## Workers! The Enemy Is In Your Own Country!

Forward With The Fourth International!

# Socialist Appeal

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## **Millions Died** For The Fraud Of 'Democracy'

The slogan: "Fight to save democracy" is being raised by every war-monger. LEST WE FORGET, the last war was ALSO fought to save democracy. It brought fascism to Italy, Nazism to Germany, and dictatorships all over Europe. And here is what

IN HUMAN LIVES:

At the front: Of the 65,000,000 enrolled in the military forces, there were:

Known dead -"Missing" — Seriously wounded Otherwise wounded ---

Total casualties at the front — 34,500,000 These figures were arrived at by a liberal historian who was himself drafted into the last World War.

#### ONE OUT OF FIVE DIED

"One out of every five men called or dragged to the colors was shot to death, blown to bits by high explosives, stabbed fatally with bayonet or trench knife, suffocated with poison gas, or fell victim to gangrene or epidemic disease.

"One out of every ten staggered home seriously injured, a large number maimed for life-blind, deaf, with face shot away, shattered by shell shock, often starkly insane, or with legs or arms-or both-gone.

"Of the more fortunate, an approximate average of one in five suffered injuries serious enough to require hospital attention." (George Willison, "Why Wars are Declared," p. 25.)

At the rear: While this carnage was going on at the front, an even greater slaughter was going on behind the lines. Our liberal ex-soldier continues:

#### 28,000,000 CIVILIANS PERISHED

"To the 14,000,000 soldier dead now add 28,000,000-for by the latest estimate, at least that number of civilians perished before their time as a direct result of the war. Women and children, the aged and infirm, for the most part-millions upon millions of innocent non-combatants, of all ages, of all races, of both sexes, in almost all countries of the world.

"Cut down by pestilence or famine, cold or exposure, fire or poison gas, shot or shell or bombs from the air, as they fled in panic here and there, abandoning their homes and all they held dear, to escape being trampled on or crushed to death between the contending armies. How many civilians IN AD-DITION suffered shocks and injuries disabling them for life as a direct consequence of the war will never be known and cannot even be estimated."

The World War cost in round figures \$40,000,0000,000. The United States' contribution to the cost of the World War, even sccording to so reactionary an authority as President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, MIGHT HAVE given "each and every family in the United States a \$5,000 houseon a five-acre \$500 plot of ground—with \$1,000 in addition to furnish it comfortably and attractively."

#### THE WORKERS GAINED NOTHING

Concerning wages of workers during the World War, Professor Paul H. Douglas says: "All the evidences seem to indicate that at the termination of the great war the return in commodities which the American workman received for an equal length of time worked (one hour) was from 16 to 20 per cent less than it was in the decade 1890-1899, and from seven to 17 per cent less than it was before the sharp upward movement of prices in 1916. The purchasing power of the established week's work, moreover, was from 20 to 30 per cent less than in the 'nineties and from 10 to 20 per cent less than in 1915.

"American labor as a whole, therefore, cannot legitimately be charged with having profiteered during the war. Rather, like Alice in Wonderland, it was compelled to rush faster in order to stay in the same place." And Professor Douglas is considered America's outstanding authority on the history of wages!

#### THE CAPITALISTS ALONE PROFITED BY WAR

Of Armour, Swift, Morris, Wilson, and Cudahy, the big five among the meat packers, the Federal Trade Commission was forced to admit: "However delicate a definition is framed for 'profiteering,' these packers have preyed upon the people unconscionably." In 1916 and 1917, the profits of these firms shot up to 400 per cent, although their sales increased only 150 per cent. The same was true of other foods the workers had

Steel is the basic war material. The net profits of the United States Steel Corporation show who profited by the war:

Year	Percentage	Amount
	on Investment	
	4.7	
1.913	5.7	107,320,000
1914	2.8	46,520,000
1915	5.2	97,967,000
1916	15.6	294,026,000
1917	24.9	478,204,000

#### THE WORKERS WERE LEFT WITH

#### THE BILLS

Per Capita Debt Increase of the Principal Countries Due to the World War

4.0	(In Dol	lars)	Percentual		
*	1913	1920	Increase		
U. S. A.	11	225	2025		
Britain	78	850	1090		
France	160	1,150	719		
Germany	18	800	4444		
Italy	83	365	440		

#### A ROOSEVELTIAN SHIP OF STATE



## DO NOT ALLOW THE LESSONS OF 1917 TO BE EASILY FORGOTTEN!

#### Boss War Is For Boss **Profits and Not For** 'Democracy'

As one glances back over the political experiences of the last wo decades and observes the predominant sentiments of today, one cannot but be amazed at the short memory of the mass of the people. The bitter lessons that were absorbed in the past at frightful cost are readily forgotten under the impact of capitalist propaganda.

This thought is sharply called to mind by a reading of Rose M. Stein's "M-Day": a scholarly, documented account of how America got into the last war, how capital gained and labor lost, and what the War Department has in store for labor during the

#### The Real Facts

While our history text-books still teach the children that America went to war out of consideration for the highest of human ideals, adult America has come to snicker cynically at this tale ing the world safe for democracy"

> \$30,000,000 to France June 1915 \$40,000,000 to France October 1915

\$500,000,000 to Anglo-France September 1916 \$250,000,000 to Great Britain

October 1916 \$300,000,000 to Great Britain January 1917 . \$250,000,000 to Great Britain

March 1917 \$100,000,000 to France In April, 1917, the United States entered the war.

#### Behind the Scenes

How many of the sons of American workers and farmers who month! shouldered arms to fight the "war to end wars" would have fought them? The following quotation, abroad. given by Miss Stein, stands in stark contrast to the honeyed public declarations of Wilson and his aids. On March 5, 1917, the American Ambassador to Great Britain, Walter Hines Page, wrote to the State Department at Washington:

averted...." (U. S. State Depart-solidarity of America. ment, Foreign Relations, 1917,

#### WARS SINCE THE "WAR TO END WAR"

reports that the war index for the twentieth century reached

1918-19-Polish Ukrainian War.

1919-22-Inter-Allied Intervention Against Soviet Russia.

1919-20-British military occupation of Ireland.

1920, -Soviet-Polish War.

1927 —Occupation of Nicaragua by U. S. Marines.

1931-32-Japanese seizure of Manchuria.

1935-36-Italo-Ethiopian War.

frontier.

Mussolini.

1937-38-Sino-Japanese War.

#### Why Wars are Fought

and seek the explanation in the would have us believe, 21 years more sordid, but also more au- after the above was written, that thentic story, of Morgan & Co.'s capitalist nations go to war for loans to the Allies. Were all of other than economic reasons! adult America to read Miss Aside from the professors with Stein's book they would know their racial, psychological, and war, we have today the propais based upon more than a good ganda of the Communist Party guess. Miss Stein gives the fol- which would have us believe that lowing table showing the amount Great Britain, France, and loaned by Morgan to the Allies: America will go to war against the fascist nations in order to the sanctity of treaties, the right nations, and, perhaps, even the

Workers' Fatherland.

This while the American troops were crawling through mud, acter and counter to the interests blood, and barbed wire for \$30 a

Miss Stein develops an interesting theory on the connection had they known the real designs between mutinies in the Allied of the members of the pacifist, armies in 1917 and the decision liberal, idealistic Wilson Admi- to expand America's participanistration as revealed in the cor- tion in the war beyond material respondence that went on between aid and send an American army

#### Why Troops Went

The inference of all the Allied-American negotiations before America entered and for a short "Perhaps our going to war is terial. This view held that only tice, therefore, pacifism is entirecan be maintained and a panic purposes of demonstrating the spreads illusions about the nature

#### After making an analysis of 902 wars and 1,615 internal

disturbances over a period of 2,500 years, a Harvard professor

1920 -Turkish-Armenian War.

1921-26-Franco-Spanish Wars against Riffs.

1925-35—Gran Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay.

1932 -Sino-Japanese war at Shanghai.

-Spanish Civil War: Franco aided by Hitler and

## And there are still people who French armies that was spurred

the fascist nations in order to defend democratic institutions, capitalist society, the only genular representation of the factor of the facto of self-determination for small cisely the struggle against the and illusion of pacifism. In the

patriot and head of U.S. Steel,

"The manufacturers must have their duty." (Minutes of Price-Fixing Committee, March 20,

Supplement 2, Vol. I, pp. 516-8.) ous official sources that the gainst it and play into hands of terest, or can be other than a

'a total eight times greater than in all the preceding centuries."

1919-26-Conquests in Arabia by Ibn Saud.

1921-22-Greek-Turkish War.

1925 -French military expedition to Syria. 1925-27-Civil war and foreign imperialist intervention in China.

1936-38—British bombing operations on Indian's Northwest

1937-38-British war on Arabs in Palestine.

## winter of 1916-17 saw a deep on by the news of the Russian

seated unrest develop in the Revolution in February and resulted in a number of mutinies.

## (Continued on Page 4A)

### that their cynicism about "making the world safe for democracy" were we have today the proper S. W.P. Policy On War FIGHT THE WAR-MAKERS!

the working class.

Eugene V. Debs

made his position plain:

enter such a war.

would vote a dollar for such a war.

earth; and I am a citizen of the world.

or a band of pot-bellied parasites.

In Whose War

Shall I Fight?

Eugene V. Debs, veteran leader of the American So-

cialist movement, who died in 1926, offered uncompro-

mising revolutionary resistance to this country's parti-

cipation in the war and was imprisoned for doing so.

