

DEFEAT THE IMPERIALIST WAR PLANS

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DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION

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(In Two Sections—Section Two)



## Historic Tasks in Fight Against War

By V. KNORIN.

The war in the Far East and the seizure by the Japanese of spoils, which were not allocated to them by the understanding of the imperialists, is affecting the interests of the other imperialist powers to a great extent. Some of these imperialist powers would agree to this seizure only on condition that Japanese imperialism were to open for division among the imperialist family the inaccessible territories of the Soviet Union. In this, however, they will meet with the terrific opposition of the working class of the Soviet Union. And the working class of the Soviet Union is not without assistance.

"The working class of the U.S.S.R. is part of the workers of the world. Our victory was won, thanks to the assistance of the proletariat of the world to the efforts of the workers of the U.S.S.R. Without this assistance we would have perished long ago." (J. Stalin.) At present, not only has the power of the U. S. S. R. increased to a very great extent, but the support of the world proletariat has increased to not a lesser extent.

The movement of the masses is growing for the support of the Chinese people, against the division of China, against intervention in the U. S. S. R. and against imperialist wars. For the first time in the history of mankind does the proletariat voice its active opposition to war even before the outbreak of same. For the first time in the history of mankind will there be found Liebknechts in every country heading strong proletarian parties, whose supreme task it will be to transform the imperialist war started by their bourgeoisie into a civil war, into a war for the victorious proletarian revolution.

The One Historic Example: His'ory knows only one such example. Only in Russia is there a party which had set for itself the

above tasks in 1914 and which has carried them to a victorious accomplishment. And now, at the very start of the war by Japan in Manchuria, the Communist Party of Japan, though considerably weaker than the Bolsheviks were in 1914-15,

has advanced correct and militant Bolshevik slogans and rallies the masses under these slogans despite an unheard of police terror.

It is already a historic fact that the Communist Party of China utilized the attack on the Chinese

people in order to mobilize them in struggle against the imperialist aggressors and in order to broaden the all-China revolutionary movement.

What would have happened in Germany at the end of the first imperialist world war if there would

have been a strong, consolidated Communist Party, interwoven with the masses, a Communist Party such as now exists in Poland, instead of only one Liebknecht, who himself did not sever all ideological connections with the social-democracy?

The Measure of Success.

At times the success of the proletariat in its struggle against war is measured by the extent to which it was ALREADY CAPABLE of interfering with shipments of munitions to Japan. This, of course, is correct. The strikes in Japan at the outbreak of war; the strikes in the port of Cherbourg; the anti-war demonstrations in all countries—all these are occurrences not heretofore witnessed in the history of mankind. These demonstrations and strikes reveal the revolutionary upsurge of the masses and their anti-war spirit. But this is far from enough. The proletariat is capable of far more serious forms of struggle against war. It is, therefore, the supreme task of the revolutionary organizations of the international proletariat to prepare the masses for an actual struggle against war and to conduct this struggle in an organized manner.

The capitalists realize what danger war holds for them under present conditions. This war is an outgrowth of the crisis; it is the next stage of the crisis; it is the logical outcome of the previous course of development of the crisis. By means of this war the imperialists are endeavoring to find in brute force a solution to the problems which the crisis has set before them. But at the same time they are thus creating suitable conditions for a victorious revolution.

The struggle against war is a struggle for the broad masses of the working class; it is a struggle for revolution, for the overthrow of capitalism and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### The Revolutionary Struggle of the Japanese Communist Party Against Imperialist War

The Communist Party of Japan has exposed the true character of the war of the Japanese imperialists against China at the very start of hostilities. The Party has been calling on the Japanese workers, peasants and soldiers to struggle against the imperialist designs directed against the toilers of China, the U. S. S. R. and Japan.

The Left Wing organizations of workers in Japan are also conducting an incessant struggle against war. The underground revolutionary center of trade unions "Dzenkiokikay" is organizing one anti-war demonstration after another. It is giving a distinctly antiwar character to the numerous strikes, which it conducts against the attack on the economic status of the workers.

Students and peasants are also beginning to actively participate in the struggle against war. The increase of arrests among students of institutions of higher learning and the increase of the numbers and intensity of agrarian conflicts offer an eloquent proof.

What is the influence upon the Japanese army of the anti-war work of the Communist Party

and of the revolutionary trade unions of Japan. An occurrence, which took place during the recent operations around Shanghai, illustrates the crystallization of anti-war tendencies in the Japanese army very clearly. A Japanese aviator, sent

V. BLUECHER



Commander of the Red Army in the Far East

to bombard Chinese positions, flew over the Japanese trenches and began to throw down Communist anti-war leaflets.

These leaflets, printed in the Chinese and Japanese languages, called upon the Japanese soldiers to refuse to shoot down Chinese workers. Of course, this aviator was working in close contact with an organization of his comrades in the flying field, who took care of the writing, printing and delivery of the leaflets.

Another similar occurrence is still more characteristic. The unrest among the soldiers of several of the Japanese detachments stationed around Shanghai reached such proportions that the soldiers of two regiments refused to fight, demanded the cessation of hostilities and demanded to be sent home. These few incidents do not exhaust the number of anti-war demonstrations in the ranks of the Japanese army. We can cite here, for example, anti-war demonstrations of soldiers in Poochun and Korca, which were suppressed by the government with several soldiers executed.



## BEFORE AND AFTER THE OUTBREAK OF IMPERIALIST WAR

By SAM DON

The war clouds are gathering at tremendous speed. In the present charged atmosphere ready any minute to rain forth death and destruction. In this situation the working class must display the greatest watchfulness and activity to become the decisive factor in defeating the imperialist war plans.

The bosses follow a two-fold strategy with one aim in mind, namely, on the one hand with pacifist phrases to lull the watchfulness of the workers and at the same time create a war atmosphere to mobilize so-called public opinion for war.

It is well, therefore, to remember the words of Lenin with regard to war:

**"It must be definitely explained how great is the secrecy surrounding the policy of war... It must be explained over and over again in a thoroughly concrete manner how the situation was during the last war and as to the reason why the situation could not be otherwise."**

At the very moment when Japan began its invasion of Manchuria, General Ely declared, "We seldom see wars on the horizon. We get embroiled over night." Is the general really so stupid and ignorant to believe that we seldom see wars? Of course not! What is the purpose then of making such a statement? The answer is clear—To create the idea that war is unthinkable and thus lull the watchfulness of the workers. He says, "You get embroiled over night." What is the meaning of this statement? Simply to create the idea that the "enemy forced war upon us" and now that war "unexpectedly" is on, there is nothing left to be done, but to defend the country.

You see, the "well meaning" generals and imperialists have such great difficulty in seeing war... at a time when they spent billions on preparations for war, at a time when we are in the midst of war against the Chinese people, in the midst of growing war against the Soviet Union. Such statements are made at a time when we are so close to the outbreak of a new world war, that the thick layers of pacifist phrases cannot save the complete fiasco of the Geneva disarmament conference, and when the war clouds thicken on the horizon. The imperialists are consciously preparing for war as a way out of the present crisis. The whole development of capitalism leads to imperialist wars. We do not just get embroiled in them over night, general, as you know it yourself.

The lessons of the last world war cannot be forgotten, particularly remembering the treachery and pacifism of the Second Socialist International as imperialist implements for the mobilization of the masses for war. America's entry into the last world war is a good example of how pacifism is used in preparing for war. Take the whole pacifist campaign of Wilson. His election slogan was: "He kept us out of the war." But the little truth which the capitalists allowed to leak out in connection with their preparations for the last war shed a great deal of light on the past and present war preparations. Take the statement of Wilson which he made 49 days before America's entry into the world war. He said:

**"I am not now proposing or contemplating war. The American people do not desire it. Our desire is not different from theirs."**

Is it not obvious that Wilson, the great humanitarian, was lying. But precisely because the American workers did not desire war it was necessary to use such pacifist phrases and then to take them by surprise. Just to give one fact which shows that Wilson was consciously lying. The American ambassador to London, Ambassador Page, sent a letter to Wilson dated March 7, 1917, in which he stated: "that the only way of maintaining our credit and avoiding a panic is by declaring war against Germany." The House of Morgan and Wall St., by its huge loans to finance allies' munition purchases in the U. S. was in deadly fear that the defeat of the allied armies would greatly af-

fect their profits. Therefore they cast their lot with the allies. Here we see the real cause for the imperialist war.

