

Workers! The Enemy Is In Your Own Country!

Forward With The
Fourth International!

Socialist Appeal

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Special Anti-War
Supplement

Vol. II. - No. 14

Saturday, April 2, 1938

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 it cost:

IN HUMAN LIVES:

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

Known dead	10,000,000
"Missing"	4,000,000
Seriously wounded	6,500,000
Otherwise wounded	14,000,000

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 ADDITION 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 \$40,000,000,000. The United States' contribution to the cost of the World War, even according 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 house—on 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 profited 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 unscrupulously." 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 to buy.

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

Year	Percentage on Investment	Amount
1912	4.7	\$ 77,075,000
1913	5.7	107,320,000
1914	2.8	46,520,000
1915	5.2	97,967,000
1916	15.6	294,028,000
1917	24.9	478,204,000

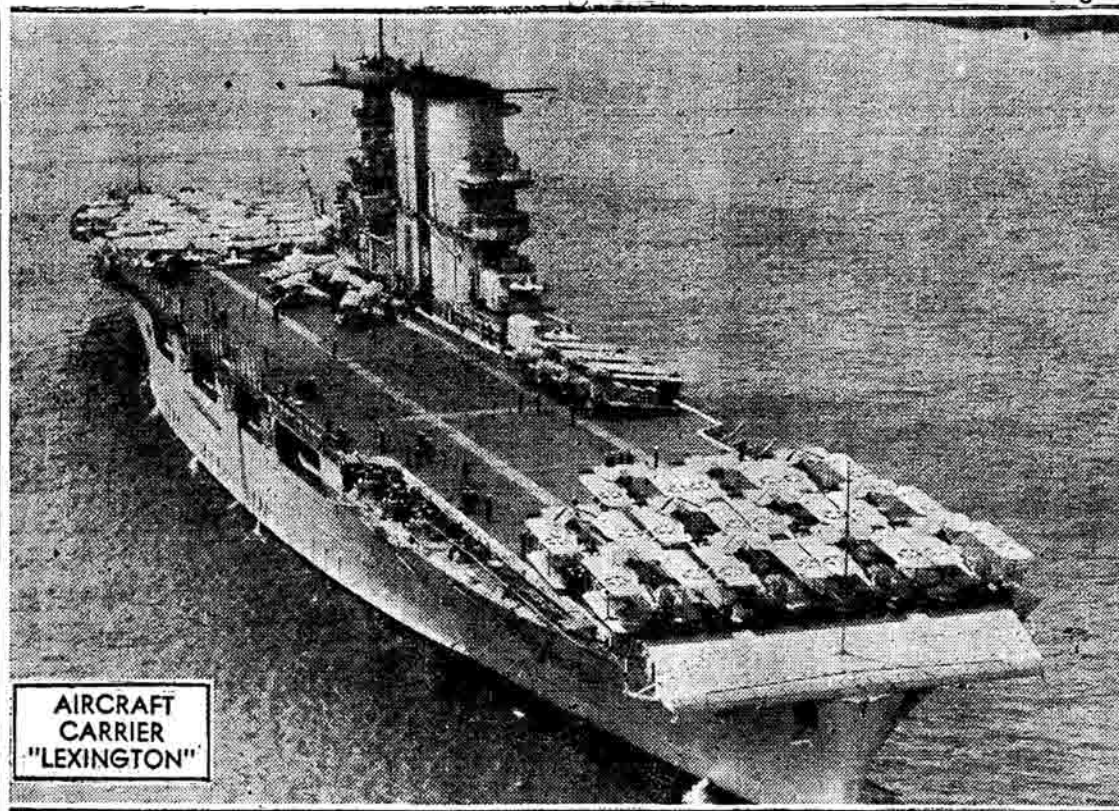
THE WORKERS WERE LEFT WITH

THE BILLS

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

	(In Dollars)		Percentual Increase
	1913	1920	
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



AIRCRAFT CARRIER "LEXINGTON"

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 two 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 next war.

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 and seek the explanation in the more sordid, but also more authentic story, of Morgan & Co.'s loans to the Allies. Were all of adult America to read Miss Stein's book they would know that their cynicism about "making the world safe for democracy" is based upon more than a good guess. Miss Stein gives the following table showing the amount loaned by Morgan to the Allies:

Date	Amount
April 1915	\$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 shouldered arms to fight the "war to end wars" would have fought had they known the real designs of the members of the pacifist, liberal, idealistic Wilson Administration as revealed in the correspondence that went on between them? The following quotation, 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:

"Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our present preeminent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted..." (U. S. State Department, Foreign Relations, 1917, Supplement 2, Vol. I, pp. 516-8.)

WARS SINCE THE "WAR TO END WAR"

After making an analysis of 902 wars and 1,615 internal disturbances over a period of 2,500 years, a Harvard professor reports that the war index for the twentieth century reached "a total eight times greater than in all the preceding centuries."

- 1918-19—Polish Ukrainian War.
- 1919-22—Inter-Allied Intervention Against Soviet Russia.
- 1919-20—British military occupation of Ireland.
- 1919-26—Conquests in Arabia by Ibn Saud.
- 1920 —Soviet-Polish War.
- 1920 —Turkish-Armenian War.
- 1921-22—Greek-Turkish War.
- 1921-26—Franco-Spanish Wars against Riffs.
- 1925 —French military expedition to Syria.
- 1925-27—Civil war and foreign imperialist intervention in China.
- 1925-35—Gran Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay.
- 1927 —Occupation of Nicaragua by U. S. Marines.
- 1931-32—Japanese seizure of Manchuria.
- 1932 —Sino-Japanese war at Shanghai.
- 1935-36—Italo-Ethiopian War.
- 1936-38—British bombing operations on Indian's Northwest frontier.
- 1936-38—Spanish Civil War: Franco aided by Hitler and Mussolini.
- 1937-38—Sino-Japanese War.
- 1937-38—British war on Arabs in Palestine.