In the following stirring article, written in 1915, he

Since my characterization of the soldier in the

Jingo edition (as "the hired assassin of his capitalist

master."—Ed.) I have been asked if I was opposed to

all war and if I would refuse to be a soldier and to fight

under any circumstances, and to make my answer

through the Appeal to Reason. No, I am not opposed

to all war, nor am I opposed to fighting under all circum-

stances, and any declaration to the contrary would dis-

qualify me as a revolutionist. When I say I am opposed

to war I mean ruling class war, for the ruling class is the only class that makes war. It matters not to me

whether this war be offensive or defensive, or what

other lying excuse may be invented for it, I am opposed

to it, and I would be shot for treason before I would

ist plunder must be fought by the capitalists themselves

so far as I am concerned, and upon that question there

less for a crazy kaiser, a savage czar, a degenerate king,

oppressors of the working class and the robbers of the

poor, the thieves and looters, the brigands and murder-

ers, whose debauched misrule is the crime of the ages,

I have a heart-full to shed for their victims when it shall be needed in the war for their liberation.

revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the

plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people. I

class, but I will not wait to be commanded to fight for

war with heart and soul, and that is the world-wide

war of the social revolution. In that war I am prepared

to fight in any way the ruling class may make it neces-

Socialist Party stands, or ought to stand, on the question

-(From the Appeal to Reason, September 11, 1915.)

any command to fight

can be no misunderstanding as to my position.

If I were in Congress I would be shot before I

Capitalist wars for capitalist conquest and capital-

I have no country to fight for; my country is the

I would not violate my principles for God, much

But while I have not a drop of blood to shed for the

I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian

I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that

There is where I stand and where I believe the

ine struggle against war is pre- sequently, exposes the futility plunder. struggle against capitalism and The "democratic" bloc might for socialism. Only through the fight the fascist bloc, but only in elimination of the causes for war the spirit of the dollar-a-year will war itself be done away with. Through socialism alone Judge Gary, who said in March can mankind establish the foundations for enduring peace.

reasonable profits in order to do imperialist war, and opposes all wars fought by any and all imperialist states, whether fascist or democratic, since such wars can only be reactionary in charof the masses and of the revolution. In the imperialist United States, the S. W. P. fights against war preparations and militarization; but at the same time always makes clear that war cannot be permanently prevented unless the imperialist gov-and will try to prepare the mas- of the revolutionary defense of ernment of the United States is overthrown and its place taken the overthrow of U. S. capital world socialist revolution. The by a Workers' State, that lasting peace is possible only under

socialism. Role of Pacifism

Pacifism attempts to divorce period after, was that America's the struggle against war from greatest contribution would be the prosecution of the class strug-

The policy of the S. W. P. with social system which breeds it, the United States, pacifism is part-respect to imperialist war holds icularly dangerous because its good under all conditions; it apideas are so widespread and in- plies if the war is conducted befluential, and because it is in a tween the fascist imperialists and sense the "official" imperialist the "democratic" imperialisms in

sary, even to the barricades.

The S. W. P. is against every of view of the United States it side. It applies also if the United will be a "war for peace." the revolutionists and the militant case, the S. W. P. would unreworkers, the U.S. government servedly support the Soviet Union enters a new war, the S. W. P. against imperialism; but would

> consequences for the outcome of which alone could carry forward the American military struggle; the war in the interests of labor, ses to utilize the war crisis for the Soviet Union and of the

Oppose Social Patriotism

The S. W. P. opposes and will continue at all times to oppose every form of social-patriotism, in the realm of credit and ma- gle against capitalism. In prac- or "suspension of the class strugthe only way in which our pre- a small body of American troops by futile and powerless against will make clear to the workers sent preeminent trade position should be sent to France for war itself; and, still further, that no war conducted by the imperialist attack. of war which divert the masses capitalist government of the Miss Stein proves from numer- from the genuine struggle a- United States can be to their in-

doctrine-indeed, the ideological the same manner as if the war preparation for the next imperi- takes place between coalitions inalist war bases itself largely on cluding both the fascist and "dethe notion that from the point mocratic" imperialisms on each States is in military alliance with If, in spite of the efforts of the Soviet Union. In the latter will not under any circumstances expose the treacherous imperialsupport that war but will on the ist aims of the United States in contrary fight against it. The the alliance, would call for the S. W. P. will advocate the con- overthrow of U. S. capitalism tinuance of the class struggle and its replacement by a revoluduring the war, regardless of the tionary workers' government

ism and the victory of social- practical steps which our Party will take in the course of its opposition to such a war will be decided in the light of the consideration of the need of facilitating the utmost aid to the Soviet Union's armed forces against an imperialist power in con-

> -From "The Declaration Workers Party."

fense of the Soviet Union from

## WAR IS PIVOT OF **AMERICAN PLANS**

Preparations Are Going Ahead In Every Domain

Twenty-one years after it entered the "war to end wars," American imperialism, under the political guidance of President ("I hate war") Roosevelt is headed once more directly and consciously in the direction of a new and more ghastly "war to

end wars." Preparations for the fast-approaching holocaust, in which all the imperialist powers, fascist and "democratic," without any exceptions, will engage in a lifeand-death struggle to save the tottering system of capitalism by redividing the world, are projected ever more sharply on the

screen of contemporary events. This is th meaning of the \$1,-121.000.000 navy appropriation separate from and in addition to the ordinary military and naval budgets. This is the meaning of the additional appropriation, totalling nearly \$500,000,000, for the army. Indications have already been given that additional sums will be sought to augment

this "program of peace." This is the meaning, too, of the Sheppard-May Bill which provides measures for the mobilization of industry for war pur-

#### Pacific Maneuvers

This is, also, the meaning of the vast naval maneuvers now going forward in the Pacific-a pointed warning to imperialist Japan, which is threatening the trade and investments of Amer-

ican imperialism in the Far East. The measures of physical preparedness are supplemented, as on the eve of every war, by an 'ideological" campaign to prepare

their exploiters and oppressors. This is the meaning of carefully-worded declarations of President Roosevelt, who seeks to deceive the working class into believing that American imperialism will go to war only in "self-defense" or for the pre-servation of "freedom and democracy" against the undemocra-

tic "aggressor" states. This is the meaning of the hypocritically-worded diplomatic notes drafted in increasing number by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, whose task is to ensure that when war comes American imperialism will be able to appear before the workers and the world at large as an unoffending power wantonly attacked by an

#### "aggressor." Kennedy's Slip

Occasionally, however, the real truth breaks to the surface notwithstanding all the efforts of the Washington government to prepare the war strictly according to plan. Thus Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy, in his first London speech, let the cat out of the bag by saying it would be wrong to assume the United States would fight only if attacked.

This is the meaning of Washington's "parallel" diplomatic action with Great Britain and of the moves already tentatively made toward the scrapping of the Neutrality Act, which represented the legal codification of the outworn "isolation" policy. The policy of "isolation" no longer serves in an era in which American imperialism consciously prepares to assert its world role against all challengers.

#### Pacifist Smokescreen

The war approaches! All spheres of government activity reflect its closeness. That is why, among other things, the Roosevelt administration uses the unformity with our position of de- employment relief projects as recruiting grounds for the army.

That, too, is why, the smokescreen of pacifist propaganda grows denser. This cover is needof Principles of the Socialist ed so that the real war prepar-(Continued on Page 4A)

## Sino-Japanese War Is Prelude To Greater Pacific Conflict

### Our Solidarity Is With Masses of China, Japan

National Revolutionary War Will Transform The Whole East

The war in China is a matter of vital concern to every American worker, for that war is now being prepared.

Pacific and to become the unchallenged master of China's

great American fleet is engaged interests. in vast maneuvers in the Pacific Ocean. That is why the battleships and planes of the American Navy are drilling within striking distance of Japan's Pacific island possessions. .

#### Japan's Invasion

and cruelty of modern warfare, it is attempting to make itself lords. the master of a greater land whose people comprise more than tinue the fight against Franco the British and French governone-fourth of the population of the entire world.

We support with all ou strength the resistance that the Chinese people are offering to the invaders. China's struggle to free itself from the stranglehold of the imperialist freebooters and hijackers is a great progressive struggle. Every Chinese victory is not only a blow at Japanese imperialism, but a blow at all imperialism and therefore a blow at the war-makers.

But this does not mean for a single instant that the American workers should support "their' government in a war against Japan. The American government will eventually come to grips with Japan but although the American workers will be told it is to "save" China that they must die, it will be only to "save" China for the money-bags of Wall Street. With their interests we have nothing in com-

#### The Fight For Liberation

The task of Chinese liberation rests upon the Chinese workers and peasants who, with the material and moral support of over the world can and will mobilize in their millions and repel the invader.

To do this they will have to fight against the Chinese bosses as well, for the Chinese bosses have sold them out to imperialism before and will do so again. The Chinese employers of labor and owners of land have subjected the workers and peasants to the most grinding exploitation known in the modern world Their interest lies in sharing the fruits of this exploitation with their foreign masters. General Chiang Kai-shek is fighting Japanese imperialism only because it cannot, because of its own economic weakness, agree to share the booty with him. He is only too willing, and has said so a hundred times, to turn China over to the control of the United States or Great Britain.

Chiang Kai-shek is fighting at the moment for a choice of masters. The real fight for Chinese liberation is the fight against all square miles with a population concentrated mainly in and amasters and that fight can be of 450 millions, China is rich in round Shangai, where industry waged only by the masses of mineral resources-gold, silver, and trade is practically at a standa program that satisfies their trade and capital investment. own economic interests.

#### Real Road To Victory

Because Chiang Kai-shek still fears the masses more than he fears the imperialist invader, he has kept the struggle within the limits of a purely military defense. This has enabled Japanese imperialism to win control over all of North China and the coastal provinces to below Shanghai. Chiang has been aided in this by the Communist Party which abandoned any pretense at a revolutionary program for the masses and has subordinated itself 100 percent to the Kuomintang, Chiang Kai-shek's party.