At first Wilson "kept us out of war", then he plunged us into war not to make the world safe for democracy, but to avoid "a panic for Wall Street", a war to maintain high profits for the house of Morgan. This before mentioned brief sentence from Ambassador Page's letter to Wilson tears to shreds the tissue of pacifist lies prior to and after America's entry into the world war.

Labor and Socialist brand of pacifism is even more dangerous than the official brand of pacifism of the government. Here, too, it is well to contrast a few statements made prior to and during the imperialist war. Let us take the old Gompers. On May 26, 1916, speaking before the League to Enforce Peace, at Washington, D. C., he made the following statement:

**"No class has more to lose and less to gain in the war than the workers... Recognizing this, workers the world over have sworn undying opposition to the forces that make for war."**

A few months later as we were getting closer to war, in October, 1916, Gompers came out in his true colors when he said:

**"I am free to say that in our international relations I am an ultra pacifist until the breaking out of this war."**

The old servant of the bosses was quite right. What he said is true of all pacifists. They are ultra pacifists until the breaking out of war; and then they shout the loudest for war and give their blessing to it by attaching high-sounding ideals. Just as the Japanese socialist declared that the present war against the Chinese people "is not a capitalist war" so did Gompers in February, 1918, officially declared "this war is an honorable war... It is not a capitalist war."

The Socialist 2nd International has of late been very active in issuing high-sounding manifestoes against war. The greater the treachery and open participation of the socialists with their respective imperialist governments, the more pacifist and revolutionary phrases are being used to cover up their active preparation for and leadership in imperialist war.

Mr. Thomas appeared before the Congressional committee which was discussing war policies, where he made the following statements in May, 1931:

**"If I understand my friend, Mr. LaGuardia, correctly, he is for a constitutional amendment which would permit us to take over everything we need for war. If we were on the verge of war, I should probably be for it... I had wanted to congratulate the commission and the country upon the dawning, if somewhat muddled, conviction that, when it comes to a real emergency like war, the ever blessed profit system won't work without an immense degree of control. As a socialist I rejoice in this even as I rejoiced in the demonstration given by the last war that planned production is absolutely essential."**

So here we have it, imperialist war presented as a blessing in disguise. Mr. Thomas tells us that it will help to bring about planned production and he rejoices at the "socialist" features of the conduct of the last imperialist war. Here we see that under the guise of socialism Mr. Thomas advises the imperialists how to more effectively carry on imperialist war and at the same time he presents this program to the workers as a brand of socialism.

The socialism and the planned production advocated by Thomas at the Congressional hearing does not really differ in the slightest from Hoover's ideas which were expressed in a letter to Congressman John J. McSwain, while the House Committee on military affairs was in session in April, 192... Hoover stated:

**"A blanket authority to the president to fix prices, wages, transportation charges, compensation, embargoes on imports and exports, to exercise the war pow-**

## Anniversary of the Beginning of the Chinese Revolution

By M. JAMES

May 30 has great historical significance to the Chinese masses and the general revolutionary struggle against imperialism. This year, the Chinese masses will commemorate this historical day by intensifying their fight against the massacre of the Chinese people, against the imperialist revision of China, and for the defense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the anti-imperialist struggle, unleashed by the events on May 30, 1925, will be continued and intensified to its successful conclusion.

May 30 of 1925 signified the beginning of the great Chinese Revolution for national liberation. In February of 1925, the Chinese workers in the Japanese textile mills in Shanghai declared a strike against wage cut and for better conditions. With the members of the Communist Party active in the strike, workers were solidly organized and compelled the Japanese capitalist imperialists to recognize the demands of the strikers. Among the demands were: an increase of the wages by ten per cent, and the release of all arrested strikers. How-

was declared in Shanghai. As the climax of a series of protest activities, big demonstration was held in Canton on June 23rd. When the demonstrators marched to Shaki, opposite to the foreign concession of Shamen, the imperialists, under the leadership of British imperialism, again slaughtered the Chinese masses with machine guns, killing over one hundred Chinese.

Right after the Shaki Massacre, the workers in Canton and Kongkong launched the famous Canton-Hongkong Strike. The strike involved over one hundred thousand workers. It continued without interruption for fifteen months. It broke the nerve center of British trade in the Far East and brought British imperialism to its knees.

It was upon this gigantic mass movement that the Kuomintang depended to launch its successful northern campaign against the northern militarists and extended its influence towards the central and northern China. However, when the anti-imperialist revolution reached its height on the basis of the broad masses, the right wing Kuomintang, representing the native bourgeoisie, seeing the workers

The betrayal of the Kuomintang was answered by the revolutionary workers and peasants with a series of revolts, such as the Nanchang uprising in August 1927, the peasant uprisings in Hunan, Hupeh Kwangtung and Kiangsu provinces. In December 1927 the Canton Uprising, with the establishment of the Canton Soviet, opened up a higher phase, the Soviet phase, of the Chinese Revolution. All this was the continuation of the struggle of May 30th, of 1925, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

**The Betrayal of the Kuomintang.**  
On May 30, 1930, the Soviet-districts conference was held in Shanghai. This was the unmistakable answer of the Chinese masses to the imperialist massacre of the Chinese people on the same day in 1925. Since then the Soviets in China have rapidly increased their territory and influence. In 1931, on the fourteenth anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia, there took place the First China Soviet Congress in Kiangsi and established the Provincial Central Soviet Government of China. Soviet China now embraces over one sixth of China proper and a population of over ninety million. By May 30 this



Butchery by Japanese marines in Chapei, the working class section of Shanghai. Note the charred bodies of Chinese workers lying in the foreground.

ever, the Japanese imperialists did not carry out the agreement after the workers resumed work. The workers again struck. On May 10, hundreds of workers surrounded the mills demanding the realization of their demands. The factory guards, by the order of Japanese imperialism, fired into the workers. One worker was killed and many were wounded.

**The Demonstration in Shanghai.**  
This outrage was answered by a gigantic demonstration by workers and students in Shanghai. This demonstration was fired upon by the English police and troops in Nanking Road in the International Settlement, with seven workers killed, over forty wounded and six hundred arrested. This is known as the May 30 Massacre.

This massacre release a tremendous revolutionary wave against imperialism in China. The struggle was especially intensified in Shanghai and Canton. A general strike

of requisition under circumstances that 75 per cent of the estimated value may be paid and the balance determined by the courts in case of disagreement, suspend habeas corpus, and generally complete an absolute authority in all ramifications over the whole civilian life with the provision that he may delegate these authorities...."

What is most important to bear in mind is the fact that the Socialist Party again at its recent convention put forth the League of Nations as an instrument of peace. The very institution which stands more and more exposed as an instrument of war. Praise was showered by Thomas and Hillquit on their socialist Japanese friends who with brutal cynicism support Jap-

and the toilers getting more organization and demanding for their class interests, betrayed the revolution, compromised and united with the imperialists in their joint struggle against the Chinese workers and toilers. This betrayal was carried out by Chiang Kai-shek in April, 1927. The Nanking government established by Chiang Kai-shek became the reactionary center against the Chinese Revolution. The petty bourgeoisie, represented by the "left wing" of the Kuomintang with Wang Ching-wai at its head, followed by the treacherous example of the right wing Kuomintang and betrayed the anti-imperialist struggle in July 1927. This marked the complete betrayal of the Kuomintang against the Chinese Revolution and the beginning of the independent leadership of the Communist Party of China among the Chinese masses to continue the struggle against imperialist domination.

Neither pacifism, nor the left phrases of the socialists should fool the workers. The lessons of the last world war should be remembered in order to be able to defeat the imperialist war plans, to defend the Soviet Union.

To remember the lessons of the last world war—is above all, to remember the treachery of the 2nd International, to remember the example of the Bolsheviks and the teachings of Lenin.

year, the Chinese Soviets and their Red Army will record further advances in all directions. According to recent reports which could not be hidden by the capitalist press, the Chinese Red Army has captured many more cities, including Changchow in Fukien Province, Meishan in Kwantung Province. Important cities as Amoy, Pengpu and Hankow are being threatened by the Chinese Red Army.

