



The **S**truggle Against

WAR

*and the Peace Policy
of the Soviet Union*

By **ROBERT MINOR**

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CONTENTS

I. WHO ARE THE WAR MAKERS	6
II. AGAINST WHOM DO THEY PREPARE WAR?	7
III. 1914-18 AND TODAY	9
IV. THE PEACE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION	14
V. FOREIGN POLICIES OF CAPITALIST STATES	14
VI. NATIONAL DEFENSE AND THE ARMED FORCES	17
VII. THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE	25
VIII. IDEOLOGICAL CONFUSION AMONG SOCIALISTS	27
IX. SANCTIONS	35
X. SOVIET DEMOCRACY AND PEACE	42
XI. MOBILIZE MASSES AGAINST WAR-MAKERS	46

FOREWORD

THIS pamphlet is a report made in June, 1936, to the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party of the United States on the subject: "The Struggle Against War, and the Peace Policy of the Soviet Union." But if the rapid events of the late summer have made some of the material in it seem "old", the amazing thing is the precision with which every event drives home the proof of the accuracy, of the position of the Communist Party which the report expressed.

In June we had to *argue* that sanctions do not mean war, but failure to apply sanctions inevitably gives the fascist states the foothold for their next and more powerful assault upon world peace. It was necessary even to argue against a proposal of Norman Thomas to give Mussolini and Hitler "access to raw materials" on the theory that this would *appease* their lust for war! But in September the blatant butcher Mussolini himself shouted from the tribune in the Piazza Venezia: "We are powerful [for war] not in spite of our African campaign, but *because* of it!"—and on September 20 the Hearst newspapers which had been the special pleaders to the world to let Mussolini have Ethiopia in exchange for peace calmly describe the Ethiopian conquest as "Italy's 'tune-up' for the greater war ahead". In June we had to argue that the fascist states of Hitler and Mussolini planned a war of aggression against the democratic nations of Western Europe, and that they would make use of every hesitation, division, weakness and retreat of other states to seize the additional footholds needed for military attack. Today we see the proof that Hitler's guns, so suddenly moved overnight to the Rhine, have the purpose of making war for the conquest of Western Europe; and the scarcely concealed German and Italian arming of the fascist forces in Spain for the murder of the Spanish Republic is intended to build the anvil upon which fascism intends to pound the French Republic to death. The same leather-lunged lying then used by the fascists and unwittingly repeated by timid men is now being used again to overawe the more naive of the pacifists and the more confused of the Socialists.

We argued that, though the war-makers of Japan, Italy and Germany with profound correctness regard the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the strongest obstacle to their plans, nevertheless their pretense to have aims "only" directed against the socialist state is merely a part of their strategy of separating the friends of peace and calling a tune that Hitler's flunkies in France and England can play on their fascist fiddles. And today Hitler tries to drown out the rumble of his tanks on the French northern borders, and the roar of his airplane bombs on French southern borders, with shouts that he will take the Ukraine and Siberia (yes, his dearest but his vainest desire!) and will be "satisfied" to leave France alone.

In June we had to use the thin weapon of *logic* to show that "in Lon-

don and also in Paris Hitler finds friends for the building of the war planes that will soon drop bombs on Paris and London". But in September it is publicly known that the "American" du Ponts had signed a secret contract to supply Hitler with munitions. When the *Almirante Cervera* turned its guns upon the U.S. coastguard cutter *Cayuga* and threatened to fire, and when admittedly a Spanish fascist bombing plane attacked and dropped six bombs at the U.S. destroyer *Kane*, the rottenest section of the American press continued to praise the Spanish fascist criminals as "heroes", although they screamed for "stern action" against the democratic Spanish government when American millionaires' automobiles were legally requisitioned for national military defense.

In all countries of the world it becomes clearer that the issue is "Democracy against Fascism".

Hearst is in conference with Hitler in Berlin, after visiting Mussolini in Rome this summer, and the Hearst press is screaming from every headline the exact slogans of the *Voelkischer Beobachter* and the *Judenkenner*, except that the word "aliens" is substituted for the directly anti-Semitic terms that would not serve the advertising departments. But arguments are needless to prove what Hearst himself published in all his newspapers in mid-August that he hopes to see Great Britain and the United States form a military alliance with "the conservative states" of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy against what he openly calls the "rotten reed", the French Republic, and against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This is Hearst's "isolation policy!"—his "no European entanglements!"—his "neutrality!" Every nation that is in the world market will be in the world war! But Hearst, the corruptionist, Hearst who now openly commits himself to the overthrow of democratic government by conspirative and military violence (as he advocated the assassination of public officials in an editorial against President McKinley in the *New York Journal*, April 10, 1901)—Hearst who buys admirals and generals in uniform and lays fascist hands upon the Army, Navy and National Guard—is an aspirant to the directorship of the foreign policy of the United States! And Hearst has his candidate for President!

This is the rapid development in the struggle for the world line-up of fascism against democracy. It is a line-up for war.

And so it is necessary for every man, woman and child in America and all countries to study the forces that are creeping up to the slaughter of another 10,000,000 of the flower of young manhood only to feed the power, the lust and the gluttony of criminals in high places.

To the young men and women of America, especially those in the trade unions, in the student and youth organizations, the organizations of young Socialists and the religious youth organizations, who have shown such a courageous interest in peace, is dedicated this effort to explain the Communist Party's view of *The Struggle Against War, and the Peace Policy of the Soviet Union*, that colossus of peace and of socialism that has risen to make possible among the nations of the world a real stand against the destruction of civilization by war.

ROBERT MINOR.

New York, September 21, 1936.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR, AND THE PEACE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION*

By ROBERT MINOR

A FEW days ago Adolph Hitler had a conference with his General Staff in Berlin, subsequent to the reoccupation of the Rhineland by Black-Shirt troops and doubtless on the subject of remilitarization of the Rhine. Hitler's military chief, General von Seeckt, rushed from this conference to London to participate in a "good-will" demonstration of British and German war veterans. Feeling that polite words were called for, the fascist general said he was deeply gratified that the veterans of the opposing countries could fraternize after the last war, and that he hoped they would be able to fraternize in just as noble a spirit *after the new war that is soon to begin*. The newspapers reported this as a stupid blunder of the General who thus revealed his chief's plan.

The British War Secretary Cooper says, "The situation in Europe is far worse than it was in 1914".

Rear Admiral Laning, Commander of the Brooklyn Navy Yard, said on Memorial Day: "... we have the condition of a boiler that is under capacity pressure, with that pressure constantly increasing. Explosion is sure to follow."

* * *

The fact that the imminence of the war danger is now openly admitted even by the war-makers is an advantage to those who want to fight against war. As long as imperialist agents could conceal the danger, the mass of humanity was held inactive by illusions of peace while the war-makers prepared.

The danger is no longer that the masses do not know that war is threatening. The danger now arises that the masses will

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be deceived as to *the sources* of the immediate threat, *the nature and identity* of the forces making immediately for war, and *what measures will or will not be effective against them*. And all of the skilled lying of reaction is being used to excuse or to cover up the identity of the forces that plan to turn loose the reign of death. The plans of the war-makers require that all questions as to who is the incendiary of war and precisely what peoples and nations are the immediate objects of attack shall be enveloped in a smoke-screen of uncertainty and confusion.

I. WHO ARE THE WAR-MAKERS?

WHAT are the main sources of the war danger today? Joseph Stalin has said that the danger comes from two sources: "The first is in the Far East, in the zone of *Japan*. . . . The second is in the zone of *Germany*."

The fundamental cause of imperialist wars is capitalism, the looting, robbing aggression which is inherent in the system, the sharpening of imperialist contradictions.

In the concrete international situation today the instigator of war is *fascism*; the instigators are the fascist states. The fundamental cause is capitalism, but the manner in which this fundamental cause is forcing war upon the world today is through these *most aggressive and warlike forces of capitalism*, through fascism, the iron-clad fist of these most warlike forces.

Because fascism was not prevented from conquering Germany, it has grown into a *direct war menace to the whole world*. The danger is increasing because at every step of war preparation the aggressor is able to find encouragement in the rotten circles of the capitals of all bourgeois nations, whose ruling classes connive with the violation of treaties in order to equip the fascist war-machine of Hitler: universal military service, unrestricted building of bombing planes, and a new war fleet. In London and also in Paris Hitler finds friends for the building of the war planes that will soon drop bombs on Paris and London. When Japanese armies loot and murder and take possession of Northern China, the League of Nations is passive, and when Mussolini deliberately decrees death to a member of the League, the Ethiopian nation, the League is weak and timid, indecisive.

II. AGAINST WHOM DO THEY PREPARE WAR?

WE ALL know that the fascist adventurer-political leaders and the General Staffs of both Germany and Japan have elaborate plans for making war against the U.S.S.R. But it would be a great mistake to believe from this that the fascist war plans are directed against the U.S.S.R. *alone*; it would lead to miscalculations and ineffective steps that would play into the hands of those General Staffs and fascist adventurers. In fact, a part of the political strategy of the war-makers consists today in trying to make the masses believe that Hitler offers no threat to the peoples of the West, that if he builds forts on the Rhine with big guns trained on the French and Belgian borders he is acting as the "savior of Europe from Communism" and that it is "merely" against the U.S.S.R. that he will make war. *This is a lie*, and to believe this lie would be disastrous to the forces of peace. This lie is a part of the fascist strategy *against the U.S.S.R.* as well as against *other* countries; it is intended to isolate the enemies of war from one another. This strategy is intended to help the fascist war-makers to "borrow" a border contiguous to the U.S.S.R. or to France. Today *every* neighbor of Germany is under extreme menace of sudden military action and loss of its national independence and freedom.