He will be prevented from continuing this policy to its ruin- will fight in its own interests workers and peasants for the brothers and ourselves only by struggle in their own interests. presenting a solid bulwark aover Japanese imperialism and the real road to Chinese national

we at the same time stand guard system itself.

### Workers of World Must Absorb Lessons of Spanish Civil War

nearly two years, has under- from Fascist Germany and Italy, istic" policy of Stalin has met of scores of thousands of work- advantage. ers, the lesson that all workers must learn in order to wage a victorious struggle against Fascism and against war.

only the prelude to the greater summarized: the struggle against every means, cajolery, deception, war for which this country is Fascism is inseparable from the and outright repressive force, struggle against capitalism. The prevented them from proceeding class has been broken. It is primarily to dominate the bourgeois Loyalist regime, prop- along the revolutionary road. ped up by the Communist Party, by the anarchist leaders, and the Loyalist government refused to wealth, of its market and of its Socialists, checked the elementary announce the unconditional liberaresources, that American im- upsurge of the workers and tion of Morocco from Spanish is building up its peasants against the capitalists rule. Such a step—which would and landlords in the early months have cost the government nothing, That is why this week on the of the war. The masses knew since it had lost Spanish Morocco Fascism and imperialist war 21st anniversary of this country's who stood behind Franco and entry in the World War, the tried to strike out in their own Franco's base too hot to hold him

#### Masses Checked

their own parties, the masses Japanese imperialism, Ameri- and absorbed into the re-created decade ago, fighting docilely in ca's great Pacific rival, is en- Republican army. The factories the ranks of Spanish Fascist rein a robber-invasion of and railways seized by the work- action against the Republican China. With all the barbarism ers were taken back. The land regime. was held sacrosanct for the land-

The masses were asked to conin return for vague promises of ments made the Spanish "Repub-

The inevitable result ensued, Vast energies of the masses, un- rivalries should explode once and loosed like a great flood when for all for every thoughtful Franco rebelled in July, 1936, worker the fiction that these were gradually dammed. Those "democratic" governments are inwho resisted this course were terested in defending "democrashot down—like the Barcelona cy" as such. England is today workers during the May Days of negotiating a deal with Italy 1937—and imprisoned. The jails which would ensure the main of the Loyalist government were tenance of some kind of totalitarfilled with militant anti-Fascist ian regime in Spain. France, tied workers whose only crime was to England's tail, stands by and their determination to lead the looks on. workers along a revoltionary path. For this they were called Roosevelt administration, has subjected to the most relentless arms from going to Spain and

#### Avoided Radical Steps

Zealous only in safeguarding the private property of the Spanish bourgeoisie and in heeding the injunctions of its masters cept as a smokescreen to deceive in Moscow, Paris, and London, the workers and lead them all over the Fascist rebels

It kept the peasants from seiz- teach all of us. ing the land that had been taken lost its key ally in the war. The with England and France—and to and behind the Loyalist lines, re- all the machinery and methods

The Spanish civil war, which | This alone, without counting | and slander the Spanish revoluas now been in progress for the material aid that poured in tionists. Here again the "realscored once more with the blood provided Franco with an immense

#### Sapped Initiative

The regime progressively sap- ceeded until now-but the Soviet ped the radical initiative of the Union is more dangerously isolat-These lessons can be simply workers' organizations and by

Most elementary of all, the -would have immediately made in the first months of the conflict and would have deprived him of property and the forward march the solid Moorish support upon toward Socialism. Disoriented and misled by which he has leaned so heavily.

But this move was ruled out were gradually regimented into by Paris and London and the complete subordination to the world was treated to the spectabourgeois regime. The armed cle of the Moors, who fought so workers' militia were disbanded bravely for their freedom a

#### Imperialist Cynicism

The cynical manner in which lican" regime a pawn in their own inter-imperialist game of

This country, with its "liberal" 'Trotskyist Fascist spies" and from the beginning prevented done nothing to prevent Franco from being liberally supplied.

#### "Democracy" Smokescreen

The capitalist powers are not interested in "democracy" ex-

The Stalin government in Mosthem by the Church and cow also made Spain its pawn in the big bourgeoisie. It thereby its attempt to win an alliance peasants, behind Franco's lines that end it transplanted to Spain of the G.P.U. to suppress, kill,

### Imperialist Interests In China Are At Root Of Coming Clashes

Japanese aggression against Japan's investments in China big bourgeoisie itself. For the sion used by the ruling class apeople and to make further however 81.9 per cent of her slogan of the "People's Front" is they tell the working class in gains at the expense of Great total foreign investments (as too "left," too "sectarian," too Britain and the United States. against Britain's 5.9 per cent suggestive of class. It is also a preparatory move for and America's 1.3 per cent.) Since Union in the east.

Covering an area of 4,300,000 totalling about \$200,000,000, are tin, copper, manganese, coal, salt, still due to Japanese occupation

in foreign investments from 1914 during the first seven months of to 1931 (the last year for which 1937. Within a few months after figures are available) eloquently the Japanese attack, China's explains the struggle among the trade declined approximately one robber powers. (C. F. Remer, half. "Foreign Investments in China").

#### Percentage of Foreign Capital

Carron	
1914	1931
37.7	36.7
13.6	35.1
16.7	8.4
3.1	6.1
16.4	2.7
10.7	5.9
	37.7 13.6 16.7 3.1 16.4

against the fraudulent notion that American imperialism will figh. to "save" China from the clutches of Japan. American imperialism capitalism to the victory that will

China is today the field of in- Britain has maintained first tense imperialist rivalries. The place, with Japan a close rival. to the "democratic" ranks of the states are instruments of oppres-China aims to subject the Chinese (primarily in Manchuria) are purpose of this aim, even the war by Japan against the Soviet 1931 Japan's investments in China have increased significantly.

The stakes in China are great. American investments in China, occupied a leading position in the An examination of the changes increase of China's foreign trade

#### U. S. Interests

American imperialism's interest in China lies, however, not only its present investments and trade but far more in the possibility of extending these rich sources of profits. An enthusiastic spokesman for these capitalist interests has ably presented the

"It is good business for the United States to keep China's vast but undeveloped resources out of Japanese control . . . Secondly, China remains the greatous end only through the inde-only and those interests are not est potential market and source pendent mobilization of the ours. We can help our Chinese of capital investment in the world. Its industrialization can be said to have hardly begun. That is the real road to victory gainst the bosses in our own The chief obstacle to its induscountry and by carrying on the trialization has been lack of unremitting struggle against national stability. Our present stake in China is but a tiny frac-Offering our fullest solidarity really end all wars by removing tion of our potential stake in a and support to China's struggle, the cause of war, the capitalist unified and revivified China." So writes the Stalinist New Masses! They Wanted A Better Life



## COMINTERN PREPARED TO SUPPORT IMPERIALIST WAR

the Stalinists in this country to perialist bourgeoisie, the leading have chained the workers to the steadily advancing menace of standard-bearers of bloody capi- wage-slavery, and support of

with a crushing defeat. He suc-

ceeded in crushing the Spanish

revolution-or at least has suc-

ed than ever and the solidarity

of the international working

All is not yet lost in Spain

for the working class! The

Spanish workers and their class

brothers all over the world can

and must find the path to real

emancipation, to the victory over

through the workers' revolution,

the abolition of capitalist private

the "People's Front," cornerstone problems of its own creation only against Fascist Germany. They of Stalinist policy for the past to the arbitrament of mass several years, is being allowed slaughter of the peoples. to slip into oblivion. The draft This, and this alone, is the vention of the Communist Party, Front" slogan. It represents, not workers' state power. of the hour for the fight against the Communist International, a

#### Facilitate Support of War

Why the switch? While in the the Stalinists to become a more effective social patriotic agency for corralling the working class into support of the "democratic" lin's foreign policy.

be a union of tendencies within longer do they recognize that the working class movement with modern society is divided into the broad strata of the petty exploiting and exploited classes bourgeoisie. What the Stalinists now desire is to extend this union, insofar as that is possible, present "democratic" imperialist

#### To Serve As Loyal Aids

of the "Democratic Front" in and wartime. face of the rapidly-approaching war, the Stalinists are preparing to submerge themselves in the banner of their own party and oil, etc.—an immense market for of the city. The United States or its "left wing," the more ef- tion with the class enemy against opposition.

resolutions for the coming con- meaning of the "Democratic now being published in the Daily a change of line, but a deepening Worker, are all built upon the of the reactionary, anti-working-Democratic Front," which like class course upon which the Comthe "People's Front" before it, is munist Parties were launched by declared to be the supreme need the Seventh World Congress of fresh move in the direction of It is as if the slogan of the hitching the working class to the People's Front" had never exist- chariot of the imperialist war-

#### Role of Comintern

The Communist International light of Hitler's European con- and its sections are today the quests and the advance of fasc- most vociferous and aggressive ism in Spain, People's Frontism social-patriotic force within the has been exposed as an utterly world labor movement. Born out ance of the shift is the desire of shame all the older social-patri- Party. In the name of the defense of

capitalist states in the coming the hirelings of the Stalin regime mperialist war, in line with Sta- are doing all in their power to curb and destroy the independent The "People's Front" has been working class movement against represented by its sponsors to Fascism, war and capitalism. No who are in irreconcilable conflict; no longer do they teach that the gainst the workers; no longer do each capitalist country that its main enemy is at home, that the bosses and their governments In putting forward the slogan must be opposed in peacetime

#### "Class Harmony'

Instead, they preach and prac-

DOVE OF PEACE, ROOSEVELT STYLE

A "democratic front for peace!" | fectively to fill their role as the the "foreign foe." In France, talism in the era of its horrible capitalist militarism. They vote Without benefit of formal fu- bankruptcy-in the era when it for the military budgets in the neral obsequies, the slogan of can submit the pressing social name of the defense of France reject the only road which can effectively defeat both German Fascism and French capitalism: the working class revolution and

In the United States, the propaganda of the Browders for "collective security"-common action of robber governments to achieve peace!-has not fared so well. In the progressive trade unions it is being rejected as a warmaking proposal. Even among the former darlings of the "American People's Front," such as Congressman Maury Maverick, the blatant chauvinism of the Stalinists is repudiated.

