Behind the Scenes

Of the Disarmament Conference

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I. WORLD "DISARMAMENT" CONFERENCE ON THE EVE OF THE NEXT WORLD WAR

Nearly half a generation has passed since 1914, when robber imperialism involved the whole world in slaughter and prolonged the struggle for four-and-a-half murderous years.

The imperialists found that the world had grown too small for them and over the slaughtered bodies of 10,000,000 men they proceeded to re-divide the world among themselves. They did this through a war in which a total number of 75,000,000 men were mobilised and sent out to be slaughtered for the sake of capitalist profits.

Not only did the war entail the death of 1,000,000 men and leave millions of widows and orphans, but it left 25,000,000 crippled and diseased persons as a legacy in its wake.

But the World War has also changed the face of the world. Out of the war, thanks to the revolutionary policy of the Bolsheviks, was born the victorious proletarian revolution. The revolution triumphed in Russia, once the domain of the Tsars, and swept away capitalism once and for all from one-sixth of the earth's surface. In the rest of the world capitalist
misery and slavery have grown more acute. The re-
partitioning of the world has resulted in a competitive 
struggle between the imperialists—a struggle which is 
growing more desperate every day.

The “Peace Treaty” of Versailles forged new chains 
for the masses of the nations.

The World War has not been forgotten. Its mem-
ory still haunts the imperialists who today are engineer-
ing the next slaughter. Its memory is still fresh, too, 
in the minds of all the oppressed and exploited, for 
whom war spells death, suffering and hunger.

Even in the days when the Versailles “Peace” Tre-
aty was being dictated, the victorious imperialist powers, 
feeling the pressure of the masses outraged by the 
horror of the war, gave their “official promise” to bring 
about universal disarmament and make wars impos-
sible. The so-called “League of Nations” was to serve 
this purpose. In view of the “promise of peace” given 
by the imperialists the League of Nations finally, in 
1925, began to make diplomatic preparations for the 
general “disarmament” conference by organising a 
number of commissions and sub-commissions. Despite 
the “unfortunate incidents” which had occurred in the 
interim and which threatened to cause an adjournment 
of the conference, the League finally called the con-
ference for February 2, 1932.

And so the World Conference for the “Reduction 
and Limitation of Armaments” met in Geneva early 
this year. It was twelve years since the imperialist vic-
tors made their promise to the masses of the peoples 
and five years since the League began preparing for 
the Conference. Meanwhile, the danger of a new world 
holocaust and of a war of intervention against the 
Soviet Union has become immediate and acute. We 
are already in the first stages of the new World War 
and the war of intervention against the Soviet Union, 
the land of Socialism, that is being waged from the
East and from the West. The imperialist war of the Japanese bourgeoisie in China, which has already taken on formidable dimensions, is the beginning of the imperialist world war and the war against the Soviet Union.

Since 1928, the official war budget of the imperialist powers has increased over 50 per cent. The all-prevading economic crisis of capitalism is driving the imperialists, and all their vassal states, to a frantic speeding up of the war preparations. The official figures of the League of Nations, and, more clearly still, the boom in the war industries, form an eloquent commentary on the question of "disarmament," a commentary which is, properly considered, just as eloquent as the roar of the guns in China. According to official data, the war budgets for 1930-1931 as compared with 1928-1929 grew 43 per cent in France, 40 per cent in England and 67 per cent in the United States, while even in Germany there was an increase of 15 per cent. Everywhere the hard facts of increased preparations for war stand in contradiction to the official talk about disarmament.

What, then, is the meaning of this World "Disarmament" Conference?

At this moment, when a new war, a prelude to the new world war and to the military intervention against the Soviet Union, has broken out in the East, has the conference been called as a last-minute measure by which the hazards of a new world war and of intervention may be avoided. Has the first world war and the revolutions that followed it really taught the imperialists a lesson?

Many honest workers may ask such questions, if they are still letting themselves be hoodwinked by the pacifist chatter of the imperialists and especially of their Social-Democratic lackeys.
Others again may ask: Is the "Disarmament" Conference perhaps intended to defer the war danger for a little? Is the idea of staging this huge pacifist performance to keep the imperialists from realising their aims immediately? Whoever puts the question this way has failed as yet to appreciate the true character of all this imperialist pacifism and has let his mind be clouded by all this talk of peace.

The pacifism of the imperialists does not for a moment mean that they fear the hazards of a war, nor can their pacifism postpone the outbreak of war. On the contrary: both official bourgeois pacifism and the petty-bourgeois Social-Democratic pacifism that is in its employ represent the most dangerous of weapons against the working masses for the preparation of war. This means that they are, in the true sense of the word, a weapon for the counter-revolutionary attack of the world’s bourgeoisie which is directed not only against the Soviet Union but also against the proletariat and all working elements in the various countries of the world.

The pacifist obscuration of the preparations for war and the beclouding of the minds of the working masses so that they may the more easily be used as cannon fodder, is especially menacing at a moment when the bourgeoisie is arming for a struggle on three fronts—the struggle against the proletariat at home, the imperialist war against the rival imperialists, and the war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The imperialists need a world "Disarmament" Conference primarily in order to provide a pacifist pretext for their preparations for war. By engaging in a mimic conflict for peace, they want to lull the resistance of the masses into a stupor. By these means they hope not only to break down the resistance of the masses, but actually to win them over to their side under the slogan of "Defend your country against aggression!"
The increased efforts which are being made to seduce the masses by means of pacifist ideas are closely, intimately bound up with the increase of aggressive nationalism and with all the talk about “national security” that is, the necessity for augmenting armaments. Both these ways of deceiving the people have the same object, namely, to increase armaments and preparations for war; but they take different paths to this common end. While, on the one hand, pacifism is intended as a cloak for war preparations, the agitation for “national security” is intended to justify armaments in the eyes of the masses. And, of course, this “division of labour” as between the pacifist deceivers and the chauvinist deceivers, is applied in such a way as to suit the ideology of those workers for whom the propaganda is intended. In conjunction with the “Disarmament” Conference, the imperialists and their hirelings are launching a grand campaign of hypocrisy and deceit on behalf of “peace.” Not without reason did the Universal Disarmament Conference inscribe the slogan “Abolition of the War Danger” on its banner. The Conference is a conspiracy under pacifist colours—a conspiracy of the imperialists against each other, but first and foremost against the Soviet Union, the land of Socialism.

The imperialists and their Social-Democratic hirelings have never needed such pacifist deception as badly as at this moment. Hard pressed and driven into a corner by the crisis, the imperialist bourgeoisie is seeking an avenue of escape in a fresh war, with the repartition of the world as its object. Never since the Versailles “Peace” Treaty has this been so burning a question for the imperialists. The imperialist robbery in Manchuria and with the further advance of Japanese troops in other parts of China means that the struggle for a re-partitioning of the world’s territory has already broken out. This is one of the immediate reasons for the holding of this “disarmament” conference: it is a
manoeuvre for the general preparation of war. Japan's predatory excursion in Manchuria is forcing the imperialists to form themselves into groups, the immediate object of this being to bring on a new world war and the intervention against the Soviet Union. And the "disarmament" conference itself is intended to hasten the realignment of powers which is required as a preliminary to the preparation for the war and to consolidate the war alliance of the various imperialistic groups.

Preparations for war, however, are not only a diplomatic and a military affair. The bourgeoisie must also take political measures to "secure their rear." This involves not only the suppression of the revolutionary workers' movement, not only campaigns of chauvinist propaganda, but also the deception of the working masses by means of pacifist phrases. The closer war approaches, the more pacifist opium must be administered. Something like a "pacifist offensive" along the whole front is to be launched today against the working masses as an accompaniment to the "disarmament" conference. The object is to divert their attention from the war in China, from the immediate preparations for a new world slaughter, from the contemplated war of intervention against the Soviet Union and against the Soviets of China. By this means the imperialists, who are preparing a world war in the immediate future, hope to let the war come as a surprise to the masses so that they may more easily break down their opposition to the world-wide massacre.

This explains the extraordinary significance of the World "Disarmament" Conference today. This explains the real purpose of this conference and the urgent danger represented by this campaign of pacifist lies which is being launched by the imperialists and their Social-Democratic lackeys.
2. THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN THE PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

In proportion as pacifism assumes increasing importance as a measure for the preparation of war, the role of Social Democracy as the avowed champion of pacifism, likewise grows in importance. The imperialists need the new world war as a capitalist solution to the crisis. All those who want a capitalist solution to the crisis—a solution that means plunging the masses into misery and war—all those who seek in that solution a “salvation” from the proletarian revolution, must support the preparations being made for war. Besides the capitalists, those who are anxious for such a solution are the fascists and social-fascists, the pillars of capitalism. Intimately bound up with their fascist function of finding an avenue of escape for capitalism at the expense of the workers, is the activity of the social democrats in aiding the preparations for war. In this war the capitalists of all countries will seek salvation over the slaughtered bodies of millions of workers and at the expense of the weaker, subject countries and colonies. That is why social democracy, which has become merged with the capitalist State, is in every country assuming the functions of organiser-in-chief of the coming war, and of the intervention against the Soviet Union in the service of the national bourgeoisie. It is true that Social Democracy sometimes raises its voice against imperialism, but only against the imperialism of the other countries, against countries that are the commercial rivals of its own bourgeoisie. And in so doing, social democracy always avails itself of its favourite method of promoting war: the pacifist method.

