

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

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SECOND SECTION
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Imperialism, Pacifism and War

OPINIONS BY LENIN AND TROTSKY

On War and Peace, by Lenin.
ARE we in favor of imperialist wars?
Absolutely opposed to all imperialist wars, to all bourgeois governments which wage them.

Are we in favor of or against the predatory international treaties concluded between the Czar, and England, France, etc.?

Against. Our whole task is simply this, to enlighten the masses as to the utter hopelessness of expecting

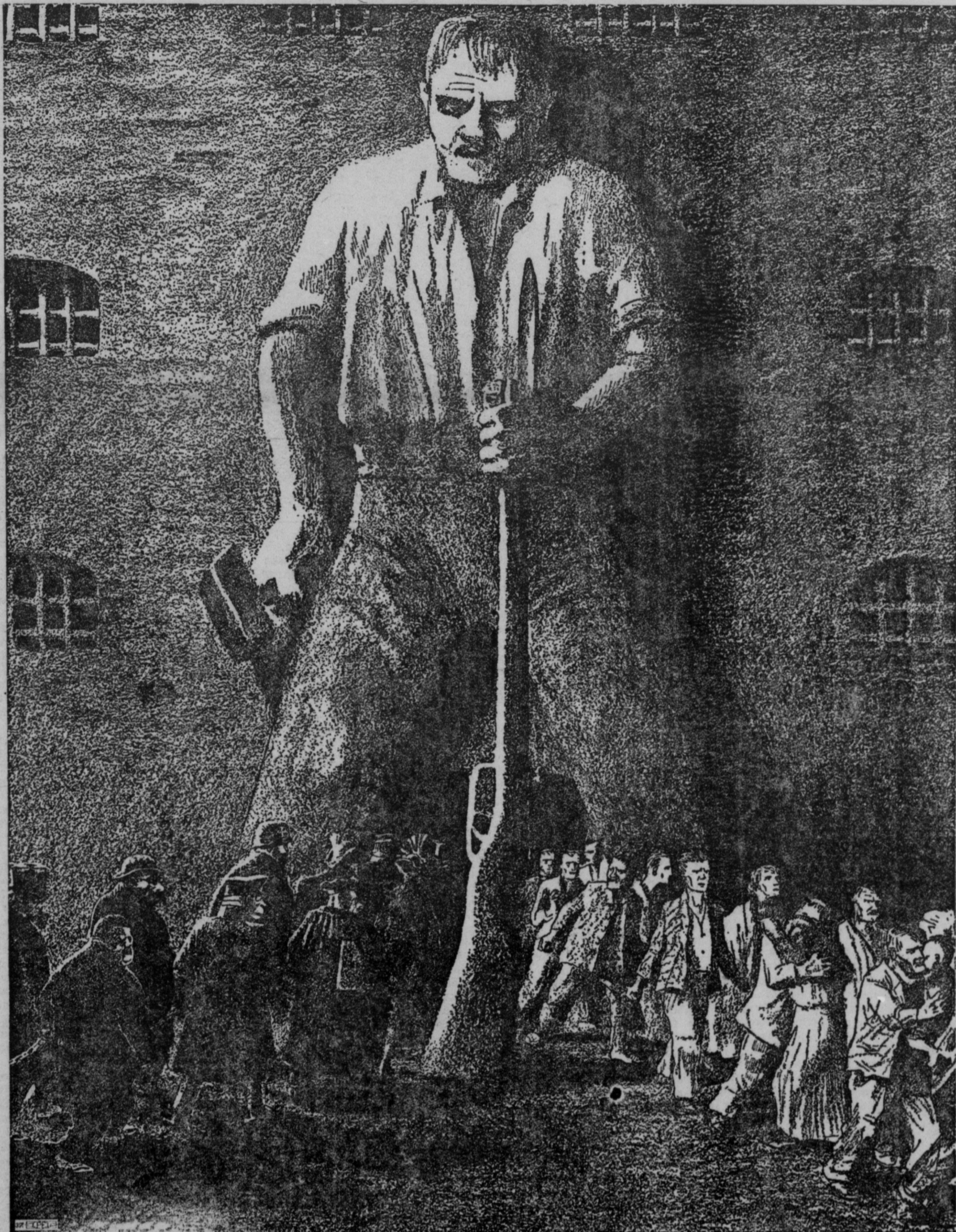
anything from capitalist governments, and the necessity of giving all power to the proletariat and the poorest peasants.

Shall we leave to capitalist governments the task of expressing the desire of the nations for peace, or shall

we not?

No. For the class conscious worker cherishes no hopes whatever from the capitalist class. And it is our function to enlighten the masses as to the baselessness of such hopes.

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FOR THE CLASS WAR AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The Real World War is Coming

By ROBERT MINOR

IN the primitive jungle a naked savage leaps upon another man, crushing the skull of his "enemy;" then seizes the enemy's possessions—weapons, clothing, food and woman. In modern times we read of "murderous" crimes that are more refined. A foot-pad shoots a wayfarer for possession of green paper money; the money will buy food, clothing, and woman. Still more refined: Two guiled youths of Chicago crush the skull of a twelve-year-old boy—for the psychological interest of the experience—since they have no want of food, clothing or woman. Yet, they are killing to supply their peculiar needs.

A trader in the New York poultry-market recently assembled a group of gunmen; at his direction they shot to death a rival merchant. The poultry monopolist, by proxy, killed a rival in order to obtain the market from which he will make a profit of money; and with this he will buy food, clothing, woman and power. This is murder still more refined, more highly organized, more complex. But it is still in the realm of Murder. The poultry merchant is a murderer, as proven by the evidence found in his squalid little office on the New York river front.

The Mass-Murderer

In another part of New York, respectably removed from the waterfront, is a towering building of marble, steel and stone, where sits another contender for markets. This gentleman deals, not in 75-cent chickens, but in \$75,000,000 stocks and bonds. And he also murders to extend his market and his profits. But all things grow more complex as we go up in the world, and this is the top of the world. The stock-and-bond king is at the head of an enormous hierarchy of traders in steel, oil, cotton, coal, copper, grain and all the other commodities from which profits can be made with which to supply themselves not merely with necessities but also with power of colossal magnitude, and fame, and the refined debaucheries. This hierarchy has practically finished with fighting among themselves for monopoly of the home market and for control of the factories, workshops, mines and railroads, thru which the wealth is created. The victors in the home field are recognized, the hierarchy established. Thru control of the machinery of production and distribution, this hierarchy controls completely the life of the entire American people. Upon the backs of scores of millions of wage workers and working farmers this hierarchy sits, creating nothing, but taking from the toiling population all that is created by their labor except barely enough to sustain their life and to keep them in capacity to work and reproduce their kind.

The Complex System of "Gunmen."

To keep these toiling masses under control, the oligarchs pool their interests in forming a central control committee under the name of "government," which creates an armed force, not a ragged crew like the gunmen of the slum poultry market, but highly disciplined troops and police.

With the products of the labor of the working population, the hierarchy trades and gains its profits and its power.

But the oligarchy must have always wider and wider markets in order to trade off the surplus products of the working masses for a profit. The home market, even when fairly well monopolized, is not sufficient to absorb the products of the home population. The toilers who made the products do not receive wages covering the value of what they produced; therefore they cannot purchase all that they produced. The oligarchy must find a market outside of the home population.

And so the great business kings no less than the little "poultry king" are driven to look for and obtain at any cost a market for their commodities and to find sources for raw materials with which to keep their wage-serfs busy creating more commodities. There are vast territories in far-away

continents, Asia, Africa, South America, where the commodities can be disposed of, and where enormous wealth of raw materials can be taken. A monster machinery of commerce is build up for this foreign trade and exploitation of natural resources. Capital itself can be exported to these lands with enormous gain; railroad and mining machinery is shipped and set up in these undeveloped territories, and the labor there is exploited at huge profits. The farther the process goes, the greater the volume of surplus accumulates, and the more new territory is needed for further exploitation. It is an endless race for more, more, more!

The Traveling Gunmen.

The American agents of the dynasty of Morgan, Rockefeller, Sinclair and Doheny go into China or into Persia to sell and to take, to establish profitable arrangements for the building of railroads, to obtain the richest fields and petroleum lands, and to establish police control so their investments will not be in danger of loss. They are widening their "poultry market." Together, the combined financial and business kings of Amer-

ica, who have established their control over the home country with a hired, armed force of police and army, now need equally a "traveling" armed force—a navy and marines. These are formed, and when foreign peoples object to the taking of an oil field or to some other exploitation method, the "traveling" police is sent to enforce the will of the capitalists. The navy is the "traveling-salesman-of-last-resort" of the American capitalists.