To think that "only" the Soviet Union is menaced, we would have to forget not alone that Hitler's present military preparations are directed most immediately at the borders of France and Belgium, but also that the Nazi General Staff's plans seem to depend upon both Holland and Switzerland as military roads to Paris. The "racial" theory with which Hitler fascism operates, which seems so idiotic to us, has its explanation partly in its character as a mask behind which Hitler tries to realize an essential part of his program—the conquest and annexation of neighboring countries in which there is a German-speaking population. The conquest of Austria, whose premier Dollfuss was murdered by Hitler's German Nazi bandits as a deliberate part of the foreign policy of Hitler, enters into the German fascist scheme as a necessary part of the "national unity of Germans" to solidify his base for further conquests. The annihilation of the national independence of Czechoslovakia, the recapture of Alsace-Lorraine, of Danzig, and the capture of Memel and annexation

of Lithuania, as well as the conquest of Southern Denmark, have become indispensable parts of the war policy of Hitler's "Third Reich". We must not overlook the fact that, from the point of view of military possibility, it is much easier first to seize the unprotected port of Memel, to conquer Lithuania, or to overrun the unfortified borders of Czechoslovakia or Austria, or to support a military "putsch" of Black Shirts in Danzig, and even to carry out the German General Staff's plan against France through Holland or Switzerland, before undertaking war against the U.S.S.R.

To believe that only the Soviet Union is menaced with war, we would have to forget that Japanese armies are now in possession of territory in Northern China as large as the entire portion of the United States west of the Rocky Mountains. Often and quite properly we have emphasized that the Japanese imperialists are making Manchuria a foothold for an intended war against the U.S.S.R. It is true—they are. But after that "foothold" has already become an empire twice as large as Central Europe and the Japanese military juggernaut passes on to take over all of the five remaining provinces of North China, anyone would have to be blind not to see that this is intended as *a mortal blow directly at the Chinese people*—to wipe out their national existence, to enslave a nation of 400,000,000 people to a foreign yoke. This is an undeclared and unofficial "gradual" war against China that is going on today, and leading toward an open world explosion. The Japanese imperialist ambition does not even stop short of aiming to grapple with England for India and Australia, and with the United States for the Philippine Islands. War with the United States and war with Britain for the mastery of the Pacific is contemplated in the naval and military preparations of the Japanese government. There is not the slightest doubt that the Japanese and German militarists know that the U.S.S.R. is the most powerful obstacle to their war plans throughout the world situation. But—a world situation it is.

No serious person who reads the news could contend against the truth that the danger of war comes in the main from the two sources—in the Far East in the zone of Japan, and in Europe in the zone of Germany.

Against this war menace every force for peace in the whole world must be mobilized. What are those forces of peace? First,

the working class—the toiling people of all countries. Next, the U.S.S.R. Next, the small nations, some of whom are concerned with the possible loss of their national existence. And, fourth, some big capitalist states like the United States who are for the present time, momentarily, not interested in precipitating war, and particularly France under the government of the People's Front.

III. 1914-18 AND TODAY

THE war of 1914-18 was not checked, and from this some people draw fatalistic conclusions in regard to war. *But are there differences between 1914 and today?* Yes, there are differences, and it would almost seem that anyone would have to be blind to think that the world in which we have to fight against war in 1936 is just the same as the world of 1914. The first difference when we consider the question of war is the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*. It did not exist in 1914. But it exists now. Does that make a difference? We will speak of that later. Next, there is the difference that today there are definite aggressors, fascist states, that threaten to disrupt the peace that exists and to plunge all nations into a blood-bath of destruction. Another difference is that there are definite countries that are fixed objects of attack by the fascist states, and which under the present circumstances do *not* wish to have the war that means to them the possible extermination of their national existence. Also there are big capitalist states whose interests do not lie in having war at the present time.

Therefore it is not possible to sum up the situation in the world today as simply one in which two groupings of imperialist nations are lined up in the manner and with the same immediate incentives to war as in 1914. There is a decisively different situation; and because of this difference our tactics are different—our approach to the war question has to be with a clear view of the concrete situation in the light of the great revolutionary theory and practice of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Lenin said that only when we observe a war in its peculiar historical surroundings, as it is the duty of a Marxist to do, can we determine our attitude towards it. What are the peculiar historical surroundings

of the war that is threatened today? What is the great change that has taken place in the world since the end of the war of 1914-18?

That change is that the most powerful of all states of Europe and Asia today is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, as pointed out by Comrade Manuilsky at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, is "the second great victory of the international working class over world-capitalism since the great October Socialist Revolution, and it ushers in a new era in the history of mankind". What I speak of now, comrades, is not the event of October, 1917, which founded the socialist state, but something that has occurred since then—the "second great victory" which is the rise of the socialist state to the position of the foremost state on the two continents of the Old World.

This "marks a great change in the relationship of forces in the world arena to the advantage of socialism and the disadvantage of capitalism, and . . . marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of the world proletarian revolution".

Take it purely from the point of view of struggle against war. Is there a difference in the possibilities of successful struggle against war when a great socialist state towers above all nations of Europe and Asia in material strength, in internal strength and in prestige with the masses of all countries, as compared with the old world of 1914 which consisted solely of capitalist powers and their subject peoples dominated by the cold-blooded imperialist monarchies of tsarist Russia, Germany and Britain?

Certainly, for any serious man or woman, it should be clear that *every single question that relates to war and peace* is fundamentally changed by this great transformation. First of all because this new power is a *socialist* power, with its entire economic life raised to the infinitely higher plane of socialist production, and in the hands of the mass of its people through the most democratic state ever seen in the history of man, having *nothing in common with the predatory motives of capitalist states*. And second, because it is *strong*. Let us note *how* and *why* it is strong.

The present role of the U.S.S.R. in the arena of world struggles could not have been played without the industrial advance accom-

plished since 1928 by the two Five-Year Plans. The Soviet Union, by establishing *socialist economy*—infinitely superior to capitalist economy—has now an industrial output about *five times* as great as that of tsarist Russia before the war. Since 1928 it has increased by 300 per cent, surpassing France, then surpassing the mighty British industry, and now it has risen above the “model” of great industrial systems—that of Germany. At the present time only the industrial output of the United States exceeds that of the socialist state—and this only temporarily.

Many books have been written on the magnificent achievements of wealth, happiness and culture that are based on the great, new, mass production machinery of Soviet Russia.

Socialist Industry and War

But what is the effect of this giant machine industry of the socialist country, in the domain of *war*?

The basis upon which all modern warfare is built is the capacity and efficiency of its *steel mills, mass-production machine works and scientific-technical equipment and skill*. The British ruling class likes to say that the Battle of the Marne was won on the sport fields of its aristocratic schools, where their military caste of officers is trained. Oh, no, the Battle of the Marne was won by the British Birmingham steel mills, plus the French Creusot steel and armament works, and finally the scales were turned by the steel mills of Pittsburgh and Gary, which overpowered the steel mills of the German Ruhr and the Skoda factories.

But now have arisen the new giants of Magnitogorsk and Dnieprostroy and hundreds of thousands of other modern factories of the socialist state—and the most powerful basis of military strength in the whole of the old world is put at the disposal of socialism! And this means—at the disposal of peace.

On this basis, and on the basis of the growing skill and inexhaustible resourcefulness of the young Soviet working class, has been built up a Red Army of 1,300,000 men which, according even to some candid bourgeois experts, is capable of defeating any military force in the world. The same sources speak of its splendid modern equipment in all branches, and of its air force, classed as superior to any in the world.

The fighting arm of the socialist revolution has been made strong by giant socialist industry. But every interest of socialism and the labor movement and democracy in every country of the world is served by peace. The gigantic strength of the strongest power of Europe is used every day, every hour, consistently in support of peace.

Stakhanovism and the Fight for Peace

Purely in connection with the question of the war situation—take a glance at the effect that movement called “Stakhanovism” has upon the world today. A Soviet coal-miner set out to dig coal under a production standard requiring seven tons per day. The miner Stakhanov organized the method of using the coal-cutting and loading machinery—and produced 102 tons and later 227 tons of coal per day instead of 7. Now, today, coal and metal miners, smelter workers and textile operatives in the big socialist industries are producing 700 and 800 per cent of their former production; and the world record for production of shoes per worker per day has passed from the inhuman sweatshop of the notorious Bata factory in Czechoslovakia to the free socialist labor of the U.S.S.R. The socialist society is well on the way to attaining the highest productivity of labor in the world in industry generally—and this is the indispensable objective without which there can be no socialism.

It is laughable that the capitalist press bemoans that “the whip of Stakhanovism” may come to mean “sweating the worker”. The Old Guard Socialist organ solemnly pretends never to have heard that Marx and Engels 89 years ago declared that after taking the means of production into their own hands the working class, organized as the state power, must “increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible”. They have forgotten that at the lowest ebb of production during the worst time of the revolution, Lenin pointed out that in order to win the freedom and wealth of socialism the productivity of socialist labor must be immeasurable higher than that of capitalist labor. A writer in the *Socialist Call* says—and the editor is not ashamed to print it—that Stakhanovism is “in plain English, the ‘speed up’ and ‘stretch-out’”. But the lovers of peace can laugh—because the Soviet Stakhanovist workers are breaking all world records in

turning out shoes and shells for the workers' army of peace—the Red Army.

Let's now take a glance back at the pitiful sight of the band of Trotskyite counter-revolutionists, who undertook ten years ago—across that ten years that has meant a century in the progress of the Soviet Union—undertook to say that "*socialism cannot be built in one country!*"

Is not the building of socialism in one country—its present existence—the most decisive fact in the whole history of the modern world?

Or now look back at the position taken by the Right opportunists who, with the voice of the kulak, spoke up just at the beginning of this great advance, to say that it could not be done! Suppose the Soviet state had been guided by *them!*

But the Communist Party did not fall into the hands of the miserable, wavering Trotsky, nor into those of the Right opportunists—and for this reason we have now today the colossal socialist state capable of being the decisive factor in a crisis of threatened world war.

The Bolshevik qualities of the Communist Party—Bolshevik qualities which we see growing also here in our own American Communist Party, which have been spoken of so significantly by Comrade Browder—were strong enough to throw off these other-class influences, these plausible, loud-sounding, petty-bourgeois words of pseudo-radicalism.

It was the genius of Stalin and of the Russian working class that guided the Communist Party—and this is the reason that we have now the great socialist state—as the armed and state-organized sector of the world labor movement.

If it had been otherwise—if others had had their way—the Soviet country, technically weak and culturally unenlightened, as Stalin said, would have lost its independence and become a stake in the game of the imperialist powers. We would see now the imperialist armies of all nations making inroads and predatory raids into Soviet territory, and a prospect of a century of darkness would stand before the world.

Comrades, this shows that the most real thing in the world today is the *Party line*, and it is very important that we make these matters clear to the whole working class now, so as to im-

munize them to the Trotskyite and Lovestonite poison which is now being poured into the veins of the Socialist Party and can work immense harm to the struggle against war.