#### Browder and Rossevelt

Roosevelt's famous Chicago speech which called for a "quarof every measure which could behalf of boss profits, trade and of the special worthless and treacherous solvent of the struggle against the last antine of the aggressor," was of the problems which these World War, and opposition to enthusiastically hailed by the have ensured its great advantage investments. That is one prime happenings pose before the work- the social-patriotic supporters of Stalinists. The naval budget of lesson the Spanish war must ing class-thus necessitating for the war in the ranks of the the administration, as Maverick the Stalinists a revision of their Social-Democracy, the Commu-stated recently in Congress has basic slogan—the real signific nist parties today are putting to the support of the Communist

> In a speech delivered March 3 at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Earl Browder attacked Maverick "democracy" against Fascism, for supporting the Ludlow nomic life is in the throes of Amendment and opposing the Navy Bill.

want anything which would make struggle against Stalinism. it more difficult for Roosevelt to declare war, and opposes anybody who interferes with the big

and American imperialism!"

Could the war-mongering posiment of Justice in its campaign Union, in favor of imperialist in- the conquest of October-despite ranks of the party of Roosevelt tise unity, harmony, collabora- to suppress the working class tervention etc. etc. The monstrous Stalinism, against Stalinism, against Stalinism, against Stalinism,

### **Defense of Soviet Union** Rests on Working Class

The Criminal Policies of Stalin Have Isolated The U.S.S.R.: Workers Will Aid It Only By Resisting Imperialist War Plans

Today, unswervingly as in the men have been spreading f past, the partisans of the Fourth years. International stand for the defense of the Soviet Union.

We are the only real defend- true to our principles. ers of the Soviet Union. Our position has had and can have the degenerated Stalin clique. tion still stand. They have always rallied to the defense of Stalin's treacheries has in every way facilitated the and crimes; they have applauded work of the counter-revolution, and supported every blow dealt despite the fact that through by Stalin to the October revolu- his Constitution he has supplied tion and the world working class the legal channel for the restoramovement for emancipation; they tion of capitalism, despite all of will desert the Soviet Union at the crimes of Stalinism, the the first sign of danger and doubt-private ownership of the means very monstrosities which they are established, the monopoly of fornow so cynically defending.

#### Malignant Growth

Unlike all those who identify Stalinism, which is the product of degeneration and not of revolution, with the first workers' state that grew out of the conquests of October, we have been for years waging a relentless disadvantage of the working this is the latest answer of most loyal servants of the im- through the People's Front, they struggle against Stalinism. It is class. But the class enemy has a malignant growth on the living It is devouring the Soviet Union. The first condition for the defense of the Soviet Union is the political defeat and liquidation of Stalinism.

Stalin's rule spells only ruin. Every day, almost every hour he ers, despite all those "Socialists" deals terrible blows to the conquests of October, sapping the struggle, despite all those who ife-blood of the revolution. Under his leadership the Soviet Union has been isolated as never be- there was "nothing" to struggle fore on the international arena. It was Stalin's policies that ravaged the ranks of the real and is either being ground under the the years of civil war, and im-Stalin prepared, or being shackled and demoralized by the betrayals and bankruptcy of the policies of People's Frontism.

Stalin staked everything on to withstand more than twenty mperialist allies in the "demo- years of isolation, more than a cratic" camp and has thus made decade and a half of Stalinism! it possible for the imperialist Even under Stalinism, and deoandits to attempt a temporary spite Stalinism, even though at reconciliation at the expense of great sacrifice, the Russian masthe Soviet workers. Hitler and ses were able to make gigantic his hordes are ready to leap at strides forward, and to pull the the Soviet Union.

trous. He has decimated the and the Air Force. Soviet ecoa grave crisis. The defense of the Soviet Union therefore de-Browder has complete confid- mands not a mitigation but on ence in "his" president, does not the contrary a sharpening of the

#### An Old Trick

It goes without saying that any opposition to Stalinism is He also attacks those who call interpreted by the regime as hos- This issue will be decided only for the withdrawal of marines tility to the Soviet Union. It is in an open struggle. Just as we from China: "Thus does isola- an old trick. Reactionary trade decisively opposed those who totionism come to the service of union bureaucrats have always gether with Stalin boasted of the the Japanese bandits, betray the levelled against all progressives Chinese people and surrender who oppose them the charge that workers in Russia, so today we American rights-all in the name they seek to wreck the union, refuse to "concede" their irrevocof fighting against Standard Oil are really bosses' agents, etc. able defeat. The outcome will be etc.

tion of the Stalinists be put in struggle to rule or ruin, Stalin tional vanguard will take its posimpler language! During the has spread the slander that the sition shoulder to shoulder with next war they will be the chief revolutionary Marxists are a the resurgent Russian revolution instruments used by the Depart- gainst the defense of the Soviet in the fight to retain and extend Moscow frame-ups were in part gainst capitalist restoration in staged to "substantiate" this vile Russia, against capitalist rule lie which Stalin and his hench- elsewhere in the world.

We remain defenders of the Soviet Union because we remain

Stalinism has introduced degeneration into the very pores of nothing in common with the the Soviet social fabric: it has boasts and avowals of the self- undermined the foundations of styled "Friends of the Soviet the October revolution but has Union." For they are only the not yet toppled them. The fundafriends, if not the hirelings, of mental conquests of the revolu-

Despite the fact that Stalin less will use as a pretext the of production has not been reeign trade has not been broken. the basis for planned economy still remains.

#### Struggle Will Decide

Within the country, and internationally, Stalinism has been instrumental in shifting the relationship of forces to the grave yet to gain the decisive positions. organism of the Soviet Union. The fate of the Soviet Union can and will be decided only in the course of actual struggle.

The victory of October was made possible only because the international working class came to the aid of the Russian workwho refused to take sides in that counselled "neutrality" and resorted to the subterfuge that

With the aid of the international vanguard the Soviet Union only allies of the Soviet Union. was able to emerge from the des-The international working class truction of the imperialist war, heels of Fascism, whose victory perialist blockade, and the years of post-war readjustment. post-war readjustment.
So great a power was lodged

in this titanic social force, that the workers' state has been able former feudal empire of the Stalin's home policies have Czars into the ranks of the ad-

#### Who Will Conquer These achievements were made

possible by the great revolutionary traditions and the creative energies of the Russian proletariat. These are living forces which Stalin may weaken but cannot destroy no matter how many trials he stages, regardless of the repressions he may unleash. Who will vanquish whom?

"irrevocable" victory of the decided in struggle. And in this From the very outset of his struggle, as in 1917, the interna-

#### The Idea of "National Defense"

"The defense of the national state, first of all in Balkanized Europe-the cradle of the national state-is in the full sense of the word a reactionary task. The national state with its borders, passports, monetary system, customs and the army for the protection of customs has become a frightful impediment to the economic and cultural development of humanity. Not the defense of the national state is the task of the proletariat, but its complete and final liquidation....

"The working class is not indifferent to its nation. On the contrary, just because history places the fate of the nation into its hands, the working class refuses to entrust the work of national freedom and independence to imperialism which 'saves' the nation only to subject it on the morrow to new mortal dangers for the sake of the interests of an insignificant minority of exploiters . . . A new war would carve Europe anew in accordance with the war map and not in correspondence to the boundaries of nations. The task of complete national determination and peaceful cooperation of all peoples of Europe can be solved only on the basis of the economic unification of Europe, purged of bourgeois rule. The slogan of the United States of Europe is a slogan not only for the salvation of the Balkan and Danubian peoples but for the salvation of the peoples of Germany and France as well." ("War and the Fourth International".)



new "flying fortresses" which recently made a "goodwill" flight to South America.

## Pacifism Is An Aid, Not a Deterrent, To the War-Makers

The Meaning of Pacifism

Rosa Luxemburg, co-leader with Karl Liebknecht of the German Spartakusbund, was one of that small,

Rosa Luxemburg

Lenin and Zinoviev

## SOCIALISM AND WAR

The following is an extract from the pamphlet "Socialism and War" by Lenin and Zinoviey, written in Switzerland in 1915. When it was written, its two authors were part of a tiny handful of Socialists withstanding the wave of Chauvinism that overcame the leaders of the Socialist Parties of all countries who led the workers to the slaughter under the slogan "defense of the fatherland." Two years later the simple ideas put forth in this pamphlet found living expression in the Russian revolution and the emergence of the first Workers State. Lenin died in 1924. His coauthor, Zinoviev, first chairman of the Communist International, was shot by Joseph Stalin as a "Fascist spy" in 1936. Leninism is synonymous with the most uncompromising resistance to imperialist war. Stalinism, its negation, today stands for support of imperialist slaughter under the hypocritical cloak of "democracy vs. Fascism" just as the Second International, in 1914-18, supported the war under the slogan of "Democracy vs. Kaiserism" or "German culture vs. Czarist barbarism."

"War is politics continued by other (i.e., forcible) means."

This famous dictum belongs to one of the profoundest writers on military questions, Clausewitz. Rightly, the Marxists have always considered this axiom as the theoretical foundation for their understanding of the meaning of every war. It is from this very standpoint that Marx and Engels regarded wars.

