

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 capitalism, 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 some of us would 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 groundling 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 Blum.

The war was not started by the sinner will of robber capitalists, although it is fought purely in their interests and is not sacrificing 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 must be opposed to every war without ceasing to be socialists.

Socialists have never been opposed to revolutionary war, 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 spoliation. If this is a fact, what about a war against this bourgeoisie? For example, a war of the oppressed 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 therefore not only historically incorrect, and in practice promotes European Chauvinism. We believe in national wars that oppress hundreds of millions of people in Europe, Africa, and Asia, so clear 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 accommodation 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 be impossible. And it is scientifically incorrect and not at all revolutionary to overlook or confuse the most important, 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 capitalism, 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 some of us would do that at a stroke without somewhat blundering in the attempt.

It would be absolutely wrong, the



Blessing a New Imperialist Venture

orally, 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 produce the policy of facing against national oppression and the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. This develops, accordingly, the possibility and inevitability, first, of revolutionary national uprisings and war, socialist and revolts of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and, third, of the unity of both kinds of revolutionary war.

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 rigid restriction on industry, class and economic privilege, monarchic autocracy, these were the traditional features of the middle ages. Bourgeois democracy demanded legal equality, free competition, and parliamentary methods in the conduct of public affairs. Natural by its rationalistic 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 the tongue 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 afflicted, however, with a fundamental defect, one which is characteristic of bourgeois democracy. Its acute critics 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 by body and soul, at the decisive moment, to imperialism capital which now mobilizes everything for its own purposes: industry, the church, the bourgeoisie pacifism and patriotic socialism.

Wm. Jennings Bryan rashly and boldly expressed the natural aversion of the large and small, 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, Quakerlike pacifism of the bourgeois democracies is in such high favor in America and war industry circles.



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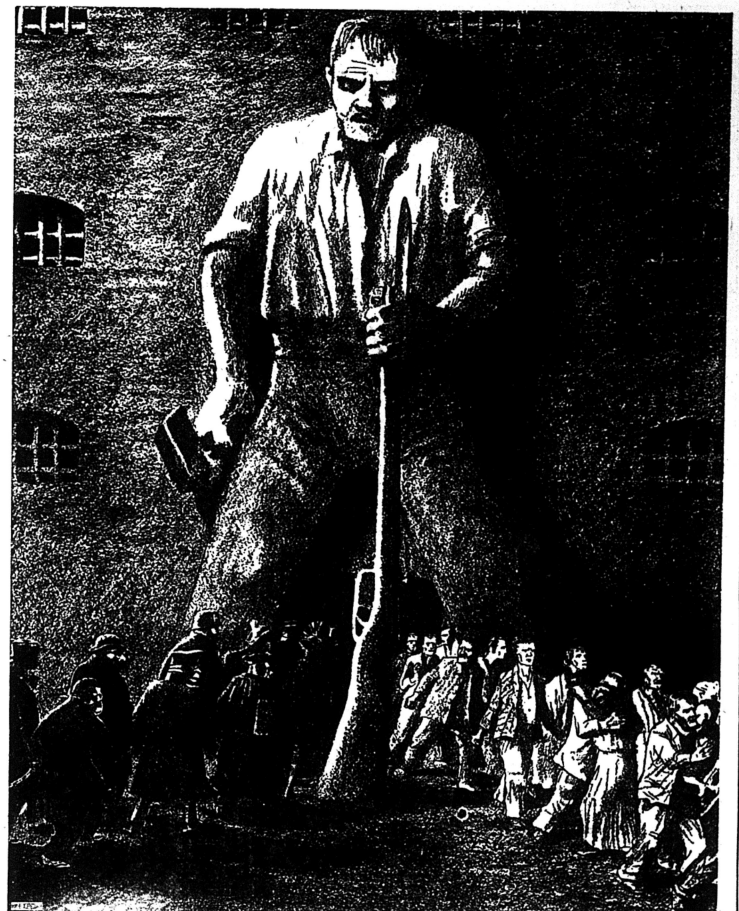
OPINIONS BY LENIN AND TROTSKY

On War and Peace, by Lenin.
RR: We in favor of imperialist wars, to all bourgeois governments which wage them.

Anything from capitalist governments, and the necessity of giving all power to the proletariat and the poorest peasants.
Against. Our whole task is simply this, to enlighten the masses as to the utter hopelessness of expecting

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

Trade Unions as War Machines

By EARL R. BROWDER.

Workers are against war, its conservative and revolutionary. But the working class has to fight whenever the capitalist class has to fight out a quarrel with those of another country about markets and trade. The great war fever that grips the land on such occasions. How is this condition to be changed? The explanation is to a great extent to be found in the attitude of the workers' own organizations to break down their reluctance 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 the home vividly to me, and which will serve as an illustration, was in the early days of 1917, when the United States was being shored, 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 was hotly against participation in imperialism. 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.

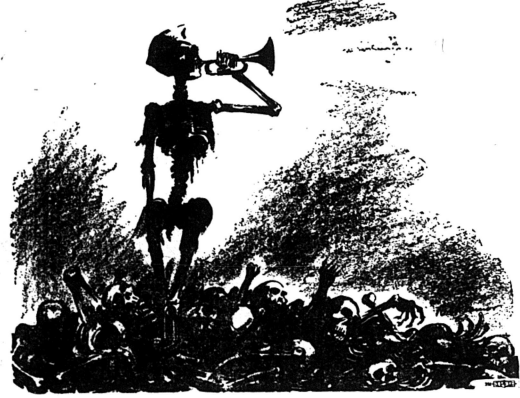
But the trade union bureaucracy got to work. Swiftly and with precision, and evidently working with unlimited funds, it began to mobilize the multiracially inclined, crass masses who led the opposition. It set up its active nuclei in every union and council to prepare the war fever. One of the first steps was to send members home from this particular city from the seat of war, Washington, D. C. The Central Labor Council "Major" breathing peace from one nostril and war from the other. He exhorted the bodies of the workers to drive, and taught them the technique of the thing—"talk peace all the time, but be ready to take the lead to death of the German."