Why Wars are Fought

And there are still people who would have us believe, 21 years after the above was written, that capitalist nations go to war for other than economic reasons! Aside from the professors with their racial, psychological, and similar theories on the causes of war, we have today the propaganda of the Communist Party which would have us believe that Great Britain, France, and America will go to war against the fascist nations in order to defend democratic institutions, the sanctity of treaties, the right of self-determination for small nations, and, perhaps, even the Workers' Fatherland.

The "democratic" bloc might fight the fascist bloc, but only in the spirit of the dollar-a-year patriot and head of U. S. Steel, Judge Gary, who said in March 1918:

"The manufacturers must have reasonable profits in order to do their duty." (Minutes of Price-Fixing Committee, March 20, 1918.)

This while the American troops were crawling through mud, blood, and barbed wire for \$30 a month!

Miss Stein develops an interesting theory on the connection between mutinies in the Allied armies in 1917 and the decision to expand America's participation in the war beyond material aid and send an American army abroad.

Why Troops Went

The inference of all the Allied-American negotiations before America entered and for a short period after, was that America's greatest contribution would be in the realm of credit and material. This view held that only a small body of American troops should be sent to France for purposes of demonstrating the solidarity of America.

Miss Stein proves from numerous official sources that the

winter of 1916-17 saw a deep seated unrest develop in the French armies that was spurred on by the news of the Russian Revolution in February and resulted in a number of mutinies. (Continued on Page 4A)

S. W. P. Policy On War

FIGHT THE WAR-MAKERS!

Since war is inevitably bred by capitalist society, the only genuine struggle against war is precisely the struggle against the social system which breeds it, the struggle against capitalism and for socialism. Only through the elimination of the causes for war will war itself be done away with. Through socialism alone can mankind establish the foundations for enduring peace.

The S. W. P. is against every 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 character and counter to the interests of 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 government of the United States is overthrown and its place taken by a Workers' State, that lasting peace is possible only under socialism.

Role of Pacifism

Pacifism attempts to divorce the struggle against war from the prosecution of the class struggle against capitalism. In practice, therefore, pacifism is entirely futile and powerless against war itself; and, still further, spreads illusions about the nature of war which divert the masses from the genuine struggle against it and play into hands of

ROOSEVELT-HULL ARE HEADING TOWARD NEW WORLD CONFLICT

Eugene V. Debs

In Whose War Shall I Fight?

Eugene V. Debs, veteran leader of the American Socialist movement, who died in 1926, offered uncompromising revolutionary resistance to this country's participation in the war and was imprisoned for doing so. In the following stirring article, written in 1915, he made his position plain:

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 circumstances, and any declaration to the contrary would disqualify 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 enter such a war.

If I were in Congress I would be shot before I would vote a dollar for such a war.

Capitalist wars for capitalist conquest and capitalist plunder must be fought by the capitalists themselves so far as I am concerned, and upon that question there can be no misunderstanding as to my position.

I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth; and I am a citizen of the world.

I would not violate my principles for God, much less for a crazy kaiser, a savage czar, a degenerate king, or a band of pot-bellied parasites.

But while I have not a drop of blood to shed for the oppressors of the working class and the robbers of the poor, the thieves and looters, the brigands and murderers, whose debauched misrule is the crime of the ages, I shall be heart-full to shed for their victims when it shall be needed in the war for their liberation.

I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people. *I refuse to obey any command to fight from the ruling class, but I will not wait to be commanded to fight for the working class.*

I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that 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 necessary, even to the barricades.

There is where I stand and where I believe the Socialist Party stands, or ought to stand, on the question of war.

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

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 life-and-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 the 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 purposes.

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 American 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 the workers to fight and die for 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 preservation of "freedom and democracy" against the undemocratic "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 unemployment relief projects as recruiting grounds for the army.

That, too, is why, the smoke-screen of pacifist propaganda grows denser. This cover is needed so that the real war prepar-

(Continued on Page 4A)

—From "The Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Workers Party."

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 only the prelude to the greater war for which this country is now being prepared.

It is primarily to dominate the Pacific and to become the unchallenged master of China's wealth, of its market and of its resources, that American imperialism is building up its great war machine.

That is why this week on the 21st anniversary of this country's entry in the World War, the great American fleet is engaged 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

Japanese imperialism, America's great Pacific rival, is engaged in a robber-invasion of China. With all the barbarism and cruelty of modern warfare, it is attempting to make itself the master of a greater land whose people comprise more than one-fourth of the population of the entire world.

We support with all our 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 common.

The Fight For Liberation

The task of Chinese liberation rests upon the Chinese workers and peasants who, with the material and moral support of workers all 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 masters and that fight can be waged only by the masses of workers and peasants under the banner of their own party and a program that satisfies their 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.

It will be prevented from continuing this policy to its ruinous end only through the independent mobilization of the workers and peasants for the struggle in their own interests. That is the real road to victory over Japanese imperialism and the real road to Chinese national liberation.

Offering our fullest solidarity and support to China's struggle, we at the same time stand guard

Workers of World Must Absorb Lessons of Spanish Civil War

The Spanish civil war, which has now been in progress for nearly two years, has underscored once more with the blood of scores of thousands of workers, the lesson that all workers must learn in order to wage a victorious struggle against Fascism and against war.

These lessons can be simply summarized: the struggle against Fascism is inseparable from the struggle against capitalism. The bourgeois Loyalist regime, propped up by the Communist Party, by the anarchist leaders, and the Socialists, checked the elementary upsurge of the workers and peasants against the capitalists and landlords in the early months of the war. The masses knew who stood behind Franco and tried to strike out in their own interests.

Masses Checked

Disoriented and misled by their own parties, the masses were gradually regimented into complete subordination to the bourgeois regime. The armed workers' militia were disbanded and absorbed into the re-created Republican army. The factories and railways seized by the workers were taken back. The land was held sacrosanct for the landlords.