IV. THE PEACE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

THE *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* has become the organizer of the peace of the world. Within the maze of contradictory designs of capitalist states, unstable and subject to sudden changes of direction under pressure of internal reactionary interests, the Soviet state plays the role of powerful defender of peace. Its peace policy becomes necessarily one not of isolation, but of drawing into alignment and into more nearly consistent action all possible forces that are interested even momentarily in maintaining peace.

But if we speak of its peace policy as based upon the strength to make its actions decisive in preserving peace, we are assuming the existence in all capitalist countries of very *powerful mass movements for peace*. What is necessary now is to rally the workers, the organized labor movement, the farmers and all toiling masses—and through these whole states (even states the size of France, Great Britain or the United States and the smaller and weaker states) to such a course as will align them against those states which are now the fascist aggressors, the war-makers.

In this situation the slogan of greatest importance is:

Support the peace policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

V. FOREIGN POLICIES OF CAPITALIST STATES

NO PEOPLE in the world wants war.
War can be successfully checked.

But if the will of the masses for peace is to be felt and war successfully checked, the masses cannot be indifferent to the peace policies of the capitalist governments under which they live.

Let us begin, then, with a glance at the foreign policy of the United States government, and at the foreign policy that would be in prospect in case of the election of the opposing Republican

ticket; and let us see what the American masses—above all, the American labor movement—can and should do in respect to them.

The present official foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration in respect to war is one which goes by the name of "neutrality". Roosevelt's platform differs from Landon's in that it speaks of renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, and under the slogan "Take the Profits Out of War" it suggests a certain sensitiveness to the impending struggle of the American people against letting our national policy remain a plaything of the financiers of war. But under the name of "neutrality" almost any sort of a war or peace policy can be carried out if there is no wide and powerful independent mass movement of the people and the trade unions determined to shape national policy into the paths of peace and collective security.

Roosevelt speaks of "neutrality", but those whose policy is not identical with his also speak of "neutrality".

Hearst speaks of "neutrality," and du Pont speaks of "neutrality". Their policy directly aims to make war the most immediate and all-dominating instrument of national policy, in exactly the present world situation and in the most reactionary and undemocratic sense. We have the biggest army and navy budget in all the peace-time history of our country, and we have some ghastly proposals from the administration's War Department under the name of "*M-Day Plan*", of which I shall speak later. We cannot forget that the slogan of "neutrality" is exactly the slogan under which Woodrow Wilson "kept us out of war" until the Morgan bank decided which course would be most advantageous for American finance capital with America as a belligerent in the war. We can have no guarantee that the same or similar reactionary forces cannot press the national policy into whatever channel they may please, in the absence of a powerful counter-movement of the masses.

The Roosevelt platform fails to show a clear and unequivocal step toward participation in *collective security*. This discrepancy does not help the cause of peace, because it gives no assurance that the immense potential influence of the United States will be made a counter-balance against war; and without this there will be no peace and no neutrality.

What, on the other hand, is the policy in prospect if the rival

Republican-Liberty League candidates should come into office?

The foreign policy offered by Landon is a blank sheet of paper with the fountain pen in the hand of Hearst, the representative of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most war-like elements of finance capital. It means, in the event of Landon's election, the release of the wildest speculators in fascist war financing, the leadership of America by adventurers in war in Europe, in China and in Latin America.

Such are the alternative policies if the American people remain inactive—if we do not build up an independent, popular *interference* in the question of foreign policy, of war and peace.

At Buenos Aires at the end of this year a conference has been called by forces concerned in the struggle of American imperialists and the British. It is called in the Argentine because that is the heart of British imperialist influence in South America. In it will be the effort to enlist Latin-American countries as retainers of Wall Street imperialism.

We know the character that it is intended to give such a conference, related both as cause and effect of the sharpening of British-American antagonisms, and the intended outcome in intensified exploitation of the Latin-American masses and the annihilation of small native industries. But, nevertheless, no good purpose can be served by taking a negative position. We do not keep out of such a conference. We enter the struggle, placing at the center our demands: (1) Rejection of the Monroe Doctrine, and its conversion into a doctrine of real independence of Latin-American countries; (2) Abolition of unequal treaties; (3) Complete national and economic independence of Latin-American countries; and (4) Against the attempt at a Pan-American League of Nations as an instrument of Yankee imperialism.

We strive to give all possible aid to an anti-imperialist People's Front in all Latin-American countries, and the solid support of it by a powerful Farmer-Labor Party in the United States against interference by the United States in the independence of Latin-American countries. This will strengthen the world front against fascism, reaction and war. We will show in connection with this conference our unconditional support of the national emancipation movements in Latin America.

VI. NATIONAL DEFENSE AND THE ARMED FORCES

IT IS easy for sectarians to dismiss this matter as "capitalist politics" which we cannot hope to influence "until we get socialism", as the obscure sect, the Socialist-Labor Party, does, for instance—or as Norman Thomas does when he writes:

"When the tail wags the dog and rivers run backward, minority and Socialist and Labor Parties in Europe will be able to manipulate imperialist diplomacy and imperialist wars for their own ends, and not before."
(*Socialist Call*, October 19, 1935.)

But, comrades, the time of a new round of wars and revolutions is *exactly the time when it seems to some people that the rivers of history run backwards, and that the tail wags the dog*—when the unity of the proletariat wags and sways the whole structure of capitalist society by its mass action. Look at France! Or heroic Spain! Only recently the British Tory Prime Minister admitted the terrific power of the masses to influence the course of foreign policy, even though he made use of the admission for deceptive purposes. Stanley Baldwin said:

"I believe that the perils of another modern war in Europe must lead to a *revolt of all peoples against their rulers*, and you might soon find Europe in a state of complete and barbarous anarchy from end to end."

By "complete and barbarous anarchy" the Tory Baldwin means Soviet Socialist Republics. In saying this we do not mean that the issue before Europe today is between bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship. No, the issue is between all the forces of democracy and those of fascism and war.

Such are the times we live in, and the American workers, like those of all countries, are compelled to take an interest in the questions that come under the heading of "national defense" and must see the extreme necessity of an immediate and powerful united front against war. The American people, who passionately hate war, must have their own peace policy.

National Defense and the "M-Day" Plan

Look at the M-Day Plan of the American War Department, which I mentioned before. This is a plan for the complete abolition of all civil rights at one stroke upon the declaration of war. Do

you know what is in that plan? I will quote from a report of the Senate Committee that conducted the recent inquiry on these bills. The M-Day Plan includes a "bill giving the President control over industry, the power to fix prices and wages, and to suspend laws". A "universal draft bill for all male citizens above the age of 18, giving the courts martial concurrent jurisdiction to try registrants failing to report for duty, etc." The Senate Committee reports that this bill provides "a strict censorship of the press, fixing of wages, no limitation of profits, military control of all workers in industry". The War Department to have "power to draft into military forces any workers in private industry who do not work continuously or to cut them off from food, fuel and other necessities. Military courts to have the right to try any male person above 18 who fails or neglects fully to perform any duty required of him under private employers, or who refuses employment." The War Department to have "power to call into military service any union or other representative of labor who become spokesmen for other employees in attempts to secure higher wages", or to use "military force in removing the spokesmen from the plant involved into other plants or into active service, forcing them to work in that plant under military orders".

Now observe that one of the most important provisions of this bill has nothing to do with foreign war, but provides for something *at home* at the *end* of the war. Here is the language of the Senate Committee which says that the bill provides:

"To continue military control over labor for a period of six months after any date which the President shall in his judgment fix as the end of the emergency."

Six months after the end of the coming war, when labor begins to rise up and move for more nearly human labor conditions and wages as it did after the last war—in time of *peace!*—this military rule clamps down tighter than ever with continued military mobilization of the entire male population over 18, the entire civil population being under absolute rule of military officers, with all civil laws set aside—and the Senate Committee pointed out that this could be continued as long as a President desired by the simple device of fixing the end of the "emergency" at a later date.

This is the proposed machine for *war against the American*

people which Roosevelt's War Department offers to place in the unrestrained hands of the ruling class. It would be in effect a colossal dictatorial power in the hands of the Wall Street plunderers of Latin America, the American adventurers in European and Asiatic wars, the American friends of Adolph Hitler who would be granted a free hand to act without interference from the popular masses.

These "M-Day" bills, whether they are passed or not, indicate how utterly impossible it is for the American labor movement to agree to giving a single dollar or a single man for war to the present ruling class, there being no guarantee against the use of such military force against the people of this or another country. We do not want any "national defense" of the Steel Trust against the American steel workers, nor a "national defense" through the conquest of Europe or Asia or war against a revolutionary France or Spain or the Soviet Union as an ally of the German and Japanese fascists.

Can anyone deny that the labor movement must intervene in this so-called question of "national defense"? The necessary policy for the American people under the present circumstances is the policy of complete rejection of all war budgets and plans for military preparation.

Some Other Countries

There are some other countries that are differently situated from America, situated immediately on the borders of fascist Germany, for instance, menaced with military aggression. The working class there cannot meet the question of national defense by simply leaving their country open to Hitler's attacks.

In Czechoslovakia, two drafts for laws almost exactly duplicating the American War Department's "M-Day" plans are now before the parliament. The capitalist spokesmen point to the known fact that Czechoslovakia is included among those countries which Hitler's plan would destroy. The necessity of defending Czechoslovakia is undeniable, and even greater for the workers than for the bourgeoisie. But the bourgeoisie demands the complete cutting off of all democracy, the placing of all affairs in the hands of the military generals, the high police and state functionaries—who are the very people among whom Czech

fascism has the strongest foothold, who are striving to change the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia so as to break off the present brotherly relations with the U.S.S.R. and to make an arrangement of alliance with the fascist countries, Germany, Poland, Austria, Italy and Hungary. Are *these* the people whom the Czechoslovakian people are to entrust with the defense of Czechoslovakia against German fascism by placing dictatorial power in their hands?

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia rejects the proposed laws and demands instead the granting of the workers' present demands concerning work and food, the democratization of the whole regime, extension of civil and industrial rights, equality of non-Czech nationalities, the democratization of the army, and the removal of all fascists from the army, from the government and from the police, and their replacement with reliable anti-fascists.