Within another month the Berrys of America had prepared the masses of the unions. They completed the conference of the heads of the various International Unions, and declared the infamous declaration which binds 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 backed the game would be broken. They argued that the nation would be destroyed if they did not cooperate, while if they went along, they would prevent destruction, since they were a "just peace" and an early end. And there, all they had to do was to sell these. 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 organized and attached to the official war machine—the Department of War and the Department of Justice.

International union offices sent letters to all local union secretaries and presidents, appointing them as agents of the government, if or the special purpose of reporting all their activities to the government, agitation, opposition to conscription, etc. Union machinery became a great part of the war apparatus. The government gave opposition to turning the unions into war machinery found themselves in prison. The 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 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 used for 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.

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 other workers who, but a day before, had been joined supposedly in working-class solidarity.

That is why Karl Liebknecht, chairman of the trade union International, could proclaim from his office that the cause of Germany was "just and sacred." That is why Hitler, of Austria, could throw the trade unions of that country into the war. That is why Johnaus 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 "aftermath" 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 through 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, fall 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.

War and the Second International

By A. BITTELMAN

In 1913, 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, now famous as the famous anti-war resolution of the Basel Congress. Famous for two reasons: For what it pledged the Second International to 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 1913. Therein lies a lesson for the workers which must not be lost.

The Great Betrayal. 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 1913.

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 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 a disaster rather than a harmless affair for these very governments. Let them also remember that the Franco-Russian war was the result of 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 shat-

tered the class struggle in England and on the continent of Europe resulting in colossal strikes. It would be madness on part of the governments not to understand this situation, when the very thought of such calamity of workers would evoke a feeling of desperate desire among the proletariat of the entire world. The proletarian congresses are a crime for workers to shoot at each other for the sake of capitalist' socialists, and to intrigue against the promotion of serious 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 warrant 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 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 voted in favor of the military bills proposed by the government. Two weeks later the British labor party actively engaged in recruiting volunteers for the army. And later, on May 26, 1916, 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 party 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 ignominious death in the days of its great betrayal, it later resurrected and came to life again as a military 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 through the British labor party, it practically shares power in Germany with the social-democrat Kertel as the president of the German Republic. It is in power, if not in name, part of the Herriot government of France. It is a "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 American Trade Unionists and the American Trade Unionists, it reported "great progress" for the parties of the Second International.

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? The C. P. F. A. and Henderson were chairman, they also discussed the dangers of a new war. And they decided World War they approved the Dawes plan and decided to draw the attention of all governments to the evil of all evils is the problem of reparations.

But that is not all. In conjunction with the Second World 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 show 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 movement of the American workers, thus removing the only power that is capable of stopping 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 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.

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War Persecutions and Their Results

(Continued from Page 7) sentimental fighter for his class to an all too saintly party bourgeois pacifist. But it is a change, a shameful change. It represents the change in the I. W. W. from its small proletarian tendency to be destroyed, and even its best elements were so at sea that in 1915 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 I 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 confinement, 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-imperialist) 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 could not agree, was bound under war persecution. Its failure to maintain its ideological unity and tone, and its inability to stand equally firm in power in the struggle, is a failure of the syndicalist argument that an economic struggle is a class struggle. The functions of a political party in leading the struggle.

Sold leaders of the I. W. W. have learned this lesson from the war crisis, but—most remarkably—they do not go on from the acknowledgment that the union cannot be a political party to the logical conclusion that there should be a separate revolution 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 pride or faith in the class struggle.

The I. W. W. has become advocates of pacifism in the class struggle. The I. W. W. members, quarreled, but could not agree on any statement. So they made Charles, the editor of Solidarity, waited until nearly registration day, then, disguised, 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 I. W. W. could not agree, was found among papers taken in the raids and was used again by Judge Landis in his sentencing effort.

While the G. E. B. quarreled, the membership became confused. There was not even had leadership. What Solidarity argued during the war crisis, regiments of drafted I. W. W. were entrained, the Marine Transport Workers' union was given training work and good wages in handling war supplies. It bought Liberty Bonds and put up a service flag. All these accolades were fully lugged into court to prove we were good patriots. But when the time came for the signing of the trial again proved, by a division among the defendants on how to handle the case, that the Communist Party and the unionist elements were wholly at variance.

The group attitude of the I. W. W. was given over to numberless quarrels and re-orientations. In spite of the fact that every issue could be seen looming 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 push already irrevocably set this fact of course murderously bitter and pushed for something.

into the foreground as an excuse for factionalism, is now ruling the organization outside. Gunplay and fights go on between leaders and among papers taken in the raids and was used again by Judge Landis in his sentencing effort.

W. W. needs no revolutionary minority organization such as the T. U. E. 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, for the Communist "prehistory." The Workers' Party have been organized by the I. W. W. who want to fill this hiatus and help to overthrow capitalism. In the next war to end war, 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 past, they will be again into the ranks, will go the Communists organized to carry out the program work to turn the war into revolution. In the next war, if the revolutionaries are persecuted, they already irrevocably set this fact of course murderously bitter and pushed for something.



EXPERIMENTING WITH THE DEATH RAY.