Competitors

But the agents of the American oligarchy are not the only ones who are seeking fields abroad. Other capitalist countries are ruled by financial kings who also are feverishly seeking the same markets and sources of wealth. Mr. Rockefeller's agent runs into an equally shrewd agent for the British Royal Dutch Shell Oil Combine, looking for possession of the same oil lands. Mr. Morgan's man runs afoul of an equally sleek agent of Mr. Ballin of Hamburg, who also has a great, brand-new and capable fleet of merchant ships trying to horn in and unload a mountain of surplus wealth that the efficient German oligarchy has wrung out of the unpaid toil of Teuton workers.

There are clashes here. Ambassadors fly around government offices, wheedling, bargaining, threatening and bribing to obtain preference for their own "nationals"—which is to say for their own home capitalists, whose commercial outposts all ambassadors are. If the German ambassador wins, the Germans begin to lay out the railroads and to survey the mining properties, German capitalists grow fat; and the American capitalists are unable to sell their surplus goods, unable to dispose profitably of their surplus capital. There are then, in America, more goods than can be sold—this is called "overproduction," for goods are made to be sold, not to

That So-Called "Last War."

Ten years ago on this fourth day of August, a pistol-shot picked off a gold-braided agent of Austro-German imperialism in little out-of-the-way, jerk-water town of Sarajevo, in the Balkans. In the "natural" course of life, it shouldn't make the slightest difference whether one royal buffoon among the world's 1,750,000,000 population remained alive or dead. But this royal buffoon, the Archduke Ferdinand, represented a whole complex system of Austro-German imperialism. In his gold-braided body was assaulted the whole complex structure of commercial-financial ambitions of German and Austrian capitalists. In his death was a blow, more symbolic than real, at the hopes of Berlin manufacturers and finance-capitalists for the sale of pots and pans and chemises, and the investment of railroad engines in Asia Minor, and the corollary ambition to dominate the Balkan peninsula as the road to that market.



WHO IS CARRYING THE BURDEN?

And so the world war began.

It is a sleepy fool indeed who does not at last know that the great finance capitalists of each country control the government of that country, and that thru the mouths of their governmental puppets the great capitalists give commands to armies and navies, to go hither and yon, to make war and to make peace. The armed forces of each country are to the great capitalists of that country simply an enlargement of what the corps of gunmen were to the "poultry king" of the slums of New York.

Arming the Millions.

But with the strain of world-competition, the finance-kings try to crush each other by having the biggest army. In a certain stage they hire as many wage-soldiers as they can get; then in a later stage, they seize a whole population and by force compel every able-bodied young man to become a conscripted gunman for them. Whole populations are thrown at each other's throats.

The traveling salesmen are reinforced; machine guns take the place of sample-cases; gun-pointers take the place of mining engineers.

In August and September, 1914, the inhabitants of Europe and half of Asia driven into the slaughter such as no savage in the jungle could view without trembling. Ten million men were killed and many millions more left alive in mutilated condition. More and more millions were brought into the fire. The German financial barons, with their aristocratic partners, coldly played the chess-game of death with so many millions here, so many there, so many lives for this rich coal-field, so much blood for this iron-mine, so many dead workmen in exchange for this sea-port, so many for that.

The British oligarchy, most powerful in the world, played off the lives of English workingmen, Canadian

farmers, Australian workers, South African miners—so many hundred thousand lives for this oil field, so many for beating the Germans to that sea-port, which opens to a good market—so many British working men left as stinking corpses on the Gallipoli coast, in exchange for so many pounds sterling worth of future trade in the Black Sea. The great, dark masses of India's oppressed people were dipped into and thrown into the gamble for trade. And so on, and so on.

But conscript armies are a dangerous thing.

It were safer to stick to the New York poultry-merchant's plan of hiring a few mercenary gunmen. But when one oligarchy starts conscription, the others have to follow to keep from being overwhelmed. Conscript armies have to be kept "psychologized"—in a maze of illusions about "democracy" and "country," and utterly ignorant of their mission. This is hard to do except in a victorious army.

One of the great oligarchies among the Allied Powers, had military defeats that faded the illusions. Russia broke out in revolution. Economic collapse plunged the masses of workers into unendurable hunger and rage. The exploited masses began to understand what they were doing, and got out of the war; then the masses of workers and peasants formed their own frame-work of organization, and banished, executed or jailed their home-grown mass-murderers. Then, for the first time, the tall, marble palaces of state were raided and the evidence against one gang of the international "poultry merchants" exposed. Forever the illusions are exploded. The crudest and coldest blooded death-plots for gain are shown to be the whole substance of the "diplomacy" of all imperialist powers without exception.

America is Brought In

Great Russia had opened a new era of history.

The cold calculators in Paris and London banks, pouring over the ledgers of death, saw that they were going to lose the contest; the other cold calculators in Germany were going to win, and this would mean a colossal loss of francs and pounds to French and British capitalists, loss of the hoped-for profits for decades to come, loss of the power and the ease for which they did their trading and made their war.

They needed a "loan" of several million men. They applied to their pawnbroker, Mr. J. P. Morgan, in New York.

Mr. Morgan is popularly supposed not to own the population of the United States. But—speaking of him as the symbol of the hierarchy of which he is the most spectacular head—when he was approached by his clients and asked for the loan of the lives of four million men, Mr. Morgan was able to comply with the request. Within a few days a hundred thousand printing presses owned by the American capitalist oligarchy were grinding off the "psychological mobilization orders." Morgan's ministers of God were shouting hate from a score of thousands of pulpits. Morgan's Democratic congressmen and Republican congressmen were passing laws which would snatch up four million of the most useful young men, tie them in bundles called regiments and ship them to Europe as a loan from the Morgan bank to the Bank of England and the Bank of France. The American imperialist-financiers' interests were involved. Morgan and his associates in coldly sending these American boys to murder and to be murdered, acted no less criminally than did the slum murderer in New York, or the guiled youths of Chicago. The Morgan oligarchy made from fifty to seventy-five thousand of millions of dollars out of the 77,000 American boys they killed—nearly a million dollars per boy. Shut up! you fool mother, the war was for such purposes and nothing more.

The exposures made by the Russian Bolsheviks when they captured the

(Continued on page 7.)

American Socialists Are Silent on War

By J. LOUIS ENGAHL

ONE looks in vain for any anti-war activity, on this Tenth Anniversary of the World War, on the part of the socialists of the United States. The socialist party has forgotten the war against war, even in the quiet days of peace.

The main socialist contribution to current events on this historic anniversary, when workers the world over are demanding that, "It shall never be again," is that the chief party spokesman; Morris Hillquit, has been chosen to sit on the LaFollette presidential campaign committee.

Join War Profiteers.

Side by side with Hillquit on the LaFollette committee sits Rudolph Spreckles, the California sugar millionaire. It will be remembered that the sugar profiteers reaped untold harvests of wealth during the war. They were among the best pay-triots.

And the statement is made by John M. Nelson, head of the LaFollette campaign committee, of which Hillquit, socialist, is a member that it was a telegram from Frank A. Vanderlip, of the financial pillar of the Standard Oil Morgan interests, the National City Bank, of New York City, that persuaded U. S. Senator Burton K. Wheeler, of Montana, to accept as the vice-presidential candidate on the LaFollette ticket.

Socialists Join the Enemy.

These few words are being written about the American Socialist Party in the Last War, for this Anti-War Edition of the DAILY WORKER. But the best way, I feel, to judge the socialist collapse during the war and after is to view, for just a brief space, the unfathomable depths to which the party of socialism in America has fallen.

The socialists are today the handmaidens of the LaFollette politicians in congress who during the war voted to unseat Victor L. Berger, after he had been elected from his district in Milwaukee.

These Milwaukee socialists of Berger, today, go hand in hand with the LaFollette politicians in Wisconsin, who, during the war, voted unanimously to oust the blind socialist state senator, Raguse, because of a few anti-war remarks he let slip from his lips in the state legislature.

The socialists today, without a word of criticism or even of explanation, co-operate now in the Conference for Progressive Political Action, with the leaders of labor who delivered the workers to the war-making machine in 1917.

Surrender is Complete.

The socialists today forget their brief experience in the role of opponents of war under the standards of the St. Louis Anti-War Proclamation. Today they embrace those who called them pro-Germans and reviled them as anti-patriots.

The answer is that the socialists in the United States, in their small way, have surrendered just as completely to capitalist imperialism as the Scheidemanns and Eberts, of Germany, the Longuets of France, or the MacDonalds of England. They have seized such opportunities as were given them to betray the workers.

It wasn't given Hillquit to betray a revolution as Scheidemann and Ebert did in Germany. It was not given to Hillquit to turn a government over to the House of Morgan, as MacDonald is doing in Great Britain. But whatever little influence he possesses, Hillquit is using it to combat or neutralize class action on the part of the workers and farmers of the United States, class action against the wars of the nation's imperialist rulers, class action against the whole capitalist plunderbund.

Liebknecht and Legien.