Our Czechoslovakian brother Communist Party, as true and responsible revolutionists, instead of taking a position that there does not exist any question of national defense, followed another course by fighting the proposed laws *but raising the demand for a "Jacobin defense" by the whole people*—an expression taken from the Great French Revolution of 1789, in which the whole mass of the exploited population was called to the defense of the country against the foreign invaders—and against the counter-revolutionary forces at home.

The question of national defense faces France with tremendous sharpness: The big guns and the fortifications of Hitler are rising rapidly on the French border. It is not possible for these facts to be ignored by the working class and the Communist Party. And yet the safety of France from fascist invasion cannot be secured in any way by the workers capitulating to the demands of the ruling class for military preparations. The ruling class, the monarchists, the fascist traitors to France, if given a free hand, would build up an armed force *in* France, but *against* France, against the people and against democracy—a French fascist armed force at the disposal of German and Italian fascism. *The French police is honey-combed with organized fascists whose loyalty is first to fascism and to Hitler.* Universal military service has made the army a cross-section of the population—the entire

able-bodied youth of France of military age is incorporated at all times in the army. But the officers corps is a favorite nest for reactionary anti-Semitic royalists. Is anything clearer than this—that our French Communist Party is correct in calling for the immediate attention of the masses to these questions?

While in America Norman Thomas "thanks God" that he does not have to face such a "terrible" need of being a leader of proletarian revolutionary advance, the People's Front wins its victory among the masses of France on the election demands which include the democratization of the army, the police and the state and the cleaning of Hitler's fascist rats out of the army and police. France is menaced with an immediate war danger from the fascist Hitlers and Mussolinis, and this situation cannot and must not be met by a negative attitude toward her national defense.

The Armed Forces in the United States

But there are some who say that the question of cleaning fascism out of the armed forces can have no reality in the United States. Let's take the National Guard, and as a former corporal of the National Guard of Texas, I take a special interest in this.

It is estimated that 20 per cent of the officers of the National Guard are executives of big corporations. For instance, in the San Francisco General Strike the colonel commanding the National Guard was vice-president of a San Francisco bank. A recently published book on Hearst by Lundberg says, "most of Hearst's higher executives are . . . National Guard officers, and Roy D. Keehn of Chicago, Hearst's Mid-West manager, is president of the United States National Guard Association". When John Francis Neylan, Hearst's chief counsel, took command of the breaking of the San Francisco General Strike, he had the National Guard practically at his disposal through the Hearst Governor, Merriam. Hearst was in London, after his famous conference with Hitler in Berlin, and from London directed the National Guard in San Francisco by transatlantic telephone. Such is the developing independent control of the armed forces by fascist instruments. The officers' corps are honey-combed with types such as fascists are made of, and in some cases with fascist organizations. If you think I am stretching the truth look at the

Black Legion in Michigan which had free use of National Guard rifles and machine-guns in practicing for their murders and in planning a future fascist coup! And even the Hearst press said the trail of the Black Legion leads to great and high sources in the financial world which they failed to identify.

Can there be any doubt that the slogan "clean out the fascists in the armed forces" has a very sound reality?

The 180,000 members of the National Guard of the 48 states are workers by a large majority, the sons of workers, farmers and small middle-class families. The National Guardsman can almost be called the typical young worker, unskilled and low-paid, or unemployed. Often he is living in extreme poverty and in need of the \$1.00 he is supposed to get each week on drill night. Yet the various regiments and companies and services of the National Guard are deliberately manipulated along class lines. The infantry regiments mostly tend to become proletarian in composition. The cost of uniforms, etc., charged to the enlisted men, being lower, the low-paid workers, clerks and unemployed flock to them.

There are silk-stocking regiments of infantry (in New York, for example) that tend practically to become exclusive clubs, partly through requiring members to buy expensive equipment.

The cavalry regiments, air service, and coast and field artillery of the National Guard have become mostly of non-working class composition, at least in the East. Cavalrymen have to buy saddles, airmen are subject to special educational requirements, etc. In the San Francisco General Strike the Coast Artillery was one of the first services to be called out, not because their heavy coast guns could be used against the strikers on the streets, but because of their class composition. It is becoming a general custom to train the Guardsmen of the Coast and Field Artillery for service as infantrymen for strike duty, in preference to the infantry regiments. For instance, in New York, the 245th Coast Artillerymen, who are normally not accustomed to infantry training, but who handle 14-inch guns and 12-inch mortars, were sent to Fort Smith last year for the first time for infantry drill. An exception to the rule is to be found here and there in the Coast Artillery.

In the effort to get whole military units of hard-boiled re-

actionaries, many White-Guard Russians and sons of White Russian emigrés are systematically recruited. In the 244th Coast Artillery of New York, the whole of the Second Combat Train is composed of White-Guard Russians, speaking the Russian language except for commands, and using as their company flag the flag of the old Tsar Nicholas of Russia. In other companies of the same regiment large numbers of German immigrants, members of Nazi political groups, are enlisted and carry on a lively fascist activity. In the same regiment, however, are many working class members, segregated in companies which in 1934 attacked and beat up a Russian White-Guard company.

It is known that the National Guard in several states has been to some extent subject to a sense of loyalty to the cause of the people in strikes—take Toledo, New Mexico, etc. The general approach that the labor movement has made to the question of the armed forces has been to raise the subject of strike-breaking. But the matter does not remain static. Recently in Minnesota, where the Farmer-Labor Governor Olson used the National Guard, not to break a strike, but to close the factories, and the Chamber of Commerce and Judiciary demanded the ousting of the Governor, this tended to bring forward sharply the issue of the armed forces as a political issue of the day.

The traditional hatred of the workers and the trade unions toward the National Guard, notwithstanding the healthy basis of such hatred as a result of strike experience, cannot be allowed to lead us to drop this question any more than we could drop the company union question. All the more so since recently, in the organization of new workers in the basic industries, such as rubber and automobile, many of the union members are National Guardsmen. The old rule of many unions that no National Guardsman can join the union does not settle the question at a time when the struggle against fascism in the armed forces is forced on to the order of the day.

The demand of the A. F. of L. convention last year for the prohibition of the use of the National Guard in strikes is not inconsistent with another possible demand for the barring of executives of corporations from officers' commissions in the Guard and systematic efforts of the labor movement to de-louse the Guard of fascists.

The Regular Army

To imagine that the 155,000 men of the *regular* army are a corps of hired mercenaries is incorrect. For instance, in one Army Corps Area a proportion estimated as high as 30 to 40 per cent of the enlisted men are former coal miners or sons of coal miners. It is known that many enlisted men still treasure their expired union cards and the traditions of the trade unions. Many are second-generation members of steel-worker and coal-miner families.

We know that a crack cavalry regiment in the Capital was called out at the time of the Bonus March, and many of the older troops failed to obey orders, though the younger troops responded. The older men—considered the best cavalrymen in the army—came from the steel and coal regions and are touched by the traditions of working class loyalty. It is true that some of the men, fearing unemployment, re-enlist time after time and gradually become hardened.

The question of Negro federal and state troops is an urgent one with special features. Since the sharpening of the national question in regard to Negroes in recent years, the U.S. War Department has discouraged enlistment of Negro troops while military authorities such as General Robert Lee Bullard have conducted a campaign of vicious propaganda to the effect that Negro troops are "cowardly" and that they proved to be so in the World War. This issue has become sharper since the increase of lynching and as a result of the Ethiopian war.

Every one of these matters has to do with the question of war, and especially with the question of the freedom of the rottenest section of the bourgeoisie to do as they please with foreign policy and war and peace, and the armed forces at home and abroad.

The Navy shipyards contain from 40,000 to 50,000 members of A. F. of L. unions, distributed among Brooklyn, San Francisco, Seattle, Boston, Philadelphia and Norfolk. The biggest lodge of the International Association of Machinists is in a navy yard, having 5,000 members, organized 100 per cent. This lodge is in most respects one of the "progressive" lodges, except that it is wheedled into the position of demanding "more battleships" through a combination of official propaganda and a short-sighted notion of self-interest.

VII. THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

IT IS not a matter of indifference to the working class and farmers of America that the United States government spends \$1,000,000,000 for war preparations—and it is not a matter of indifference against which peoples, armies and governments the weapons are directed.

It is a matter of deepest concern to the American people whether under the pressure and corruption of the du Ponts and Hearsts, a foreign policy of breaking off relations with the U.S.S.R.—or perhaps in the event of certain developments, breaking off also relations with France—is adopted.

There is no way of keeping America out of war that does not include an international struggle against war.

There are *certain measures that can be taken by the League of Nations* and by various states that really are directed toward the maintenance of peace, and we refer here to such measures as *non-aggression pacts, pacts of mutual aid against the aggressor, pacts of collective security, financial and economic sanctions*. We state emphatically that the working class must support such measures of the League of Nations and of the governments of the various capitalist states; but when we say “support” we do not stop at that—we say that we must organize such a *powerful mass movement against war as will not leave the capitalist governments a free hand to come to terms with the fascist aggressors*, but will compel them to take serious steps in defense of peace.

The most decisive of all reasons why German fascism and the Japanese military camarilla are able to push the world rapidly toward war is that,

“ . . . the international proletariat did not succeed in acting unani-
mously with all the power of its gigantic forces, did not rally around itself
all the working people and all the friends of peace into a mighty front
against war.” (Dimitroff.)

Instead of turning the powerful instrument of the international labor movement to the task of preventing war, the reactionary part of the leadership of the Labor and Socialist International held the masses back from any action against war, permitting the matter to rest in the hands of their own capitalist governments. They prevented any independent action of the labor movement

against war on the ground that the League of Nations would do everything necessary, although the certainty was and is that the League of Nations, *without pressure from a giant international action of labor*, can reflect nothing but the scattered purposes and corrupt intrigues of the various ruling national groups.

The independent action of the masses must be attained if there is to be any serious opposition to war. But independent action of the masses means—*united* action. It means bringing into such action those masses that have been held back heretofore from action against war by wrong policies, by class-collaboration policies in the labor movement.

The aggressions of the fascists of Germany and Italy, both internally and as preparers and makers of war, and the consequent vast change in the mood of the Social-Democratic masses of Europe, brought the Second International a few days ago to a statement that on its face is not inconsistent with a real struggle against war. It declares:

“The L.S.I. flatly repudiates any capitulation before facts created in disregard of treaties.”