The masses were asked to continue the fight against Franco in return for vague promises of reforms "in the future."

The inevitable result ensued. Vast energies of the masses, unloosed like a great flood when Franco rebelled in July, 1936, were gradually dammed. Those who resisted this course were shot down—like the Barcelona workers during the May Days of 1937—and imprisoned. The jails of the Loyalist government were filled with militant anti-Fascist workers whose only crime was their determination to lead the workers along a revolutionary path. For this they were called "Trotskyist Fascist spies" and subjected to the most relentless persecution.

Avoided Radical Steps

Zealous only in safeguarding the private property of the Spanish bourgeoisie and in heeding the injunctions of its masters in Moscow, Paris, and London, the Loyalist regime stopped short of every measure which could have ensured its great advantage over the Fascist rebels.

It kept the peasants from seizing the land that had been taken from them by the Church and the big bourgeoisie. It thereby lost its key ally in the war. The peasants, behind Franco's lines and behind the Loyalist lines, remained passive.

Imperialist Interests In China Are At Root Of Coming Clashes

China is today the field of intense imperialist rivalries. The Japanese aggression against China aims to subject the Chinese people and to make further gains at the expense of Great Britain and the United States. It is also a preparatory move for war by Japan against the Soviet Union in the east.

The stakes in China are great. Covering an area of 4,300,000 square miles with a population of 450 millions, China is rich in mineral resources—gold, silver, copper, manganese, coal, salt, oil, etc.—an immense market for trade and capital investment.

An examination of the changes in foreign investments from 1914 to 1931 (the last year for which figures are available) eloquently explains the struggle among the robber powers. (C. F. Remer, "Foreign Investments in China").

Percentage of Foreign Capital Investments		
	1914	1931
Great Britain	37.7	36.7
Japan	13.6	35.1
Russia	16.7	8.4
United States	3.1	6.1
Germany	16.4	2.7
France	10.7	5.9

against the fraudulent notion that American imperialism will fight to "save" China from the clutches of Japan. American imperialism will fight in its own interests only and those interests are not ours. We can help our Chinese brothers and ourselves only by presenting a solid bulwark against the bosses in our own country and by carrying on the unremitting struggle against capitalism to the victory that will really end all wars by removing the cause of war, the capitalist system itself.

This alone, without counting the material aid that poured in from Fascist Germany and Italy, provided Franco with an immense advantage.

Sapped Initiative

The regime progressively sapped the radical initiative of the workers' organizations and by every means, cajolery, deception, and outright repressive force, prevented them from proceeding along the revolutionary road.

Most elementary of all, the Loyalist government refused to announce the unconditional liberation of Morocco from Spanish rule. Such a step—which would have cost the government nothing, since it had lost Spanish Morocco—would have immediately made Franco's base too hot to hold him in the first months of the conflict and would have deprived him of the solid Moorish support upon which he has leaned so heavily.

But this move was ruled out by Paris and London and the world was treated to the spectacle of the Moors, who fought so bravely for their freedom a decade ago, fighting docilely in the ranks of Spanish Fascist reaction against the Republican regime.

Imperialist Cynicism

The cynical manner in which the British and French governments made the Spanish "Republican" regime a pawn in their own inter-imperialist game of rivalries should explode once and for all for every thoughtful worker the fiction that these "democratic" governments are interested in defending "democracy" as such. England is today negotiating a deal with Italy which would ensure the maintenance of some kind of totalitarian regime in Spain. France, tied to England's tail, stands by and looks on.

This country, with its "liberal" Roosevelt administration, has from the beginning prevented arms from going to Spain and done nothing to prevent Franco from being liberally supplied.

"Democracy" Smokescreen

The capitalist powers are not interested in "democracy" except as a smokescreen to deceive the workers and lead them all the more easily to slaughter in behalf of boss profits, trade and investments. That is one prime lesson the Spanish war must teach all of us.

The Stalin government in Moscow also made Spain its pawn in its attempt to win an alliance with England and France—and to that end it transplanted to Spain all the machinery and methods of the G.P.U. to suppress, kill,

and slander the Spanish revolutionists. Here again the "realistic" policy of Stalin has met with a crushing defeat. He succeeded in crushing the Spanish revolution—or at least has succeeded until now—but the Soviet Union is more dangerously isolated than ever and the solidarity of the international working class has been broken.

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 Fascism and imperialism through the workers' revolution, the abolition of capitalist private property and the forward march toward Socialism.

COMINTERN PREPARED TO SUPPORT IMPERIALIST WAR

A "democratic front for peace!"—this is the latest answer of the Stalinists in this country to the steadily advancing menace of a new world war.

Without benefit of formal funeral obsequies, the slogan of the "People's Front," cornerstone of Stalinist policy for the past several years, is being allowed to slip into oblivion. The draft resolutions for the coming convention of the Communist Party, now being published in the Daily Worker, are all built upon the "Democratic Front," which like the "People's Front" before it, is declared to be the supreme need of the hour for the fight against fascism and war.

It is as if the slogan of the "People's Front" had never existed!

Facilitate Support of War

Why the switch? While in the light of Hitler's European conquests and the advance of fascism in Spain, the People's Frontism has been exposed as an utterly worthless and treacherous solvent of the problems which these happenings pose before the working class—thus necessitating for the Stalinists a revision of their basic slogan—the real significance of the shift is the desire of the Stalinists to become a more effective social-patriotic agency for corraling the working class into support of the "democratic" capitalist states in the coming imperialist war, in line with Stalin's foreign policy.

The "People's Front" has been represented by its sponsors to be a union of tendencies within the working class movement with the broad strata of the petty bourgeoisie. What the Stalinists now desire is to extend this union, insofar as that is possible, to the "democratic" ranks of the big bourgeoisie itself. For the purpose of this aim, even the slogan of the "People's Front" is too "left," too "sectarian," too suggestive of class.