Until the Russian Revolution, there was never any real revolutionary movement of labor in the United States. To be sure the socialist classics were sold. But few read them

and fewer understood them, in theory or in action. During his visit to this country Karl Liebknecht was shunned by socialists as a sure vote killer. And votes was all that was wanted. Especially in Milwaukee, where Berger remembers as a nightmare the visit of Liebknecht before the war and the speech that he made. The same was true of Alexandra Kollontay, during her visit to this country. But how differently with Carl Legien, head of the German trade unions. This apostle of German social patriotism was feted alike by the socialists, Berger and Hillquit, and by Samuel Gompers, the jingo head of the American Federation of Labor. Thus early did American socialists show their preference for German working class leadership; that of Legien against Liebknecht. But this adoration of things reactionary in the German labor movement, was the very thing that helped some of the socialists develop an anti-war attitude that they, themselves loved to label as a revolutionary anti-war position. Support of "German civilization" made them anti-war in America. Support by Hillquit, Berger, Stedman, and others, of the St. Louis Anti-War Proclamation, was inspired to a very great extent by their identity of position with the Legiens, Scheidemanns and Eberts of Germany, just as pure pacifism caused Eugene V. Debs to take a similar position.

Few indeed, were those who sought for a really revolutionary war against the war, to raise the banners of the civil war of the workers against the imperialist war of their masters. That was not within the teachings of the American socialist movement, or within the mental reach of the socialist party, during the period from July and August, 1914, to April, 1917, the period that the United States enjoyed its isolation insofar as the European slaughter was concerned. With the dominating motives already enumerated, and in the quiet confines of the Planters' Hotel, at St. Louis, with the war thousands of miles away, it was easy to turn out the St. Louis Anti-War Proclamation, stating that, "In all modern history there has been no war more unjustifiable than the war in which we are about to engage."

Socialists Get Few Jobs.

But this thin mantle of revolutionary pretensions was soon ripped away by government persecution of all anti-war tendencies.

What a different Morris Hillquit it was who revealed himself in his correspondence with the jingo journalist, William Hard, published in the New Republic, in November and December, 1917, only a few months later. These were the days when Hillquit was the socialist candidate for mayor of New York City, the election resulting in a big vote for Hillquit, and victory for ten socialist state legislators, seven aldermen and the election of Jacob Panken, as a socialist municipal judge. What greater incentive to throw overboard all lip service to revolutionary action, or to desert the promised "continuous, active and public opposition to the war."

Instead Hillquit suddenly found reasons why he could have supported American entrance into the war that, at St. Louis, he had claimed was "caused by the conflict of capitalist interests in the European countries." Hillquit suddenly discovered that, "If I had believed that our participation would shorten the duration of the world war, and a better, more democratic and durable peace, I should have favored the measure (the declaration of war) regardless of the cost and sacrifices to America. My opposition to our entry into the war was based on the conviction that it would prolong the disastrous conflict without compensating gains to humanity. I also believe that the United States could better serve the cause of world peace as the one great and powerful neutral, than as one of the many belligerents."

Thus did Hillquit begin to rest his hopes with the war-makers of the House of Morgan. Instead of raising the standards of Workers' Rule, this

leader of the socialists began discussing such piffle as imaginary "gains to humanity" that would come thru an imperialist war, the twaddle of the socialist betrayers in all the European countries, inside and outside the human slaughter house. Hillquit had travelled the road of all the social traitors, that was marked later by the American socialist party, thru such acts as the New York socialist aldermen voting for the infamous "Arch of Triumph," that included among its recorded victories, an alleged success of American arms over the Russian workers and peasants at Archangel.

Down the War Toboggan.

From then on it was easy for Hillquit, and others of his kind in the socialist party to discover reasons why they could support the Washington-Wall Street entrance into the war. For instance:

"If the United States, in conjunction with the Allied powers had offered the German government a peace upon the terms first outlined by our president, and substantially reiterated by the Russian Republic, the pope and the majority of the German reichstag, and if the German government had rejected it, insisting upon terms subjugating other nations, or establish a German hegemony in the world, or perpetuate the curse of universal militarism, then I should have voted for all the guns and all the shells and all the money and men to keep up the war until Germany consented to accept the peace that would preserve civilization."

For Fatherland of Morgan.

Thus again Hillquit rested his hope with Wall Street's war. Morgan and the international bankers were to bring the "peace that could preserve civilization." Nowhere does Hillquit voice the hope of the victory of the workers over their exploiters. But at the Albany trial of the expelled socialist assemblymen he declared that in case the Red Armies of Soviet Russia sought to invade the United States, then he would take up arms against such an invasion of capitalist America. He would then defend the Fatherland, "The Fatherland of Morgan and Rockefeller." And we had an echo of this Hillquit confession in the declaration of the socialist assemblyman, Louis Waldman, that the form of the capitalist government of the United States was preferable, in his eyes, to Soviet Rule, such as existed in the Russian Workers' Republic.

Then in answer to Mr. Hard's third question, Mr. Hillquit declared in November, 1917, that he would oppose America's withdrawal from the war, since, "wisely, or unwisely, our country is in war. 'A simple return to the state of things' as they existed before our entrance into the war is obviously impossible. It is one thing to remain a neutral friend of all nations and a possible peacemaker among them, and it is an entirely different thing to make cause with one group of the belligerents, encourage them to renewed military efforts, and at the critical time abandon them to their own fate. We can no longer work for a speedy general peace as a neutral power. We must strive for it now as one of the most influential belligerents."

Berger Apes Hearst.

Mr. Hillquit, in the continued use of

"our" and "we" loves to stress his partnership in the rule of the late Woodrow Wilson and Morgan's Wall Street. It is "our country" and "our government" and "we" as a neutral power. Nowhere does Hillquit ever hint at the hope of Workers' Rule, even though it had come into being at that time thruout Russia. But, of course, Hillquit and his co-believers of the socialist party, expected the Russian Soviet Government to live only a few weeks at the most.

It is very plain that the socialist party of the United States never did have a revolutionary conception of the workers' struggle against the capitalist wars of the present imperialist era. The Hillquits and Bergers, at most, gave the socialist party a pacifist stand against war, a pacifism that oftentimes becomes pro-war thru convenience. William Randolph Hearst was no greater jingo than Victor L. Berger in supporting the imperialist ambitions of the United States in Mexico.

Communists Lead the Fight.

It is declared that this coming Sunday, 10,000 hypocritical preachers will orate against war from their pulpits. But in the next war they will be 100 per cent jingoes again; just as they were in the last war.

But the socialists are past the stage where they even put up a pretense of warring against war. It is not in their program of action on this Tenth Anniversary of the World War. They are too busy cementing their alliance with the most rabid jingo elements in the labor movement and with the war profiteers enlisted under the standards of the LaFollette drive for the presidency.

In the United States, today, the Communists alone carry on the war of the workers and farmers, the plundered many, against the wars waged in the interests of the favored few.

Part of that struggle must be directed toward unmasking all who pretend to speak in the name of the workers and poor farmers, all who would lure labor into the wars declared by the masters but fought by the workers.

Everywhere and on all occasions the standards of civil war for the seizure of power by the workers and farmers, must be raised against the imperialistic ambitions of the present ruling class, that brought on the last war, and that is even now preparing for new wars, greater, bloodier, more devastating than the last.

Forward in the Struggle!

The socialists and their newfound allies will betray the workers in the next war "in the name of democracy." Now is the time to fight that betrayal and to triumph over it.

Forward against the imperialist wars of the capitalist masters. Forward against the labor and socialist lackeys of Morgan, Rockefeller and the international bankers of, Wall Street. Forward for the triumph of Communism in the name of the oppressed masses of all the nations the world over, including the United States of America.

WILL APPEAR NEXT WEEK.

The article: "American Capitalism Preparing New Wars" by Comrade J. Ramirez (Gomez) will appear in next issue.

Nationalism Before Socialism.

"THE difference between German and French socialists," said Karl Kautsky, October 2, 1914, "does not lie in their standard, nor in their basic interpretation of things, but rather in the difference between their interpretations of the particular event in question, and this difference, again, arises from the different geographic situations of the countries concerned. . . . If, in spite of all efforts of social-democracy, war still comes, every nation must save its own skin as best it can. Out of this there arises for the social-democrats of all nationalities, the immediate necessity and the immediate duty of taking part in this defense, and no one group may get ahead of another in this respect. In every nationalist state, the proletariat must devote all its energy to the end that the independence and sovereignty of the national domain may remain unimpaired."

(From "The New Order," October 2, 1914: "Social-Democracy in the War.")

Trade Unions as War Machines

By EARL R. BROWDER.

Workers are against war, all workers, conservative and revolutionary. But the working class finds itself, whenever the capitalists wish to fight out a quarrel with those of another country about markets, swept into the great war fever that grips the land on such occasions. How is this contradiction brought about? The explanation is to a great extent to be found in the skilled use of the workers' own organizations to break down their resistance to war, and then deliver them to the war apparatus. The trade unions are among the principal war machines of the capitalist class.