It calls for sanctions through the League of Nations and for collective security, declaring that:

“A combination of the forces of all the states which oppose war, and, in particular, a close coordination of the policies of Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union is required to prevent any act of aggression or treaty violation which might endanger peace in any part of Europe.

“This coordination must create within the framework of the League of Nations a powerful center of all the states which are determined to defend peace.

“A peace policy can only be guaranteed if it has behind it the irresistible force of a vast popular movement.”

But the placing of the power of labor behind sanctions obviously necessitates a degree of *unity and a policy of vast international action* which the Second International, pressed by the reactionaries, has up to the present time strenuously opposed. Just as the great strike action in France depended upon a united front, so the necessary world-wide action of labor to enforce the policy of sanctions against the war-makers independently of the waverings of governments, depends upon and is inconceivable without the formation of a broad united front for the purpose.

The Second International up to this time has failed to agree to the united action of the workers.

But the overshadowing danger of fascism and war is attaining now a life-and-death importance that compels all forces in the world of labor to face and answer the question of the united front.

The united front will be formed. The experience of the French People's Front against war and fascism has opened the eyes of millions.

This experience must be carried to the whole world.

We can and will—yes, we promise the American people that we will successfully break down the obstacles to the united front, and we will unite the masses of this country for a policy of collective security and sanctions against the fascist war-makers. In the present world—the world in which a colossally powerful socialist state exists, and in which the masses have attained certain experience—economic and financial sanctions applied thoroughly by the great powers, under the pressure of the *independent actions of the masses*, constitute a force powerful enough to keep the aggressor in check and to maintain peace.

VIII. IDEOLOGICAL CONFUSION AMONG SOCIALISTS

A TIME has come when every ideological confusion among the people, every sectarian tendency within the revolutionary movement, become magnified into a formidable obstacle to the action of the masses against war—and objectively every trace of sectarianism among workers becomes an aid to the war-makers' plans. We see this fact in the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party has cast off some of the most cynical reactionaries, the conscious defenders of the old school of social betrayal typified in the world generally by the Social-Democratic leaders that went over to support their "own" capitalist class governments in the slaughter of 1914 on both the German and the Allied side.

But in facing the question of war the "Militant" Socialists are victims of ideological confusion that has so far prevented their doing anything for the struggle against war.

The leaders of the Militant Socialists of this country are in some respects lagging behind the Second International. They, along

with the bulk of the American Socialists, were among the *supporters* of the League of Nations when it was purely and simply an alliance of the stock exchanges of the victorious Allied powers; but now that the League tends to express a certain line-up of nations not immediately wanting war, along with the Soviet Socialist state—these militants think they have become “too revolutionary” to have anything to do with the League. Instead they whine and issue sinister warnings about what they call “Russia’s foreign policy”!

The truth is that the working class of *all* capitalist countries is a force for peace that awaits nothing but a minimum showing of a united will to action among the leaders, to make themselves a powerful battering ram against the “M-Day” militarism.

The masses of farmers, of white collar workers, of intellectuals and professional people—the people in general are passionately against war. Even in the countries under the fascist iron heel and in countries whose governments are influenced by the fascist states, the people do not want war.

Yet the phrasemongering doctrinaires in the British Independent Labor Party and the American Socialist Party spend the pennies of the workers to print reams of nonsense in every issue of their press to the effect that peace depends upon the capitalist governments! It appears that the standard dogma of the Militant Socialists is that: “*Only by establishing socialism can we get peace.*”

But we answer: “*By struggling against war, we are fighting for socialism.*”

As yet only a minority are ready to fight for socialism. But for peace—the bulk of the people are willing and eager to fight.

For peace it is possible to bring into the struggle immediately the overwhelming mass of the population who do not as yet see the need of socialism.

The comrades—who find it so difficult to be Marxian theorists themselves—expect the majority of the working class, bred in capitalist conditions, to master the theory of socialism and put a new social system into existence—and to do all of this peacefully—before any effective struggle for peace can be made.

If Norman Thomas was right about this—that the only hope for an effective struggle for peace will have to be deferred until we have socialism—then that would mean the condemnation of civilization to destruction.

Fortunately, it is the other way around.

The present hope for socialism is in mobilizing the masses against war. This is fortunate, because the masses are passionately opposed to war—and only a minority has as yet shown any desire to fight for socialism.

Militant Socialists' Fear of People's Front

The Militant leaders try to make their position look better by saying they are “for workers’ sanctions”, and that this is their distinction from the Old Guard. But they are not for the united front, and the united front and workers’ sanctions are one and the same thing. Neither is conceivable without the other. *The united front is workers’ sanctions in action.*

Opposition to the Communist policy of the People’s Front is obstruction to the struggle for peace.

The Militants, or some of them, at first had even decided that the formation of the People’s Front government would lead “straight to the victory of”—the *fascists!* Herbert Zam said that under the circumstances in France the establishment of a People’s Front government “will only serve to dishearten the masses and demoralize the revolutionary forces”. He said: “This was the course of the development in Germany, and it led straight to the victory of the Nazis.”

This is the sort of “Left” reactionary nonsense that our Socialist worker comrades have unfortunately taken over with our discarded Zams. We apologize to our Socialist comrades for having presented them with such a man.

In the subsequent issue of the *Socialist Call*, Norman Thomas is torn between the duty of being what he thinks is “revolutionary” with Zam and the instinct to keep his head on his shoulders. “There may be an excellent reason” for the People’s Front government, he thinks, but it is *dangerous*, because:

“... once more a Socialist Party will have to be responsible for carrying on a capitalist civilization. It is not a position into which Socialists ought to get themselves save under the most extraordinary circumstances.”

The peculiar cult of defeatism, fear of the masses, the escape to dogmatism, that is represented by some of the ex-members of the Communist Party now acting as “revolutionary” advisers to the Socialist leaders finds reflection in Thomas who exclaims:

"Thank God such circumstances do not exist in the United States and we have no excuse for *substituting for socialism* a program of reform a little to the Left of Roosevelt" [meaning the People's Front program].

In other words the attitude of Thomas is: Thank God that we have no People's Front government in the United States—a thing that we all know would be a colossal stride forward for the whole cause of labor and against war.

And now he will have to waver some more under the impact of the Trotsky group which has been allowed to enter the Socialist Party, bringing along their "principles" such as this:

"...in France, the Communist Party supports enthusiastically the *worst betrayals of Blum and Herriot*. . ."

And yet Thomas wants the Socialist Party to become a serious factor in the life of the masses!

The American "Old Guard", on the other hand, endorses the People's Front in France and Spain. But they do it in their own way. They are *for* it because they think it is the same course as that followed by Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske in Germany in 1918-1919! I have already noted that Zam said the People's Front in France was the same course as that which led to the victory of the Nazis in Germany, and that he is *against* it for that reason. The "Old Guard" also thinks it is the same course followed by Scheidemann, Noske and Ebert in Germany in 1918-1919, and for that reason they are *for* it. The French Socialists, they say, for a long time were "fearful of what the Communists might say if they ventured to play a positive role in the government of the country". But now, they say, the Socialists have made a correct change of front and have gotten onto the right track. They say—yes, the Old Guard says—that the Communists brought the Socialists of France around to a correct policy! These are literally the words of Powers in the *New Leader*:

"The irony of the present situation is that the *Communists are responsible for the Socialist change of front*. Now that the Communists, on orders from Moscow, find it quite compatible with revolutionary doctrine to cooperate with the radical bourgeoisie to keep the fascists from power, the Socialists, too, have altered their policy."

But the Old Guard hastens to add that the Communists' "only object is to serve the interests of the Stalin dictatorship".

Socialists on "Russian Foreign Policy"

The most sinister poison that plays havoc with every tentative move of the S.P. toward a revolutionary Marxian course of struggle against war is the persistent counter-revolutionary current of hatred directed against the U.S.S.R.—flowing to them from the reactionary stream within the Second International, but now fed by the counter-revolutionary renegades cast off by the Communist Party, who try to become the political guides of the S.P. along the new road.

These mimics of the Old Guard in the camp of the S.P. thunder against what they call a mysterious and dread menace over the world labor movement called "Russian foreign policy" or "the national interests of Russia" *to which*, somehow or other, the Communists are trying to "subordinate the interests of the labor movement".

This is, of course, the theme of Hearst and of Matthew Woll, cast in the language of Trotsky.

The active war-promoting role played by Hearst is known to all who hate war.

But *how* does Hearst carry on his skilful campaign for war?

By conducting a day-to-day slanderous attack against the U.S.S.R., constantly beating into the minds of an audience of 20,000,000 people through a big chain of 27 newspapers, through six broadcasting stations, eight magazines and three moving-picture production plants a skilful propaganda of distortion, hate and forgery.

Hearst's press catches up eagerly every issue concerning the war moves of any part of the world, and presents a skilful defense of every act of the fascist war-makers. When Mussolini attacked Ethiopia, Hearst's papers presented a picture of Ethiopia as the slave-trader, and Mussolini as the great civilizer and emancipator of the slaves. When sanctions were decreed, Hearst allowed not one of his presses to turn without skilful arguments to prove that sanctions were *provocation of war against Italy* by Britain and France. When Hitler made the sudden move of an army into the Rhine region, every resource, including the pen of Lloyd George, was employed to prove imperialist France and England were the aggressors, about to send their young men to die on German soil to punish the Germans "for daring to make

preparations for the defense of their own soil against a foreign invader", and the pen of Arthur Brisbane was called to help Lloyd George prove that it was a case of "using the power of England to build up Russian Communism by adding strength to the alliance between Russia and France".

Lloyd George presents the picture of "Naziism and Communism" (Germany and Russia) ". . . wrestling for the soul of Central and Eastern Europe"—and the Hearst press centers upon this theme with an open plea for the world to support German fascism.

The Old Guard of the S.P. sings a heavy bass to this counter-revolutionary hymn of hate against what they call "Russian foreign policy". They, of course, direct their fire against the united front, saying:

"The motivating force behind the latest united front maneuver of the Comintern is *Russian national policy*, and consideration of the expedients and necessity of Soviet diplomacy."

Up to this time the leaders of the "Militants" are singing their treble to the same counter-revolutionary hatred of the international role of the U.S.S.R.