**The Chinese Soviets.**

Events since the armed occupation of Manchuria and invasion of Shanghai by Japan further prove the complete, open betrayal of the Chinese anti-imperialist struggle by the Kuomintang which has really helped to facilitate the imperialist murder of the Chinese masses and the division of China. Only the Communist Party of China unrelentingly lead the Chinese masses against imperialist division, and for the liberation of China.

The increasing anti-imperialist movement, the advances of the Chinese Soviets and their Red Army, and the mass guerrilla warfare against Japanese imperialism in Manchuria, drive the imperialists to the ruthless murder of the Chinese people, to the direct intervention in the Chinese Soviets, and to the re-division of China. All this is a necessary, integral part of the imperialist war move against the Soviet Union.

On the occasion of the seventh anniversary of May 30, when the imperialists are murdering the Chinese people and when the imperialists are more ready than ever to attack the Soviet Union, the workers and toilers in the United States must intensify their revolutionary duty to support the Chinese Revolution and the socialist construction in the Soviet Union.



# EXPERIENCES OF A NEGRO SOLDIER IN THE WORLD WAR

By JAMES W. FORD

When the World War broke out in 1914 I was working in a big forging plant at Ensley, Alabama, near Birmingham. All steel mills of this vicinity were turning out war materials for the Allied and other armies. I was a helper to a German blacksmith; the foreman was an Englishman. There were many Bulgarian and other foreign-born workers working at these mills. The company quarters were divided, foreign-born workers lived in one section and Negro workers in another. We were making "good" wages. Everybody was happy.

Usually the topic of conversation at the mill was the war. We thought little of the fact that we were making war materials to be sent to Europe, nor little or nothing of the nature, cause and significance of the war to the working class. Each national group boasted of the prowess of "his" native country in the war. There was no Communist Party at that time. I for one never dreamed that I would be a soldier in the war. No one of us remotely thought of America ever entering the war. Even at this time, however, and under the cloak of the remoteness of war to America plans were being made by American capitalists to send American soldiers into the war to protect the interests of Wall Street. Later Woodrow Wilson was elected president because "he kept us out of war."

On December 15, 1917, I joined the army at Nashville, Tennessee, and was sent to Fort Oglethorpe, an old army camp near Chattanooga, to be sworn and assigned to an outfit for training. I was about 24 years of age; there were six other young Negroes who had come together. We had had some training in electricity and mechanics and were to be assigned to a Signal corps battalion.

## Hostility to Negroes

When we came to Fort Oglethorpe, which was a white army post, we immediately came in contact with jim-crowism and insults. In the first place the army officers declared that Negroes were not to be assigned to a technical branch of the army service.

Although we had been signed up for this at Nashville, they refused to consider it and told us we would not be fed and quartered unless we washed dishes for the white soldiers. This we refused to do, and they refused to feed us or quarter us. Here we were in the army no place to eat, no place to sleep and Chattanooga about ten miles away.

We were then taken to the YMCA barracks (that noble branch of army service) and threatened with a beating if we did not dance "nigger" jigs or sing "Nigger" songs for the amusement of the new white recruits. There were several thousands of white recruits newly arrived at the camp. This we also refused to do and only escaped a beating by slipping out of the back stage door and making our way to Chattanooga. Thus the first night in the army we were AWOL from the army.

We remained several days in Chattanooga with friends. Finally an order came from the war department at Washington that the seven Negroes would be sworn in and assigned for signal corps training. The War Department several months before had laid out plans in conjunction with the Negro "leaders" of the race that a Jim-crow army Division was to be organized for service in France. But this information has not been made widely known even to Army officers.

## Discrimination in Army.

After a few days we returned to camp and were informed that we were to be sent to Chillicothe, Ohio, for training. Within a few weeks Negroes were pouring in from all parts of the country to help build up a Jim-Crow Negro Division. The Signal Battalion was the first unit

organized. There were three companies including altogether about 500 men. Immediately intensive training was begun in radio, electricity and telegraphy. There was to be about six months training in the U. S. A. and then we were to embark for France.

Within about three months, however, soldiers of the 24th Infantry regular Army Negro regiment at Houston had revolted and shot up Houston because of brutal treatment of Negro women by the police forces at Houston. This revolt caused considerable excitement in army circles and most of the Negro soldiers in training in the U. S. A. France. Our outfit left in June of 1918.

## Jim-Crowism in France.

We were to get six months' training in France before being sent into active service. I was among a group of six that was selected for special training at the First American Army School at Longes, France. When we came to school we were refused admittance. This was the Elite American Army School in France, the most complete, and Negroes were not to be admitted, and we were not admitted. This school included on its staff professors and instructors from the leading technical schools and universities in America as well as instructors from West Point.

We remained around this town about two weeks before a decision was reached.

I believe an order came from General Pershing's headquarters that we should be placed in a Jim-Crow school, but there were only about 5 or 6 of us. Finally it was decided that we be sent to a French training center where instruction was being conducted in English. This was located in Gondrecourt, France.

There were at this camp, however,

a few other white American soldiers and some English soldiers; it was secondary training center. We were in training here about 6 months. There were several hundred soldiers in training here. The Negro

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Proposed Communist Candidate for Vice-President.

soldiers finished the training among the first ten of the leaders.

## Struggle At The Front.

We returned to our outfit which had been in practical training and field maneuvers. I was made a sergeant and placed in charge of signal communications for the 86th brigade of the 92nd Division. I had become proficient, and an expert in radio and telegraph communication. There were about 65 men in this assignment.

By this time, however, the men had become very much disgruntled and dissatisfied. We were sent to the front. We had no revolutionary ideas, but despite this we began to

get bold and take action against abuses and Jim-Crowism. Meanwhile, we were also influenced by propaganda left in evacuated trenches by German soldiers. I recall one leaflet that informed us of lynchings that were going on in America and asked why we were fighting in the American Army while our people were being lynched in America. Of course the army officers destroyed all such material. But we were greatly influenced by it. Unfortunately there was no revolutionary group in our outfit.

## Fighting Jim-Crowism.

I recall the first action we took against abuses and jim-crowism. A captain, Felsenheld, was in command of our company and one of our men overheard him tell a French officer while on maneuvers that these "niggers" were brutes and incapable of performing functions required of signal corps outfit.

Upon our return to the barracks in the evening this was reported to me. We organized a small group and demanded that the captain appear in the barracks after supper company. He did not know what was to take place. When he came into the barracks the men refused to arise to "attention," which is the strictest military custom. He immediately knew something was wrong.

The spokesman of the group demanded to know if the statement was true. He denied it. But the soldier who had overheard him immediately took the floor and told the whole circumstances and called the captain a liar. The captain by this time became much excited and hurriedly left the room.

The next day we demanded his removal from command of the company. This was granted without an investigation by the officers

at general headquarters, who well understood the significance of the whole thing and wanted to pass it over as quietly as possible.

Within another month another action took place. Our Battalion had been quartered near a French village. In the vicinity were also many other troops. A French girl had reported to headquarters that she had been raped by a soldier. A frame-up was begun against our battalion. The officers decided to line up the company and have the girl go through the ranks to "identify" the soldier who was supposed to have attacked her. The whole battalion was confined to camp.

For several days there was general excitement and discussion among the men. A small group discussed a plan of action. At first it was discussed that a trusted man from each squad be selected to be a member of a group that would take action.

The plan was that when the girl with the officers passed through the ranks and the moment she "identified" any one these picked men were to step forward and disarm the officers and take them and the girl to the battalion headquarters for an investigation. But this idea was discarded as too "dangerous." We discussed other procedures. Meanwhile excitement was growing high. The plan finally decided on was that a protest meeting would be held in the barracks if anyone in the outfit was "identified." Although the officers knew nothing about our plans still it was clear that they were very much disturbed at the attitude of the men.

But to our complete surprise when the inspection was made a few days later no man was "identified" and we heard nothing more of the charge.

## Defend The Soviet Union.

As I reflect over these experiences today it becomes very clear that great possibilities exist for soldiers taking action even to stop war and disorganize a whole army.