Social-Democratic pacifism is in perfect harmony with Social-Democratic patriotism, as the year 1914 has shown. Then too pacifist phrases had been turned inside out to read, “We don’t want war, but our coun-
try has been attacked and we must defend ourselves." This assertion was made by the Social Democrats in all the belligerent countries. The situation is just the same today. It is but a step from the Social-Democratic pacifist slogan, "Insure peace by disarmament under the control of the League of Nations" to the familiar imperialist watchword of "national security," and to the celebrated proposition of French imperialism "Security first, disarmament afterwards." At a time like this, when the pacifist smoke-screen is being more artfully spread than ever, these phrases can be converted at a moment's notice into the war-cry, "Defend the fatherland!" used by all patriots, from those of the extreme Right down to the Social Democrats.

Hand in hand with the religious "peace societies" and the pacifist women's clubs, run by the wives of aristocrats and cabinet ministers, the Second International has taken the occasion of the "Disarmament" Conference to come forward as a highly respectable pacifist society. The Second International held meetings and collected signatures to petitions addressed to the League of Nations. The Social-Democratic parties in all countries are waging a press campaign under the catchword of "No more war," but they do not forget to mention that the "protest of the peoples against war must be expressed only through their authorised representatives" and that "these representatives in the diplomatic field, are the respective governments of each state." (Le Peuple, Paris, December 12, 1931).

It was precisely in this spirit that the Second and the Amsterdam International made their "demands" upon the League of Nations in their appeal for a "disarmament" conference, in order to mislead the masses of their followers. This same League of Nations which is directly organising the imperialist war and is nothing but a tool of the imperialist war lords—as recent events in China only too clearly demonstrate—the same League of Nations, if we are to believe the Social-Dem-
ocrats is to serve as an “instrument for world peace.” The apostles of pacifism assure us that the “disarmament” conference, this “pacifist” conspiracy of the imperialist robbers, is even now leading to the disarmament of the imperialist powers and bringing it about step by step.

The Social-Democratic misleaders are raising their voices against the “folly of armaments” in the true demagogic style. All their talk about the folly and madness of armaments and of war is simply designed to hoodwink the masses, not to mention the fact that they themselves are aiding and abetting this “folly,” partly by what they fail to say and partly by what they do say in its behalf when they advance the stereotyped “pacifist” arguments, such as “Increased security to prevent war,” “Equality in limitation of armaments,” and so on. They want in this way to absolve imperialism—of which war is an inseparable concomitant—of some of its war guilt; for war is not a matter of “folly”; it is engineered by deliberate imperialist calculation.

It goes without saying that the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International laid great stress on the pacifist part they were playing and the importance of the service which they thus render the bourgeoisie. A good instance of this is the appeal which they issued to the workers in connection with the conference. In their appeal they mention, with a view to spreading the pacifist illusion that the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International “had always sought to promote those possibilities for peace inherent in the existing social system.” In reality, the imperialists and their tools—among them, in particular, French imperialism and the French Social-Democracy, which have taken the first initiative in organising the World Disarmament Conference—are doing all they can under the cloak of loud clamours for peace (into which, however, they shrewdly introduce the note of “national security”) to promote not
the "possibilities for peace inherent in the existing social system" but the possibilities for mass deception by means of pacifism.

Therein lies the significance of the pacifist role played by the Social-Democratic parties which in 1914 served as instruments wherewith the bourgeoisie stirred up its war hatreds, and which today are raising the demagogic cry of "No more war" only in order to repeat their 1914 performance when it comes to the point. They see to it that the chairman of the "World Disarmament Conference is a man like Henderson, the British social-fascist, the better to deceive the working masses and to turn them over to the bourgeoisie as cannon fodder. While Henderson is still singing hymns of peace at the conference, Akamatsu, leader of the Japanese social fascists declares:

"It is a matter of life and death for the whole population that socialist Japan should support Japanese interests and rights in Manchuria and Mongolia. We shall let the whole world know that the defence of Japanese rights and interests in Manchuria and Mongolia takes on its true meaning only when it is done in the name of socialist Japan. Our rights and interests in Manchuria and Mongolia must be defended to the last."

Social democracy cannot, even in the matter of war, carry out any other policy than that of its own bourgeoisie. It simply employs phrases with a "socialist" ring, to help it ensnare the workers. Naturally those social fascists who are still engaged only in preparing for war and who, unlike the Japanese social fascists, are not yet carrying it on, have a much larger arena in which to do their pacifist monkey tricks. But even they are showing an increasing tendency to put their propaganda into the form of a more or less veiled agitation for war, in proportion as the war preparations on the part of their own bourgeoisie are speeded up.

French Social-Democracy, for example, employs for the most part an extremely pacifist language, especially in connection with the approaching election cam-
paign, in which it assumes a demagogic-oppositionist attitude on all questions of home politics. In matters of foreign policy, it can only be said that its tone is slightly more tinged with pacifism than that of the French government. Like Laval or Tardieu, Social-Democracy defends the Versailles Treaty, and supports the colonial wars and the robber interests of French imperialism. The Social-Democrats resigned from the war commission and emitted the most radical phrases such as "Not a man and not a cent for war," their sole purpose in doing this being to pose before their adherents as determined fighters for peace. But under cover of this mask, Social-Democracy has been stirring up feeling for a war against the Soviet Union, especially since the recent events in the Far East. Their papers write in more and more unequivocal terms that the Soviet Union is complicating matters, and creating difficulties that place the League of Nations in an embarrassing position, and that it is the Soviet Union first and foremost that is responsible for the present difficult situation. In an article published on November 16, 1931, and headed, "The Soviet Union Takes the Stage," Le Peuple writes:

"Soviet Russia has broken the ominous silence which it has maintained hitherto in order to address a warning to Japan the sense of which is very clear. The fact that this has happened on the very eve of the session of the Council of the League of Nations clearly demonstrates that its authors are not in the least concerned about how they can help to put matters straight—it would indeed have been ingenuous to expect this of them—but this sensational step is a factor that must be duly weighed and considered. The League of Nations will certainly not refuse to act but will not be able to render impossible a conflict which is already beyond control.

"The action of the Soviet Union raises the most serious questions and jeopardises the future of the international rights of the League of Nations, the very existence of the guarantees which have been given, the proposal to outlaw war, and the maintenance of peace in the Far East and on the coasts of the Pacific."

While the French ex-Socialist and Chairman of the League of Nations Council, Paul Boncourt, is launching
a wide-spread campaign to justify the tremendous military preparations of French imperialism, using the war in the Far East as an argument, another confidential agent of French imperialism, Vandervelde, the Chairman of the Second International, has also gone to Geneva, as a social-fascist expert in Far Eastern affairs. In Vandervelde's opinion, the affairs in the Far East should be viewed as if "Manchuria were to some extent a No-Man's-Land, for which the Russians, Japanese and Chinese are violently fighting among themselves." (La Vie Socialiste, October 17, 1931). He thus attributes to the Soviet Union, the country which is the supporter of all the exploited and the oppressed, and which voluntarily relinquished all special rights in China, the same role as that of warring imperialism in Manchuria.

In addition to practicing deception on the working class and spreading such infamous libels against the Soviet Union, Social-Democracy is attempting to lead the workers wholly astray by trying to get them to believe that the war in far-away China is none of their business.

International Social-Democracy is also waging its demagogic "battle" for peace by addressing radical speeches and "threats" to the bourgeoisie, thereby the better to deceive the masses. This same Vandervelde, who as the agent of Franco-Belgian imperialism, talks about "Russian imperialism" and stirs up enmity against the Soviet Union, this same Vandervelde, gave his address of welcome to the imperialists assembled at the World Disarmament Conference in the following pompous and hollow utterances: "Beware of war, for war may let loose revolution, as happened in one country in 1917. It is for your practical wisdom, for your shrewdness to prevent such an occurrence." To prevent the proletarian revolution, that is the only sincere argument brought forward by the Second International against war. And then every Social-Democratic party
must carry out the policy of its own bourgeoisie, even when this policy is pursued by force of arms.

German social democracy, besides its frothy pacifism, openly supports the German bourgeoisie in its cry for equality of armaments, a share in colonial plunder and a crusade against the Soviet Union. Vorwärts, for example, in its leading article of December 30, 1931, entitled "For Disarmament," frankly states that "the German nation likewise is entitled to equal treatment."

The British Social-Democrats, despite all their clamorous pacifism and all their hymns of peace, are mindful of the "backwardness" of British armaments and demand that an airfleet equal to France's be quickly provided, that up-to-date U-boats and cruisers be built, so that Great Britain may not be left "unprotected" against America and France and that Great Britain's share in the partitioning of China and its part in the conduct of the war against the Soviet Union may not be curtailed.