Apply this idea to the present war (the world war). You will find that for decades, for almost half a century, the governments and the ruling classes of England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria and Russia, conducted a policy of colonial robbery, of suppressing labor movements, of oppressing foreign nations. Such a policy, and no other one, is being pursued in the present war. Notably in Austria and Russia the policy of both peace and war times consists in the enslavement of nations and not in their liberation.

#### NATIONAL AWAKENING

On the contrary, in China, Persia, India and other dependent nations we note in the last decade a policy of national awakening, tens and hundreds of millions of people striving to liberate themselves from under the yoke of the reactionary "great" nations. War growing out of this historic basis, even at the present time, can be of a bourgeois progressive nature, a war for national liberation.

One glance at the present war, conceived as a continuation of the policy of the "great" nations and their fundamental classes, shows that the opinion which justifies "defense of the fatherland" in the present war is false, hypocritical and in glaring contradiction to the historic facts.....

#### WHAT IS SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM?

Social-chauvinism is adherence to the idea of "defending the fatherland" in the present war. From this idea follows repudiation of the class struggle in war time, voting for military appropriations, etc. In practice the social chauvinists conduct an anti-proletarian bourgeois policy, because in practice they insist not on the "defense of the fatherland" in the sense of fighting against the oppression of a foreign nation, but upon the "right" of one or the other of the "great" nations to rob the colonies and oppress other peoples. The social-chauvinists follow the bourgeosie in deceiving the people by saying that the war is conducted for the defense of the freedom and the existence of the nations; thus they put themselves on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.



V. I. Lenin

To the social-chauvinists belong those who justify and idealize the government and the bourgeoisie of one of the belligerent groups of nations, as well as those who, like Kautsky, recognize the equal right of the Socialists of all belligerent nations to "defend the fatherland." Social-chauvinism, being in practice a defense of the privileges, prerogatives, robberies and violence of "one's own" (or any other) imperalist bourgeoisie, is a total betraval of all Socialist conviction and a violation of the decisions of the International Socialist Congress in Basle (1912, Ed.). . . .

#### MASS SUFFERING INCREASED

The war has undoubtedly created the acutest crises and has incredibly intensified the sufferings of the masses. The reactionary character of this war, the shameless lie of the bourgeosie of all countries which covers its predatory aims with "national" ideology, all this inevitably creates, on the basis of an objective revolutionary situation, revolutionary sentiments in the masses. Our duty is to help make these sentiments conscious, to deepen them and give them form. The only correct expression of this task is the slogan "Turn the imperialist war into civil war." All consistent class struggle in time of war, all "mass action" earnestly conducted must inevitably lead to this. We cannot know whether in the first or in the second imperialist war between the great nations, whether during or after it, a strong revolutionary movement will flare up. Whatever the case may be, it is our absolute duty systematically and unflinchingly to work in that particular direction ....

A mass sentiment for peace often expresses the beginning of a protest, an indignation and a consciousness of the reactionary nature of the war. It is the duty of all Social-Democrats to take advantage of this sentiment. They will take the most ardent part in every movement and in every demonstration made on this basis. but they will not deceive the people by assuming that in the absence of a revolutionary movement it is possible to have peace without annexations; without oppression of nations, without robbery, without planting the seed of new wars among the present governments and the ruling classes. Such deception would only play into the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries and their counterrevolutionary plans. Whoever wishes a durable and democratic peace must be for civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie. Socialism and War, August, 1915.

### **Pacifism Separates Anti-War Fight** From Struggle Against Capitalism

In normal times, most people, in this country and they are in-fism: Pacifism divorces the strugare undoubtedly against war. deepens.

the starting point and the memberships and wealthy backers. strength of pacifism. And, since They have lobbies in Washington, this feeling against war is and carry on large scale propa-"good" and "right," since it corresponds to man's hopes and ideals, it is also the reason why the pacifist movement is felt to

#### The Pacifist Argument

We will not ask agreement on the Lovestoneites.

gassed, drowned. No one likes to bourgeois in origin, control and features, but they are all alike have his friends and family kil- financing. These include such in this. led or wounded. No one likes all groups as the Women's Interna- This fundamental characterthe interferences with private tional League for Peace and istic is likewise the explanation life and liberty which war brings Freedom, World Peaceways, the of the fatal, hopeless, and in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, etc. last analysis treacherous error This almost universal feeling is Many of these groups have large of pacifism.

#### In The Labor Movement

have a kind of "moral superior- nizations which are partly workity," why pacifists are usually ing-class in origin, composition, But wars come nonetheless. looked upon as "high-minded" financing and control-though the membership of these is seldom Pacifism argues as follows Stalinist dominated American modity markets, new sources of Most men are against war and League for Peace and Demo- raw materials, new fields for infor peace; therefore, if we can cracy (formerly the American vestments, or must go down to unite in an organized movement League against War and Fasc- economic destruction. all those who are against war ism); and more recently the Keep and for peace, we will be able to America Out of War Committee, operating within all of the great no good to unite everyone who of them undoubtedly have, from prevent war and maintain peace. sponsored by the Socialists and imperialist powers, flow neces- did not like hangovers. No one a personal point of view, the

any other point. We will not de- There is a common feature in capitalist economy itself. The campaign against hangovers mand a common point of view all of these organizations, who- causes of war are an inseparable would be the campaign against toward the class struggle of trade ever originates or controls them: part of capitalism. So long as getting too drunk the night beunions, toward religion or philo- All of them advocate a program causes are present, the effect will fore; to do away with the effect, sophy or morality. We will get against war which is separated follow. So long then, as capital- you must eliminate the cause. everyone together who is for from a program against capital- ism endures, wars will period- Just so with pacifism. At its ineffectual in the struggle against slogans as the means for justify- joined in order to work "against

in their own minds and wishes, creasing in size as the crisis gle against war from the struggle against capitalism. Pacifist How could it be otherwise? No In the first place, there are the organizations differ among themone likes to get shot, mangled, organizations which are directly selves in innumerable other

#### The Roots of War

Wars are not fought in the modern world because "people want war." If so the problem would be simple. Indeed, the There are, secondly, the orga- problem would already be solved, since people do not want war.

Wars are fought because the great powers cannot sustain if ever predominantly proletarian. their national boundaries; be-These include conspicuously the cause they must seek new com-

But these inescapable needs, of hangovers, it would do him ism of all the pacifists—and some

valiant band of revolutionary internationalists who raised their voices against the imperialist slaughter of 1914-18. For her devotion to the cause of the socialist revolution, her refusal to join the social-patriots of the Second International in aiding the imperialists to prosecute the robber war, Rosa paid with her life. Together with Karl Liebknecht she was foully murdered on January 15, 1919, by the German government at whose head stood the social-patriotic traitors Ebert,

Noske and Scheidemann. The ideas embodied in the following brief article by Rosa Luxemburg, written three years prior to the commencement of the World War, must be assimilated by every worker who is anxious to struggle, and struggle effectively, against the new imperialist slaughter which is now impend-

The friends of peace in bourgeois circles believe that world peace and disarmament can be realized within the framework of the present social order, whereas we, who base ourselves on the materialistic conception of history and on scientific socialism, are convinced that militarism can only be abolished from the world with the destruction of the capitalist state . . . The bourgeois friends of peace are endeavoring—and from their point of view this is perfectly logical and explicable—to invent all sorts of "practical" projects for gradually restraining militarism, and are naturally inclined to consider every outward apparent sign of a tendency towards peace as the genuine article, to take every expression of the ruling diplomacy in this vein at its word, to exaggerate it into a basis for earnest

The Social-Democrats (read revolutionary socialists-Ed.) on the other hand, must consider it their duty in this matter, just as in all matters of social criticism, to expose the bourgeois attempts to restrain militarism as pitiful half-measures and the expressions of such sentiments on the part of the governing circles as diplomatic make-believe, and to oppose the bourgeois claims and pretences with the ruthless analysis of capitalist reality....

Militarism in both its forms—as war and as armed peace—is a legitimate child, a logical result of capitalism, which can only be overcome with the destruction of capitalism, and hence whoever honestly desires world peace and liberation from the tremendous burden of armaments must also desire socialism. Only in this way can real Social-Democratic enlightenment and recruiting be carried on in connection with the armaments

This work, however, will be rendered somewhat difficult and the attitude of the Social-Democrats will become obscure and vacillating, if, by some strange exchange of roles, our party tries, on the contrary, to convince the bourgeois state that it can quite well limit armaments and bring about peace and that it can do this from its own standpoint, from that of a capitalist class state.

-Leipziger Volkszeitung, May 6-8,1911.

#### Karl Liebknecht

## THE ENEMY IS IN YOUR **OWN COUNTRY!**

But to learn and not forget applies also, and above all, to the heroic struggle against the war which our Italian comrades waged and are still waging. They fight with their press, with meetings, with street corner gatherings. They fight with revolutionary strength and courage, opposing their bodies and their lives to the raging impact of the waves of nationalism whipped up by the government. Their struggle is worthy of our enthusiastic felicitations. Let their spirit be our model. May it become the pattern for the International . . .

The absurd watchword, "see it through," was disastrous; it can lead only deeper into the maelstrom of destruction. International proletarian class struggle against the international imperialist mangling of the people is the command of the hour.

The main enemy of the German people is in Germany: German imperialism, the German war party, German secret diplomacy. The German people must wage a political struggle against this enemy in its own country, in conjunction with the struggle of the proletarians of other countries against their own imperialists . . .

The enemies of the working class rely upon the forgetfulness of the masses; take heed, that their reliance may be groundless! They speculate on the forbearance of the masses—but we raise the stormy cry:

How much longer are the imperialist gamblers going to abuse the patience of the people? Enough of butchery! Down with the war-mongers on both sides of the border! The slaughter of the people must end!