There is not and never was and never could be, on the part of a socialist state, such a thing as a "national policy" in the sense of something distinct and in contrast to the general interest of the working class of the world and of socialism. There are not and never have been any secrets in the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. Is there any Socialist who does not know that the imperialist intrigues of diplomacy—and all *reason* for secret diplomacy—arise from the necessarily secret competitive and profit-seeking aims of giant monopoly corporations and banks, and *cannot* arise in any other way in present-day society?

Remember Lenin's words written in 1918:

"Take foreign policy. In no bourgeois state, not even in the most democratic one, is it carried on openly. In all democratic countries—France, Switzerland, America or England—the masses are deceived in an incomparably wider and more subtle manner than in other countries. *The Soviet government, in a revolutionary manner, has torn the veil of mystery from foreign policy.*" (My emphasis—R. M.)

Is there anyone in the whole world today who does not know, or cannot learn at a glance, precisely what the foreign policy of

the U.S.S.R. is? For what Russian Morgan or Rockefeller is Comrade Litvinov charged with getting concessions when he goes to Geneva? For what Russian du Pont is he plotting to ensure sales of munitions at an "American" profit of 3,000 per cent as the "secret" motive behind his speeches against war in the Council of the League of Nations?

But the Russian Morgans and Rockefellers and du Ponts are gone long ago, and not one single industry or bank or commercial interest but is in the hands of the Socialist state, *i.e.*, "the proletariat organized as the ruling class". For this reason there is no secret diplomacy in the Soviet foreign policy when Stalin says to the publisher Howard:

"If Japan should venture to attack the Mongolian People's Republic and encroach upon its independence, we will have to help the Mongolian People's Republic."

The foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. is an international and working class policy of peace. The peace policy of the U.S.S.R. has already made itself the powerful magnet that draws together the peoples and the states of the world that have no interest in war at present but whose very existence as nations may be jeopardized by war. Is this an idle dream—just a beautiful wish with no reality? No. If we glance at those smaller or weaker states adjoining the U.S.S.R., from the Balkans down through Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and those portions of China where the popular will has sway, and up to Mongolia—we see an advanced form of the working of the peace policy of the Soviet Union as it has begun to take effect also among the smaller states of the League of Nations.

Is there anything strange in the fact that a great socialist state should exercise the power of a giant magnet among nations, to draw together those whose interests are in peace? Those who cannot see this must be possessed of a *dulled sense of loyalty to the whole idea and reality of socialism*, that is very dangerous to their value to the movement. And, as Dimitroff said:

"Those who cannot distinguish between the League of Nations in the past and the League of Nations at present, those who cannot make a varied approach to the different members of the League of Nations, those who refuse to bring the pressure of the masses to bear on the League of Nations and various capitalist governments for the adoption of measures

to maintain peace—such people are windbags and not revolutionaries, not proletarian politicians.”

“Neutrality”, *Say the Militants*

Norman Thomas thinks he can find a short cut to an anti-war policy by calling for

“... the most rigorous and far reaching neutrality—a neutrality declared to be a national principle now as applicable toward belligerents and prospective belligerents in any war.”

Of course, this is, word for word, the policy of Woodrow Wilson in the last World War. It would “keep us out of war”—just as Wilson did.

It has the “advantage” of not requiring that any *action* be taken—because Congress has already adopted Thomas’ policy of “neutrality” in coordination with the billion-dollar war budget, and the “M-Day” plans of the War Department fit in with it thoroughly. It is “neutrality *until*”. That is, neutrality *until M-Day*. Neutrality, *inactivity of the masses*, while the ruling class manipulates the situation for their most advantageous entrance into war.

It is absolutely necessary to explode this resurrected Wilsonian illusion with explanation along the lines of Browder’s slogan: “*Keep America Out of War by Keeping War Out of the World.*”

We say categorically that neither the elimination of war from the world, nor the most elementary struggle against war, can be accomplished on a basis of “neutrality”.

Is there a Socialist or even a “liberal” in the whole world who does not know that the “Fatherland Salvation” movement in China—which calls for a united People’s Front and a *declaration of war against Japan*—is an indispensable part of the struggle for *peace* and must be supported by all *enemies of war*?—that not “neutrality” but a favorable attitude toward this movement must be pressed upon capitalist governments by the working class?

Or, will Norman Thomas advise the Chinese people to accept the dismemberment of the country and the rule of Japan?

We are fully conscious that the slogan of “neutrality” is accepted by many sincere and devoted friends of peace. These people are necessary for the mass struggle against war. To them the slogan does not mean a desertion of the Ethiopian people

and the Chinese people and others to the rape and murder of the Italian and Japanese and German fascists, but an active and heroic struggle against the war-makers. Not everything is to be found in perfectly-worded slogans. With all who want to fight against war under the slogan of neutrality we go hand in hand.

IX. SANCTIONS

THE leaders of the American Socialist Party do battle against the placing of any economic or financial embargo on the fascist war-makers by capitalist governments. They argue against any action of the working class to influence the foreign policies of their capitalist governments in favor of sanctions against the Italian fascist invaders of Ethiopia. They object to any distinction between the foreign policies of the fascist states and those of other capitalist governments, and point ironically to:

"...the examples of 'democratic' Belgium and its Congo, 'democratic' Holland and its Indonesia, 'democratic' France and its Indo-China, 'democratic' England and its India, 'democratic' United States and its Philippines."

The wicked Communists, they think, will defend British and French imperialism in order to prevent the "starved" German, Italian and Japanese imperialist systems from making war to expand theirs. The American Socialist organ quotes Stafford Cripps, the Socialist pacifist of England, to the effect that any effort of labor to press the League of Nations into the application of sanctions against the fascist war-makers would only mobilize the workers for:

"... a war to perpetuate British and French imperialism against a rival or newcomer into the competitive field."

But those Socialists are wrong who believe that Mussolini's slogan "*sanctions mean war!*" is true.

The reason Mussolini went to war with Ethiopia is that Mussolini knew—or believed, with good reason—that sanctions would not be applied.

The reason Hitler overnight tore up the Locarno Treaty and moved his troops into the Rhineland is that Hitler saw that sanctions were not being applied to Mussolini's act of war, and would not be applied to his own move against France.

And the reason why the Japanese armies have taken by acts of war Chinese territory twice the size of Ethiopia is that the Japanese militarists have been assured up to the present time that they could do so with impunity—that the League of Nations would not apply sanctions to stop a military seizure of one of its members' territory.

Sanctions have not prevented war simply because sanctions have not been applied.

It is *not* true that sanctions increase the danger of war.

Just the opposite—the *impunity of the aggressor* increases the danger of war.

Even the paper declarations made by the Militants for “workers’ sanctions” turn out to be only an evasion of all action—when immediately they refuse to join in united action which is the essence of workers’ sanctions, which mean a united front or nothing. In the question of *workers’* sanctions they play unwittingly the role that Laval and Hoaré played in the League of Nations.

Let it be clear that neither the Berlin nor the Tokyo war-makers are caused the slightest embarrassment by the *Socialist Call’s* type of propoganda against “war in general”—and at the same time against sanctions. Mussolini was not in the least embarrassed when his Field Marshall General Badoglio stood over the dead bodies of the last battlefield in Ethiopia to give an interview saying that he is really a deeply convinced pacifist and is firmly against “war in general”.

There will be no effective blocking of the war-makers—no maintenance of peace—unless there is organized on a huge scale a joint action of the working class and other sections of the population *against the specific instigators of war*, and against the sinister forces such as those mobilized by Hearst in support of the war-making fascists abroad.

The worst of Thomas’ advisers say that the Communists want a “good war against fascism”—and they have found a new slogan against what they term “Communo-chauvinism”.

Comrades, the Communist Party is the party that fights against chauvinism. We are the party of *Lenin* whose revolutionary call for the “defeat of one’s own government” in 1914 was successfully carried out three years later, in October.

But we are carrying out our work, not among the books in a radical minister's study, but among the masses—and we are doing it in a world not of 1914 but of 1936.

Lenin's platform is our platform on war, comrades, and we do not subtract a single syllable or hesitate in the application of every essential of it, here and now, to this greatest war crisis. Up to this time, unfortunately, Thomas and his pitifully scrambled brain trust—Zam, Gitlow and Goldman, inspired by the Trotskyites—have been able to do nothing with the magnificent formulations and examples of Lenin except to cite them as reasons why we cannot act against war and fascism.

Raw Ideas on "Raw Materials"

Let us see how far some of the well-meaning Socialist leaders get with efforts to "oppose war" *in general*, while *concretely* opposing the formation of the united front against war, opposing any international action of states against the fascist aggressors, and relying simply upon patented sectarian "ideas" and formulas for holding the masses back from action while war breaks upon the world. And if this glimpse shows a shameful picture—so much the better lesson for Socialist workers.

As you know, George Lansbury and Sir Stafford Cripps opposed sanctions and broke with the British Labor Party on the issue. They claimed in doing this to take a pacifist position, and to "remain true to socialist principles". But, strange to say, these lovers of peace soon came objectively to the outrageous militarist and imperialist position of demanding that the fascist governments of Italy, Germany and Japan be given the "access to raw materials", which in practical form means the rulership over the African and Asiatic countries (Ethiopia, China, etc.) for which they make war!

A section of the leadership of the Socialist Party has gone over lock, stock and barrel to this position of objective support to the war plans of Hitler, Mussolini and Hirota. Under this influence Norman Thomas wrote in connection with the war situation:

"...we must steadily keep in mind the necessity of working for international agreements on the allocation of raw materials."

This is, of course, in purely economic terms what Mussolini is taking in Ethiopia, what Japan is taking from China and what Hitler's guns are now planted on the Rhine to get. When a reader challenged Thomas, he rushed to explain the thing away, and in "explaining" he showed how a confused Socialist can fall into a fascist war-lord's death trap. Apparently seeing for the first time the reactionary character of a proposal that could not mean anything but a redivision of colonies, such as the "peaceful" turning over of an Ethiopia to Italy, Thomas hastened to declare that by the term "allocation of raw materials" he did not at all mean a redivision of colonies, that in fact he is in favor of ending the colonial system. But since a redivision of colonies is the only known way of redistribution of sources of raw materials in a capitalist system for exploitation on a competitive-cost-basis—Comrade Thomas finds himself forced to invent a whole "new" system of allocation of raw materials similar to the arrangement of the Allied nations in 1914! Describing his plan to bring peace into the world by supplying fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and the militarist government of Japan with raw materials, he writes:

"The nearest approach that the world has seen to an allocation of raw materials was during the war when the Allied nations, through their control of shipping and otherwise, really did manage to portion out minerals, wheat, oil, wool, according to need; to be sure, according to a very dreadful war need."