The "Labour" Party carries on its policy of pacifist hoodwinking along the general lines of middle-class humanitarianism, so as not to show up too glaringly the warlike acts of the Labour Government in India, Arabia, and elsewhere. The "Left" detachment of the "Labour" Party, the Independents, are likewise lending their support to the pacifist deceptions which Henderson, as chairman of the Geneva conference, is practicing on a world-wide scale. This they do by means of an even more specious form of radicalism, and raise the cry for an "International of those Opposed to War." Like all "Leftists," they employ an extremely radical phraseology in order to ensnare the workers, since the latter are in actual fact becoming more radical.

The division of labour between the Right and "Left" Social-Democrats in carrying on their pacifist fraud and in arousing hatreds is perhaps best exemplified by the case of Swiss Social-Democracy, which is, in a
literal sense, the watch-dog of the League of Nations. Its "Right" trade union paper, Solidarity, discussing Japanese imperialism's provocative incitements to war in Manchuria, writes in its issue of November 10, 1931: "Russia anticipates a war and is organising herself ... a policy that is undoubtedly as criminally adventurist as it is basely unscrupulous." And meanwhile, the "Left" wing of the Swiss Social-Democrats stages a mimic opposition to the world disarmament conference and, the better to mislead its followers, reproaches the Second International with being "completely bankrupt."

Every act of this main agency of the robber League of Nations the Second International—tends to make that much clearer the common destiny that unites it with the imperialist fomenters of war. With cold-blooded calculation the Second International is always ready to lend its support and palliation to murderous imperialist violence and the "punitive expeditions" of the imperialists in colonial countries. International Social-Democracy's main field of activity today is to provide a pacifist smoke-screen to cover up the preparations for war, for this remains the most suitable means of hoodwinking the masses. The imperialists who are busy getting ready for the next war, therefore knew what they were about when they elected the Social-Democrat Henderson as chairman of the world disarmament conference.

3. PREPARING FOR THE WORLD WAR IN CHINA AND GENEVA

The imperialist war in China and the "Disarmament" Conference in Geneva together occupy the foreground of the picture of international events in the capitalist world. Whereas in the Soviet Union the new socialist world is being built by the masses of emancipated workers and a firm economic foundation for
the new social order has already been laid, the ravages of the economic crisis of capitalism threaten to plunge the masses yet deeper into penury and distress, while there is the further menace of the spectre of war being conjured up again—the spectre which laid millions of workers in their graves in the last war for the sake of their exploiters' profits.

This new world slaughter is being prepared in China and in Geneva—at the “Disarmament” Conference—in connection with an imperialist war of intervention against the land of socialism, the Soviet Union. The hostilities in the Far East, the smoking ruins of Chapei and the great “pacifist” performance in Geneva (which of course has nothing whatever to do with organising peace but only with organising war) are just two sides of the same coin. There is no contradiction between them. They rather dovetail into one another for both are sponsored by the imperialist robber war-lords.

Imperialism in China employs the language of cannons and aeroplane bombs, and in Geneva it announces in “vindication” of its war preparations, its “unconditional desire for peace.” But both these methods serve the self-same purpose of the imperialists. In Geneva and in the Far East alike the sole concern of the various imperialist powers is to see that each of them may enter the struggle that has already started for the re-partitioning of the world, with the best equipped forces and under the most favourable of auspices.

French and Japanese imperialism are especially anxious to distinguish themselves. The Franco-Japanese alliance is founded on the fact that both states between whom there are no considerable contradictions, are most active in pushing forward the plans for an intervention against the Soviet Union. Alike in the struggle for the partition of China and in the question of supremacy in the Pacific, France, more than any other country, can afford to let Japan have a free hand in its robber schemes. And these two allied pow-
ers are working in still closer collaboration to bring about the war against the Soviet Union.

France, the country that got most out of the Versailles robber treaty and the country that is the prime instigator of military intervention, needs this alliance with Japan, the country which is initiating the attack on the Soviet Union, in order that France's plans for war in Western Europe may the more quickly materialise. French Imperialism's aim is to utilise its present strength, as embodied in its large standing army, its extensive system of vassal states and its financial power, in order to organise the war against the Soviet Union under its own diplomatic leadership at Geneva.

The Paris banks show an extraordinary measure of confidence in Japan's "ability to pay" despite that country's shattered finances. What they really have confidence in, however, is not Japan's ability to pay but Japan's position as the nation best situated to start a war against the Soviet Union. In a spirit of "sacrifice" they proceed to finance the further spread of Japan's imperialist adventure, so that it may grow into military intervention in the Far Eastern territory of the Soviet Union. The armament credits which they grant are intended primarily to let loose the war along two fronts which they are planning against the land of the Soviets.

Side by side with the Comité des Forges and the Crédit Lyonnais which are mindful of their own war profits and the vested interests of French heavy industry (and which, ever since the predatory excursion in Manchuria in September, 1931, have been, through their press, working hand in hand with the Japanese militarists both in concealing the existence of war and in fanning the flames) the French government made itself the representative of the common war interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie when it granted the Japanese government a loan of 300 million yen at the end of January last. This loan is to serve as a temporary
relief to the finances of Japanese imperialism in order that Japan's gigantic orders for munitions in Europe and America may be maintained if only for a little.

French finance capital received the thanks of its Japanese ally for its "friendly" behaviour when the latter gave its warmest support in Geneva to "the only generous and well-thought-out proposal for the realisation of the idea of disarmament." Japan is still expressing its gratitude to the French imperialist press for the "understanding" way in which it dealt with Japan's "conflict" with China—expressing it in hard cash.

Japanese Imperialism's aim is to extend and, in a measure, to consolidate its predatory attack on China by an intervention against the Soviet Union, for she hopes in this way to secure a moment's breathing space from the competition of her imperialist rivals, America in particular.

Both the events in China and also those in Geneva form a prelude to the new world war and to military intervention in the land of proletarian dictatorship. The war in China and the conference in Geneva have become preludes to world war and intervention for the reason that the basic contradiction of the existence of the Soviet Union alongside of the capitalist world is becoming extremely acute at the very time that the inner contradictions of capitalist economy are coming to a head. These two factors together have led to the crisis that now holds the capitalist world in its grip.

Of course, each of the individual imperialist powers is striving to overcome the crisis at home at the expense of the other powers, but all of them are agreed on one point: they all want to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the Soviet Union, at the expense of the working class and at the expense of all oppressed working elements. Each of the imperialist powers wants to open up the Soviet Union for itself as an immense reservoir of raw materials and a vast market for goods;
they are all seeking for unrestricted supremacy in China by subduing the Chinese people and crushing the Soviet revolutionary movement in China; and they want to exploit their “protectorates” and colonies to an even greater extent. But at the same time a competitive struggle is going on among the powers themselves, a struggle that keeps growing in intensity all the time. They are at economic war among themselves for markets, raw materials, spheres of economic influence. They engage in finance and credit wars, attacking and undermining one another’s currency. In this competitive struggle, each must avail itself of every means in its power if it is not going to go under. From a war of high protective tariffs, immigration laws, boycotts, calling off credits and withdrawal of gold and securities, to the continuation of imperialist policy by force of arms, is but a step.

And this step has already been taken in China. At one and the same time, provocations to war have been thrust upon the Soviet Union both in the East and in the West, from China and from Geneva.

The War Brewing Against the Soviet Union in the East

Along the Eastern borders of the Soviet Union, Japanese imperialism is steadily at work hatching its knavish plans of provocation. It occupies Harbin, the key point of the Chinese Eastern Railway which is under joint Chinese-Soviet management. It moves Japanese troops inland towards the Soviet border. And it organises bands of white-guard emigrants for an attack upon the Soviet Union. The Japanese imperialist and social-fascist press has for months past been assisting in these preparations for an attack by its campaign on chauvinist propaganda. And the Japanese government, with a bland pacifist smile on its face, re-
jects the proposal of the Soviet Union for a non-aggression pact.

The other imperialist powers are in agreement with Japan's campaign of plunder in China in so far as it forms a stepping stone towards intervention in the Soviet Union. The imperialists regard this campaign as a means of launching the anti-Soviet war and also as the most effective weapon wherewith to repress the national movement for the liberation of the oppressed masses of China and that of the Soviets of Central China.

As a matter of course, Japanese imperialism avails itself of the antagonisms among the other imperialist powers, which, for the moment, enable Japan to pursue its plans of plunder unhampered. Thereby Japanese imperialism secures a moment's breathing space which it employs not only to perfect its anti-Soviet war plans but also to strengthen its armaments against America. And in this it finds its plans particularly aided by the main antagonism in the imperialist camp—the antagonism between America and England. Besides this, Japanese imperialism has Franco-American antagonism to thank for the pacifist protection bestowed by the League of Nations, for its alliance with France, which, though directed against the Soviet Union, on the one hand, is also, on the other hand, based on hostility to America.

*The War Brewing Against the Soviet Union in the West*

Hand in hand with the mobilisation for war against the Soviet Union in the Far East, French imperialism, the chief instigator of the anti-Soviet war, is at work in Geneva, provoking intervention in the West. The recent "Vanec Affair" in Moscow was a straw in the wind that gave this plan of French imperialism away. Vanec, one-time member of the Czech Legion,
placed himself in the service of the French military clique, and, to kindle an anti-Soviet war, tried to engineer an attempt on the life of the Japanese ambassador in Moscow.