Proletarians of all countries! Follow the heroic example of your Italian brothers! Unite for the international class war against the conspiracy of secret diplomacy, against imperialism, against the war, for a socialist peace!

The main enemy is in your own country! -From the leaflet issued on the occasion of Italy's into

#### ism must first be got rid of. Eliminate the Cause

leaves the causes of war altogether untouched. It can do nothing therefore, to prevent or If someone wishes to get rid even to hinder war. All the idealsarily from the inner conflicts of likes them. The only meaningful highest ideals — is absolutely

#### Really Aids War-Makers

But this is the lesser half of the story. Pacifism is not merely On this basis, large pacifist This is the key to an under- effect, the cause must be elimin- and necessarily ineffectual in the and the war-makers. This is, for the particular war which they positively a war declared ostensmovements arise. There are many standing of the nature of paci- ated. To get rid of war, capital- struggle against war. Pacifism many, a hard truth to digest, but plan to fight.

#### Leon Trotsky

## DEMOCRACY, PACIFISM AND IMPERIALISM

(The following article on pacifism was written by Leon Trotsky in the third year of the imperialist world war and published originally in "Vperiod," a Russian revolutionary organ, on June 30, 1917. Its timeliness today, on the eve of a new world war, when the pacifists are playing their old game of sidetracking the workers from the revolutionary anti-war struggle, is more than apparent.-Ed.).

There have never been so many pacifists as at this moment, when people are slaying each other on all the great highways of our planet.

Each epoch has not only its own technology and political form, but also its own style of hypocrisy. Time was when the nations destroyed each other for the glory of Christ's teachings and the love of one's neighbor. Now Christ is invoked only by backward governments. The advanced nations cut each other's throats under the banner of pacifism. . . a league of nations and a durable peace. Kerensky and Tseretelli shout for an offensive in the name of an "early conclusion of peace."

There is no Juvenal for this epoch, to depict it with biting satire. Yet we are forced to admit that even the most powerful would appear weak and insignificant in the presence of blatant baseness and cringing stupidity, two of the elements which have been released by the present war.

#### THE ROOTS OF PACIFISM

Pacifism springs from the same historical roots as democracy. The bourgeoisie made a gigantic effort to rationalize human relations, that is, to supplant a blind and stupid tradition by a system of critical reason. The guild restrictions on industry, class privileges, monarchic autocracy—these were the traditional heritage of the middle ages. Bourgeois democracy demanded legal equality, free competition and parliamentary methods in the conduct of public affairs.

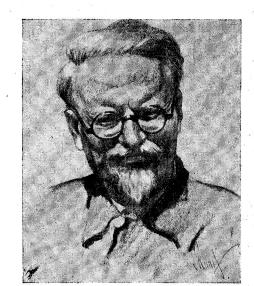
Naturally its nationalistic criteria were applied also in the field of international relations. Here it hit upon war, which appeared to it as a method of solving questions that was a complete denial of all "reason." So bourgeois democracy began to point out to the nationswith tongues of poesy, moral philosophy and certified accounting-that they would profit more by establishment of a condition of eternal peace. Such were the logical roots of bourgeois pacifism.

From the time of its birth pacifism was afflicted, however, with a fundamental defect, one which is characteristic of bourgeois democracy; its pointed criticisms addressed themselves to the surface of political phenomena, not daring to penetrate to their economic causes.

#### THE IDEA OF "ETERNAL PEACE"

At the hands of capitalist reality, the idea able" agreement, has fared even more badly than the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. For capitalism, when it rationalized industrial conditions, did not rationalize the social organization of ownership, and thus prepared instruments of destruction such as even the "barbarous" middle ages never dreamed of.

The constant embitterment of international relations and the ceaseless growth of militarism completely undermined the basis of reality under the feet of pacifism. Yet it was from these very things that pacifism took a new lease on life, a life which differed from its earlier



#### Leon Trotsky

phase as the blood and purple sunset differ from the rosy-fingered dawn . . . .

Theoretically and politically, pacifism stands on the same foundation as does the theory of the harmony of social interests. The antagonisms between capitalist nations have the same economic roots as the antagonisms between the classes. And if we admit the possibility of a progressive blunting of the edge of the class struggle, it requires but a single step further to accept a gradual softening and regulating. of international relations. The source of the ideology of democracy, with all its traditions and illusions, is the petty bourgeoisie . . . .

#### "IF WAR SHOULD COME . . . "

(William Jennings) Bryan rashly and noisily expressed the natural aversion of the farmers and of the "small man" generally to all such things as world-policy, military service and higher taxes. Yet, at the same time that he was sending wagon-loads of petitions, as well as deputations, to his pacifist colleagues at the head of the government, Bryan did everything in his power to break the revolutionary edge of the whole movement.

"If war should come," Bryan telegraphed on the occasion of an anti-war meeting in Chicago... "we will all support the government of course; yet at this moment it is our sacred duty to do all in our power to preserve the nation from the horrors of war."

These few words contain the entire program of petty bourgeois pacifism: "to do everything in our power against war" means to afford the voice of popular indignation an outlet in the form of harmless demonstration, after having previously given the government a guarantee that it will meet with no serious opposition, in case of war, from the pacifist faction.

Official pacifism could have desired nothing better. It could now give satisfactory assurance of imperialistic "preparedness." After Bryan's own declaration, only one thing was necessary to dispose of his noisy opposition to war, and that was, simply, to declare war. And Bryan rolled right over into the government camp. And not only the petty bourgeoisie, but also the broad masses of the workers, said to themselves: "If our government, with such an outspoken pacifist as Wilson as its head, declares war, and if even Bryan supports the government in the war, it must be an unavoidable and righteous war. . . . " It is now evident why the sanctimonious, Quaker-like pacifism of the bourgeois demagogues is in such high favor in financial and war industry circles.

### Sowing Illusions, Pacifism Leaves Masses Helpless In Face of War

ings into illusory and ineffective the light of these slogans. paths, thus away from the only strong breath of the war machine. | maintenance of peace. The imperialists find no resistshod.

#### Turn Into Support

often, indeed usually, by an al- the country against "aggression." most insensible transition, is transformed into patriotism and social-patriotism, into support of the war. The experience of the ism in the change of name of last war shows that this is what the American League. The Stahappens. The imperialists them- linists were thereby preparing selves take over the pacifist the minds of members, who had ically be fought. To remove the very best, pacifism is completely war; in practice it aids the war ing-not war "in general"— but war and fascism," to support

The people want to struggle against aggression," a war to of course, the slogan under which against war. The truth is that uphold the "sanctity of treaties" Roosevelt also prepares for war. the only way to fight against or "international morality." Most The Keep America Out of War war is to fight against the ca-lironic of all, it becomes a war Committee shows and must show pitalism which causes it; and to to defend Peace! Since pacifism the same tendency. From its fight against capitalism means to has made no analysis of the true platform, major generals and carry on the class struggle for causes of war, does not face the Congressmen and labor bureauworkers' power and for social-|fact that all imperialist wars are crats, ostensibly talking against fought to serve one or another war in general and "wars of ag-Pacifism hides this truth. It set of imperialist interests, it gression," end up their speeches

path of genuine struggle against organized into the "League of the time comes. war. As a result of this, further, Nations Union." Since the Italian This is why revolutionary sowhen the war comes—as it will invasion of Ethiopia, this Union cialists are compelled not to be in spite of the pacifists—the has been the loudest force in indifferent to pacifism. In spite masses believing in pacifism are England demanding, in effect, war of the individual good will of left helpless in the face of the against Great Britain's rival im- many or most pacifists, pacifism war. The whole pacifist move- perialism—in the name, of course, as a movement and a program ment collapses with the first of the League, security, and the is reactionary, is a servant of

ance, and they ride ahead rough- rapidly in this country. The and bitter enemy of the revolubourgeois paqifist organizations tionary struggle against war. It "object" to the Big Navy Bill; must be exposed and fought abut their representatives all pro- gainst. We must tell the truth Still worse. Pacifism itself test their willingness to "defend"

#### The Social Patriots

There was more than symbolibly under the slogan of "for

there is no getting around it. It becomes a war of "defense peace and democracy"—which is,

exploits the anti-war feelings of and those who follow its ideas, with declarations of loyalty to the masses by leading those feel- accept and advocate the war in the imperialist government of the United States, and promises The pacifists in England were to defend that government when

> imperialism. It is not a weapon The same thing is happening against war, but a dangerous about war. There is no other way.

HOW TO FIGHT WAR Isolation ?

Collective Security Relentless Class Struggle JAMES BURNHAM

Socialist Workers Party 116 University Place

New York City

MINNEAPOLIS VETS TAKE

Woodrow Wilson, In Four Installments

### How He Led Us To War

"The effect of the war upon on what the American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speaks in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned."

March, 5, 1917, Walter Hines Page. United States ambassador at London, wrote in a confiden-

the only way in which our pre- child here, who does not know sent preeminent trade position that the seed of war in the can be maintained and a panic averted. The submarine has added the last item to the danger of uncertainty about our being just finished took place was that drawn into the war, no more considerable credit can be privately placed in the United States and the better of her, and the reason a collapse may come in the mean-

addressed Congress on the "Ne- the commercial advantage of cessity of War against Germa- them. The seed of the jealousy,

see the facts with no veil of false and industrial war. It was not pretense about them, to fight thus a political war."

August 18, 1914, Woodrow Wil- | for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German people included: for the rights of nathe United States will depend up- tions great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obèdience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty.'