Of course, now there is the Communist Party to give direction and guidance to the workers and soldiers to struggle against imperialist war. The imperialist war is already on in the Far East against the Chinese people. The interests of the workers are directly opposite the annexation and robber policies of the imperialists. The interest of the workers is to support the independence struggle of the Chinese people against imperialist aggression and annexations.

## The Time of Struggle NOW.

Every day the direct attack upon the Soviet Union becomes closer and closer. This means that now we must take action against imperialist war. This struggle must be carried on in an organizer manner in the shops and factories against the shipment of war materials to Japan to be used against the Chinese people and for the attack on the Soviet Union. Real anti-war committees must be set up for the purpose of watching and pointing out the manufacture and shipments to Japan. But this is not all, to really be against imperialist war preparations an effective organized struggle must be carried on in the mills and especially in the war industries.

The big steel mill at Ensley, Alabama, where I was working at the beginning of the last war is already turning out war materials and is so organized as to be able to be converted over night to a complete war basis. Now as then, the workers in the steel mill at Ensley are unorganized, not only unable to struggle to better their conditions and to struggle against the wage cuts, but not organized to effectively struggle against imperialist war. The only way to really struggle now against imperialist war with all of its consequences of death to the working class, jim-crowism and lynchings for Negro toilers is to ORGANIZE NOW, to defend the Chinese people NOW, to defend the Soviet Union NOW.

## The Red Army and the Masses

"From 'The Red Army'"

By A. ALFRED

(Workers Library Publishers)

One of the main features of bourgeois military policy is the care it takes to isolate the armed forces as much as possible from the masses. The bourgeoisie takes the soldiers away from their home areas, concentrates them far from proletarian centres in special garrison towns; keeps its navy out of contact with the population, by means of frequent cruises and manoeuvres; and maintains a prison-like regime in the barracks and on board the warships.

The bourgeoisie takes the greatest care to prevent any intercourse between the soldiers and sailors and the revolutionary workers and their organizations. The soldiers are watched by officers and police agents, they are spied upon, and their letters censored. The newspapers allowed in the mess-rooms, or offered for sale in the camps and barracks must be such as the officers approve. At the least sign of proletarian influence, those guilty of such "high treason" are summarily and drastically dealt with.

The basic principle of the bourgeoisie, according to which "the army must not mix in politics," only means that soldiers and sailors dare not have any connection with workers' organizations. Only the bourgeoisie may exercise influence over the army; the patriotic and religious propaganda, inimical to the working-class, which is carried on in every bourgeois army, is meant to estrange the soldiers from the working masses, so as to make them tools in the hands of the capitalist leaders.

In capitalist countries, as a rule, soldiers and sailors have no electoral rights. When they do have them, as in Austria and in England, for instance, it is a mockery, since the soldiers do not take part in the political campaigns of the proletariat and are not allowed to attend

political meetings. Red Army men on the contrary, take a most active part in elections for the governing bodies — Soviets of Workmen's Peasants' and Red Army Deputies — and take part, unhindered, in election meetings, held by workmen and peasants.

The U. S. S. R. does not need to isolate its army and fleet from the masses, since its army is not a body meant for the oppression of the people; it is the workmen's and peasants' own army. While the bourgeoisie endeavors to isolate its armed forces from the people, the proletarian state deems it particularly important to organize and maintain the closest and most direct connection between the Red Army and Red Navy, and the working masses. The influence of the proletarian masses over the army, which the bourgeoisie fears so much, because it fears that its armed forces will go over to the latter, is a source of strength to the army in the Soviet Union. The bourgeoisie will brook no connection between the workshop and the barracks; while, in the Soviet Union, the workers come in crowds to the Red Army meetings and conferences, and vice versa.

## An Army Which Knows What It Is Fighting For

In capitalist countries it is the practice for royal and other high personages to become patrons, "honorary colonels" of particular regiments. This symbolizes the influence the ruling class wields over the armed forces. In the Soviet Union there is a similar practice, signifying the same thing, but it is the workers who are the "patrons." The Young Communist League, as has been already stated, is the "patron" of the Red Army. Certain factories, in fact nearly all factories, are the "patrons" of certain regiments.

\*This is the organized form of maintaining contact between the

workers and the armed forces.

In capitalist countries soldiers and sailors are not permitted to take part in workers' demonstrations. In the Soviet Union the soldiers and sailors take part in all working-class festivities and demonstrations.

During the civil war of 1919, Lenin wrote as follows about the Red Army.

"If this war is carried on with extra energy and unusual heroism it is only because this is the first example of an army, an armed force, which knows what it is fighting for; and, for the first time, the workers and peasants, who makes the most heavy sacrifices, do it with the full knowledge that they are defending the Socialist Soviet Republic—the power of the workers over the capitalists. They are defending the universal Socialist revolution of the proletariat."

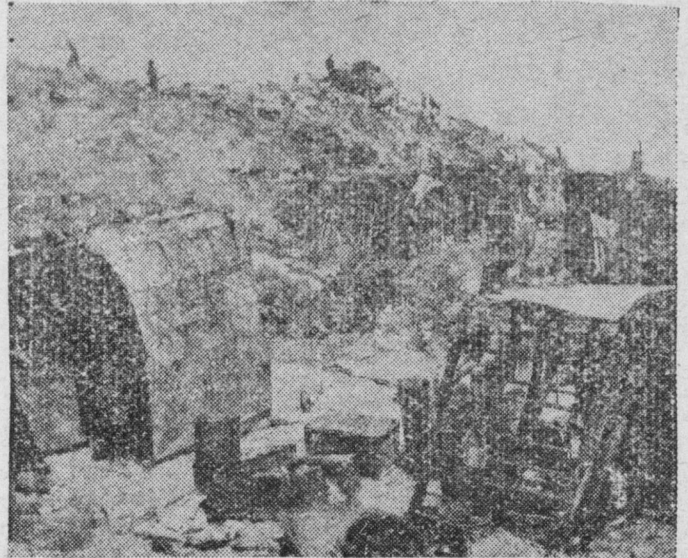
Those words of Lenin are doubly true in relation to the Red Army of today. Lenin declared that the strength of the Red Army lies in the fact that its soldiers are conscious that they are fighting for their own cause and developments since the civil war has made this consciousness even deeper.

The difference between dying capitalism and triumphant Socialism is more apparent than ever. Capitalism leaves millions of workers unemployed, makes millions of peasants into beggars; it can offer the working masses nothing but starvation, suffering and the batons of the police. Nobody except a small group of parasites lives well in capitalist countries. But Socialism provides work and bread for all those who want work, it has shown itself able to raise the living standard of the working-class, speedily and substantially. The peasantry, which, in the years of civil war, still wavered between Socialism and capitalism, has now shown itself firmly and decidedly in favor of Socialism.

Defend the Only Workers' Fatherland—the Soviet Union!



## WHERE UNEMPLOYED WORKERS



# Employed and Unemployed Against Imperialism

By BILL DUNNE

Imperialist war is raging in the Far East. The seizure of Manchuria by Japanese imperialism and the slaughter of the Chinese soldiers, workers and peasants defending Shanghai, the mass butchery of civilians, men, women and children, are the beginning of a new imperialist world war for the redivision of China and a subjugation of the Soviet Union on whose eastern and western frontiers imperialist armies are massed.

The Japanese armies are driving toward the Soviet Frontier.

Already mobilization of Polish and Rumanian armies has been followed by the setting up of a state of siege in their frontier areas. Their munition factories work night and day.

No effort is spared to form the imperialist world front. The sharpening imperialist contradictions and the growing world wide instability of capitalism themselves impel the imperialists to see war against the Soviet Union as a way out of the world crisis.

Imperialist war has begun. Imperialist WORLD war impends. We witness the massacre of thousands of Communists, of Chinese workers and peasants in Manchuria and Shanghai, while defending their country and the liberation movement from the imperialist invaders, the widespread military suppression of the national liberation movement in China. The massacres of workers and peasants in Latin America and Africa, show clearly that this war, like the last war, and all other imperialist wars is directed against the proletariat and the oppressed national minorities, semi-colonial and colonial peoples.

The supreme test for Communist Parties is the struggle against imperialist war.

The Communist Party of the U. S. faces this test.