Thomas' proposal really amounts to this: That England and other powers shall agree to "allocate" to Mussolini without fighting (as yet) exactly what he got in Ethiopia and what he probably could have gotten without fighting if England and France had agreed to "allocate" it to him "according to need". We are not blind, and therefore we are painfully aware that this is just what the street fighting is about in Paris; the royalist mobs are shouting for Mussolini and Hitler to be given resources "according to need", and we know that Comrade Thomas does not wish to help the fascists, whom he hates as we do. Yet, under the influence of this trend he wants to go further and give Mussolini *more* of what he is in need of for his present war preparations than even is now on the order of the day. And at the same time he wants to satisfy the "needs" of the German fascists and the Japanese militarist government.

In what sort of a dream-world is such "thinking" done? Is anyone unaware that all of the forces of stark reaction are precisely on the side of "satisfying" the fascist war-makers and thus fixing the alignment of those nations for the next war?

But we haven't exhausted the amazing depths of this stupidity yet. We must remember that Norman Thomas has a "deep distrust" of the League of Nations, and has turned so "revolutionary" that he cannot have a united front with the Communists because the Communists have become so "opportunistic" as to "flirt with the League of Nations". Now what does he have in mind when he speaks of an arrangement like "when the Allied nations . . . really did manage to portion out" things? Well, he tells us in plain words—just listen—as follows:

"It does mean, to be efficient, the development of some measure of *worldwide government*, a measure of worldwide government not by any means inconsistent with the continuance along proper lines by existing nations and the freeing of colonial peoples." (My emphasis—R. M.)

And *this* is the same Norman Thomas who attacks the Communists for wishing to make use of the League of Nations! He is against united action of the masses in conjunction with an action of the League of Nations. He thinks any action of the League of Nations, regardless of all pressure of the masses, must "always" be the policy of the imperialists. He refuses to have anything to do with a League of Nations in which the socialist state fights for peace. He refuses to support the peace policy of the Soviet Union because he distrusts a "Russian foreign policy".

But overnight he proposes that the labor movement of the world (without any united front for independent action!) shall give a blank check to the big capitalist powers to form "some measure of *worldwide government*"—the first and primary duty of which is to *grant all of the demands of the fascist war-makers*, Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese militarists.

Thomas is "too revolutionary" to approve of efforts to align capitalist states in support of the peace policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; but not too revolutionary to approve and propose an alignment of capitalist nations *against* the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

So a patented sectarian "idea", functioning as a substitute for united action of the forces of peace against war, is transformed

into a proposal that the whole world shall surrender to the demands of Mussolini, Hitler and Hirota, and consequently to the inevitable readjustment of all along the line to place colonial peoples and the whole world under the domination of the three fascist powers—Italy, Germany and Japan.

Comrade Thomas has a faithful follower who catches his inspiration and carries it on where angels fear to tread, to its inevitable conclusion. The faithful follower is Jessie Wallace Hughan, who says in the *Socialist Call*:

"I urge the capitalist governments of the League to offer Hitler's Germany a realistic *quid pro quo*, rather than the paper counters with which the diplomats have been dealing. The suggested exchange is a complete revision of the Versailles Treaty, including of course the redistribution of the colonies now in possession of the victors as mandates, in return for the effective reestablishment throughout the German domain of political freedom and the protection of minorities."

Assuring us that she differs from Lansbury in wanting to give Hitler all this only "in exchange for the liberty of the German workers," Miss Hughan helps Comrade Thomas further to clarify his idea by saying:

"As to the freedom of the colonies, Comrade Zam doubtless agrees that for practical purposes *one capitalist master is as good as another*, except as regards the elementary matters of political liberty provided for above. To adopt his own phrase, the independence of colonies cannot be defended 'in the abstract'. *The workers in the mandated African colonies are not yet even nearly ripe for revolution in any Marxian sense, and must therefore serve as pawns in the international game for some time to come.* Since this is the case, why not urge the capitalist governments to drop diplomatic fictions and play the game for stakes worth while—the revision of the iniquitous Treaty and the destruction of Nazism?" (My emphasis—R. M.)

Of course the idea would be a "destruction of Nazism" perfectly acceptable to the Nazis.

The lady brings both Thomas' and Zam's thoughts brilliantly to their conclusion, and incidentally for the first time gives a classical expression to the prevailing idea of the Socialist Party leaders on the national question: "The workers in the . . . colonies are not yet even nearly ripe for revolution in any Marxian sense, and must therefore serve as pawns in the international game for some time to come."

League of Nations and Peace

The presence of the U.S.S.R. in the League of Nations, throwing all of its international weight into the scales of peace, pressing for collective security, is a force of incalculable value. We must remember in this relation that the peoples of the world do not want war.

In relation to the Italian fascist war against Ethiopia, the League has shown itself disgracefully weak, irresolute and subject to the maneuvers of selfish interests that were able to disrupt or paralyze every measure for peace, sacrificing the interests of the smaller nations for those of the big imperialists. But this weakness itself is due to the policy of giving a free hand to the imperialists in each capitalist country, by the labor movement giving a blank check to their own capitalist governments while failing to build a powerful independent international front of labor to ensure application of sanctions and to intervene forcefully in all questions of foreign policy of their "own" capitalist governments. As Dimitroff said:

"While demanding effective measures from the League of Nations and the bourgeois governments against the aggressiveness of the fascist war-mongers, the proletariat must not forget for a moment that the chief fundamental and decisive thing in the maintenance of peace is the independent action of the masses in defense of peace, against the concrete war incendiaries."

To take a negative attitude in regard to the League of Nations only plays into the hands of the fascist war-makers. Any collective action of nations not wanting war is an interference with their plans. The two chief instigators of war—fascist Germany and militarist Japan—are out of the League of Nations, and they left it because their war plans could best be pursued outside of it and against it.

The independent action of the masses cannot ignore these facts, and will follow a course, necessarily, of pressing all possible forces of peace into activity. Difficulties are raised by Norman Thomas who fears what he calls "the dangerous delusion that Socialists can manipulate war between rival imperialisms for their own advantage". Zam talks of the "dangers of close association with the actions of capitalist governments", and warns against what he calls "'answering' Hitler by supporting the

capitalist plans of rearmament, new alliances or League of Nations action”.

But there is no socialist monastery where these comrades can escape contact with capitalist governments. The escape from contact with government is an illusion of anarcho-syndicalism, akin to the illusion of the Italian workers of 1922 who took the factories but abstained from “dirty politics”, ignored the state, until the state came after them in the person of Mussolini with hand grenades to blow them out of the factories.

Pessimistic attitudes can win no victories over the fascist war-makers. Many of the leaders of the Militant Socialists seem to have added one final dogma to their list of a thousand dogmas: the dogma of pessimism! “War is inevitable. Peace is impossible!” “There is nothing can be done until we have socialism!” Under capitalism the war-makers are all powerful, they think.

“They see everywhere around them the raging forces of war, but they do not at all notice the mighty factors of peace.” (Dimitroff.)

X. SOVIET DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

ALL of those who hate socialism, all of the most reactionary forces and enemies of democracy in the world, follow the lead of William Randolph Hearst in denouncing the Soviet Union—when all else fails—on the ground that it is “not democratic”. The Old Guard—supposed to love socialism—follows Hearst in finding this last desperate excuse to try to corrupt what workers it can into hatred of the only socialism that exists—the magnificent structure of the U.S.S.R. Unfortunately the Militant Socialists still permit the Old Guard, from outside their party, to dictate what cannot be said for the socialist state and what must be said in the way of the vilest lies and slanders against it; and so it is that they too fall back upon this miserable last resort of slander against socialism—that the existing socialist state is “not democratic”.

Now the draft of the new Soviet Constitution is published throughout the world. This will be a terrific blow against the makers of war—it will bring enormous gain to the fight for peace and for the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. Our fight against war is made more effective when we spread to the farthest cor-

ners of the land the full explanation of the Constitution of the socialist state as marking the greatest height that has ever been attained by democracy—a height made possible only by the victory of socialism. This is a way in which the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. will become most easily intelligible to the masses in America. It is necessary to pound home the truth that such a peace policy on the part of a great state, and the *consistent following out of this policy* in leading other nations toward peace is possible *only because* the state power which proposes it among nations is a powerful socialist state, with a socialist economy, based upon necessarily the broadest and deepest democracy that has ever been attained by man, far advanced in the process of abolishing all classes.

Only in doing this shall we secure the broadest mass understanding and faith in the Soviet Union's peace policy which is now decisive in the fight against war and the fascist war-makers.

But it would be a dangerous mistake if anyone were to concede in the slightest degree to the theory that certain liberals have begun to hawk already in the past 24 hours, that a "Soviet autocracy" has suddenly "reversed its policy" and "become democratic," that the dictatorship of the proletariat somehow found itself in difficulties and therefore "retreated" and "surrendered" in some degree to democracy! It would be very comfortable for the bourgeoisie, if the workers are told that the revolutionary movement is out of date now, and that the U.S.S.R. has now come "back" to democracy "like in the United States".

No, for the past *eighteen and a half years*—since November 7, 1917—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been *the most democratic* state in the whole world. During every day of its existence, and even in the early months of most intense civil war and sharpest repressive measures against the capitalist class, the U.S.S.R. has embodied a new type of democracy more profound than any that ever existed before. From its very inception the Soviet state has been, as Lenin expressed it:

"... a development and expansion of democracy hitherto unprecedented in the world, precisely for the vast majority of the population, for the exploited and for the toilers."

The new Constitution marks a great widening and extension of this democracy. It is an advance of the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat, not its retreat. It is made, not because of difficulties, but because difficulties have been more and more overcome. The new Constitution can grant universal, secret and equal suffrage *because* the dictatorship of the proletariat forever smashed the capitalist class and irrevocably destroyed the main roots from which capitalism and human exploitation can grow, because agriculture has become socialist agriculture, and the decisive advance toward the abolition of classes has been successfully made.