My first experience that brought this home vividly to me, and which will serve as an illustration, was in the early days of 1917, when the United States was being shoved, against the will of the masses of the workers, surely—into the world war. At that time I was president of a small local union in a mid-western city, and a delegate to the Central Labor Council. The overwhelming sentiment of the union men was hotly against participation in imperialistic war. This was expressed in the fall of 1916, for example, by the adoption of a resolution denouncing the invasion of Mexico by American troops, and calling upon union men to take action to stop it.

But the trade union bureaucracy got to work. Swiftly and with precision, and evidently working with unlimited funds, it began to mobilize the militaristically inclined, crush those who led the opposition, and set up its active nuclei in every union and council to prepare the war fever.

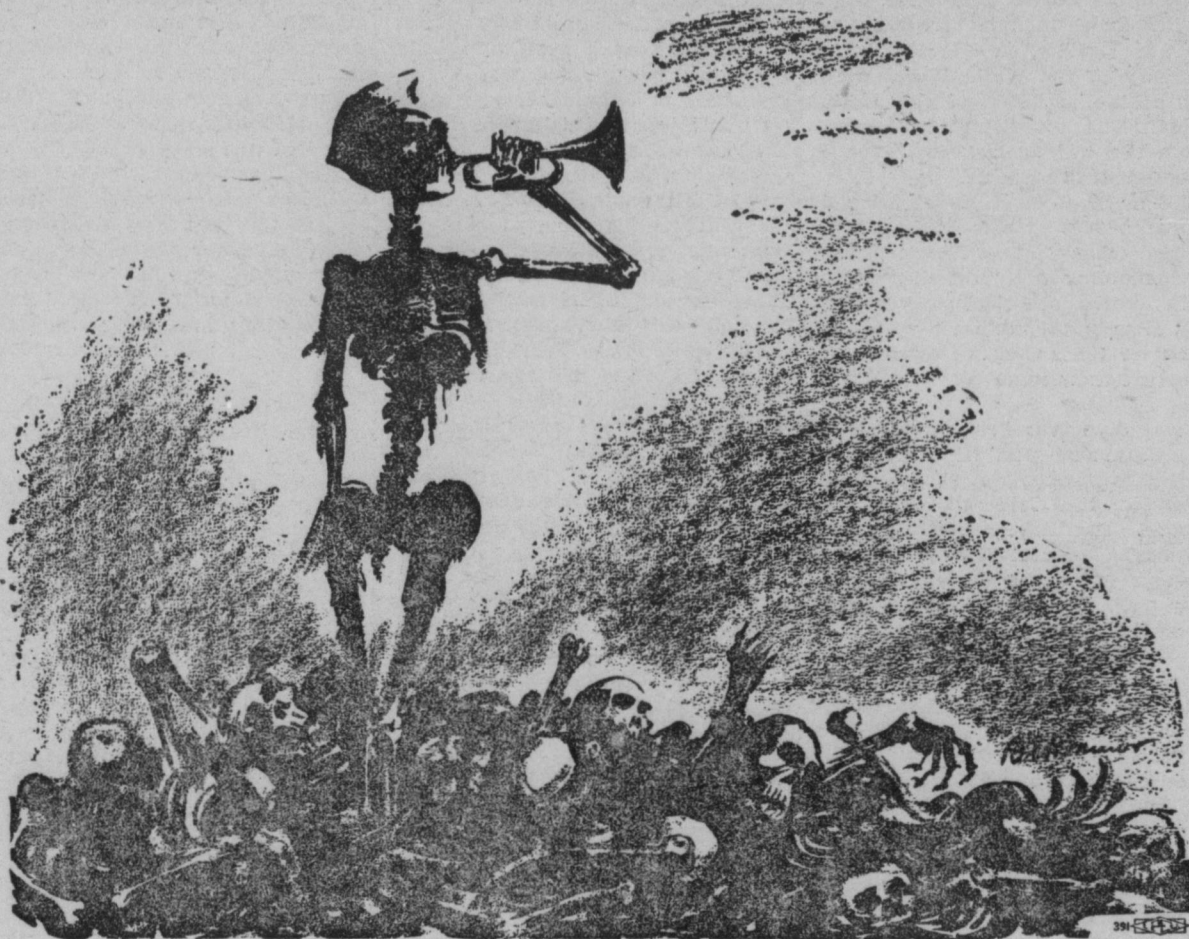
One of the first agents of the warmongers to come into this particular city from the seat of war, Washington, was George L. Berry, since "Major," breathing peace from one nostril and fire from the other. He organized the local Neutenants of the drive, and taught them the technique of the thing—"talk peace all the time, but class peace, and scare 'em to death of the Germans."

Within another month the Berrys of America had prepared the ground in the unions. Then Gompers called the conference of the heads of the various International Unions that issued the infamous declaration pledging the unions to war.

The machinery to put this declaration into effect had been carefully established. All organizers and officials of the unions had been called into Washington and coached. They swarmed out over the country with commissions to recruit skilled workers for war industry at unheard of wages. They told of the immense earnings to be made by "going along," and how anyone who bucked the game would be broken. They argued that the unions would be destroyed if they did not co-operate, while if they went along, they would prevent conscription, alleviate abuses, ensure a "just peace" and an early one. And above all, they had lots of cash with them. Money was cheap and plentiful for key men in the unions.

We all know the result. The American Federation of Labor became one of the most important war machines in the country. The only promise that was kept was for the high wages—the others were quickly forgotten as unnecessary. The unions were corrupted, delivered to the government, swamped with a flood of inexperienced members, and organically attached to the official war machine—the Department of War and the Department of Justice.

International union offices sent out letters to all local union secretaries and presidents, appointing them as agents of the government, for the special purpose of reporting all "disloyal" activities such as strike agitation, opposition to conscription, etc. Union machinery became a great Liberty Bond selling agency. All who gave opposition to turning the unions into war machinery found themselves in prison on short notice and were soon forgotten.



AGAIN THE BUGLE BLOWS!

By Robert Minor.

Experience of this kind in America was more crude but along the same lines as in Europe. We but repeated in a rougher manner what had occurred in Germany, England, France, Belgium, in 1914. In every country it had been the same—the trade unions had been turned into government-controlled machines for the making of war. Yet the members of these unions were all against war!

This helplessness of the trade union movement in the face of an undesired war, is but the reflection of the intellectual helplessness of the workers before the bourgeois system of ideas, imposed upon them by the schools, the press, the very teachings of the union leaders, journals, and socialist parties. The unions could not prevent war, because they were under the ideological control of the war-makers, the capitalist class. They were infested with agents of capitalism, whom they could not recognize and drive out because the workers themselves were not class-conscious, and did not have a working-class method of thinking, a working class outlook upon the world.

That is why it was possible for the

international trade union movement to fly apart at the call of war, and each labor movement rally to its respective government, ready at the word of command to slaughter the fellow workers who, but a day before, had been joined supposedly in working-class solidarity.

That is why Karl Legien, chairman of the trade union international organization, could proclaim from his office that the cause of Germany was "just and sacred." That is why Huber, of Austria, could throw the trade unions of that country into the war. That is why Jouhaux of France, could betray the revolutionary French workers to the war machinery of that country. Because the masses of workers were hypnotized by the preachings of class collaboration, by bourgeois ideas of "fatherland" and patriotism, by false and middle-class pacifism, they were victims of the most horrible slaughter the world has seen.

There is no royal road to peace. The workers of the world do not desire to kill one another, but they shrink back, under the hypocritical and cowardly influence of their mis-

leaders, from making war upon the source of war—the capitalist system and the domination of the bourgeoisie.

Another war will surely come, and again the trade unions will be made into war machines, unless and until the masses break thru the doctrine of collaboration with the war-making capitalist class and, in its place, launch a struggle to the death against the entire capitalist system.

There is but one way to fight against war, and that is to fight against the cause of war—the capitalists. This struggle will, due to the treachery of the bureaucrats and socialists, fail in most if not all countries, to prevent the imperialist war now threatening breaks upon the world. And then the task will be to continue the same fight, using the opportunity of the arming of masses of workers, in conjunction with the trade union struggle in industry, to turn the imperialist war into the civil war against the capitalist system. History tells us that this is the only road to the workers' society, to the abolition of war, to the freeing of the workers from exploitation.



EXPERIMENTING WITH THE DEATH RAY.

War and the Second International

By
A. BITTELMAN

IN 1912, two years prior to the last world slaughter in which millions of workers were sacrificed on the altar of imperialism, the Second International held an extraordinary world congress.

It was held in Basel, Switzerland. It was called for the primary purpose of putting an end, if possible, to the then raging Balkan war and to prevent the latter from turning into a World War.

To achieve this purpose a certain resolution was adopted, the now famous anti-war resolution of the Basel Congress. Famous for two reasons: For what it pledged the Second International to do in case of a World War and for what it actually did when the war came about.

On the tenth anniversary of the great slaughter, when the Second International again pretends to be preparing against imperialist wars, it is our duty to throw a glance (just a glance) backwards to the memorable pre-war days of 1914. Therein lies a lesson for the workers which must not be lost.

The Great Pledge.