The purpose of the 14th Plenum and its resolutions is to put the whole Party on a war footing—to enable it to play a decisive part in the mobilization of the American working class against imperialist war—for the defense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union—without another moment's delay.

The consolidation of the Soviet power headed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the building of socialism with its corollary of continued improvement of the economic and cultural position of the masses, abolition of unemployment, the magnificent success of the first Five-Year Plan, drive the imperialists to frenzied hatred and attacks that know no bounds beyond

the power of the revolutionary working class to check and frustrate their war plots, plans and acts.

Never before have the class lines been so clearly drawn throughout the world!

American imperialism is in the worst crisis in its history. So is world capitalism. Side by side with the continual and rapid downward trend of production and exchange and the impact of the credit crisis throughout the capitalist world, there is the upsurge of the working class in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. (China, India, sections of Latin America, etc.).

The living and social standards of the entire American working class have been lowered from 40 to 70 per cent in the last three years through mass unemployment, wage-cuts, and part-time work—the Hoover stagger plan. Production continues to decline, unemployment increases daily. The army of unemployed has grown to more than 12,000,000.

The government of Wall Street imperialism, headed by Hoover, has not spent one single dollar for unemployment relief.

Hundreds of thousands of farmers are ruined and reduced to pauperism.

The republican and democratic parties have entered into a closer coalition against the American workers and farmers. In Congress their leaders unite to put over a taxation program which raises the price of practically every article needed by the toiling masses of the population.

Inflation of the currency, through a variety of measures, like the Finance Reconstruction Corporation, the legalizing for bank loans of formerly unacceptable securities, the power given to the Federal Reserve banks to issue currency against treasury notes, have the result also of raising prices for the masses of the industrial and agrarian population.

At the same time the "progressives" of both parties vie with the Socialists and A. F. of L. leaders in demagogic deception of the working class and poor farmers. They pave the way for outright betrayal of the masses to the imperialist war machine.

New giant mergers of already huge corporations and banks are authorized and carried through, still further centralizing the control of industry and finance in the hands of the biggest capitalists, working directly through their own agents, like Ogden Mills, Secretary

of the Treasury, Lamont, of the House of Morgan, Secretary of the Department of Commerce, etc.

Huge sums are given to the railways and industrial corporations, but not one cent for the 12,000,000 unemployed.

In spite of the extraordinary measures taken, designed to restore the stability of American capitalism, its perspective for the future is one of the utmost pessimism.

The situation in iron and steel, the primary industry of American capitalism, is typical and furnishes a basis for an estimate of the present economic status and the immediate future. The New York Evening Post, the organ of Lamont and semi-official spokesman of the government, said on April 18th:

"Further retrenchment of American industry by way of wage cuts, dividend reductions and operating economic lie ahead in the near future. . . Myron C. Taylor, chairman of the Board of Directors of the U. S. Steel Corporation, told stockholders. . . that operations of the great company were only at 20 per cent of capacity, and 'it is obvious that operations cannot be profitable at 20 per cent of capacity.' This distinct warning concerning the dividend policy was coupled with a hint that present conditions probably dictated a further reduction in wage and salary schedules of the company. 'Salaries and wages were lowered last autumn. All were cut a minimum of 10 per cent,' said Mr. Taylor. The question of wages is a vital one to the industry. . . Those who study these questions of industry have varying views on these subjects. In view of the conditions existing the facts must be faced. We all like to hear happy reports of high operations, increased earnings and large buying power of the mill worker, but these are now lacking. A PROPHECY FOR THE FUTURE IS QUITE OUT OF ORDER." (Our emphasis.)

The onslaught of the working class is unparalleled in American history. Special terror in the form of legal murder, organized gang murders and lynchings, both in the north and south, has been unleashed against the Negro masses. Foreign born workers, especially in the heavy industrial districts, are systematically intimidated, terrorized and deported, the total number of deportations in the last year being more than 20,000. No effort is spared to divide the ranks of the working class—to create a division between the employed and unem-

ployed workers, between Negro and white, between native born and foreign born.

There is no strike or unemployed demonstration from which toll is not taken amounting to thousands of arrests and the railroading of militant workers to prison under criminal syndicalism and other suppressive laws for long terms.

These are new coalition moves of republican and democratic leaders against the workers.

American imperialism prepares for war, to establish its rule throughout the world as against that of the rising power of the Soviet Union, its Socialist construction, and against its imperialist rivals. The drive against the working class is the most important part of this preparation for war which at the same time is designed to reduce the working class to hitherto unheard of low levels of living, to flood the world market with goods produced by American workers whose "high American standard of living" has been replaced by a slave standard. The American ruling class is proceeding in accord with the analysis made by Marx of the process by which capitalism exploits and enslaves with ever greater intensity the masses of the population.

"The working man will, on an average, only receive the value of his labor, which resolves into the value of his laboring power, which is determined by the value of the necessaries required for its

maintenance and reproduction, which value of necessaries finally is regulated by the quantity of labor wanted to produce them. But there are some peculiar features which distinguish the value of the laboring power, or the value of labor from the values of all other commodities. The value of the laboring power is formed by two elements—the one merely physical, the other historical or social. Its ultimate limit is determined by the physical element, that is to say, to maintain and reproduce itself, to perpetuate its physical existing, the working class must receive the necessaries absolutely indispensable for living and multiplying. The value of those indispensable necessaries form, therefore, the ultimate limit of the value of labor. . . Besides this mere physical element, the value of labor is in every country determined by a traditional standard of life. It is not merely physical life, but it is also the satisfaction of certain wants, springing from the social conditions in which people are placed and reared up. The English standard of life may be reduced to the Irish standard; the standard of life of a German peasant to that of a Livonian peasant. . . This historical or social element, entering into the value of labor, may be expanded, or contracted, OR ALTOGETHER EXTINGUISHED, SO THAT

## Workers Expose War Prep

WINCHESTER SPEEDS ARMS PRODUCTION, SLASHES WAGES

(By a Worker Correspondent.)

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Winchester Arms Plant is still working at high speed producing arms and ammunition. The conditions in the plant are most appalling. Workers are driven like slaves and receive the lowest wages.

On May 17 James Rollins, an unemployed machinist tried to apply at the Winchester Arms Co. for a job, being out of work for over a year. He tried to get past the office cop, but could not because he had no special card, the kind which is given to workers only after a most thorough investigation is made by company agents.

On his way out this worker met a young man who said he was employed in the plant. The young man said that he was working day

work at the most killing speed. "I receive for this work 22 cents an hour," he said.

This worker told of another man who had five children to support. He said that this man worked along side of him producing arms for 15 cents an hour at the highest speed. Ten hours is considered a day in this factory.

This should explode the myth that war will bring prosperity for the workers.

—W. L.