Even *before* the new Soviet Constitution nearly twice as many persons participated in elections in the U.S.S.R. as in the U.S.A. In the last American elections 66,900,000 persons were officially entitled to vote, and 39,800,000 actually voted. But in the last Soviet elections 91,000,000 were entitled to vote and 77,000,000 actually voted. Allowing for the 30 per cent greater population of the Soviet Union, we can say at least 20,000,000 Americans did not vote in the United States in the last election *who would have voted under the system then practiced in the Soviet Union*; and about 8,000,000 of these would have been young Americans between the ages of 18 and 21, while nearly all of the rest would have been men and women of the working class, dispossessed farmers, and Negroes and poor white workers and sharecroppers of the Southern states.

Yes, my dear liberals, such was the "Soviet tyranny" even before the new and broad extension of democracy in the new Constitution, without even mentioning the infinitely more democratic and direct day-to-day control over all processes of government and industry that it made possible by the Soviet form. Do not forget that under their Soviet form of democracy, out of 24,000,000 industrial workers, 20,000,000 are organized freely in their own industrial unions, whilst in America out of 38,000,000 industrial workers, only 5,000,000 are organized at all. American workers cannot but reflect on what it would mean if our automobile workers in the shops of Detroit, South Bend and Cleveland had an auto workers' union 278,000 strong, as the automobile workers have in what Hearst calls the "Asiatic barbarism" of the U.S.S.R.

That all happened *before* the new Constitution. At that time it was necessary to have voting by an open show of hands, indirect elections and higher representation for the industrial working

class, precisely for the sake of workers' democracy at a time when, as Lenin said, the capitalist class, although overthrown, was the "more powerful" enemy "whose resistance is increased ten-fold by its overthrow". Lenin explained correctly that:

"The indirect elections to the non-local Soviets make it easier to hold congresses of Soviets, it makes the *entire* apparatus less costly, more flexible, more accessible to the workers and peasants at a time when life is seething and it is necessary to be able quickly to recall a deputy or to elect him to the general Congress of Soviets."

These restrictions did not alter the fact that the Soviet government was the most democratic in the world, but the reasons for the restrictions have ceased to exist. The once "more powerful" enemy, the exploiting classes, having been uprooted from the social system, the new Constitution establishes direct election to all offices through universal and equal suffrage for all human beings above the age of 18.

These far-reaching changes make the significance of the U.S. S.R. in the world affairs much clearer for the workers in other countries who did not so readily understand the earlier stages of Soviet democracy. This is especially so in "democratic" capitalist countries where *all* democratic rights are endangered by fascist encroachments. For instance in the United States the *indirect* system of election through an electoral college, the appointment of judges, and the encroachments upon the jury system, the overruling of the actions of the elected Congress and President by life-appointed Supreme Court judges and the barring of new political parties from the ballot—are *formal* as well as real restrictions which are much in the minds of the people. The right of suffrage is abolished by disenfranchisement of Negroes in the South and by poll-tax requirements in many states, while secrecy of the ballot is reduced to nothing by fraud and terror against masses of workers in company towns.

If we explain these things simply and clearly, it will not be hard for the American workers to understand how it is that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has become the world-champion of democracy against fascism. They will not find it difficult to understand that such a state cannot be a menace to the democratic rights of any people in the world. Then all of the sinister whisperings of the little Zams and Gitlows and Trotskyites about

the "subordination of the international interests of labor to Russian foreign policy" will be seen clearly as the disgusting lying that they are. The American workers and those of the whole world will see then the need of supporting the peace policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

XI. MOBILIZE MASSES AGAINST WAR-MAKERS!

SOcialists whose attitude toward the menace of war is inherited from the school of "conscientious objectors" of 1917 fail to see that our problem is not one of an inner mental attitude but one of *preventing the outbreak of war*.

An attitude of "wanting" peace has not the slightest effect unless followed by action in the outside world of reality. For this it is necessary to mobilize great masses into action to oppose war.

But immediately these great masses, although passionately hating war and wishing to oppose it, are divided in a maze of differing particular views and tendencies, in hundreds of different organizations, with general programs that conflict on a thousand subjects. The sectarian says: "We must reconcile all of these conflicting views before we can get action together", or—"We must pick out the *best* and *truest* of all these general views and philosophies (which is, of course, one's *own* little sect's philosophy!) and must convert all these multitudes to it, and *then* we can have united action." (This is what the Militants mean when they say, "The only way to fight against war is to fight for socialism".)

Because there are differences which divide the masses and which cannot be immediately reconciled, the united front is created. A united front is not a getting together of those who agree upon everything; *if the masses agreed upon everything, there would be no need for a united front*. The united front is an arrangement for common action of people who *disagree* on many things, but who are faced with a common peril, a common need and a common willingness to fight on at least one compelling issue.

Such a common peril and common willingness to fight against it are brought about by the war situation. Literally millions of Americans deeply, courageously desire to prevent war. The

American Youth Congress, with its many conflicting views of divergent groups, has given a magnificent example of a common iron will to fight against the system of organized murder and against those who make it. Within various political parties, among hundreds of women's organizations, among patriotic societies, among scores of racial organizations of Negroes and among the enormous congregations of churches, there is a groundswell of determination to oppose war. A startling indication of the quick ripening of the mass will against war is found in the many groups of Christian pacifists, who now see the necessity of a mass struggle against war. The popular slogan, "Keep America Out of War", expresses in an incomplete form the honest will of millions of Americans to oppose the war-makers. These millions can and will be drawn into an effective fight to keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world.

All of these masses or the bulk of them *must be mobilized* to make their common will effective. To wait until all differences disappear would be to wait, inactive, for the submerging of the world in war. The united front will unite the divergent groups for action against war.

Comrades, literally tens of millions of Americans desire peace. Any common effort to establish a united front will within a few months attract millions of courageous fighters against war. Let us advance boldly, with genuine Bolshevik instinct for the masses.

"The friends of peace can work openly. . . . Their strength lies in the fact that their activities against war are backed by the will of the broad masses of the people." (Stalin.)

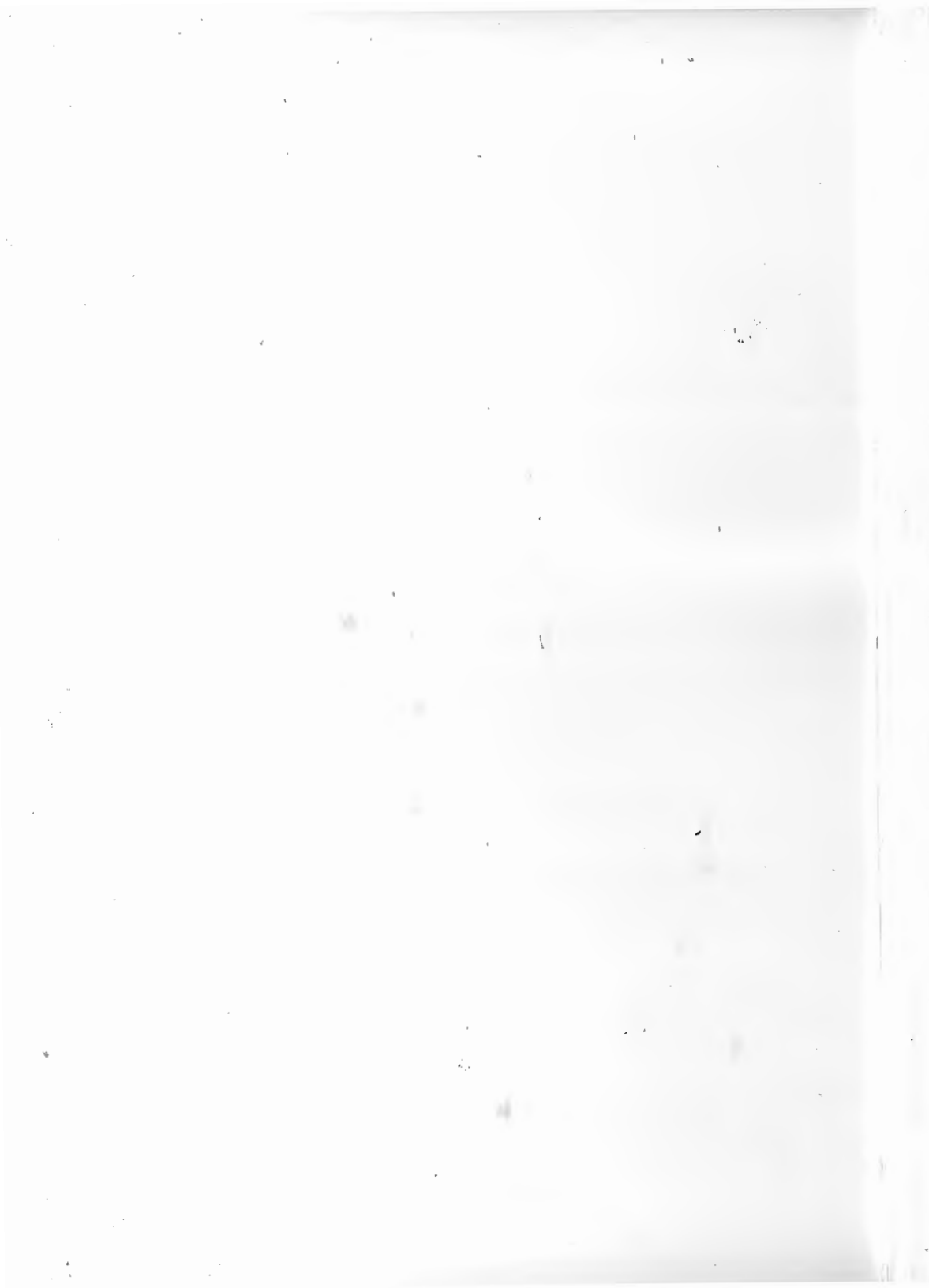
We advance with the slogans:

Overthrow of the Hitler government, the incendiary of war in Europe; every possible support to the German people who are fighting for their freedom.

The expulsion of the Japanese invaders from China. For a democratic Japan. Expulsion of the Italian fascist plunderers from Ethiopia; for the liberation of the Italian people from the oppression of fascism.

A world front of workers and farmers and all friends of peace against the instigators of war!

Defend the peace policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!



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