The way that officers of the French general staff are hastening to visit Rumania, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia, the recent armament credits granted to these countries in Paris, and the absorption of the financially bankrupt states of Hungary and Bulgaria into the French anti-Soviet bloc are sufficiently clear signs that provocation to an immediate war has become an urgent necessity to French imperialism. The imperialist war of the Japanese bourgeoisie and landowners is the beginning of the active preparations for intervention. On November 7, 1931, O. Aymard, the French nationalist, writes quite frankly in the Liberte: “The Soviet power is vulnerable in Siberia, and if Europe will do its duty towards civilisation, the vast steppes of Siberia may one day be converted into a field of battle on which Bolshevism will meet its doom.”

In Geneva, French imperialism, with the help of its vassal states Poland, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia—is busy organising diplomatic preparations for the anti-Soviet war. By proposing a so-called “Armed force of the League of Nations,” Tardieu secures a free hand for the mobilisation of an actual army of intervention against the Soviet Union.

If the French proposal, which is nothing but a grand offensive move against the Soviet Union, should come to naught—and the possibility of failure is already provided for in the proposal—French imperialism announces that it renounces “immediate reduction of armaments.” The French representative thus conveyed his determination to have French imperialism well armed. Under the specious title of an “armed force of the League of Nations,” he was really sounding the attack upon the Soviet Union, an attack not by the so-called “armed forces of the League” but by the
French army proper, and by the joint armies of the vassal states (Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, etc.)—a total force of 13,000,000 men. These armies have already been provided with a staff of "specialists" in the art of intervention, the white guard detachments (of the special schools for war and police training in Belgrade and Riga).

France means to defend her hegemony in Europe by using the League of Nations to the full, the League today being primarily the tool of French imperialism. While the French press, financed by France's heavy industries, clamours of the perils that threaten France, Tardieu, in Geneva, lays emphasis on the inviolability of the agreements as an absolute sine qua non for international co-operation. He wants to use the relative strengthening of French imperialism during the crisis as a buttress for the tottering Versailles system which must be consolidated in particular as an instrument in the anti-Soviet war. French finance capital is trying—as the recent Franco-German nitrogen agreement indicates—to get Germany's heavy industries and chemical industries, so vital in case of war, under its economic and political control, and to force the German bourgeoisie to join the anti-Soviet front as vassals under French leadership. French imperialism will not, and indeed cannot, loosen the chains of the Versailles system. It must keep the terms of the Versailles Treaty intact, however much the world's economic crisis may have shaken it, in order to assure itself the leading position in the anti-Soviet war, and it must make an anti-Soviet war in order to perpetuate the Versailles system in Europe.

French imperialism is trying by every means in its power to strengthen the position which it won at Versailles as the gendarme of Europe in order to realise its plans for expansion at the expense not only of the rest of capitalist Europe but also of the Soviet Union. For this purpose what it most urgently needs is to get...
the whole political, military and financial organisation of the robber imperialist, counter-revolutionary attack on the Soviet Union under its immediate leadership and control. France hopes in this way to achieve the triumph of its own imperialist war plans with regards to the Soviet Union over the robber interests of its imperialist opponent in Europe—Germany first and foremost but also Italy, and England into the bargain. In order to consolidate its hegemony on the European continent, French imperialism must also maintain the whole system of oppression in Europe as a basis for its own bargaining. French imperialism, in the frenzied preparations it is making for an armed intervention against the Soviet Union, is driven to exploit the subjugation of 35 million nationally developed nations living in Europe under foreign domination—a subjugation aggravated by the forcible treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly and intensified by the entire capitalist crisis—for the aims of its own continental hegemony. French imperialism is today exploiting the system of national oppression, in its virulent campaign against the working class majority in the enslaved nations, as a special means of consolidating and extending its whole system of vassalage in southern and eastern Europe.

The Czech vassals of French imperialism are anxious to do their bit not alone by helping along in the matter of provocative acts and in the manufacture of munitions, but also in creating a "proper state of mind," whether pacifist or openly warlike. While Benes, singing hymns of peace and supplementing the provocative proposal of France, is working in the employ of French imperialism and carrying on propaganda on behalf of the anti-Soviet crusade at the "Disarmament" Conference, Myslivec, the representative of one of the government parties, the Czech Clericals, carries on open propaganda for the crusade against the Soviet Union in the Prague parliament. At a meet-
ing of the “Defence Committee” he stated, “Every civilised Christian nation must feel ashamed to think that an Asiatic people, the Japanese, will be the first to establish order in the Soviet Union.”

Another member of that Committee, Spacek, of the Czech National Democrats, the party to which that most violent of interventionists, Kramars belongs, asked the Minister whether “he assumed responsibility for the army’s being ready for war.” He referred to war being “now imminent,” “a war” in which our state must take part, as it was born in war time”—(the war of intervention by the Czecho-Slovakian legions against the proletarian revolution in Russia!—Z. L.) “and must defend its existence by war.” This deputy, Kramars, like the rabid interventionist that he is, then demanded that “the most up-to-date war materials be provided, especially aeroplanes, “gas and disease germs.”

That other vassal of France, Poland does not bother to employ such phrases of open incitement to war. Polish imperialism takes a very matter-of-fact attitude towards Japan’s incursion. When Pilsudski was in Vilna, the most important centre for mobilisation against the Soviet Union, and personally conducted the army manoeuvres there, the Kurier Vilenski wrote as follows in its issue of February 2, 1932: “The Japanese campaign in Northern China constitutes a severe embarrassment for Soviet Russia . . . and is on that account an event of positive significance to Poland.”

At the “Disarmament” Conference the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Zaleski, vied with Benes in upholding the French viewpoint, i.e., in chiming in with the French war plan which underlies the idea of an armed force of the League of Nations. Zaleski also made his personal contribution to the conference by concocting a theory of the “war guilt” of the Soviet Union. He understood the “threat to Poland” and declared that “certain elements (meaning of course the
Soviet Union) are seeking to further their egotistic aims by fomenting unrest." He went on to say, "It is imperative to take immediate steps to insure political stability." What Polish imperialism understands by steps to be taken against the "fomenters of unrest," is first and foremost war measures. This is not only proved by the frantic haste with which Poland is arming, but Zaleski himself said as much. He spoke in particular of the difficulty of entering into agreements with non-members of the League and with "countries having a different social, political and economic organisation," meaning thereby the difficulty of coming to an agreement with the Soviet Union. He therefore demanded that special clauses be included in the "disarmament conventions" for Poland; in other words he demanded that the League of Nations sanction full preparations for war against the Soviet Union. Since the wretched condition of the masses of workers and peasants, and of the national minorities under the oppression of the fascist state is causing revolutionary sentiment to rise to a menacing pitch, the Polish bourgeoisie is becoming more and more inclined to stake everything on a war against the Soviets.

Rumania, another vassal state of French imperialism, is today in substantially the same position as Poland and is on that account just as eager a defender of the French "proposal" in Geneva as any of its fellow vassal states.

Rumania pleads as its special reason for taking part in the preparations for the anti-Soviet war that it is being threatened on account of its act of imperialist robbery in seizing Bessarabia, and complains that the Soviet Union is unwilling to sanction this piece of robbery. Yet the Soviet Union has proposed a non-aggression pact to Rumania, by which a settlement of the Bessarabian question by force of arms would be precluded. The Rumanian imperialists, who are arming in desperation for a war on Soviet Russia, indulge
in lying talk about the Soviet Union's "war adventure." According to the *Universu*, the government organ, the Soviet Union is "in the throes of serious domestic difficulties, a situation which, of course, generally drives governments to undertake warlike adventures." (Issue of January 29, 1932.)

The other imperialist robbers, especially England and America, are in full agreement with French imperialism on the question of converting all their pacifist phrases into anti-Soviet war-cries. The formula "the Soviet Union stands in the way of disarmament" has already run into several editions. Apart from those open instigators of a war against the Soviet Union—men at whose call the white-guards are now mobilising in all the countries that are harbouring them—we find so serious a mouthpiece of British imperialism as the *Nineteenth Century* writing in its January issue, on the subject of the conference that "Russia is an obstacle to the development of the peace idea in Europe." Similar language was used, in a "semi-official" way by Jules Sauerwein, the confidential agent of the French Foreign Ministry, when he left for Geneva, "The attendance of the Soviet Union"—he said—"is another circumstance which bodes ill for the success of the Conference. The one reasonable course is for the European nations to come together to discuss the question of replacing the national armies with a European army. Russia's regime is such that it can have no place in such an organisation." Certainly, the veiled language of diplomacy can deal in no plainer terms with the plan of intervention against the Soviet Union. It remains only to mention the well-known report presented to the Senate by General Bourgeois "Concerning the War Plans of the Soviet Union," a report that was specially prepared for the French delegation to the Conference. The British imperialist press, however, also grasped the import of this report. The *Times* of January 9, 1932, published as war propaganda the in-
formation” that the Soviet Union had a million Red Army soldiers under arms and another three million available for immediate mobilisation. The *Morning Post* of January 12, 1932, taking up the cry, speaks in this connection of the “growing danger of the new hordes of Ghengis Khan.”