SINGER PLANT SLASHES WAGES

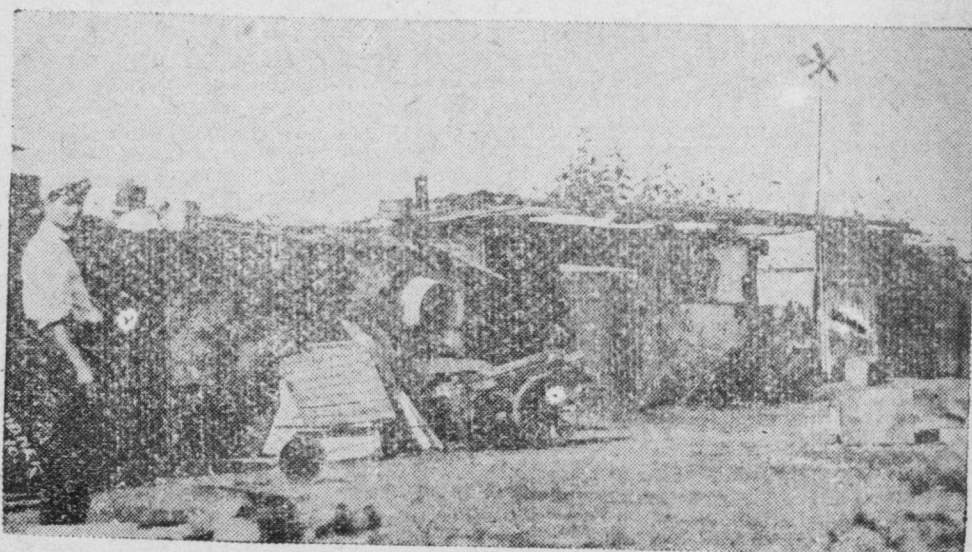
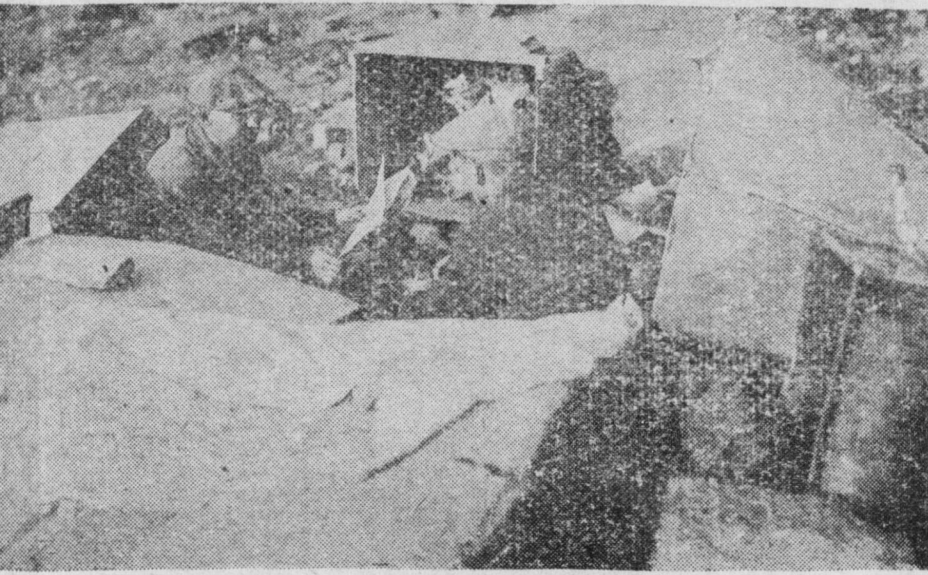
(By a Worker Correspondent.)

ELIZABETH, N. J.—The Diehl plant of the Singer Manufacturing Co., which is at present setting up machinery to produce guns and airplane motors for war, informed the workers on May 2 that their wages would be slashed. This is direct

# STOP THE SHIPMENT OF ARMS



# WORKERS LIVE IN THE UNITED STATES



## Employed—Unite in Struggle Against Imperialist War!

### NOTHING REMAINS BUT THE PHYSICAL LIMIT.

The program of American capitalism has as its very center this objective of destroying the traditional standard of life of the American workers and of reducing the physical element of labor power to the lowest possible "physical limit." As a matter of fact millions of the American working class population are today living below the subsistence level. This holds true even of hundreds of thousands of part time workers who are rated as "employed" by government agencies.

**Wages Below Minimum.**  
Marx pointed out that the wages of English laborers during the time of the anti-Jacobin wars were reduced "even beneath the mere physical minimum" and that the ruling class made up by the Poor Laws, "the difference necessary for a physical perpetuation of the race."

This is precisely what is being done in the United States today on a far larger scale by the so-called "Emergency Unemployment Relief" contributions. Millions of workers are being maintained at a pauper level with just enough food, clothing and shelter to enable them to reproduce for the reserve labor supply capitalism wishes to maintain.

The American working class, in the words of Comrade Manuilsky at the 11th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, "is being Europeanized" on the basis of the new low levels of living and social conditions forced upon European workers by the "Americanization" process supported enthusiastically by the socialist parties.

The American working class today makes upon Party the greatest demands in the twelve years of its existence. Our Party is not yet in the position to fulfill these demands. The central purpose of the main resolution of the 14th Plenum, and of the resolution on strike strategy and tactics, is to close this gap between the needs of the working class and the capacity of our Party to fulfill them in this decisive epoch, "the period of wars and revolutions," as described by Lenin. To fail to do this means to surrender the leadership of the working class to fascism and social facism.

The resolution reiterates in the sharpest and at the same time in the most concrete and detailed form the Leninist slogan of the Communist International: "Go to the masses!" The main resolution, in estimating the work of the Party as a whole, emphasizes the failure of the Party to really make the turn to mass work as repeatedly demanded by the ECCI. The resolution states:

"Although the Party has recognized the necessity of this turn, and although the Party can show a number of successes in the attempt to carry out the turn in practice, (strikes, Scottsboro, Hunger March) the work of the Party fundamentally remains in the same groove."

"Sectarianism and a deep rooted formalism in the respective Party organs have been the chief obstacles to overcoming the 'inner orientation' of the Party and to achieve the task to further root itself in the decisive industries by lack of solid personal contacts with the workers."

The resolution, and this is of the greatest significance for the entire Party, places the emphasis on elementary but basic political tasks which are prerequisites for becoming a Bolshevik Party, rather on criticism of actions and campaigns in which the Party has been engaged. It is precisely the result of the development of a certain self-satisfaction, "Communist vanity" as has been termed by the ECCI, consisting in the overestimation of achievements and at the same time failure to understand and put into practice a whole series of good resolutions, that we have not yet established solid personal bonds with the working class.

In comparison with the possibilities of the situation wherein years of rationalization and the three years crisis have brought into being a mass of jobless workers numbering more than twelve millions; when 85 per cent of the employed workers are on part time work; when the cold charity of the capitalists is admitted by even their own spokesmen to reach merely the outer fringe of the unemployed army; when the local relief agencies admit their bankruptcy; when the mind staggers in the attempt to grasp the vast extent of the mass misery; when Wall Street Hoover government, the leaders of the democratic and republican parties and the "progressives" who act as a buffer to divert the anger of the working class continue with a cynical brutality unparalleled even by the czarist government of old Russia to take a single dollar from the billionaire rulers for unemployment insurance and relief, we must say honestly to ourselves that our organization and leadership of the struggles of the unemployed is one of the weakest sections of our mass work.

**Solid Personal Bonds With Workers Millions Starve.**  
One has to bring forward the famine periods in India under British imperialism, in China under the rule of the militarist agents of the imperialist powers, in order to find adequate comparisons for the mass suffering existing in the United States today. But in these countries there was not enough food—here there is plenty.

In no period of the history of capitalism have many millions of workers, poor farmers, and their dependents, in any capitalist country, been driven en masse into pauper conditions of life in so short a time.

In no country have the living standards of the entire working class population been reduced so sharply in so short a time.

Starvation conditions for millions exist in the midst of mountains of food—grain, meat and vegetables, fruit—stored in gigantic warehouses and rotting on the ground.

Watch the capitalist press. Only the other day it was murderously jubilant. Why? It was reported that bad weather cut the wheat crop to 42 per cent of last year's yield. This would raise the price but not furnish more and cheaper food for the masses of hungry workers.

In the Soviet Union the sown area has been doubled this year.

### No Excuse for Failure.

Given such conditions there can be little excuse for our failure to unite the struggles of the unemployed and employed workers, to conduct them on an ever wider basis and even higher levels. Our work in this field is marked by a few high but narrow plateaus and a succession of deep and wide valleys where no struggle took place for long periods.

There has even been an opportunist underestimation of the will of the unemployed workers to fight to such an extent that it was possible for a leading comrade in Detroit to report that the response of the workers to the Ford Hunger March and the call for struggle against the murder terror that "the entire district leadership was overwhelmed."

With the exception of the Washington Hunger March, a historic event but at the same time the product, not of systematic work, but of a short period of intensive endeavor, little has been done to popularize and extend the struggle for unemployment and social insurance—especially in the A. F. of L. unions.

Even the Hunger March was not followed up.

This neglect and weakness opens wide the door for the fascization of large sections of the unemployed, for their organization under fascist leadership like that of Father Cox.

It opens wide the door for the demagoguery and maneuvers of the social fascists. It hampers any real struggle against the traitorous leaders of the American Federation of Labor.

These weaknesses and formal methods of work help to drive the unemployed masses in desperation to the belief that the imperialist war is to be welcomed "because it will bring back prosperity."