1919. Woodrow Wilson stated in a speech at St. Louis:

"Why, my fellows citizens, is tial letter to President Wilson: there any man here or any "Perhaps our going to war is woman, let me say is there any modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? The real reason that the war that we have Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get why some nations went into the war against Germany was that April 2, 1917, Woodrow Wilson they thought Germany would get the seed of the deep-seated hatred "We are glad now that we was hot, successful commercial

## Roosevelt-Hull Heading **Toward New World War**

Continued from page 1A

canalized into streams which are earth. harmless to the warmakers.

ever more openly as the defenders of bourgeois property, ene- ment, or resign itself to permies of the workers' struggle a- manent decay. gainst war, defenders of the imperialist fatherland.

#### Capitalism Stifled

for its position as the world's ed directly toward war.

| greatest imperialist power-to engage in a robber war against ations may go forward smoothly its rivals, for the subjection of and uninterruptedly, so that backward peoples, for control of mass opposition to war may be at least a goodly portion of the

Capitalism in the United States new markets and fields of invest-

get off the backs of the workers employment, bad housing and until they are thrown off-so, poverty at home, American cotoo, they will not watch their operation for international peace, The coming period will add system decay and die while there but no war alliances. considerably to the already im- are rivals whose territories, The two crucial questions in posing weight of evidence that markets and profits can be snatch- any anti-war movement are: (1 "peace-loving" ed. That is why American im- what is its attitude towards the American imperialism is prepar- perialism will and must go to American imperialist governing, preparing consciously, and war. That is why the policy of ment; (2) does it rest program-

## Lessons of Last War Must Not Be Forgotten men voted against the Roosevelt naval program; that many of these gentlemen are in favor of

Continued from page 1A

tle trouble from mutinous troops, the widespread strikes and dis- not needed in industry.) of contaminating the army with by means of War Boards upon the rebellious spirit of the industrial workers.

Entire regiments of the French army refused to take the offensive, saying that they would only enter the trenches to hold off the enemy but not to advance. The plans of the French general staff for an offensive had to be abandoned until efforts could be made to rebuild the morale of the nufacture for the government troops. Miss Stein quotes a letter of Col. House of June 30, 1917, The du Pont Company, powder

belligerents weakening, and the powder mill for three months cracking process being actively until their terms were met. at work. My letters from France indicate that the condition there is serious, and it is a question whether they will be able to hold out during the year."

#### Ready in 1916

A Congressional investigation of War Department expenditures the following figures: in 1919 was amazed to discover that the Council of National Defense had outlined a complete nation's resources for war in 1916, a year before Congress declared war. This commission. under the leadership of Bernard M. Baruch, had already decided upon the coordination of industry, the control of labor, and the conscription of soldiers. (In accord with their perspective of

The National Council provided

which industry was represented by its Dollar-A-Year patriots. While the industrialists were Price-Fixing Committee for a paltry \$1 per year, they were less patriotic when they thought the price they received was too low. A number of industries absolutely went on strike against the government, refusing to mauntil their price terms were met. manufacturers, held up plans for "I see evidence of all the the construction of a government

#### Treatment of Labor

Labor, however, was accorded a vastly different treatment if it Therefore, America to the res- The reign of terror against the the fact that a Planning Commiscue! If it does not suffice to give lumber workers of the North-sion worked from 1920 to 1933. the French and British soldiers west who struck under the lead- to perfect the scheme now ammunition, then send two mil-ership of the I.W.W. was car-known as the "Industrial Mobillion Americans to France to res- ried through in a fashion that ization Plan" whereby the wage cue the Morgan loans and Ame- Hitler and Mussolini might well slaves of America will be subrica's "preeminent trade posi- envy. The sadistic lynching of jected to a military discipline that The plans for American parti- by a mob of patriots intent upon are at the front or working in cipation were radically revised. "making the world safe for de-industry. Miss Stein sums up the The mutinies in the French and mocracy" was typical of what plans of the War Department for British armies made it indispens- workingmen faced if they dared the regimentation of labor as nistration. This is the "demo- class struggle against capitalism trom of the European conflict, able to reinforce American muni- strike against intolerable condi- follows: tions with American man-power. tions. Statistics indicate how intolerable these conditions really next war is fully outlined in the defend! were. Let those who expect pros-

Taking the pre-War level of both wages and the cost of living as 100, the Labor Departplan for the mobilization of the ment index records the following and of prominent industrialists.

ici cas	CD.	
	Wage	Cost of
Year	Rates	Living
	102	
1915	102	105.1
1916	106	118.3
1917	112	142,1
1918	130	174.4
	pare the above	

#### MILITANT ANTI-WAR STAND The following resolution was adopted at a meeting of several hundred war veterans in Drivers Hall, Minneapolis, on March 12, under the auspices of the Federal Workers Veterans

WHEREAS we, war veterans of the World War, were taken in by the 1917 hysteria to "Make the World Safe for Democracy," only to find that our comrades and brothers died, as did tens of millions of our so-called "enemies," not to make life fuller and happier for humanity but solely for opposing groups of International Bankers, and

WHEREAS those same interests since 1917 have continuously seized upon every means and pretext to beat down and avoid every vestige of compensation or comfort for us or for our dependents and to amass for themselves great wealth and power in total disregard of not only ourselves but of the entire working class of people—everywhere, and

#### RAVAGES OF DEPRESSION

WHEREAS the suffering, malnutrition, human wastage, perversion of youth, domestic wreckage and industrial chaos of the depression in America were cold-bloodedly unloaded upon the workers during Hoover's administration; and the Roosevelt administration scarcely provided sufficient relief; and a new depression is upon us which the National Administration "answers" with a gigantic armament program instead of with public works and relief, and

WHEREAS neither we nor the Chinese masses can, in view of our experiences as veterans, expect any more humane treatment nor better livings from American imperialists than from Japanese, British or any other capitalists since all are equally bent upon preserving and increasing their own power, and

WHEREAS America's vast natural resources, scientific processes and competent manpower are ample for the unprecedented well-being of every man, woman and child without resort to war; in sharp contrast to the social suicide and barbaric reversion which would now result from a MAJOR WAR OF CONQUEST as forecast by Roosevelt's words and deeds.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED BY THE WORLD WAR VETERANS OF MINNEA-

- 1. That in view of our experiences we now warn the vounger generation against the false propaganda of "democracy" and "peace-loving nations," which is but a thin sugarcoating for the fatal pill of imperialist conquest;
- 2. That we now call upon all veterans and their organizations, and all other workers to actively oppose all war preparations of this country and to demand the immediate return to America of all American forces in the Far
- 3. That we demand of Congress the complete defeat of the Sheppard-May Bill;
- 4. That we now demand of Congress and the Administration the immediate diversion of all naval and military funds to UNEMPLOY-MENT RELIEF:
- 5. That we here and now declare that we are ready and willing to fight again but only in support of Labor's determination to release the wheels of industry and resume the accelerating production of needs and comforts of life, and for the plentiful distribution and peaceful use and enjoyment thereof BY ALL THE WORKERS AND THEIR DEAR ONES.

## "Keep America Out of War," Asks New Committee; But How? a reasonable plan. . . . " (Quoted by Rose M. Stein, "M-Day," p. the draft plans. This "labor leader" also forgot war.

The latest "peace society" is What is the attitude of the -but no alliance with any na-Amendment, against the Industrial Mobilization plans, the Just as the exploiters will not struggle aaginst injustice, un-

with all possible speed, to fight the Roosevelt government is head- matically and organizationally on the working class movement.

#### Attitude Toward Government

Let it be recalled that the Republican members of the Senate Naval Committee and Republican and Democratic congressthese gentlemen are in favor of withdrawal of American marines America's role in the war they from China; that some liberal had decided on conscription as a capitalist politicians are opposed While the English army had lit- means of limiting the size of to the Sheppard-May Bill, etc. the army and selecting only those The disputes over these questions are conflicts within the ruling class itself over which measures Socialist Party took an attitude content at home made it perilous for the mobilization of industry can best serve imperialism. They of uncompromising opposition to can become points of conflict bet- the imperialist government of ween the working class and the the "pacifist" Wilson during the eager to serve on boards like the avowedly anti-war movement, no ity, Debs declared that he would

net earnings of the United States reason or another incurs the dis- of the government is lost sight

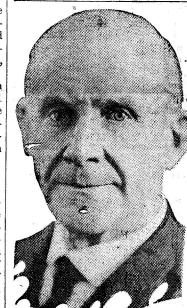
ars.						
1914		٠				\$ 52,716,39
1915						104,433,84
1916						316,436,89
1917						544,994,87
1918					٠	500,808,11

#### Present Mobilization Plan

The lessons of mobilization of labor for war have not been forgotten by the War Department. Labor can realize what it has struck for better conditions. awaiting it in the next war from Frank Little, I.W.W. organizer, is equally severe whether they

Industrial Mobilization Plan perity from war carefully study which is the result of thirteen years of study in the War Department's planning division, and which has the approval of the Secretaries of War and Navy, Under this Plan labor will have to either work or fight. The clas- ducted save by dictatorial power, tional form of such a movement sification will be determined in and the democratic frame-work, is the united front of all labor consistent with the class struggle the first instance by actual need even if it is allowed to retain organizations, above all the trade and able to put into motion large and in the second by from 5,000 to 6,000 local draft boards. As-

navy, support of the Ludlow operation for international peace it mean concretely?



The late leader of the American from capitalism.

on the shortest possible notice.

#### War "Democracy"

allowed labor under this Plan is mittee are Robert M. LaFollette in the Advisory Council which and Major-General William C in composition and in duties as- Rivers. signed to it resembles the peacetime company union.'