Thus we see clearly into the true meaning of that pacifist campaign carried on by the “moderates” and by official groups, in connection with the disarmament conference, against the Soviet Union as the “principal obstacle” to disarmament and as the “principal war danger.”

The frothy talk of the pacifists and the war-fomenting declarations of the imperialists stand in no contradiction to one another. The imperialists have simply adopted both these means to stir up public opinion against the Soviet Union, utilising the Social-Democrats in particular as their willing tools. In this way the “Disarmament” Conference is intended to conjoin with the war in China to form one plan for provoking a war against the Soviet Union.

4. THE ANTI-SOVIET WAR AND THE NEXT WORLD WAR

Now at this time when capitalism is frantically casting about for a way out of the crisis, we have the immediate prospect not only of intervention but also of a new imperialist war. The war in China and the conference in Geneva, all manoeuvres of the imperialists, “pacifist” and militarist alike, are directed towards one and the same end. Consequently the question of the imperialist world war and the question of intervention against the Soviet Union are inseparable. Every new imperialist war, as the present war of the Japanese bourgeoisie shows, is closely linked up with the direct preparations for the anti-Soviet war. A war against the Soviet Union at this juncture when imperialist con-
traditions are fast coming to a head, would be the spark to set the world in flames. The burning questions that confront the imperialists with regard to a re-distribution of the earth's surface, lead directly to only one solution: imperialist world war.

The material for a new world war is not to be found solely in the antagonism between America and Japan, strained as are the relations between these two countries today. The fundamental contradiction within the imperialist world, Anglo-American rivalry for imperialist hegemony, also demands a settlement by force of arms.

The most powerful of the world's imperialist powers, the United States of America, is being driven by the pressure of the world's most serious economic crisis closer than ever to the war "solution" as a "way out" of its difficulties. What the United States is striving for above all is a re-partition of the world in order to procure for itself the colonies that it lacks, and virtually to make itself the heir to the British empire. England is being more and more elbowed out of Latin America, out of her Dominions and even out of her colonies, by the United States. The principal contradiction of the imperialist world, the contradiction between the foremost imperialist powers, England and America, is coming to a head.

But why, as things stand, does the antagonism between America and Japan focus the lion's share of the world's attention?

Japanese imperialism had to start with the partitioning of China if it was going to assert itself. But American imperialism needs all of China for itself as a semi-colonial possession. America, by subduing Japan, seeks to insure its hegemony in the Pacific as the keystone to a world hegemony, and thereby usurp the role of leader in the anti-Soviet war.

American imperialism is preparing for the "Disarmament" Conference, not merely by assigning 450,000
dollars for the American delegation as a pacifist
gesture, not merely with humanitarian phrases about
the idea of peace, not even by the more practical de­
mand that the other powers should limit their navies,
but by a method explained by General Mitchell, the air­
craft expert. General Mitchell made a statement in
which he described in a detailed manner the intensifica­
tion of the preparations for a war against Japan, and
said that a war with Japan for control of the Pacific
was inevitable.

British imperialism's first aim to realise all it can
out of the American-Japanese antagonism; but it also
wants to utilise the Franco-American antagonism
(which arises from the subject of German reparations,
the allied war debts, and gold). For that reason British
imperialism is for the present pursuing a policy of rap­
prochement towards France and supporting Japan
against America. Britain wants to hold its positions of
world importance against America, to have the inter­
allied war debts canceled in its own favour, and above
all, to get its proper share in the leadership of the war
against the Soviet Union.

But as the imperialist contradictions grow more in­
volved, every act of war—not only the war in China,
but also the "little" wars now going on in the colonies,
the "punitive expeditions" sent by the various imper­
ialist powers against their rebellious slaves—brings a
new crop of imperialist contradictions with it. And
each of these carries within it the seeds of further wars.

Besides Anglo-American antagonism and American­
Japanese antagonism, there are other contradictions
which, as the profound economic crisis of capitalism
becomes more aggravated, likewise grow in intensity:
these are the Franco-German contradiction arising
from the consolidation of the Versailles system, the
Franco-American contradiction arising from the gold
question and the question of debts, the Anglo-French
contradiction, arising from the fall of the pound and
the reparations question, the Franco-Italian contradiction—arising from France’s efforts to secure hegemony over the Mediterranean, etc.

These contradictions will all play a part in the new world war. The imperialist robbers propose to have these contradictions solved—as they solved them before in 1914-1918 in every country but Russia—through the slaughter of millions of workers, through the unspeakable misery of the masses.

Japanese imperialism has already been forced to adopt war as an avenue of escape from its exceptionally severe economic crisis. Already Japan is marching forward to new imperialist robbery and mass murder and has taken the first step forward towards a new world war and a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The stone that is to release the avalanche of war, has already been set rolling.

The first world war which broke out in 1914, was in reality a continuation of the war for Tripoli in 1911 and the first and second Balkan wars of 1912-1913. This time no Sarajevo will be necessary to bring on the new world war, and the war will not even have to be declared. In the matter of declaring war, the hypocritical band of murderous imperialists have ready their scrap of paper, the Kellogg pact, which has banned the declaration of war. Accordingly wars will not be declared, they will simply be started. That is why the Japanese imperialism’s attack on China took the form of a police measure occasioned by the “murder of a Japanese officer” in Manchuria.

The explosive material needed for the early starting of the imperialist war and the war of intervention against the Soviet Union—to follow upon the imperialist war in China—is steadily accumulating as a result of the economic crisis which is daily growing more acute and in consequence of the universal accentuation and complication of imperialist contradictions. Acts of provocation are the fuses which are to ignite this ex-
plosive material, and such acts are being perpetrated everywhere today, primarily against the Soviet Union.

Before the beginning of the world slaughter of 1914-1918, the international scene presented only the contradictions existing within the camp of the imperialists themselves. But today the problem is not merely one of re-partitioning the world, which has become too small for the imperialists. Today we are witnessing a struggle between two worlds, the socialist world in the Soviet Union and the capitalist world. And to this must be added the problem of capitalism's frenzied search for a way out of the crisis.

That is why the imperialists are concentrating all their forces upon preparations for war both at home and abroad and upon acts of provocation that will lead to a war of intervention against the Soviet Union, for it is along this path that they propose to find an avenue of escape.

At the "Disarmament" Conference, every imperialist power, in addition to glossing over its war aims with a pacifist veneer, wants to create the most favourable conditions for itself as regards taking part in the world war, both in point of securing its own freedom to arm and in securing the most advantageous war alliances. The imperialists advance the most cynical of demands, which betray their firm determination not to disarm, and they accompany these demands with pacifist gestures. They manoeuvre one against the other under the mask of pacifism in order to make suitable war alliances and to secure the most favourable conditions on which to enter the war.

5. THE WORLD "DISARMAMENT" CONFERENCE IS NOT A MERE FARCE

The pacifist prelude in Geneva to the forthcoming world war and to the anti-Soviet war is closely related to the new world war that has been started in China.
The "Disarmament" Conference, therefore, is anything but a mere farce.

In the grave situation created by the commencement of the new world war, the imperialists cannot afford to stage a mere farce in Geneva for the pacifist preparation of the war. Even a pacifist farce enacted by the imperialists is itself an extremely dangerous weapon in their hands. They have to enact this comedy in order that they may bring on the war without let or hindrance and without arousing too much apprehension.

But the imperialists today must, in addition to extending and intensifying their use of the pacifist methods of deception, find other and more direct means of preparing for the war. At the "Disarmament" Conference an intensive preliminary campaign is being waged by the diplomats in order to transform the present world economic crisis and the present financial and credit blockade against the Soviet Union into a new world war and into active intervention.

The peace-loving assurances that are heard from all quarters at the conference serve, no less than the positive, cynical statements about the necessity of world armaments, as decorative garlands to adorn the round-about dealings of the diplomats. Their object is to enable the imperialists more quickly to effect their war alliances, both against each other and, first and foremost, against the Soviet Union. For this last is their one common goal, no matter what "extreme" pacifist "demands" they may put forward, as e.g., the German, Italian and Spanish proposals. This holds true, no matter how loudly they may shout at the conference about the "performance of international agreements," no matter how far they may go in their efforts to invent a pretext for arming, as in the case of France and the states bordering on the Soviet Union, in particular. And it holds true equally when the speakers at the conference demand, in the name of humanity.
limitations in just those sorts of armaments in which they feel that they have a disadvantage. Thus, Tar-dieu, would limit "civil" aviation. Why? Because Germany has a greater civil air fleet than France. Stimson is against more U-Boats. Why? Because America's fleet is threatened in this regard.

These "humanitarian" trimmings, like the pacifist phrases in general, are of course transparent enough, especially when the speech-makers dwell with too evident frequency on the formula of "national security" or the famous French formula "security first; disarmament afterwards." Their "national security" of course means not disarmament but armaments. Their "national security" is the imperialist slogan for complete armament and above all for the war of aggression. The aggressive nature of the imperialist slogan of "national security" becomes still more apparent when set alongside of the so-called "exceptional clauses" in the minutes of the preparatory commission of the League of Nations; these concern the "disarmament" provisions of such countries as have for neighbours nations that are non-members of the League. These "exceptional clauses" mean openly surrendering all idea of the "immediate limitation" of armaments; in other words, they give such states a perfectly free hand to go ahead and arm. Among the non-members of the League, the Soviet Union stands first, and among the members, Poland and Rumania.