It was given by the Second International on three occasions. By decision of three world congresses. Let us memorize the dates and places:

In Stuttgart, in 1907.

In Copenhagen, 1910.

In Basel, in 1912.

The following is the heart of the Basel resolution:

"The Congress calls upon the workers of the world to resist capitalist imperialism by means of International proletarian solidarity. The Congress issues warning to the ruling classes of all nations not to increase the miseries of the working class, which result from the capitalist system of production, by engaging in fresh military ventures. The Congress quite definitely demands peace.

"Let the governments of all countries not forget that, with the existing European situation and with the present state of mind of the working class, the beginning of a new war may prove not altogether a harmless affair for these very governments. Let them also remember that the Franco-Prussian war resulted in a revolutionary explosion which led to the Commune, that the Russo-Japanese war created a revolutionary movement involving all the nationalities of the Russian Empire, that the growing competition in armaments have already shar-

pened the class struggle in England and on the continent of Europe resulting in colossal strikes. It would be madness on the part of the governments not to understand this situation, when the very thought of the calamity of a world war awakens a feeling of desperate disgust among the proletariat of the entire world. The proletariat considers it a crime for workers to shoot at each other for the sake of capitalists' profits, dynastic intrigues and for the promotion of secret diplomatic treaties.

"Should the governments suppress all the possibilities for normal development and drive the proletariat to desperate action, it will be these governments alone that will bear all the responsibilities for the consequences of the war.

"However, should war break out in spite of us, it will be the duty of the socialists to interfere in order to put an early end to it. We shall have to employ all our strength to utilize the economic and political crisis created by the war in order to arouse the masses and thus enhance the downfall of the class domination of capital."

It was a warning to capitalism and a sacred pledge to the working class. It was a pledge to transform the imperialist war into a civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. It was a pledge "to arouse the masses and thus enhance the downfall of capitalist rule."

Let us remember that. And then—

The Great Betrayal.

On the 4th of August, 1914, the German Social-Democracy in the Reichstag voted military credits "to defend the Fatherland." The same day the French socialists in the chamber of deputies unanimously voted in favor of the military bills proposed by the government. Two weeks later the Socialist party entered the coalition government to prosecute war.

In Belgium, Vandervelde, one of the heads of the Second International, entered in the name of his party into a coalition war government on the 3rd of August, 1914.

The British Labor party wavered only for a short while refusing at first to vote the military credits. But a few days subsequent to the declaration of war finds already the British Labor party actively engaged in recruiting volunteers for the army. And later, on May 26, 1915, Henderson and a few others enter the government "to conduct the war to a successful conclusion."

With the beginning of 1915, there

crystallized among the parties of the Second International what may be termed: a division of functions. One set of parties (England, France and Belgium) organized as a war auxiliary to the bourgeoisie of the allied powers, and another set of parties (Germany, Austria and Hungary) organized as an auxiliary to the bourgeoisie of the Central powers.

In other words, the entire Second International, with the exception of the socialist parties of Russia, Serbia, Poland, Italy and partly America, has been mobilized and delivered for use to the capitalists of the two warring camps.

This is what the leaders of the Second International did with the Basel resolution.

History May Repeat Itself.

Most of those leaders are still alive. So is the Second International. Having died an inglorious death in the days of its great betrayal, it later resurrected and came to life again as the mainstay and most valuable support to the tottering foundations of capitalism.

By grace of the bourgeoisie the Second International has become a "ruling" power. It rules England thru the British Labor party. It practically shares power in Germany with the social-democrat Ebert as the president of the German Republic. It is in fact, if not in name, part of the Herriot government of France. It is in "power" in Sweden and is about to become part of the government of Belgium.

The Second International is very much satisfied with its recent success. At a special world conference, held at Vienna around the middle of June simultaneously with the world congress of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, Friedrich Adler reported "great progress" for the parties of the Second International.

At this conference, of which Vandervelde was chairman, they also discussed the dangers of a new war. And what did they decide? Well, they approved the Dawes plan and decided to draw the attention of all governments that the evil of all evils is the problem of reparations.

But that is not all. In conjunction with the Amsterdam International they decided to hold anti-war demonstrations on the tenth anniversary of the late war.

That is, they will protest again, they will pledge themselves again, they will warn once more against the danger of new wars.

And at the same time they will sit in the government of England and

will carry out the imperialistic and militaristic policies of British capitalism. That is, they themselves will prepare the new imperialist slaughter.

And their brethren in France, in Germany, in Belgium and all over the world will be doing the very same thing. And in the United States the socialist party will help LaFollette destroy the political independence of the American workers, thus removing the only power that is capable to fight imperialism and war.

The Second International is preparing to repeat the history of 1914 only on a much bloodier scale. Shall we permit it?

There is No Short Cut.

Let every working man take to heart the experiences of the past ten years. What do they teach us?

You cannot prevent new imperialist wars. They will come. They must come. They are part and parcel of modern capitalist economy. If you don't want new wars, destroy capitalism. Remove the capitalists from power and take the government into your own hands.

To prepare against war is to prepare for the social revolution and for the seizure of power by the working class. The first step to this is the building of a powerful revolutionary working class party—a Communist Party.

And if war comes—as it surely will—you will not be able to stop it, unless you will be ready to seize power and establish the proletarian dictatorship.

To achieve this something more than good intentions will be necessary on the part of the exploited masses of America. They will have to be class conscious, well organized politically and economically, trained for battle and inspired with confidence in their strength and a will to power.

Who will educate these masses? Who will develop their class consciousness, raise their hatred of the bourgeoisie and inspire them with the will to power?

Will LaFollette do it? Will Hillquit, the C. P. P. A. and Gompers do it?

Make your own conclusions. But be sure of one thing. Whatever your decision, remember the lessons of the past ten years, which cannot be expressed any better than in the following words of Lenin:

"Nothing will end war, nothing will usher in a real democratic peace, nothing will free the nations from the greedy capitalists which are fattening on war—nothing but a proletarian revolution."

War Persecutions and Their Results

(Continued from Page 7)

sentimental fighter for his class to an all too saintly petty bourgeois pacifist. But it is a change, a shameful change. It represents the change in the S. P. Its small proletarian tendency was destroyed, and even its best elements were so at sea that in 1918 they were innocently talking a class collaboration program of "reconstruction"—instead of revolution.

The I. W. W.—an Example of Syndicalist Confusion.

Some will say that the I. W. W., surely, has a record under war persecution that is beyond all criticism. If we speak of the fine type of fighting workers who made up the revolutionary minority (unorganized) both inside and outside of prison during the war, I agree. But as one of those who shared intimately in the catastrophic results of official confusion, I must add that, as an organization, the reputation of the I. W. W. for opposition to war, or for any consistent program in relation thereto, is unjustified.

The I. W. W., which has always tried to fulfill the contradictory functions of a revolutionary (the anti-parliamentary) political party, and—at the same time—of a labor union,

was taken in all its confusion by the war crisis. In spite of its advertised and many of its real virtues, it naturally suffered great mutilation under war persecution. Its failure to maintain its ideological unity and tone, and increase rather than decrease its power in the struggle, is a failure of the syndicalist argument that an economic organization can discharge the functions of a political party in leading the struggle.

Some leaders of the I. W. W. have learned this lesson from the war crisis, but—most remarkably—they do not go on from the acknowledgement that the union cannot be a political party to the logical conclusion that there should be a separate revolutionary political party organized. Far from it. They only disavow the political function—the struggle for power—altogether! They become pure and simple unionists! Industrial unionists, of course, but minus any program for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism—and many of them have become advocates of pacifism in the class struggle.

The G. E. B. met, quarreled, but could not agree on any statement. So none was made. Chaplin, then editor of Solidarity, waited until nearly registration day, then, disgusted, published his own statement, advising the I. W. W. members to register, but to

claim exemption as "opposed to war." This farcical situation was heightened when a defiant statement, upon which the G. E. B. could not agree, was found among papers taken in the raids and was used against us by Judge Landis with telling effect.

While the G. E. B. quarreled, the membership became confused. There was not even bad leadership. While Solidarity snorted defiance to the war lords, regiments of drafted I. W. W. were entrained, the Marine Transport Workers' union was given trust work and good wages in handling war supplies. It bought Liberty bonds and put up a service flag. All these excellencies were duly logged into court to prove we were good patriots. But we were convicted just the same. Only the trial again proved, by a division among the defendants on how it should be conducted, that the revolutionary and the unionist elements were wholly at variance.

At Leavenworth the group was given over to numberless quarrels and recriminations. In spite of the fact that every issue could be seen looming up for future decision, no program was discussed or adopted concerning the group attitude toward parole, commutation or conditional release, until after the crisis was upon us and the group already irrevocably split. This fight became murderously bitter and, pushed

into the foreground as an excuse for factionalism, is now ruining the organization outside. Gunplay and fights go on between leaders in headquarters who advocate pacifism to the masses in the class struggle. Both sides are equally certain that the I. W. W. needs no revolutionary minority organization such as the T. U. E. L. forms in the A. F. of L., and both are equally wrong.