To Serve As Loyal Aids

In putting forward the slogan of the "Democratic Front" in face of the rapidly-approaching war, the Stalinists are preparing to submerge themselves in the ranks of the party of Roosevelt or its "left wing," the more ef-

They Wanted A Better Life



Victims of Franco's Bombers

fectively to fill their role as the most loyal servants of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the leading standard-bearers of bloody capitalism in the era of its horrible bankruptcy—in the era when it can submit the pressing social problems of its own creation only to the arbitrament of mass slaughter of the peoples.

This, and this alone, is the meaning of the "Democratic Front" slogan. It represents, not a change of line, but a deepening of the reactionary, anti-working-class course upon which the Communist Parties were launched by the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, a fresh move in the direction of hitching the working class to the chariot of the imperialist war-makers.

Role of Comintern

The Communist International and its sections are today the most vociferous and aggressive social-patriotic force within the world labor movement. Born out of the struggle against the last World War, and opposition to the social-patriotic supporters of the war in the ranks of the Social-Democracy, the Communist parties today are putting to shame all the older social-patriotic traitors to the working class.

In the name of the defense of "democracy" against Fascism, the hirelings of the Stalin regime are doing all in their power to curb and destroy the independent working class movement against Fascism and capitalism. No longer do they recognize that modern society is divided into exploiting and exploited classes who are in irreconcilable conflict; no longer do they teach that the present "democratic" imperialist states are instruments of oppression used by the ruling class against the workers; no longer do they tell the working class in each capitalist country that its main enemy is at home, that the bosses and their governments must be opposed in peacetime and wartime.

"Class Harmony"

Instead, they preach and practice unity, harmony, collaboration with the class enemy against

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, unwaveringly as in the past, the partisans of the Fourth International stand for the defense of the Soviet Union.

We are the only real defenders of the Soviet Union. Our position has had and can have nothing in common with the boasts and avowals of the self-styled "Friends of the Soviet Union." For they are only the friends, if not the hirelings, of the degenerated Stalin clique. They have always rallied to the defense of Stalin's treacheries and crimes; they have applauded and supported every blow dealt by Stalin to the October revolution and the world working class movement for emancipation; they will desert the Soviet Union at the first sign of danger and doubtless will use as a pretext the very monstrosities which they are now 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 struggle against Stalinism. It is a malignant growth on the living organism of the Soviet Union. 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 deals terrible blows to the conquests of October, sapping the life-blood of the revolution. Under his leadership the Soviet Union has been isolated as never before on the international arena. It was Stalin's policies that ravaged the ranks of the real and only allies of the Soviet Union. The international working class is either being ground under the heels of Fascism, whose victory Stalin prepared, or being shackled and demoralized by the betrayals and bankruptcy of the policies of People's Frontism.

Stalin staked everything on imperialist allies in the "democratic" camp and has thus made it possible for the imperialist odds to attempt a temporary reconciliation at the expense of the Soviet workers. Hitler and his hordes are ready to leap at the Soviet Union.

Stalin's home policies have proved equally false and disastrous. He has decimated the ranks of the Red Army, the Navy and the Air Force. Soviet economic life is in the throes of a grave crisis. The defense of the Soviet Union therefore demands not a mitigation but on the contrary a sharpening of the struggle against Stalinism.

An Old Trick

It goes without saying that any opposition to Stalinism is interpreted by the regime as hostility to the Soviet Union. It is an old trick. Reactionary trade union bureaucrats have always levelled against all progressives who oppose them the charge that they seek to wreck the union, are really bosses' agents, etc. etc.

From the very outset of his struggle to rule or ruin, Stalin has spread the slander that the revolutionary slanders are a defense of the defense of the Soviet Union, in favor of imperialist intervention etc. etc. The monstrous Moscow frame-ups were in part staged to "substantiate" this vile lie which Stalin and his hench-

men have been spreading for years.

We remain defenders of the Soviet Union because we remain true to our principles.

Stalinism has introduced degeneration into the very pores of the Soviet social fabric; it has undermined the foundations of the October revolution but has not yet toppled them. The fundamental conquests of the revolution still stand.

Despite the fact that Stalin has in every way facilitated the work of the counter-revolution, despite the fact that through his Constitution he has supplied the legal channel for the restoration of capitalism, despite all of the crimes of Stalinism, the private ownership of the means of production has not been re-established, the monopoly of foreign 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 disadvantage of the working class. But the class enemy has yet to gain the decisive positions. 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 workers, despite all those "Socialists" who refused to take sides in that struggle, despite all those who counselled "neutrality" and resorted to the subterfuge that there was "nothing" to struggle for.

With the aid of the international vanguard the Soviet Union was able to emerge from the destruction of the imperialist war, the years of civil war, and imperialist blockade, and the years of post-war readjustment.