As regards the general run of hypocritical talk which is to be heard at the "Disarmament" Conference, it is, of course, not taken seriously even for a moment by any one of the participants. Each poses as guardian of the peace, and willingly lets the others do the same. And in so doing, they are not trying to deceive each other, but only seek to use pacifist deception on a grand scale, in order to facilitate war preparations at home in their own countries.
Now, it might be asked whether the war in China does not confront the pacifist players of the League of Nations and its "Disarmament Conference" with insuperable difficulties calculated to expose and shatter all this pacifist fraud. "Apprehensions" of this kind are being expressed today with especial frequency by the Social-Democratic press. But this way of putting the question is only meant to cover up the real meaning of the pacifist fraud as a weapon for the preparation of war. The pacifist performance has in reality so little to do with combating the danger of war that the "success" or "failure" of the conference is really a side issue. All the pacifist activities of the imperialists are closely interwoven with their war policy and for this very reason the "Disarmament" Conference has no difficulty in avoiding the "embarrassing" question of the war against China. The war of Japanese imperialism did not, of course, violate the rules of the League of Nations. This is quite plain, inasmuch as the League of Nations and the "Disarmament" Conference are not formally aware of any "war" in China.

After all, Japan, like a true and faithful member of the League of Nations, never did declare war. True, Japanese imperialism has been waging war in actual fact ever since September 1931 with every means that the science of modern warfare places at its disposal, and has already caused the murder of thousands—and the League of Nations never took any steps to stop it. On the contrary, the League, and the French imperialists that sponsor it, not only aided and abetted this campaign of imperialist plunder but even prepared the way for it with its notes and "warnings." The League in this way gave Japan a free hand, especially in relation to the United States. According to the hypocritical way in which the imperialist in China put things, their duty is to "save" civilisation from chaos; which means
an attack on the Chinese people and on the Soviets in Central China. Compare the statement of the Japanese War Minister on February 15, 1932, in connection with the sending of fresh troops to China, that “during the disturbances in Shanghai the Communists have redoubled their activity in the Yangtse Valley and have met with considerable success” and again that “the Communists are exceedingly active among the Chinese troops in Shanghai.” This being so, how can the so-called League of Nations refuse Japanese imperialism its most effective support in the “rescuing of civilisation?”

But neither can the League of Nations stand by with its hands folded; at any rate, not at a time when its job is to help organise intervention against the Soviet Union by the same “pacifist” methods as it has used in the war in China, and to advance the new world war that has started in China, a step further.

But the workers of the world must not stand passively by in the face of this war, the burden of which they are expected to bear and which will be waged over their slaughtered bodies. They must do everything in their power to prevent the bloody work of the imperialists; and should they not succeed in preventing the war, it is their business to change the imperialist war into a civil war against the enemy at home, against their own capitalist bourgeoisie.

The many pieces of pacifist sham practiced at the conference by the imperialists not only among themselves but also against the Soviet Union, do not in the least hinder the imperialists from consistently pursuing their common aims—to increase armaments to the highest possible pitch, to form the most advantageous war-alliances they can, and to bring on the war by the least obvious and yet most effective means. The actual work of the conference that is carried on behind the scenes, has nothing whatsoever to do with disarma-
ment, not even in words. Its object is to determine the relative war strength of each imperialist power in the impending war and to create as quickly as possible a united front for intervention—a front which for the moment is under the leadership and guidance of French imperialism, with Japanese imperialism taking the actual initiative.

The principal task of the "Disarmament" Conference is to mislead the working masses by preaching pacifism. Each of the imperialist powers is already trying at this conference to arrange the new world war in such a way that it may have the best chances when the war comes to be waged. The job of the conference is to handle the practical organisation of the new imperialist war and the intervention, a job which the League of Nations has thus far "conscientiously" performed in the matter of the imperialist war in China.

The Franco-Japanese alliance, the spread of French hegemony in Eastern and South Eastern Europe, the tightening of Germany's bonds by means of the Young Plan, the momentary rapprochment between France and Britain directed against America and Germany but also against the Soviet Union—all these factors make the imperialists anxious to utilise the "Disarmament" Conference and the League of Nations as a means of forming those groups of alliances which are most urgently needed by French imperialism for initiating an anti-Soviet war. France and Japan on one side and England on the other want to push America into the background, while America wants to get the whole of China as a semi-colonial possession and, as the most powerful imperialist power in the world, has a claim for first place in waging the war against the Soviet Union. This, however, does not in any way diminish the antagonism between Britain and France or between Britain and Japan. On the contrary, these antagonisms are taking on a sharper edge.
The main task before the "Disarmament" Conference today is to give the individual imperialist powers a chance of finding a way out of their perplexities, an avenue of escape from the accentuations and complications of imperialist antagonisms by way of an anti-Soviet war. French imperialism in particular, for the moment at the height of its power, and the main instigator of intervention against the Soviet Union, is striving for this "solution." It is not for nothing that the growing campaign against the Soviet Union is being led by French imperialism and that the special object of this campaign at the present time is to carry through the "Disarmament" Conference as a means of preparing for the war on the Soviet Union.

It is not for nothing that international Social-Democracy, one of the prime organisers of the anti-Soviet war, has redoubled its campaign of calumny against the land of socialism, availing itself of all forms of slander from the anti-Soviet lies of open counter-revolutionaries to the more carefully adopted lying of the "Leftists." Particularly at this time, when the imperialists are preparing the war on the Soviets in every possible way, they are anxious to repress the growing sympathies felt for the Soviet Union by the workers of the whole world and to minimise the revolutionising effects of the socialist construction which is going on in the land of the proletarian dictatorship. International Social-Democracy is intensifying its systematic campaign of knavish calumny against the Soviet Union. It still continues to spread its infamous lies about "serfdom" in the Soviet Union—the alleged "serfdom" of that working class which is master of its own country, which works for itself and not for the capitalists, and whose material and cultural standards keep growing steadily, along with the progressive development of socialist planned economy.
7. THE ONLY REAL PEACE POLICY

Not only do the contradictions between the imperialists not hinder, but they even, in fact, contribute to the counter-revolutionary, robber war against the Soviet Union, especially at this time when the capitalist crisis is at its height and the “Disarmament” Conference is in progress. Against the warlike intentions of the imperialists, the genuine peace policy of the Soviet Union stands out in bold relief. That is why the whole “pacifist” offensive of the imperialists is directed against the Soviet Union first and foremost.

Ever since the Genoa conference, the Soviet government has again and again come forward with genuine concrete proposals for guaranteeing peace. The Soviet proposals, both those for speedy and extensive disarmament and those immediately applicable proposals for partial disarmament, which might lead to general disarmament later, have been either rejected or thwarted by commissions appointed by the League. These proposals, however, served the purpose of unmasking the true purposes of the imperialist advocates of “disarmament”; they unmasked the true function of this League of Imperialist Nations and of its pacifist auxiliary, the Second International, whose role as one of the main instigators of intervention was clearly shown up by the Moscow trial of the Mensheviks.

The chairman of the Commissariat of People's Commissars, Molotov, said at the December session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets:

"The Soviet government firmly maintains its attitude, which is in itself a programme of peace, namely that of favouring full and complete disarmament as proposed by the Soviet Union. When the League invited the Soviet government to take part in the Geneva disarmament discussions, the Soviet government accepted the invitation, despite its opposition to the League in principle."

The Soviet government never for a single moment entertained any illusions about the real function of the
8. THE TRUE ROAD TO PEACE

To cover up the frantic military preparations now being made, to hide under the banner of pacifism the constantly recurring acts of provocation, to camouflage the political and diplomatic arrangements for continuing and spreading the world war already started in China—these are the true objects of the world "Disarmament" Conference.

In its search for a way out of the crisis at the expense of the workers, who are again to be slaughtered by the millions and plunged into all the misery that war brings with it, capitalism is meeting with other obstacles besides the Soviet government's consistent peace policy. Counter to the efforts of the world imperialist bourgeoisie to increase the already measureless exploitation of the masses, and to engineer a new war, there is another serious obstacle—the growing strength within and without, of socialism as a world factor, the victorious building up of socialism in the Soviet Union, the revolutionary upsurge of the workers' movement in capitalist countries and the movement for national liberation in the colonial countries, as the slaves to capitalism the world over come more and more to pin their faith on the Soviet Union.