Lately the leading speakers of the I. W. W. are acknowledging that it has no revolutionary mission, that it organizes for two things only—first, for the "everyday struggle," second, to "carry on production after capitalism shall have been overthrown" (by the Communists, presumably!). The Workers Party invites those members of the I. W. W. who want to fill this hiatus and help to overthrow capitalism to join the Communist movement—without leaving the I. W. W., however. In the next war to end war the Communist Party will have work for these good fighters. In the next war, together with all the resentful elements from the last one dragged again into the ranks, will go the Communists, organized to carry on systematic work to turn the war into revolution. In the next war, if the revolutionists are persecuted, they can feel that they were persecuted for something.

What Did the Great War Cost?

By JAY LOVESTONE

NO statistical wizard has yet succeeded in measuring accurately the total cost of the Great War. To attempt to calculate the cost of the property destroyed, the munitions used up, the wear and tear of machinery, the loss of shipping, and the countless other forms of destruction of wealth is a herculean task. Of course, there is no yardstick by which the expert can measure in dollars and cents the value of the lives snuffed out on the battlefield, the cost to society of the limbs lost and the homes broken up.

The best study made to date of the cost of the war, is the analysis of war and post-war public finance made by Mr. Harvey E. Fisk for the Bankers Trust Company of New York. Another authoritative study of this subject is the one made for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, by Professor Bogart entitled "Direct and Indirect costs of the Great World War."

Hundreds of Billions Destroyed

According to the investigation of the Bankers Trust Company the total money expended for war purposes in the six fiscal years of 1914-1920, by the allied powers and the United States, was \$199,370,000,000. At the same time the Central Powers spent \$37,600,000,000 for war purposes. Here we have a grand and gruesome total of \$272,970,000,000 as the cost of the war for all belligerents.

Professor Bogart estimates that the total direct and net cost of the Great World War was \$186,233,637,097. But the Bankers Trust Investigation which is a later (1924) and a more thorough going survey, has found the total direct net cost, exclusive of all so called normal military and naval expenditures and exclusive of inter-Ally loans during the war, to be no less than \$208,503,000,000.

The British Empire and its imperial domains, colonies and protectorates, spent at least \$66,084,000,000 for waging the war. The United States expended no less than \$39,447,000,000 though it withdrew from the imperialist conflict when the Bolshevik assumed political power. Italy's war expenditures reached a total of \$21,547,000,000. Belgium expended \$2,004,000,000; Japan, \$2,040,000,000; Portugal, \$1,145,000,000; Roumania, \$1,503,000,000; Serbia, \$579,000,000; and Greece, \$560,000,000.

Among the Central Powers, Germany led in war expenditures with a total of \$50,330,000,000. Austria followed with a sum of \$19,801,000,000. Turkey, spent \$2,199,000,000 and Bulgaria expended \$1,270,000,000 for staying in the war.

What The War Cost Means

These are staggering figures; they baffle the imagination of the biggest of the bankers. Let us attempt to translate these myriads of dollars into somewhat simpler denominations.

If we use the gold dollar as our standard, and not the currency dollar or the amount brought by the dollar in exchange value at a particular moment we will find that the war cost eighty billion gold dollars.

How stupendous this sum is can be understood only when we learn that if we should purchase all the railways of the world, we should still have left twenty billion gold dollars with which we could reproduce the entire railway system of the United States at the highly inflated and over-capitalized figure set by the owners themselves.

The eighty billion dollars spent by the imperialist powers in waging the last great conflict was more than two and three quarters the total national annual income of the entire American people in 1914 and more than twice the total national income of the United States in 1922.

This gigantic sum devoured by the great World War was almost twice as much as the total capitalization of all American industries in 1919, and was at least one third in excess of the value of all the products of American industry in the same year at their

highest prices.

For the vast sum spent to wage the world war, one could purchase seven times the supply of food and kindred products turned out in the United States in 1919; nine times all the textiles and their products; nine times all the iron and steel and their products; and nearly twenty-seven times all the lumber and its manufactures in the same year.

In 1914 the total wealth of Great Britain was estimated at about seventy billion gold dollars. Thus, all the property, all the docks, all the railways, the navy, the factories, the tin, the coal and iron mines, and the world's biggest merchant marine traveling the seven seas, could be purchased for the gold cost of the war. In addition, we could have a paltry ten billion dollars with which we might purchase the total wealth of New Zealand and Australia.

The money spent for the war, according to the Bankers Trust Company was fifty percent in excess of the cost of government in England

destroyed what it took four hundred and fifty years to build and create.

Terrific War Debts

In order to finance the war, the masses of the affected countries were subjected to the most burdensome taxes directly and indirectly. In 1920 the total national debts of the various countries which were in the war reached the dizzy heights of \$237,537,000,000.

The total debts of the British Empire at that date were nearly fifty billion dollars. Of this sum, Great Britain owed more than thirty-eight billion dollars. The French debt was then more than forty billion dollars; the American more than twenty-four billion dollars; the Russian more than twenty-four billion dollars; the Italian more than seventeen billion dollars; the Austrian more than twenty-one billion dollars; and the German nearly forty-seven billion dollars. These totals of course, are inclusive of the funded and floating internal debts as well as the foreign government and foreign market external debts.



CAPITALIST PEACE.

from the Revolution of 1688 down to the World War. In this period of 226 years, England fought eight major wars at a cost of from one hundred and fifty million dollars for the wars of William The Third, to six billion dollars for the great French wars of 1792 to 1815.

From 1791 to 1913, or a period covering one and a quarter centuries, the United States government spent a sum equivalent to less than one-third of the cost of the World War. Yet in this period the United States waged the Revolutionary, The Mexican, The Civil, The Spanish, and many Indian Wars. At the same time the American government purchased Louisiana, Alaska, Virgin Islands, the Philippines, financed a revolution in Columbia, and built the Panama canal, the world's greatest engineering feat.

It is interesting to note that the combined pre-war wealth of Italy and France was slightly under eighty billion gold dollars, or the cost of the Great War. Thus, the Great War de-

Colossal Loss of Life

The economic losses suffered by the world war as a result of the lives wantonly destroyed, the wounds inflicted upon the soldiery, from massacres, contagion, the reduction of vitality amongst the non-combatants because of mal-nutrition, the stunning of the lives of hundreds of thousands of children, born and yet to be born, the destruction of the priceless art, books, and relics of the past, of the buildings, highways, railroads, lands, factories and mines, defy calculation by the most diligent and thorough-going of experts.

Without making any attempt to fix the cost of the war in this light, we find that the Allied and Central powers lost nearly thirteen million in dead, or to be precise, 10,004,771 are known to be dead, and 2,991,800 are presumed dead. The average loss of life per day of the war was nearly nine thousand. The total number killed was more than twice those who lost their lives in the nine biggest

wars of the nineteenth century.

Then, nearly six millions lost their lives indirectly as a result of the war through the various epidemics resulting therefrom. Besides it is estimated that four million Armenians, Jews, Greeks, Syrians and others were massacred indirectly as a result of the World War. Finally, the mortality rates increased tremendously as a result of the World War, especially in the Balkans, Russia, and Central Europe.

The United States, entering the war after most of the major struggles had been fought, lost more than seventy seven thousand in dead, and more than 221,000 in wounded. Of course, the casualties of the other belligerents were far heavier.

Preparing For New Wars

These tragic figures have left no impress on the capitalist imperialist cliques governing every country of the world except Russia.

Recently the internationally known historian, E. D. Morel, pointed out that "there is going on at present a more extensive output of war material than at any time since the 'Peace.' The chief centers of production are two—the Skoda Works in Czecho-Slovakia, and the Austrian State factories. French influence and French money are directing both."

The powerful French financial group of Creusot-Schneider owns seventy-five percent of the Skoda stock. French imperialists control the entire war machinery of Czecho-Slovakia. Within the last year, the Austrian factories have turned out a million Mauser rifles, one million rounds of ammunition, a hundred and thirty three wagon loads of infantry ammunition, twelve wagon loads of motor lorries, two wagon loads of machine guns, twenty-four wagon loads of field kitchens, and ten thousand rounds of quickmatch, big quantities of field guns, Frommer revolvers, acetylene reflectors, etc. for Jugo Slavia alone.

Roumania is placing huge orders for military supplies. Poland has just received thirty five million pieces of ammunition for the French 7.9 mm gun, and thirty four wagon loads of infantry ammunition.

The big powers are doing likewise. There are more men under arms today than there were before the war to end all wars was declared. More than twelve percent of the French and Turkish population are in the organized military forces today. Nearly one out of every ten Italians, male and female, child and old man, are in the military clutches of Mussolini. There are nearly ten million men in the active and trained reserves of the various countries of the world.

America in the Race

The United States is not lagging behind in this monstrous preparation for new wars.

In the past decade, the cost of American national defense has been doubled. The total number of individuals under training has increased from 243,865 to 504,010. At the same time the number of persons in military and naval stations abroad rose from 55,608 to 117,238.