To the ruthlessness of patriotic "American Labor's part in the the American working class to

> "good and bad nation" idea refuse to see:

"The basic fact must be faced that modern war cannot be contime. Thus anyone, who for one authority."

patriots in the ranks of the work- boundaries. The economic crisis Committee." Its program calls mittee towards the imperialist declared or undeclared, under any port the war-makers, will do all shop clause in the building of ing class, with the Stalinists out long ago gave warning that for withdrawal of American government? The key to this name or any pretext." This does in his power, once war is declar- cantonments. ("M-Day," p. 250). ahead, grow more and more vo- American capitalism must ex- ships and marines from China, question is given in point five not differ from statements of ed, to chain the workers to the As profits soared to fantastic ciferous and reveal themselves pand those boundaries, capture no increase in the army and of the program: "American co- Roosevelt and Hull. What does war system! Spokesmen for the Committee

correctly reject the Stalinist 'collective security" policy beministration?

The Committee itself does not Sinclair. and Robert M. LaFollette, who us out of war, shamefaced supporters of "economic sanctions" the "ambiguous" pacifists of the Norman Thomas school.

#### The Dividing Line

They are all united in the conruling class only if utilized in a World War of 1914-18. Jailed for viction that the American governparticular manner. Otherwise the his revolutionary anti-war activ- ment can cooperate with other imperialist nations for peace. and might be called to the front anti-war struggle cannot be understood.

> That is why the "Keep America Out of War Committee" "Those who will be assigned makes no appeal to the working to work will be under the direc- class as such, to independent tion whose director will be "a struggle against the war plans labor division within the War | pective of class lines, to rally Industries Administration made around an apparently supra-class up essentially of the same per- minimum program. It is theresonnel as the War Policies Board fore not accidental that among of 1918. The only representation the chief spokesmen for the Com-

#### The Anti-War Fight

As against such a set-up a lynch mobs will be added the ef- working class struggle against ficiency of a War Labor Admi- war must be in line with the cracy" which Mr. Browder asks and the government. It must be we, with these ideals of liberty directed against specific pro-war and justice herein declared, as the measures of the Roosevelt ad- indispensable basis for national ministration, with the aim of de-Miss Stein understands the one feating or obstructing their ex- country in every field of activity fact which supporters of the ecution by the mass actions of to defend, safeguard, and prethe workers. It must, implicitly serve the Republic of the United or explicitly, be directed against capitalist patriotism or loyalty to

the government of the exploiters.

The most effective organiza-

That is why, finally, the social- is stifling within its national the "Keep America Out of War (Keep America Out of War open the bosses and accepted the open that is why, finally, the social- is stifling within its national the "Keep America Out of War open that is why, finally, the social- is stifling within its national the "Keep America Out of War open that is why, finally, the social- is stifling within its national the "Keep America Out of War open that is why, finally, the social- is stifling within its national the "Keep America Out of War open that is why, finally, the social- is stifling within its national the "Keep America Out of War open that is why, finally, the social- is stifling within its national the "Keep America Out of War open that is the social- its stifling within its national that is the social that it is the social that it is the social that i

cause it will lead to imperialist American workers for the imwar. But can the American go- perialist war machine. He was vernment, the instrument of im- ably assisted by such renegades perialism, conduct any policy in from socialism—before the war the interests of genuine peace "uncompromising" fighters a—that is, against the interests gainst militarism and war—as of its own masters? What form John Spargo, William English of "cooperation for international Walling and Charles Edward Ruspeace" does the Committee pro- | sell (the latter is today a mempose that would not lead to the ber of the Social Democratic to war developed, Gompers, in must be prepared for such befurtherance of the war prepara- Federation and a columnist for tion plans of the Roosevelt ad- the New Leader), not to forget

supply a clear answer. Under its Before 1914, Gompers "was a demand for "American interna- member of practically every tional cooperation for peace" peace society in which memberdiverse elements and programs ship was open to me and partici- the anti-war movement. Lucien breaks out and also after it is an unite: avowed pro-capitalist pated in many conferences to pr solationists like Charles A. Beard mote peace between nations," he believe that "neutrality" can keep ("Seventy Years of Life and Lalike the Lovestoneites, as well as wise stated, are from the same source.)

He was a pacifist so long as matter how sincere its adherents, fight only in the class war for Here is a basic dividing line bet- ically helped to draw up questionbecomes a mere pawn in imperial- the liberation of the workers ween the revolutionary socialist aires to manufacturers in prepaand all other programs against ration for the conversion of inwar. For once the class character dustry for war purposes. In Oc-Steel Corporation for the same pleasure of those in authority, of or denied, the real causes of the Council of National Defense. might have his status changed war, the true nature of a genuine War required a servile labor

#### Assured Labor Docility

"England I knew had burdened herself with an unnecessary handicap by not seeking the cotion of a War Labor Administra- workers' action, to the class operation of British labor at the beginning of the war," Gompers prominent industrialist." Labor of capitalism. Instead it appeals wrote. (p. 359.) So he proceeded policies will be fomulated by the to the "citizens" at large, irres- to call a trade union conference in Washington, held on March 12, 1917, to assure labor support for the impending war. The conference adopted a re-

war movement based on policies unions. Such a movement would masses of workers, will be able its existence and identity, is re- not exclude lower middle class to attract other sections of the signment to one class or another legated to a position subservient organizations in its midst or fail population exploited by capitalwill be subject to change at any to that held by the clique in to appeal to the lower classes. ism and looking for a way out On the contrary, only an anti- of the government war danger.

## William Green Ready To Sub For Gompers

#### Has Already Announced Support of Roosevelt War Program

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has pledged wholehearted support to the Roosevelt adminstration's war plans. "I feel that at this period, when we take into account what is happening internationally, we must have confidence in the judgment of the chief executive . . . If he feels that a billion dollars are necessary to protect America, I feel we ought to support him." (New York Times, January 29,

We can be certain that Green's activities are not confined to such public statements. It was recenty rumored that he and a person close to John L. Lewis conferred with army men to prepare American labor for the next war. However that may be, it is known that Green at an earlier period endorsed the basic ideas of the Industrial Mobilization Plan.

#### "If War Comes . . ."

cies Commission in 1931 he de- (p. 360.) clared he was for a plan which would bring victory. . . . war is to be abhorred. I think that is the attitude of the working peo-

successor to Samuel Gompers! fight for a closed shop. He could Even before war is declared he not serve two masters: he served

Like Gompers war succeeded in corralling the stood his role: "Organized labor the free-lance chauvinist, Upton tional Defense, and George Creel, pendent working class action

wrote in his autobiography. bor," Vol. II. p. 322. All following quotations, unless other-

his masters, big business and its Washington Administration, were pacifist! When the decision was made that the United States would soon enter the war. Gompers in early 1916 enthusiast tober, 1916, he was appointed to movement!

solution to "pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic . . . But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelspolicies, offer our services to our States of America against its enemies whomsever they may be and we call upon our fellow-work-



WILLIAM GREEN

ers and fellow-citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom, and Humanity to devotedly and Testifying before the War Poli- patriotically give like service."

#### They Kept Pledge

And Gompers and his friends kept their pledge! Not their ple whom I have the honor to pledge to labor to oppose comrepresent. They shrink from the pulsory military training! On the very thought of it. But, of contrary, Gompers soon discovercourse, if the thing we abhor ed that "the most essentially de- loyal to the system of wage slaveactually happens, then we realize mocratic method of mobilizing there must be a plan and the human resources was universal plan must be a practical plan and draft" (p. 369); and cooperated with the bosses could not but

This "labor leader" also forgot war. Green shows himself a worthy his pledge to the workers to heights the workers' wages bare-It was Gompers who in the last of living. But Gompers underservice it could contribute to winning the war was to help main tain and raise production levels.' (p. 372.)

#### Fought Anti-War Movement

When workers' militant op- and Upton Sinclair! position and pacifist opposition Saniel, former leader of the So- declared.

cialist Labor Party, Spargo, Walling, Ghent, Russell and other turncoats supplied the "socialist" coloration to this capitalist patriotic venture. The St. Paul Conference of the American Alliance, in late 1917, pledged "faithfully and loyally to support the government of the United States in carrying on the present war for justice, freedom and democracy to a triumphant conclusion . . . (p. 383). And so they did!

Press censorship, arrests of anti-war speakers, deportation of aliens-all were defended in the name of the "war for democracy." For this war, production had to be increased; smooth industrial operations had to be assured; strikes to be broken, workers re-

Hugh Frayne was appointed by Samuel Gompers to the War Labor Policies Board set up in May, 1918. (Officially Frayne represented the War Industries Board). This Board had as its announced policy to "determine, directly for war industries, all questions involving the distribution of labor, wages, hours, and working conditions. . . ." ("M-Day," p.

"It was an industrial dictatorship without parallel . . ." said G. B. Clarkson, ("M-Day," p. 258.) But only a mild dose of what can be expected under the Sheppard-May Industrial Mobilization Bill.

Gompers. Woll, Frayne and their kind remained throughout ry and imperialist war. Their peace-time class-collaboration

#### Green Follows Suit

So today, William Green follows in the path of Gompers. He endorses the war plans and preparations of the Roosevelt administration—again in the name of the "struggle for democracy. ly kept up with the rising cost Other labor leaders are not so outspoken but just as ready to serve their masters. In reality, if they appear to oppose the war plans, they can be even more valuable once war breaks out. Let us not forget the anti-war speeches of Woodrow Wilson. William Jennings Bryan, John Spargo, Charles Edward Russell

In the trade unions, the workers agreement with the Advisory trayals. The militant class strug-Commission and Council of Na- gle against the bosses, indechief of the Committee on Pu- against the Roosevelt war plans, blic Information, organized the the struggle for a socialist war-"American Alliance for Labor less world, are the only preand Democracy" to counteract parations against war, before it

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}>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

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