Above all, it creates in the most concrete form the danger of the ranks of the working class being split wide open by the capitalists and their fascist and social fascist agents, the danger of the employed and unemployed being divided into separate camps.

The capitalists have managed to get through the winter without wide mass struggles of the unemployed occurring. This was no small feat. Nevertheless, they realize, perhaps better than some of our comrades, the acuteness of the situation. For instance, the McClure Newspaper Syndicate recently sent to all editors taking its service a confidential item stating that the Atlantic and Pacific and Butler chain stores had been securing all the riot insurance they could get.

One by one the illusion of the workers in regard to the ability of the rulers to get out of the crisis fall away. One by one various methods of keeping the unemployed masses silent fail.

The unemployment situation is reaching a crisis point of its own inside the general capitalist crisis.

We have the invaluable experiences of McKeesport where the right to meet and free speech was won by masses organized around correct slogans for the unity of the employed and unemployed after 22 years of denial of the right to meet. We have the experiences of the great struggles in Chicago and Cleveland, of the Ford Hunger March, of the Chicago packing houses.

We must now really throw our Party into work. The revolutionary unions must at once to set up close relations with the Unemployed Councils and actually exercise leadership in putting into effect the three concrete directions in the main resolution.

The unemployed must be organized against imperialist war and the whole capitalist offensive. The united front of employed and unemployed must be established for the fight against the capitalist offensive and the defense of the Soviet Union and the Chinese people.

## Preparations of U. S. Bosses

proof that side by side with the war preparations is a united attack by the bosses on the living standards of the American workers.

To avoid a united opposition to the wage cut the bosses of the plant put the cut over in a couple of the departments on Monday, a few more on Tuesday, etc.

Before the cut went into effect the workers were getting \$15 on an average. This cut from 4 to 25 cents an hour for time workers and 10 per cent for piece workers means a reduction of around \$4.

Of those already cut the young workers suffer the most. Time workers among the youth were reduced from about 30 cents on the dollar. Besides the young workers are the first ones to be laid off.

Information has been spread that everybody will be put on to work

half days only instead of a couple of full days a week. This will mean more care for the workers.

### RUBBER WORKS GETS RUSH ORDERS FROM U. S. NAVY

(By a Worker Correspondent)

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—The Winchester Arms is not the only company that is working on war orders here. The Rubber-Kraft Corporation of 35 Willow Street is also doing its bit to speed up the new world war.

This company announced through its president, Frederick Rosenthal, that a rush order has just been received from the United States Navy for rubber boats. The order represents \$21,000 worth of merchandise.

# ARMS AND MUNITIONS TO JAPAN!



# The Socialist Party Gets Behind the War Drive

By H. M. WICKS.

The point has now been reached when at any moment the new world war may burst forth.

The actual fact of imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union is definitely on the order of the day.

The bandit powers of the world have for years been moving, sometimes at terrific tempo, sometimes hesitatingly as they maneuver to obtain a greater share of loot from each other, but nevertheless unmistakably in this direction.

The devastating economic crisis, the most profound and deep in all history, tremendously sharpened all the inner and outer contradictions of capitalism.

In pursuit of its policy American imperialism uses the Socialist Party as a part of its war machinery. That the biggest capitalist newspapers fully understand this role of the Socialist Party is proved by the wide publicity given to all utterances of its leaders.

## Slanders Against Soviet Union

The Socialist Party propaganda in regard to the Soviet Union, the League of Nations, free speech, democracy and dictatorship, exactly supplements the main campaigns of the imperialist war mongers against the Soviet Union.

For example, take a few of the recent utterances and acts of the Socialist Party leadership. Mrs. Victor L. Berger came back from Geneva, where she attended the League of Nations conferences on limitation of armaments. Praising the League the woman said:

"Fear of a Bolshevik invasion keeps the Geneva conference from moving toward its objective of limitation of world armaments."

Then, at the Socialist Party convention recently held in Milwaukee, the whole leadership utilized the hypocritical gesture requesting United States recognition of the Soviet Union to indulge in deceptive lies about capitalist democracy as opposed to Soviet dictatorship. Charles Solomon urged "free speech" for White Guards inside the Soviet Union. The Rev. Norman Thomas, socialist party candidate for president, while paying lip service to recognition of "Russia," launched a tirade against the Soviet Union and demanded "freedom for political prisoners."

All this was a prelude to the action of the Socialist Party convention in urging the United States government to join the League of Nations. The resolution adds that the United States should enter "under conditions which will make it a more effective instrument for world peace." Mrs. Berger had already given the official version of the Second International lackeys of

imperialism as to what had to be done before the League could become such an instrument of peace—destruction of the Soviet Union. There can be no other possible in-

the League of Nations gang of imperialist bandits, with whom American imperialism is collaborating and striving to take the lead in world reaction, the Socialist Party

breaking, scab-herding American Federation of Labor leadership and in practice completely identifies with the fierce drive to aid in imposing the Hoover hunger program

working class of the world, the Soviet Union.

As against this treacherous line of the Socialist Party and the imperialist war-mongers the Communist Party raises the fundamental slogan of class against class. On the basis of united front action of the workers in industry and the unemployed we fight against wage cuts, speedups, the stagger system, the "block-aid" fake, and struggle for unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the government and the capitalists.

## Communists' Anti-War Policy

As against the mass treachery of the Socialist Party in endorsing the League of Nations and trying to conceal the war preparations of that instrument of imperialist war and intervention, we mobilize the masses for a determined struggle against war; the most immediate and pressing task of which is to stop the shipments of munitions, arms and all other material to Japan as the spearhead of the imperialist drive drive in the East and to France and vassal states which have prepared for intervention against the Soviet Union from the West. In pursuit of this policy we work for the setting up of united front rank and file committee on the decks, on the ships and in war industries.

In all our work, as opposed to the pacifist deception that tries to cover up the war now actually be carried on in the Far East, we definitely popularize before the broadest possible masses the Leninist fight against imperialist war—to convert it into civil war.

As against the Socialist Party policy of aiding the war mongers we now raise as a slogan, preparatory to putting it into practice the defeat of our own bourgeoisie in any predatory war in which they engage so that in their weakness arising from defeat we can deliver the blow that will put an end to their regime of slavery, terror and war.



Japanese and Korean workers in Tokio demonstrating against their bosses' war drive under the leadership of the Japanese Communist Party.

interpretation of her slanderous statement quoted above.

The League of Nations, with the collaboration of American imperialism, has prepared large scale and intervention against the Soviet Union. The Socialist Party leadership by endorsing the League of Nations, proves to its capitalist masters its anxiety to do its part in this crusade.

Continuing and supplementing this treachery is the demand of Thomas for "freedom for political prisoners in Russia." These prisoners about whom Thomas is so much concerned are none other than the depraved hirelings of French imperialism—the leaders inside the Soviet Union of the wrecking and spying agency of French imperialism who were laying the foundation for armed intervention inside the borders of the Soviet Union. Thomas wants this scum freed and Solomon demands free speech for them so they can carry on the work that was interrupted when they were caught in their vile conspiracies.

In other words, while endorsing

leadership, demands of the Soviet Union that its workers' government refrain from defending itself against counter-revolutionary wreckers and interventions.

Thus, we see the Socialist Party continuing and intensifying its "ideological" campaign for intervention against the Soviet Union. At the same time the Socialist Party leadership fully endorses the strike-

upon the American masses. Thus there is merged in one unified program the attack on the working-class nationally and internationally in pursuit of the fundamental imperialist policy of trying to find a capitalist way out of the crisis—that is, by placing the entire burden upon the toiling masses and by fomenting imperialist war, especially against the stronghold of the

## The Workers Want to Know How to Defend the Soviet Union

By GERTRUDE HAESSLER

We have on hand over 60 pamphlets at the present time, in addition to a number of books, on the various phases of the problem of the impending war and the defense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union. Some of these pamphlets have been intensively distributed in connection with our anti-war cam-

paigned, but the popularization of the teachings of Lenin on war, and the decisions of the Sixth Congress on the methods of struggle against the war danger, has lagged very much behind.