The United States has, today, invested more than four billion dollars in its navy. Within the last ten years the value of the American navy has increased nearly 260 percent.

At this moment American imperialists are waging major struggles in every corner of the world. In Japan, in the Philippines, in Cuba, in Mexico, in Colombia, in Brazil, in Persia, in the near East, in Roumania, in the Dutch East Indies and at the London Conference, American imperialists are swiftly extending their dominion over the industries and resources of the world.

For the workers and poor farmers of America, these gigantic armament races, this fierce commercial rivalry, this intense struggle for imperialist world supremacy can spell only another infernal conflagration far more deadly and disastrous than even the last Great War.

Send in that Subscription Today.

War Persecutions and Their Results

By HARRISON GEORGE.

The first Tuesday after the first Monday in the month of November, 1916, I stood in a snowdrift in the streets of Virginia, Minn., watching the bulletins of the election returns. Two of the I. W. W. leaders then most famous, Gurley Flynn and Joe Ettor, tended to favor Woodrow Wilson because he had "kept us out of war." The syndicalist suspicion I held against all politicians did not fully account for my foreboding that Mr. Wilson would not continue his pacific role. He was elected on that supposition, however. But hardly before that snowdrift had melted, Woodrow Wilson had indorsed Morgan's loan to the allies in the blood of American workers.

Every one is "against war." Every war minister of every capitalist government on earth will assure you he is against war. Even while he is signing mobilization orders to throw millions of workers into battle and death, he will emphatically assure you he is against war. But only simpletons believe that capitalist politicians, who are necessarily the tools of imperialism, are not hypocrites—are not willing and waiting to send armies of workers to slaughter in the interest of profiteering exploiters.

Gompers, too, is against war. He says so. But when he says so he lies. In 1917 he did not even wait for the war declaration. He helped to rouse sentiment in favor of that declaration before it was issued. Gompers called a special convention of the A. F. of L. at Buffalo in February, 1917, to pledge class collaboration in the oncoming war. Woodrow Wilson addressed this convention, thanking Gompers for "loyalty" and threatening any labor element that "kicked over the traces" with being "put in a corral."

Those Who Were "Put in a Corral."

This is a story of those who were put in a corral. It is not a case record of war persecutions. It aims

rather to give a survey of those proletarian elements and organizations which suffered persecution in the war, and how they emerged from the struggle.

Neither shall I dwell upon the real persecution suffered by the petty bourgeois pacifist elements. Whatever their extent and degree, they count for nothing in the class struggle. They were individualists and remained individualists, objectors upon grounds of conscience not of class. If imperialism could exploit the proletariat bloodlessly, if capitalism could get its pound of flesh without one drop of blood—then the petty bourgeois pacifists would have no quarrel with capitalism.

Inherently, in the last war crisis, they cared only for their "souls." They quibbled over legal loopholes—if they should refuse to fight before or after mobilization, if they would or would not accept non-combatant service with the war machine. While all the Babbitts regarded these sweet souls as dangerous, nothing could be sillier. They were only a nuisance, not a menace, to capitalist wars. They did not divert the war machine for one moment. They will never stop any war. Moreover, until they cease their subjective attitude, and carry even their weak anti-war propaganda vigorously into the ranks of the soldiers and sailors who are to do the fighting, all their protests against war as an institution will be justly branded as insincere.

Little Glory for Any One.

However, even those who opposed the war not from a personal, but from proletarian or supposed proletarian reasons, have nothing in an organizational sense of which to be proud. Unless, of course, one insists that it is the main purpose of revolutionists heroically to be dragged off to prison and gloriously to rot therein for a term of years.

In this accomplishment all groups, even the socialist party, had to yield first place to the I. W. W. Only by

the sentimental element was the St. Louis resolution of the S. P. against war taken seriously. Everybody knew that Berger's opposition to the war was not proletarian, but German-nationalistic, disguised with a pacifist veneer. Oscar Ameringer went from St. Louis back to Oklahoma and joined the terrorizing council of defense to help persecute the naive socialist farmers of Oklahoma who took the St. Louis resolution to mean something, and who took to the hills with their Winchester rifles prepared to resist conscription.

The Rise and Fall of the North Texas Republic.

I met some of these Oklahoma farmers in Leavenworth prison, together with those Texas farmers who, to show the world their resentment against the unconstitutional behavior of the conscriptionists, seceded from the United States and set up the Republic of North Texas. I believe the whole cabinet of the North Texas Republic was at Leavenworth, altho I recall meeting only its secretary of war. He was then tending the flock of prison poultry. I believe his name was Bryant—a fine type of fighting farmer, and I recall two things concerning him. He was continually and visibly engaged in chewing tobacco, and he was patently disillusioned with the socialist party. The obscure rank and file were too unimportant for the fine gentlemen at the head of the S. P. to defend from persecution. The "League for Democratic Control" Gets Controlled.

At Leavenworth I met, also, the left wing socialist group led by Comrade Earl Browder and his brothers. These were, perhaps, the most sophisticated prisoners of the war. They had few illusions. By organizing the ephemeral League for Democratic Control to "test the constitutionality of the draft act" it was hoped to disillusion others. Some of these others shared both the disillusion and prison with the Browders, but did not come out as they did to resume the fight.

The most revolutionary plank of any anti-war program I know of was written into the demands of this organization, i. e., that the armed forces should be under the control of rank and file committees. No wonder Comrade Browder and I met at Leavenworth! But tho I waited there for five years, Berger never arrived. When he purchased immunity in 1919 by throwing out the left wing, I wrote Jim Reed—then at the first Communist convention—that Leavenworth was only for honest rebels anyhow.

In speaking of these rank and file committees in the army, we must not forget the two "strikes," or rather mutinies, of the military prisoners at the disciplinary barracks at Fort Leavenworth. The first one was quite a success, led by an "intellectual objector," Hi Simon. The second was ruthlessly crushed—according to grapevine from "the barracks" to "our" civil prison—with deliberate murders of mutineers in their cells.

Vegetarianism in the Class War.

The symbol that best represents the decline of the socialist party from war persecution is the change in Debs. Debs, who had threatened to lead an army of workers to rescue Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone from an Idaho hangman, who had counseled miners to buy rifles and machine guns, became, by passing thru the war persecution, the typical petty bourgeois pacifist, preaching Christly sweetness and non-resistance—a staunch upholder of vegetarianism in the class war.

In prison I have seen strong men weep like children, those thought most courageous to turn into arrant cowards—rationalizing their cowardice with polemics as to tactics, men respected and still respected by thousands treating an imprisoned comrade no better than a prison guard would have done—just to curry favor with officials and receive some slight benefit. So I am not surprised to see what, by comparison, is a comparatively innocent change in Debs, from a
(Continued on Page 5)

The Real World War is Coming

(Continued from page 2.)

secret archives of their government, proved this.

The illusions are gone.

"God," for whom the fair-haired English boy died in the Turkish desert, proves to be Henri Detering, the oil man. "My Country," for which the French boy strewed his guts on Flanders Field, proves to be Mr. Loucheur who has iron mines in Lorain and who could make profits out of the Ruhr coal. "Democracy," for which 77,000 American boys were buried in France, proves to be the board of directors of the United States Steel Corporation. "Der Vaterland," faded before the suffering German working-class boy into the picture of his boss, Mr. Stinnes, interested in the twelve-hour workday.

The illusion is gone.

But the substance is not gone; in the absence of God, Sir Henri Detering still commands British armies and fleets. Mr. Loucheur runs France. J. P. Morgan makes presidents, and orders armies and warships to Mexico or Japan or where he will. New illusions, and old ones, patched up, are being made—they are being made for new wars.

The New War.

With the end of the world war, the cause of the world war did not end. All of the international oligarchies know this, and are preparing for new, more terrible wars. Foreign markets must still be had, foreign territories for exploitation—more than ever before. The American financial and trade agent rushes faster than ever to China; and there he meets in a surlier mood than ever, the same British agent and the same French agent, each eager to snatch from the other for exploitation the fields, without exclusive control of which American capitalists cannot dispose of their surplus, and without which, therefore, they will close their immense plants in America and plunge into economic

crisis. And the French, and the British, have the same urgent command: Get control of new territory to exploit or face your unemployed mobs at home! And there is the Japanese capitalist, battling for the great miles of China's wealth, in his very back yard invaded by the big Powers of the West. The Japanese capitalist feverishly fights all he dares and conspires all he can to keep the Big Powers out. And he gazes in dread upon his new-made proletariat fast generating the culture that made its great neighbor Russia a free Soviet Republic over the dead bodies of capitalists.

All, all of you, Imperialists!—get control of new territory to exploit— or face your unemployed mobs at home!

But how can all get control of territories that are not enough for all? Some of the capitalist powers must lose and face their unemployed mobs at home. None will do this without first a struggle, in which to lose is to be destroyed. It is a life-and-death necessity for each; if the ambassadors fail, the armies and the navies must be sent.

