetings were held by the Passaic C.P. Majority Group on Saturday, April 4 and 11 at the corner of 3rd and Hudson Streets. Comrades Keller, Herman, and Francis spoke. Several hundred workers attended. Twenty copies of the Revolutionary Age were sold at each meeting.

The Passaic group is to hold at least two meetings per week during the election campaign which is now going on in Passaic for City Commissioners. Our comrades are reaching many hundreds of workers with the exposure of the capitalist candidates and calling upon the workers to "Vote Communist." Our comrades have penetrated the election meetings of the various candidates, taken the floor there and put a Communist message across. The official Communist Party group is putting on the most lifeless sort of a campaign, so that the result will be nothing short of disgraceful when compared with previous elections in which our Party participated.

The Passaic C.P. Majority Group is holding a social for the benefit of the Revolutionary Age on Saturday, April 25, 8 p.m., at 60 Dayton Ave. Ben Gitlow, Secretary of the Majority Group, will speak at the affair. An entertaining program is being prepared, as well as refreshments. Admission is 50c.

TWO YEARS OF NEW LINE IN THE YOUTH

(Continued from Page 2)

before the League various schemes for drawing them out of the crisis. But—these schemes are not drawn up on the basis of the objective conditions of the country with which they deal. They merely represent an attempt to apply to the youth movements in capitalist countries the methods which are successful in the Soviet Union—shock plans, Socialist competition, etc.

Comrades! The American League is an integral part of the International. We cannot change the conditions in the American League without also bringing about a change in the YCL. But our League could call to the attention of the YCL in such a manner as to bring about a change the disastrous results of the new line. And our League could make no greater contribution to Communism than to bring about such a change.

Comrades! Demand an accounting from your leaders. Ask yourselves and ask your leaders why it is that in the last two years the League has not made headway, has suffered disastrous defeats—in a period that offers unexampled opportunities for our League to grow.

Comrades! Demand a genuine discussion in the League. Refuse to be silenced any longer with fantastic claims and outright lies. Demand the reinstatement of those comrades expelled for fighting against the line they foresaw would be disastrous to the League. Fight for a correct line in the League!

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