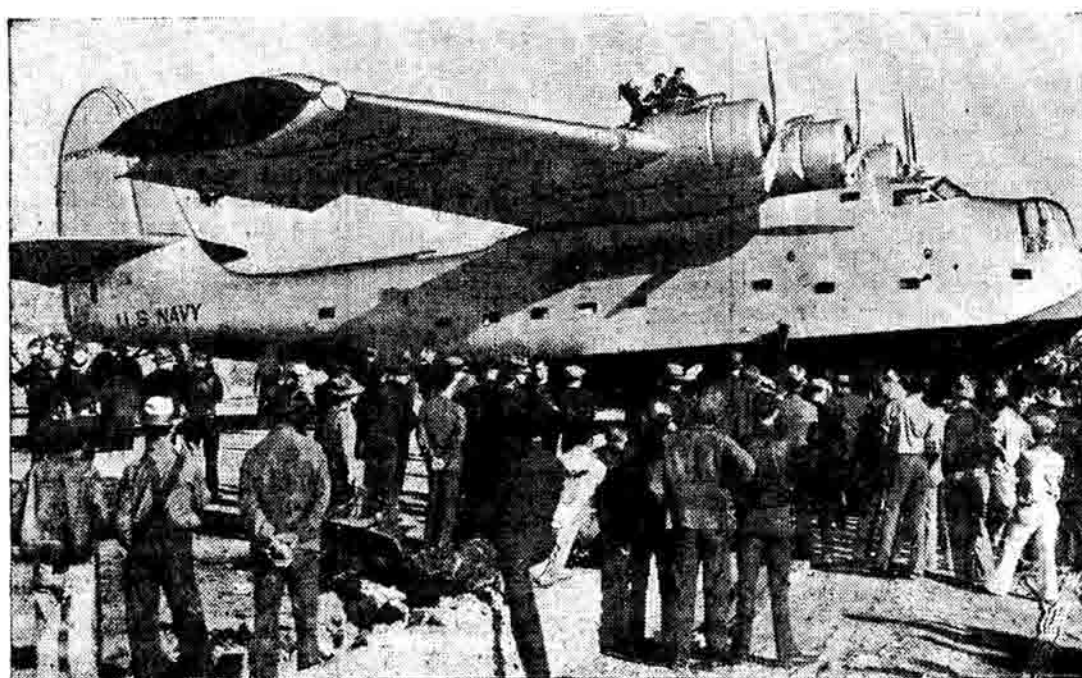
So great a power was lodged in this titanic social force, that the workers' state has been able to withstand more than twenty years of isolation, more than a decade and a half of Stalinism! Even under Stalinism, and despite Stalinism, even though at great sacrifice, the Russian masses were able to make gigantic strides forward, and to pull the former feudal empire of the Czars into the ranks of the advanced nations.

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? This issue will be decided only in an open struggle. Just as we decisively opposed those who together with Stalin boasted of the "irrevocable" victory of the workers in Russia, so today we refuse to "concede" their irrevocable defeat. The outcome will be decided in struggle. And in this struggle, as in 1917, the international vanguard will take its position shoulder to shoulder with the resurgent Russian revolution in the fight to retain and extend the conquest of October—despite Stalinism, against Stalinism, against capitalist restoration in Russia, against capitalist rule elsewhere in the world.

DOVE OF PEACE, ROOSEVELT STYLE



One of the U. S. Army's new "flying fortresses" which recently made a "goodwill" flight to South America.

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.")

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

Lenin and Zinoviev

SOCIALISM AND WAR

The following is an extract from the pamphlet "Socialism and War" by Lenin and Zinoviev, 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 co-author, 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. Kaisercism" or "German culture vs. Czarist barbarism."



V. I. Lenin

"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 bourgeoisie 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.

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) imperialist bourgeoisie, is a total betrayal of the 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 bourgeoisie 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 counter-revolutionary plans. Whoever wishes a durable and democratic peace must be for civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie.

Socialism and War, August, 1915.

Rosa Luxemburg

The Meaning of Pacifism

Rosa Luxemburg, co-leader with Karl Liebknecht of the German Spartacusbund, was one of that small, 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 impending.—Ed.

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 activity.

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 debate.

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 the war.

ism must first be got rid of.

Eliminate the Cause

If someone wishes to get rid of hangovers, it would do him no good to unite everyone who did not like hangovers. No one likes them. The only meaningful campaign against hangovers would be the campaign against getting too drunk the night before; to do away with the effect, you must eliminate the cause.

Just so with pacifism. At its very best, pacifism is completely and necessarily ineffectual in the struggle against war. Pacifism

leaves the causes of war altogether untouched. It can do nothing therefore, to prevent or even to hinder war. All the idealism of all the pacifists—and some of them undoubtedly have, from a personal point of view, the highest ideals—is absolutely helpless.

Really Aids War-Makers

But this is the lesser half of the story. Pacifism is not merely ineffectual in the struggle against war; in practice it aids the war and the war-makers. This is, for many, a hard truth to digest, but

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.)



Leon Trotsky

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 nations—with tongues of pious, 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 of eternal peace, on the basis of a "reasonable" 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

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 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.

Pacifism Separates Anti-War Fight From Struggle Against Capitalism

In normal times, most people, in their own minds and wishes, are undoubtedly against war. How could it be otherwise? No one likes to get shot, mangled, gassed, drowned. No one likes to have his friends and family killed or wounded. No one likes all the interferences with private life and liberty which war brings about.

This almost universal feeling is the starting point and the strength of pacifism. And, since this feeling against war is "good" and "right," since it corresponds to man's hopes and ideals, it is also the reason why the pacifist movement is felt to have a kind of "moral superiority," why pacifists are usually looked upon as "high-minded" and "noble."

The Pacifist Argument

Pacifism argues as follows. Most men are against war and for peace; therefore, if we can unite in an organized movement all those who are against war and for peace, we will be able to prevent war and maintain peace. We will not ask agreement on any other point. We will not demand a common point of view toward the class struggle of trade unions, toward religion or philosophy or morality. We will get everyone together who is for peace and against war.

On this basis, large pacifist movements arise. There are many

in this country and they are increasing in size as the crisis deepens.

In the first place, there are the organizations which are directly bourgeois in origin, control and financing. These include such groups as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Peaceways, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, etc. Many of these groups have large memberships and wealthy backers. They have lobbies in Washington, and carry on large scale propaganda.

In The Labor Movement

There are, secondly, the organizations which are partly working-class in origin, composition, financing and control—though the membership of these is seldom if ever predominantly proletarian. These include conspicuously the Stalinist dominated American League for Peace and Democracy (formerly the American League against War and Fascism); and more recently the Keep America Out of War Committee, sponsored by the Socialists and the Lovestonites.

There is a common feature in all of these organizations, whoever originates or controls them: All of them advocate a program against war which is separated from a program against capitalism.