War is ahead. The "last war" was the practice-game for wars that will make 1914-1918 look like a time of peace.

The need for foreign territories to exploit is not the only trouble of the capitalist powers. For in each country the economic system is hopelessly disjointed. For six years each country's capitalists and their government have been trying by every desperate device to repair the system. For six years they have failed; and they have fallen into a more hopeless plight than ever. Each sees the way out—war! Each builds up its army.

The armies of today are bigger than they were in the Spring of 1914. More wealth is poured into the appliances of war. Poison gas and more powerful explosives are the leading scientific pursuits.

The Colonial Avalanche.

At the same time, hanging over the imperialist rulers as a trembling avalanche, are the colonial peoples whom they long held under subjection and exploitation. When the coming war starts, we will suddenly learn that the vast majority of the world's population—by far more than half—are colonial "inferior" peoples who are but waiting for the chance to freedom. India is still present on the tip end of Asia, with 294,000,000 inhabitants who wish no longer to be the slaves of England's few hundred thousands of upper class. China's 444,000,000 have lived seven years at the border of proletarian Russia who tells her the way to freedom.

When the real world war breaks, the imperialists will have even more to watch than their own proletarians.

The Capitalist "International."

War is the only "way out" of its troubles that capitalism knows, and it is a way into more troubles of even more desperate nature. While preparing for war, capitalism seeks other and supplementary "ways out." The League of Nations was an attempt to form a huge international machine or "super-government" (or World Court) for adjudicating these life-and-death differences between the powers—the parcelling out of the world's populations and territory for exploitation without the dangerous resort to war; but life-and-death differences cannot be adjudicated, and the League of Nations has fallen into a wreck, and the "world court" into a sham to cover the faces of the plotters.

Another device is tried: the Dawes plan. It is the effort to eliminate by strangulation one of the imperialist mouths to be fed on the fast diminishing imperial food—the effort to strangle Germany as a competing power, and at the same time to make the German people into a subject colony for exploitation by the great pow-

ers.

This merely adds Germany, willy-nilly, to the ranks of the colonial peoples gasping for freedom from imperialist domination. It clears the horizon for the German proletariat to see that it must now revolt and create another Soviet Republic.

The Communist International.

The great Communist International is in the field fast building up the international revolutionary organization—called the Communist Party in each country—which will do as the Russians did. These are fast being mobilized, "bolshhevizing" the working class culture that was left over from before the war, freeing its ideology from the last traces of bourgeois illusion, changing revolutionary sects into mass parties.

In all of the industrial capitalist countries the working class in plunging on toward revolutionary class consciousness—toward disillusionment in regard to the fraudulent patriotism with an international clique of bankers as the "patrie." When the working class is mobilized for the coming war, there will be in each national army hundreds of thousands of men who know that they are being sent to slaughter for the criminal purposes of murderers who sit back at home in counting houses. Tens of thousands there will be in each army who have the revolutionary understanding and purpose of the Communist parties. In the solution of the war problem the pacifist will have no part.

In the real world war, which has not just ended but is coming, more imperialist armies than one will be transformed into red armies. These will turn upon their real enemies, the capitalist rulers of their own countries, and will battle for new soviet republics in all lands, for the socialization of industry and the end of war thru the end of the cause of war—capitalism.

Imperialism, Pacifism and War

(Continued from page 1.)

We must make it clear to the masses that the social and political complexion of war is not determined by the good will of certain individuals or certain groups, but by the class which conducts the war, by the class policy of which the war seems to be a product, by the alliances of capitalists, the dominant economic force in modern society, and by the imperialistic character of international capitalism. It requires skill to make this clear to the masses and none of us could do that at a stroke without somewhat blundering in the attempt.

The end of the war will not come by merely wishing it. Nor because one of the two belligerent groups wishes it. We can't put an end to the war by grounding arms.

There is nothing more dangerous than phrases like "The nation's declaration of peace," "The steps taken by the proletariat of one nation after another," etc. All of which is pure sentimentalism in the style of Louis Blanc.

The war was not started by the sinister will of robber capitalists, altho it is fought purely in their interests and is not enriching anybody else. The war was a consequence of the development of international capitalism in the course of the past 50 years, of its endless connections and ramifications.

We cannot wiggle out of an imperialistic war, we cannot have a democratic peace, but only a peace imposed by violence, until we overthrow the power of capitalism, until the powers of government pass into the hands of a different class, the proletarian class.

Armaments and War, by Lenin.

Certain revolutionary socialists, who are advocates of disarmament, use as their main argument the claim that this demand expresses most clearly, most emphatically, and most thoroughly, the struggle against all forms of militarism and against every war. And this main argument constitutes precisely the fundamental mistake of all the advocates of disarmament. Socialists cannot be opposed to every war without ceasing to be socialists.

Socialists have never been opposed to revolutionary wars, and they never can accept that attitude. The bourgeoisie of the imperialistic nations is thoroughly reactionary and we know that the war waged at present by this bourgeoisie is a reactionary, criminal war of spoilation. If this is a fact, what about a war against this bourgeoisie? For example, a war of the suppressed and subjected, or colonial peoples against the imperialistic bourgeoisie.

One of the essential characteristics of imperialism is precisely that it accelerates the development of capitalism in backward countries and with it the struggle against national oppression. This is a fact, and from this fact it follows inevitably that imperialism must often breed national wars.

The negation of all possible national wars, under imperialism is theoretically and historically incorrect, and in practise promotes European Chauvinism. We, belonging to nations that suppress hundreds of millions of people in Europe, Africa, and Asia, declare to these oppressed peoples that their war against "our" nation is impossible!

Civil wars are also wars. Those who accept the class struggle must accept civil wars which, under certain circumstances, are a natural and inevitable continuance, development, and accentuation of the class struggle in every society based on class divisions. All great revolutions prove this. To deny or to overlook civil wars would mean becoming a victim of the most hopeless opportunism and abandoning the social revolution.

Only after we have completely

forced down and expropriated the bourgeoisie of the whole world, and not of one country alone, will wars become impossible. And it is scientifically incorrect and not at all revolutionary to overlook or confuse the most important, the most difficult task, the task that contributes most to the struggle during the period of transition of socialism; the crushing of the resistance of the bourgeoisie. The social quacks and opportunists like to dream of the coming of socialism peacefully. They are distinguished from the revolutionary socialists precisely in this, that they refuse to consider and prepare for the desperate class struggle necessary to realize the beautiful future.

It would be absolutely wrong, the

appeared to it as a method of solving questions, that was a complete denial of all "reason." So bourgeoisie democracy began to point out to the nations—with the tongues of poetry, moral philosophy, and certified accounting—that they would profit more by the establishment of a condition of eternal peace. Such were the logical roots of bourgeois pacifism.

From the time of its birth, pacifism was affiliated, 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. At the hands of capitalist reality the idea of eternal peace on the basis of a

of disarmament, international law, and world courts, only to deliver them up body and soul, at the decisive moment, to imperialistic capital which now mobilizes everything for its own purposes: industry, the church, art, bourgeois pacifism and patriotic socialism.

Wm. Jennings Bryan rashly and noisily expressed the natural aversion of the farmers and of the "small man" generally to all such things as world policy, military service, and higher taxes. Yet, at the same time that he was sending wagon loads of petitions, as well as deputations, to his pacifist colleagues at the head of the government, Bryan did everything in his power to break the revolutionary edge of the whole movement. "If war should come," Bryan telegraphed on the occasion of an anti-war meeting in Chicago, "we will all support the government, of course, yet at this moment it is our sacred duty to do all in our power to preserve the nation from the horrors of war."

These few words contained the entire program of petty bourgeois pacifism. To do everything in our power against the war means for them to afford the voice of popular indignation and outlet of the form of harmless demonstrations, after having previously given the government a guarantee that it will meet with no serious opposition in the 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's camp. Then, 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 at 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.



Blessing a New Imperialist Venture

oretically, to forget that every war is the continuation of politics by other means. The present imperialistic war is the continuation of the imperialistic policy originating and developing under the conditions of the epoch of imperialism. But this same epoch must necessarily produce the policy of fighting against national suppression and the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. There develops, accordingly, the possibility and inevitability, first, of revolutionary national uprisings and war, second, of wars and revolts of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and, third, of the unity of both kinds of revolutionary wars.

Democracy, Pacifism, and Imperialism, by L. Trotsky.

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 reasoning. 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 rationalistic criteria were applied also in the field of international relations. Here it hit upon war, which

"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 middle ages never dreamt of.

Theoretically and politically pacifism stands on the same foundation as does the theory of the harmony of social interests. The antagonism between capitalist nations have the same economic roots as the antagonisms between 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.

English and American pacifism, in spite of the differences in social and ideologic forms, is carrying on, at bottom, the same task. It offers to the petty and the middle bourgeoisie an expression for their fears of world cataclysms in which they may lose their last remnants of independence. Their pacifism chloroforms their conscience by means of impotent ideas



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