The oppressed working masses of the capitalist countries, under the leadership of the Communist Party must gather their forces for the struggle against the bourgeois warlords of their home countries, and rally round the socialist fatherland of all the workers, the Soviet Union. They can only stay the hand of their imperialist bourgeoisie by defending the Soviet Union as the champion of peace, by defending the building up of the new socialist world, to the last ounce of their strength. But they cannot do this without fighting against the enemy at home, against capitalism which
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The oppressed working masses of the capitalist countries, under the leadership of the Communist Party must gather their forces for the struggle against the bourgeois warlords of their home countries, and rally round the socialist fatherland of all the workers, the Soviet Union. They can only stay the hand of their imperialist bourgeoisie by defending the Soviet Union as the champion of peace, by defending the building up of the new socialist world, to the last ounce of their strength. But they cannot do this without fighting against the enemy at home, against capitalism which
oppresses them and keeps them in misery, without fighting for the setting up of the proletarian dictatorship. The victorious proletariat of the Soviet Union can show a mighty example—the October Revolution and the building up of a better world, for all workers—a revolutionary way out of the crisis, out of the mass misery that capitalism creates.

For all workers and working elements the Soviet Union is the citadel of the new socialist world, the home of peace and emancipated labour, which they must defend against the counter-revolutionaries, against the thievish attacks of the imperialists, who are conspiring among themselves at the world "Disarmament" Conference. By so doing, they will be defending themselves against untold misery, enslavement and the fresh world slaughter, which capitalism wants to engineer as its "way out" of the crisis.

For the oppressed and exploited of all capitalist countries there is only one way of effectively defending the Soviet Union and themselves escaping from the capitalist yoke. That is by following the leadership of the Communist Party, which is the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, and which is leading the working class and in alliance with it the other toiling elements of society, the peasant masses and the lower middle class, in a real revolutionary struggle against capitalism. This is the road which leads to the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism, the road which the Russian workers and peasants took in 1917.

The antagonism between the two worlds, the capitalist and the socialist, increase with every accentuation of the crisis, with every advance made by the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries, with every victory for socialism gained in the Soviet Union. A conflict is going on for two opposite ways out of the ever intensifying capitalist crisis—the revolutionary
way out and the capitalist way out. On the one hand, the capitalist "solution," which means increasing and perpetuating the misery of the masses and starting a new world slaughter, and on the other hand, as sole alternative—the revolutionary way out.

It is the path of revolution that all the oppressed and exploited must follow if they are to prevent war. But should they be unable to prevent it, they must turn the imperialist war into a civil war for the overthrow of capitalism, for sweeping away the misery of the masses and overcoming the danger of a fresh world slaughter.

Pacifism is no guarantee of peace. The pacifist hood-winking of the masses is only a preparatory step to war. The sole guarantee of peace is the victory of socialism over the whole world. This victory alone will make it possible for the masses of the peoples of the various nations, having thrown off the shackles of capitalism and imperialism to work together in harmony.

*Capitalism spells war! Socialism spells peace!*

Consequently the workers, who are enemies of capitalism and imperialist war, must put up a resolute struggle today against the pacifism of the "disarming" capitalists in Geneva, and of their principal agents, the Second International.

The fight against pacifism must be waged by all those whom capitalism has oppressed and enslaved; they must expose its fraud, as part of their struggle against the threatening war. They must make the struggle against the slaughter of millions, against the capitalist way out of the crisis through war, their struggle. This struggle against war must smash the pacifist deception contrived by the "Disarmament" Conference which is preparing for war.
Another means of camouflaging the vast armaments of the imperialists is the “publication” of armaments figures. This “publication” is of course intended to proclaim to the whole world, with hypocritical shams and trumpets, the imperialists’ “sincere desire for peace.”

The figures dished up for the League of Nations by the various powers not alone fail to give actual numbers as to “peace-time” forces in the standing armies, but wholly omit to mention the reserves available for immediate mobilisation in the event of war, reserves that are trained not in the army alone but also in the various fascist military organisations.

Nor do they have anything to say about the reserves of war material which have been accumulated, or about the giant growth of the munitions industries.

Nor could the peace-time figures—which are as nothing compared to the actual war-time reserves available—reveal the actual military preparations being made for war, even were the honest figures published. Because the figures that really count are the figures of war reserves, human and material, and the extent of the war industries. But the “open-hearted” pacifists, who are busy at the “Disarmament” Conference, setting up the political and diplomatic framework for the war, simply ignore the existence of these things. Perhaps the reason is that at the conference they feel it a matter of courtesy not to mention such things, for these deceivers of nations and murderers of the masses feel the need of being polite to each other.

Official figures of the war budgets can, of course, be freely published. But they very often give only a fraction of the actual amounts spent on armaments, the tremendous burden of which must be borne by the
working masses who pay the taxes. Armaments expendi
ture is kept hidden in the accounts of the various
state departments, from the Ministry of Public Health,
and the Ministry of Public Welfare, down to the Min­
istry of Transport and the Ministry of Agriculture. Yet
even the war budget figures published show that mil­
tary expenditure has more than doubled since 1913,
and has gone up 50 per cent within the period from
1928-1929 to 1931-1932.
Even the official figures are not quite able to give
the lie to the patent fact that armaments have grown
and undergone radical technical improvement. If the
official armaments figures for the pre-war period are
compared with current figures, and the whole vast
transformation of military science properly taken into
account, it becomes evident that the armaments of the
“peace-loving” imperialists today are several times
greater than they were then, both as regards the per­
cussion power of modernised armies and navies, the
new instruments of destruction on land and in the air,
and above all the new methods of chemical warfare.
Modern aeroplane warfare, gas warfare and the use
of disease germs, are calculated to wipe out the peace­
ful populations of entire cities and provinces. The
greedy giant, imperialism, is threatening its slaves not
only with the shambles of a modern battle-field and
the horrors of war-time privation, but with the actual
slaughter of the masses behind the battle lines.
The imperialists are accordingly anxious to use
their pacifist deception to divert the horrified indigna­
tion of the oppressed masses against the threatening
horror of world slaughter. Bourgeois and, in parti­
cular, Social-Democratic agents try to make the cred­
ulous believe that war is quite out of the question now
that science has advanced so far that a squadron of
powerful planes could destroy a whole city in a few
minutes.
But at this very moment the humanitarian illusions that the pacifism of the imperialists and their lackeys is intended to create, have been shattered by the destruction of Chapei, where only a small war—officially no war at all—is being carried on. These lies are intended to turn the eyes of the masses from the true character of imperialism, from its cold-blooded murder.

The munition factories, which are working at top speed despite the terrible world crisis and the building of additional plants for the manufacture of war materials, stamp all the imperialist “efforts for peace” as brazen lies. The feverish prosperity of the war industries is in contrast but not in contradiction with the depression in the other industries, which are working, at best, at only half their capacity. There is no contradiction: the war industries are inundated with orders for the very reason that as the world’s economic crisis grows more acute, the capitalists are more and more forced to make immediate preparations for their “solution” of the crisis, the new world war.

The war industries are now turning out a new type machine-gun that can fire 600 shots to the minute; big guns with a range of 120 kilometres; up-to-date tanks, which move at high speed and have a 500 kilometre radius of action. The war industries are turning out bombing planes capable of carrying eight tons of bombs; modern 10,000 ton cruisers, that are better armed than battleships used to be; submarines equal in fighting power to the cruisers of yesterday. The war industries are manufacturing bombs and munitions of all kinds in quantities sufficient to wipe out whole provinces.

The guns of the imperialists have not been loaded for nothing. They are meant to be fired.
**Armed Forces in Capitalist Countries**

(From official data submitted to the League of Nations)

**TABLE I**

**Land Forces**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Home forces</th>
<th>Colonial forces</th>
<th>Total at home and abroad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>68,920</td>
<td>4,820</td>
<td>17,484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>139,788</td>
<td>10,221</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>402,255</td>
<td>24,618</td>
<td>249,065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>100,500</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>1929/30</td>
<td>114,745</td>
<td>7,861</td>
<td>29,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1930/31</td>
<td>462,281</td>
<td>21,174</td>
<td>29,137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>259,414</td>
<td>17,343</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>184,448</td>
<td>6,741</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>16,293</td>
<td>1,588</td>
<td>39,033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>266,980</td>
<td>17,895</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumania</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>240,501</td>
<td>14,185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>141,893</td>
<td>21,893</td>
<td>53,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1929-30</td>
<td>24,869</td>
<td>2,340</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>117,937</td>
<td>11,822</td>
<td>22,020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The total of the armies of the so-called great powers have, therefore, according to these very reports to the League, grown since 1914 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1914</th>
<th>1931</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>752,600</td>
<td>651,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>176,700</td>
<td>144,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>273,900</td>
<td>491,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>105,000</td>
<td>139,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>233,300</td>
<td>259,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,541,500</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,686,500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Special attention should be given to the fact that the countries victorious in the last war, France in particular, have increased their war strength since that time by entering into military alliances and by increasing their colonial armies. The armies of the allies of imperialistic France are given in the reports to the League of Nations as follows:

- Belgium: 86,400
- Poland: 266,000
- Rumania: 240,500
- Yugoslavia: 184,500
- Czecho-Slovakia: 138,800

This gives a total of 916,300 men to be added on to the French troops. And in this connection it must be borne in mind that the report that Poland gave to the League is in conflict with the official budget data for that country, according to which the Polish army has a force of 24,000 men more than was stated in the report submitted to the League.