This is the key to an understanding of the nature of paci-

fism: Pacifism divorces the struggle against war from the struggle against capitalism. Pacifist organizations differ among themselves in innumerable other features, but they are all alike in this.

This fundamental characteristic is likewise the explanation of the fatal, hopeless, and in the last analysis treacherous error of pacifism.

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 problem would already be solved, since people do not want war. But wars come nonetheless.

Wars are fought because the great powers cannot sustain their national boundaries; because they must seek new commodity markets, new sources of raw materials, new fields for investments, or must go down to economic destruction.

But these inescapable needs, operating within all of the great imperialist powers, flow necessarily from the inner conflicts of capitalist economy itself. The causes of war are an inseparable part of capitalism. So long as causes are present, the effect will follow. So long then, as capitalism endures, wars will periodically be fought. To remove the effect, the cause must be eliminated. To get rid of war, capital-

Sowing Illusions, Pacifism Leaves Masses Helpless In Face of War

There is no getting around it. The people want to struggle against war. The truth is that the only way to fight against war is to fight against the capitalism which causes it; and to fight against capitalism means to carry on the class struggle for workers' power and for socialism.

Pacifism hides this truth. It exploits the anti-war feelings of the masses by leading those feelings into illusory and ineffective paths, thus away from the only path of genuine struggle against war. As a result of this, further, when the war comes—as it will in spite of the pacifists—the masses believing in pacifism are left helpless in the face of the war. The whole pacifist movement collapses with the first strong breath of the war machine. The imperialists find no resistance, and they ride ahead roughshod.

Turn Into Support

Still worse. Pacifism itself often, indeed usually, by an almost insensible transition, is transformed into patriotism and social-patriotism, into support of the war. The experience of the last war shows that this is what happens. The imperialists themselves take over the pacifist slogans as the means for justifying—not war "in general"—but the particular war which they plan to fight.

It becomes a war of "defense against aggression," a war to uphold the "sanctity of treaties" or "international morality." Most ironic of all, it becomes a war to defend Peace! Since pacifism has made no analysis of the true causes of war, does not face the fact that all imperialist wars are fought to serve one or another set of imperialist interests, it and those who follow its ideas, accept and advocate the war in the light of these slogans.

The pacifists in England were organized into the "League of Nations Union." Since the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, this Union has been the loudest force in England demanding, in effect, war against Great Britain's rival imperialism—in the name, of course, of the League, security, and the maintenance of peace.

The same thing is happening rapidly in this country. The bourgeois pacifist organizations "object" to the Big Navy Bill; but their representatives all protest their willingness to "defend" the country against "aggression."

The Social Patriots

There was more than symbolism in the change of name of the American League. The Stalinists were thereby preparing the minds of members, who had joined in order to work "against war and fascism," to support positively a war declared ostensibly under the slogan of "for

peace and democracy"—which is, of course, the slogan under which Roosevelt also prepares for war. The Keep America Out of War Committee shows and must show the same tendency. From its platform, major generals and Congressmen and labor bureaucrats, ostensibly talking against war in general and "wars of aggression," end up their speeches with declarations of loyalty to the imperialist government of the United States, and promises to defend that government when the time comes.

This is why revolutionary socialists are compelled not to be indifferent to pacifism. In spite of the individual good will of many or most pacifists, pacifism as a movement and a program is reactionary, is a servant of imperialism. It is not a weapon against war, but a dangerous and bitter enemy of the revolutionary struggle against war. It must be exposed and fought against. We must tell the truth about war. There is no other way.

HOW TO FIGHT WAR

Isolation? Collective Security? Relentless Class Struggle!

by JAMES BURNHAM

16 pp. Socialist Workers Party 3c
116 University Place
New York City

Woodrow Wilson, In Four Installments How He Led Us To War

August 18, 1914, Woodrow Wilson declared:

"The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what the American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak 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 confidential letter to President Wilson: "Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our present preeminent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted. The submarine has added the last item to the danger of uncertainty about our being drawn into the war, no more considerable credit can be privately placed in the United States and a collapse may come in the meantime."

April 2, 1917, Woodrow Wilson addressed Congress on the "Necessity of War against Germany."

"We are glad now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus

for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German people included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. 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 fellow citizens, is there any man here or any woman, let me say is there any child here, who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? The real reason that the war that we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them. The seed of the jealousy, the seed of the deep-seated hatred was hot, successful commercial and industrial war. It was not a political war."

Roosevelt-Hull Heading Toward New World War

Continued from page 1A

ations may go forward smoothly and uninterrupted, so that mass opposition to war may be canalized into streams which are harmless to the warmakers.

That is why, finally, the social-patriots in the ranks of the working class, with the Stalinists out ahead, grow more and more vociferous and reveal themselves ever more openly as the defenders of bourgeois property, enemies of the workers' struggle against war, defenders of the imperialist fatherland.

Capitalism Stifled

The coming period will add considerably to the already imposing weight of evidence that "democratic," "peace-loving" American imperialism is preparing, preparing consciously, and with all possible speed, to fight for its position as the world's

greatest imperialist power—to engage in a robber war against its rivals, for the subjection of backward peoples, for control of at least a goodly portion of the earth.

Capitalism in the United States is stifling within its national boundaries. The economic crisis long ago gave warning that American capitalism must expand those boundaries, capture new markets and fields of investment, or resign itself to permanent decay.

Just as the exploiters will not get off the backs of the workers until they are thrown off—so, too, they will not watch their system decay and die while there are rivals whose territories, markets and profits can be snatched. That is why American imperialism will and must go to war. That is why the policy of the Roosevelt government is headed directly toward war.

Lessons of Last War Must Not Be Forgotten

Continued from page 1A

While the English army had little trouble from mutinous troops, the widespread strikes and discontent at home made it perilous to recruit new troops for fear of contaminating the army with 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 troops. Miss Stein quotes a letter of Col. House of June 30, 1917, on this point:

"I see evidence of all the belligerents weakening, and the cracking process being actively 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."

Therefore, America to the rescue! If it does not suffice to give the French and British soldiers ammunition, then send two million Americans to France to rescue the Morgan loans and America's "preeminent trade position."

The plans for American participation were radically revised. The mutinies in the French and British armies made it indispensable to reinforce American units with American man-power.

Ready in 1916

A Congressional investigation of War Department expenditures in 1919 was amazed to discover that the Council of National Defense had outlined a complete plan for the mobilization of the 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

America's role in the war they had decided on conscription as a means of limiting the size of the army and selecting only those not needed in industry.)

The National Council provided for the mobilization of industry by means of War Boards upon which industry was represented by its Dollar-A-Year patriots. While the industrialists were eager to serve on boards like the 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 manufacture for the government until their price terms were met. The du Pont Company, powder manufacturers, held up plans for the construction of a government powder mill for three months until their terms were met.

Treatment of Labor

Labor, however, was accorded a vastly different treatment if it struck for better conditions. The reign of terror against the lumber workers of the Northwest who struck under the leadership of the I.W.W. was carried through in a fashion that Hitler and Mussolini might well envy. The sadistic lynching of Frank Little, I.W.W. organizer, by a mob of patriots intent upon "making the world safe for democracy" was typical of what workingmen faced if they dared strike against intolerable conditions. Statistics indicate how intolerable these conditions really were. Let those who expect prosperity from war carefully study the following figures:

Taking the pre-War level of both wages and the cost of living as 100, the Labor Department index records the following increases:

Year	Wage Rates	Cost of Living
1914	102	103
1915	102	105.1
1916	106	118.3
1917	112	142.1
1918	130	174.4

Compare the above with the

MINNEAPOLIS VETS TAKE 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 Committee.

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 in-

creasing 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 MINNEAPOLIS:

1. That in view of our experiences we now warn the younger 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 East;

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 UNEMPLOYMENT 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?

The latest "peace society" is the "Keep America Out of War Committee." Its program calls for withdrawal of American ships and marines from China, no increase in the army and navy, support of the Ludlow Amendment, against the Industrial Mobilization plans, the struggle against injustice, unemployment, bad housing and poverty at home, American cooperation for international peace, but no war alliances.

The two crucial questions in any anti-war movement are: (1) what is its attitude towards the American imperialist government; (2) does it rest programatically 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 congressmen voted against the Roosevelt naval program; that many of these gentlemen are in favor of withdrawal of American marines from China; that some liberal capitalist politicians are opposed to the Sheppard-May Bill, etc. The disputes over these questions are conflicts within the ruling class itself over which measures can best serve imperialism. They can become points of conflict between the working class and the ruling class only if utilized in a particular manner. Otherwise the avowedly anti-war movement, no matter how sincere its adherents, becomes a mere pawn in imperialist war plans.

net earnings of the United States Steel Corporation for the same years:

1914	\$ 52,716,390
1915	104,433,846
1916	316,436,899
1917	544,994,879
1918	500,808,116

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 awaiting it in the next war from the fact that a Planning Commission worked from 1920 to 1933 to perfect the scheme now known as the "Industrial Mobilization Plan" whereby the wage slaves of America will be subjected to a military discipline that is equally severe whether they are at the front or working in industry. Miss Stein sums up the plans of the War Department for the regimentation of labor as follows:

"American Labor's part in the next war is fully outlined in the Industrial Mobilization Plan 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, and of prominent industrialists. Under this Plan labor will have to either work or fight. The classification will be determined in the first instance by actual need and in the second by from 5,000 to 6,000 local draft boards. Assignment to one class or another will be subject to change at any time. Thus anyone, who for one

What is the attitude of the "Keep America Out of War Committee" towards the imperialist government? The key to this question is given in point five of the program: "American cooperation for international peace



EUGENE V. DEBS

The late leader of the American Socialist Party took an attitude of uncompromising opposition to the imperialist government of the "pacifist" Wilson during the World War of 1914-18. Jailed for his revolutionary anti-war activity, Debs declared that he would fight only in the class war for the liberation of the workers from capitalism.

reason or another incurs the displeasure of those in authority, might have his status changed and might be called to the front on the shortest possible notice.

War "Democracy"

"Those who will be assigned to work will be under the direction of a War Labor Administration whose director will be a prominent industrialist." Labor policies will be formulated by the labor division within the War Industries Administration made up essentially of the same personnel as the War Policies Board of 1918. The only representation allowed labor under this Plan is in the Advisory Council which in composition and in duties assigned to it resembles the peacetime company union."

To the ruthlessness of patriotic lynch mobs will be added the efficiency of a War Labor Administration. This is the "democracy" which Mr. Browder asks the American working class to defend!

Miss Stein understands the one fact which supports the "good and bad nation" idea refuse to see:

"The basic fact must be faced that modern war cannot be conducted save by dictatorial power, and the democratic frame-work, even if it is allowed to retain its existence and identity, is relegated to a position subservient to that held by the clique in authority."

—but no alliance with any nation or group of nations for war, declared or undeclared, under any name or any pretext. This does not differ from statements of Roosevelt and Hull. What does it mean concretely?

Spokesmen for the Committee correctly reject the Stalinist "collective security" policy because it will lead to imperialist war. But can the American government, the instrument of imperialism, conduct any policy in the interests of genuine peace—that is, against the interests of its own masters? What form of "cooperation for international peace" does the Committee propose that would not lead to the furtherance of the war preparation plans of the Roosevelt administration?

The Committee itself does not supply a clear answer. Under its demand for "American international cooperation for peace" diverse elements and programs can unite: avowed pro-capitalist isolationists like Charles A. Beard and Robert M. LaFollette, who believe that "neutrality" can keep us out of war, shamefaced supporters of "economic sanctions" like the Lovestoneites, as well as the "ambiguous" pacifists of the Norman Thomas school.