As regards England, it must be pointed out that since the war its Indian army (again according to official figures) has increased from 163,800 men to 257,400 men. Besides this, one or two “irregular” detachments have been formed in India, comprising in all 78,400 men.

Special emphasis must be laid on the large armies in the countries bordering on the Soviet Union.
According to the figures they gave the League of Nations, the total for the nations along the Western Border of the U.S.S.R. was 574,600 divided as follows:

- Finland: 31,600
- Estonia: 13,500
- Lithuania: 23,000
- Poland: 266,000
- Rumania: 240,500

No exact figures are available on the standing armies in countries along the Southern and Eastern borders, but British India alone has an army of 257,400 men, Japan has 259,300 and Afghanistan 60,000.

The total strength of the Red Army, on the other hand is only 562,000 men.

But the added strength of the so-called peace-time armies is far from reflecting the actual increase in war strength as a whole, inasmuch as armaments are today mainly improved in the sense of increasing the fighting power and the destructive power of the armies.

### TABLE II

**Warships of the Most Powerful Naval Powers**

(Completed and in construction)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of vessel</th>
<th>Completed</th>
<th>In construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Tonnage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Battleships</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>528,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Seaplane carriers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>77,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cruisers with guns larger</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>79,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>than 6.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cruisers with guns not over 6.1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>75,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ocean-going torpedo boats</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>273,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Submarines</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>76,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of vessel</td>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>In construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Tonnage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Great Britain</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Battleships</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>555,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Seaplane carriers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>115,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cruisers with guns larger than 6.1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>155,286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cruisers with guns not over 6.1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>170,665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ocean-going torpedo boats</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>155,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Submarines</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>55,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Japan</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Battleships</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>298,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Seaplane carriers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>61,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cruisers with guns larger than 6.1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>84,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. With guns not over 6.1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>93,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ocean-going torpedo boats</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>111,885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Submarines</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>70,973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>France</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Battleships</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>185,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Seaplane carriers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cruisers with guns larger than 6.1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>104,424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cruisers with guns not over 6.1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>68,641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ocean-going torpedo boats</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>38,662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Submarines</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>68,593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Italy</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Battleships</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>87,917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cruisers with guns larger than 6.1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>74,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cruisers with guns not over 6.1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ocean-going torpedo boats</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>75,953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Submarines</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>35,094</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In connection with the growth of these fleets, the thing to notice is the entire re-formation necessitated by the latest scientific discoveries and by recent war experience. This is observable, firstly, in the rapid increase in the number of submarines and seaplane carriers, as well as in perfected high-speed vessels, especially torpedo boats, and, secondly, in the tremendous increase in the fighting strength of modern ships, in the increasing efficiency of their gunnery and torpedo equipment, in the increasing range and accuracy of their guns, as well as in the increase of speed.

Consequently, even where the number of vessels remains unchanged, there has been a re-shuffling of the various classes, involving more submarines, more aeroplane carriers, and more high-speed vessels. Thus, in 1931, the five powers together had 437 submarines as against only 204 in 1914.
As regards the fighting strength of modern warships, the following factors are most characteristic:

a) In 1914 the weight of all the shots and torpedoes capable of being discharged at one time by all the guns and launching tubes, amounted in the fleets of the five large powers, to 2,356 tons, whereas in 1931 this figure had increased to 3,088 tons.

b) In 1914 the total motor power amounted to 28,171,000 h.p., whereas in 1931 it had increased to 40,349,000 h.p. In 1914 the value of the best battleship of the British Navy was 3,000,000 pounds sterling, whereas the value of the modern battleship “H.M.S. Nelson” is 7,500,000 pounds sterling.

c) In 1914 the best submarines had a tonnage of 675 to 820, whereas the up-to-date ones have a tonnage of 2,820 to 3,360 tons.

Table IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total number of planes</th>
<th>Total H. P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Belgium</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Czecho-Slovakia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>France</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Great Britain</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Italy</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Japan</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yugoslavia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Holland</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Poland</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rumania</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spain</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sweden</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>United States</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,762</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of military planes has practically doubled in the last seven or eight years, while heavy planes have more than quadrupled their numbers. The
number of planes and seaplanes of the five great powers—France, England, United States, Italy, Japan—amounted in 1923-1924 to 2,280, whereas in 1931 their number was 3,838. In 1923-1924 these planes together could carry 544 tons of bombs; whereas today this figure has increased to 2,397 tons.

Poland officially informed the League of Nations that it needed an air fleet of 700 planes, while Rumania said it needed 790 planes.

The great growth in aeroplane strength is further evidenced by the increased expenditures for air fleets. The air fleet budgets of the five great powers for 1924-1926 amounted to 149,000,000 dollars (8.5 per cent of the entire budget for military expenditures); in 1931, however, this figure rose to 398,000,000 dollars (16.8 per cent of the entire budget for military expenditures). In the Polish military budget recently published for 1932, the figures for the air fleet are trebled, despite the severe economic crisis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Army, Navy and Air Armaments Budgets</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Army</th>
<th>Navy</th>
<th>Air force</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Czecho-Slovakia</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>53,67</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>53,67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1930/31</td>
<td>339,3</td>
<td>118,1</td>
<td>83,8</td>
<td>541,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1930/31</td>
<td>123,9</td>
<td>44,5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>168,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great-Britain</td>
<td>1929/30</td>
<td>191,4</td>
<td>242,6</td>
<td>93,7</td>
<td>527,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1930/31</td>
<td>203,9</td>
<td>77,4</td>
<td>50,1</td>
<td>331,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1929/30</td>
<td>128,4</td>
<td>132,2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>260,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>47,9</td>
<td>17,8</td>
<td>4,5</td>
<td>70,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1931/32</td>
<td>82,3</td>
<td>3,8</td>
<td>8,7</td>
<td>94,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumania</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2,1</td>
<td>8,8</td>
<td>61,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>66,6</td>
<td>21,2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>87,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1929/30</td>
<td>21,2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>34,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>1929/30</td>
<td>324,9</td>
<td>375,2</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>809</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE VI

**Expenditures per head of population, for military preparations**

(In American Dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Expenditure per head of population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>2,17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>11,48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>3,45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1930/31</td>
<td>13,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1930/31</td>
<td>2,70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1930/31</td>
<td>7,92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1930/31</td>
<td>4,04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>1930/31</td>
<td>4,71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1930/31</td>
<td>3,07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumania</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>5,43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>3,82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1930/31</td>
<td>5,60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>6,84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comparative table of war expenditures:**

*(based on official statistics)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Military expenditure 1930-1931</th>
<th>Percentage of total budget</th>
<th>Percentage as compared with 1913</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>58.8%</td>
<td>+ 197%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>10,92</td>
<td>69.7%</td>
<td>+ 85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>65.6%</td>
<td>+ 42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>+ 131%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy 1929-1930</td>
<td>4,98</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>+ 44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany 1929</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>— 63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Growth in military expenditure of the five great powers: United States, Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1913-1914</th>
<th>1931</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land forces</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>1,114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air forces</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,153</td>
<td>2,373</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i.e., an increase of over 2 times.

Growth of War Budgets 1930-1931 as compared with 1928-1929

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Budget</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Technical changes in the Modern Army

As compared with 1914 the fighting capacity of modern armies has increased many fold. The "old" fighting instruments—the infantry and artillery—keep continually increasing their fighting strength and their number in any given unit of troops.

Both light and heavy machine guns have a much greater rapidity of fire today than in the time of the world war. Thanks to the use of various appliances to increase accuracy of aim their effectiveness has been increased to an extraordinary degree. Thus, an American infantry division in 1914 could discharge 163,400 shots from rifles and machine guns per minute. Today's figure is 422,320 shots per minute. A French division which in 1914 could discharge 103,200 shots per minute can today discharge 212,800 per minute. This means that the effectiveness of rifles and machine
guns has increased from 200 to 250 per cent, despite the fact that the actual numbers of infantry have diminished.

A similar state of affairs exists in the artillery. In 1914 an American division could fire 8.1 tons of shells from all its guns; a French division 3.9 tons. Today they can fire 17.6 and 14.5 tons respectively.

Still more striking are the figures for the motors used in the various engines of war and for transporting the modern army. Today an American division has over 30,430 h.p. at its disposal, distributed as follows: 7,150 h.p. for aeroplanes, 8,640 h.p. for tanks and 14,640 h.p. for motor transport. A French division has motors totalling 21,520 h.p.—6,000 in planes, 7,920 in tanks and 7,600 in motor transport. An American division has 2 h.p. per head, a French division 1.5 h.p. per head.

If the arms, war machines, transport facilities and munitions of an American and a French division are put in in terms of money, the American division has 8,013,000 dollars, and the French division 5,771,000 dollars, as against 2,221,000 and 1,555,000 dollars in 1914.
ERRATA

Table of contents, chapter 5, should read: The World “Disarmament” Conference is not a Mere Farce.

P. 5, line 12—printed “1,000,000” should read “10,000,000.”

P. 32, line 11—printed “first aim to” should read: “first aim is to.”

P. 41, line 12 from below—printed “Commissariat of People’s” should read “Council of People’s.”

P. 54, in title to table IV.—printed “Plans,” should read: “Planes.”
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