The Dividing Line

They are all united in the conviction that the American government can cooperate with other imperialist nations for peace. Here is a basic dividing line between the revolutionary socialist and all other programs against war. For once the class character of the government is lost sight of or denied, the real causes of war, the true nature of a genuine anti-war struggle cannot be understood.

That is why the "Keep America Out of War Committee" makes no appeal to the working class as such, to independent workers' action, to the class struggle against the war plans of capitalism. Instead it appeals to the "citizens" at large, irrespective of class lines, to rally around an apparently supra-class minimum program. It is therefore not accidental that among the chief spokesmen for the Committee are Robert M. LaFollette and Major-General William C. Rivers.

The Anti-War Fight

As against such a set-up a working class struggle against war must be in line with the class struggle against capitalism and the government. It must be directed against specific pro-war measures of the Roosevelt administration, with the aim of defeating or obstructing their execution by the mass actions of the workers. It must, implicitly or explicitly, be directed against capitalist patriotism or loyalty to the government of the exploiters.

The most effective organizational form of such a movement is the united front of all labor organizations, above all the trade unions. Such a movement would not exclude lower middle class organizations in its midst or fail to appeal to the lower classes. On the contrary, only an anti-

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 administration'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, 1938.)

We can be certain that Green's activities are not confined to such public statements. It was recently 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 . . ."

Testifying before the War Policies Commission in 1931 he declared he was for a plan which would bring victory. . . . war is to be abhorred. I think that is the attitude of the working people whom I have the honor to represent. They shrink from the very thought of it. But, of course, if the thing we abhor actually happens, then we realize there must be a plan and the plan must be a practical plan and a reasonable plan. . . ." (Quoted by Rose M. Stein, "M-Day," p. 319.)

Green shows himself a worthy successor to Samuel Gompers! Even before war is declared he makes it clear that he will support the war-makers, will do all in his power, once war is declared, to chain the workers to the war system!

Like Gompers

It was Gompers who in the last war succeeded in corraling the American workers for the imperialist war machine. He was ably assisted by such renegades from socialism—before the war "uncompromising" fighters against militarism and war—as John Spargo, William English Walling and Charles Edward Russell (the latter is today a member of the Social Democratic Federation and a columnist for the New Leader), not to forget the free-lance chauvinist, Upton Sinclair.

Before 1914, Gompers "was a member of practically every peace society in which membership was open to me and participated in many conferences to promote peace between nations," he wrote in his autobiography, "Seventy Years of Life and Labor," Vol. II, p. 322. All following quotations, unless otherwise stated, are from the same source.)

He was a pacifist so long as 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 enthusiastically helped to draw up questionnaires to manufacturers in preparation for the conversion of industry for war purposes. In October, 1916, he was appointed to the Council of National Defense. War required a servile labor movement!

Assured Labor Docility

"England I knew had burdened herself with an unnecessary handicap by not seeking the cooperation of British labor at the beginning of the war," Gompers wrote. (p. 359.) So he proceeded 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 resolution 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 maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared, as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard, and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever 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 patriotically give like service." (p. 360.)

They Kept Pledge

And Gompers and his friends kept their pledge! Not their pledge to labor to oppose compulsory military training! On the contrary, Gompers soon discovered that "the most essentially democratic method of mobilizing human resources was universal draft" (p. 369); and cooperated in developing and carrying out the draft plans.

This "labor leader" also forgot his pledge to the workers to fight for a closed shop. He could not serve two masters: he served the bosses and accepted the open shop clause in the building of cantonments. ("M-Day," p. 250.) As profits soared to fantastic heights the workers' wages barely kept up with the rising cost of living. But Gompers understood his role: "Organized labor realized that the most valuable service it could contribute to winning the war was to help maintain and raise production levels." (p. 372.)

Fought Anti-War Movement

When workers' militant opposition and pacifist opposition to war developed, Gompers, in agreement with the Advisory Commission and Council of National Defense, and George Creel, chief of the Committee on Public Information, organized the "American Alliance for Labor and Democracy" to counteract the anti-war movement. Lucien Saniel, former leader of the So-

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 regimented.

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. 257.)

"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 loyal to the system of wage slavery and imperialist war. Their peace-time class-collaboration with the bosses could not but mean wholehearted and enthusiastic support to them during the war.

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." 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 and Upton Sinclair!

In the trade unions, the workers must be prepared for such betrayals. The militant class struggle against the bosses, independent working class action against the Roosevelt war plans, the struggle for a socialist warless world, are the only preparations against war, before it breaks out and also after it is declared.

Select List BOOKS ON WAR

Recent Books

The War in Outline—Lidell Hart	\$2.00
Europe in Arms—Lidell Hart	2.50
Zero Hour—Richard Freund	2.50
The Final Choice—S. & J. Raushenbush	2.50
The Devil Theory of War—Charles A. Beard	1.50

Specials

Limited Stock—Subject to Prior Sale

M-Day—Rose M. Stein (\$2.50)	.98
Why We Fought—C. Hartley Grattan (\$3.50)	.98
Preface to Chaos—C. Hartley Grattan (\$3.00)	.98

A Study of the preparations and consequences of the inevitable coming world war.

Pamphlets

War and the Fourth International	.10
How to Fight War—James Burnham	.05
War and the Workers—John West	.10
Are you Ready for War?—Harold Draper	.03
Socialism and War—Lenin and Zinoviev	.15
The War and the Second International—Lenin	.20

Write For New Book List

LABOR BOOK SHOP

28 East 12th Street New York, N. Y.

SOCIALIST APPEAL, Published every week by the Socialist Appeal Publishing Association, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Tel. Algonquin 4-8547. Subscription \$2.00 per year. Bundle Order 3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents. All checks and money orders should be made out to the Socialist Appeal.