What are the various phases of helping to combat the war danger through literature? There is the problem of a thorough theoretical understanding of the problem and of the strategy of meeting it. This need is met by our theoretical literature on war—the teachings of Lenin in the form of Volumes 2 and 3 of the "Little Lenin Library," "Socialism and War" (15 cents) and "The War and the Second International" (20 cents). We have the Sixth Congress Resolution in pamphlet form under the title of "The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists" (15 cents). Then there is our new pamphlet, "Towards Revolutionary Mass Work" (10 cents), which contains the E.C.C.I. Resolution quoted above. A study of these works, and a discussion on the theoretical aspect of the war problem, will give all workers the foundation upon which they can develop their practical activity along the correct line and with the utmost clarity and consciousness.

But to reach the non-Party workers with our analysis of the war danger and to mobilize them for the struggle against war, we have a great deal of literature both of the factual and of an agitatorial nature.

### About War.

"Chemical Warfare," by Donald A. Cameron (10 cents); "Women and War," by Grace Hutchins (5 cents); "Life in the U. S. Army," by Walter Trumbull (10 cents); "Revolutionary Struggle Against War Versus Pacifism," by A. Bittleman (10 cents), and "Yankee Colonies," by Harry Gannes (10 cents),

gives facts about war which every worker should know about.

### China

"War in China," by Ray Stewart (10 cents); "Soviet China," by J. James and R. Doonping (10 cents); "Hell Over Shanghai" (3 cents); "Japanese Imperialism Stripped" (the Tanaka Memorandum against the Soviet Union) (5 cents); "Chapel in Flames" (5 cents)—these describe the actual war going on in China and through China against the Soviet Union, from every angle.

### Defense of the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Union Stands for Peace," by M. Litvinov (1 cent); "The Soviet Dumping Fable," by M. Litvinov (2 cents); "The War of Intervention Against the Soviet Union and the Second International," by P. R. Dietrich (10 cents); "War Preparations Against the Soviet Union," by Marcel Cachin (20 cents); "The Soviet's Fight for Disarmament," A. Lunacharsky (20 cents); "The Red Army," by A. Alred (10 cents)—all of these explain the danger to the Soviet Union and the efforts of the Soviet Union to maintain peace.

### Conditions Within the U.S.S.R.

One of the best methods of defending the Soviet Union is to popularize among the workers existing conditions in the workers' fatherland. We have at the present time so many of such pamphlets that it is impossible to enumerate them all. There are at least forty of them, covering practically every phase of life in the Soviet Union, and ranging in price from 5c to 50c, besides the newest books which have just appeared. These pamphlets have received hardly any publicity in our press, but some of them are almost sold out because of the demand of the workers for knowledge of the actual conditions under which the Soviet workers live and labor.

## AMERICAN IMPERIALISM SUPPORTING JAPANESE ROBBER WAR



Washington D. C. police in brutal attack on worker demonstrating before Japanese Embassy.



# The Revolutionary Unions in the Struggle Against Imperialist War

J. STACHEL

We can state at the outset, that thus far the revolutionary unions have not played a very important role, either in mobilizing their own membership or the masses, for the defense of the Soviet Union against Japanese imperialist attacks in China, or against the policies of American imperialism in assisting Japanese imperialism and in provoking a war against the Soviet Union. So far all the activity of our organizations has consisted in merely passing resolutions and in participating in a number of actions and demonstrations organized by the Communist Party and other workers organizations, such as Anti-War demonstrations, May 1, etc., but we have carried through no independent activities. We have not made the struggle against war

fundamental hostility between representatives of the two world systems—the system of capitalism and the system of socialism, and this can be seen from the role of Japan, which long ago gave diplomatic recognition to the U.S.S.R.

5. **Certain wrong opportunist conceptions** which exist among revolutionary workers that the sooner the war comes, the better, because that will end in revolution and everything will be solved.

We must point out that this is completely wrong, that our task is to struggle against war and in this struggle against war, we are mobilizing the forces for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, and in the event of war, we then are in a position to give blows to the imperialists and to take steps to transform the imperialist war into

ans of the struggle against war and for the defense of the Soviet Union, by exposing the shipment of munitions and supplies by the U. S. government to Japan, show the active role of the U. S. in the war against the Soviet Union, by demanding Hands Off China, the Withdrawal of All Troops, etc.

b) We must undertake to issue literature, leaflets, material in all trade union papers, send in workers' correspondence from the factories, particularly where munitions are being made, from docks, ships, etc.

They are to take the initiative to assist and organize the anti-war committees in the factories, connect them up with the anti-war committees in the respective unions and neighborhoods for the struggle against imperialist war and for the

## SHALL THE JOBLESS TAKE PART IN A WAR OF SELF-EXTERMINATION?

By HERBERT BENJAMIN, National Secretary, Unemployed Councils of U. S.

Realizing that the millions of unemployed cannot be expected to submit to death quietly by slow starvation, knowing that it is even more dangerous to attempt wholesale extermination of the unemployed by means of police and military mass murder, the ruling class is about ready to institute its most desperate measure for solving the worse economic crisis in its history.

It is preparing and will now at any moment launch its plan to make the workers exterminate each other.

The Hunger Government in Washington and its agents everywhere as well as similar governments in other capitalist countries, are working feverishly on plans for a bloody imperialist war. The munition plants are turning out with equal speed, new, efficient death dealing weapons. Almost any day now, we may expect to be urged and then driven from the army of starvation into an army of mass murder.

Weapons will be placed in our hands and into the hands of other workers in other capitalist countries and we will be ordered to slaughter each other. Or better yet, from the point of view of the capitalist master class, we will be sent off to slaughter our fellow-workers who have freed themselves from capitalist misery and are now working heroically for the freedom of the whole working-class by building socialism in the Soviet Union.

This is the meaning of the new war which is already going on in the Far East, and which can be expected to directly involve the American workers, any moment, any day.

**No Unemployment for Professional War Propagandists**

It is obvious that the capitalist ruling class and its agents will not frankly confess the aims of their rapidly approaching war. They fully realize that they could never assemble enough force and terror to compel the unemployed masses to join in such a war of self-extermination.

It is for this reason, that professional war-propagandists are not suffering from unemployment. On the contrary, every pen prostitute, every slick-tongued windjammer who can apply skill in the service of the war makers, is assured of profitable employment. These despicable creatures are able to enjoy luxury as well as comfort by injecting war poison into the minds of the masses and thus preparing them to willingly participate in a new wholesale butchery.

War is being frankly offered to the desperate masses of unemployed as a means of "solving unemployment." Glowing pictures are

being painted to convince workers, whom the ruling class intends to murder by the millions, that they will be blessed by a return of prosperity through another war.

The New York "Herald-Tribune" publishes on its editorial page, a letter from a clergyman (!) which urges, "let us... build the ships, recruit the army and navy and take men out of the bread lines for patriotic service." Otherwise, this typical representative of the "prince of peace" argues, we will "eliminate all zest for trade in foreign markets, forget the race for commerce, blot out competition and sink to the dead level of monotony." And, says this war monger in clerical garb, "What a world to live in! That is the world of Communism."

**Father Cox—Imperialist War Organizer**

Less crude and outspoken, but therefore all the more dangerous are those demagogues who attempt to place themselves at the head of the unemployed masses as their champions, only that they may thus be better able to corral them for the imperialist war.

It is no accident that the super-demagogue, Father Cox, is on the pay roll of the War Department. Cox still receives a monthly salary in return for his services to the Wall Street imperialists during the last war in the role of an army chaplain. Nor is it an accident that the only demand which Cox makes is for a "Five Billion Dollar appropriation" ostensibly to provide work.

Actually the purpose is to mobilize the masses of unemployed behind the huge war appropriations and to engage them as forced laborers upon war projects. His flagwaving stunts; his close alliance with the American Legion and other jingo organizations; his march to the tomb of the Unknown Soldier show clearly that his demagogic phrases and hypocritical pleas for the unemployed, are but screens behind which he serves as an organizer for the imperialist war makers.

**Hunger and War—Two Points of One Program**

The capitalist class everywhere, is determined to preserve its privileges and profits at the expense of the workingclass. It attacks the working class by imposing upon us mass starvation and finally, war. The agents of capitalism, can be recognized by their attitude towards the struggles of the workers against both these measures of capitalist policy.

**The A. F. of L. Leaders**

The American Federation of Labor misleaders, who oppose with all means at their command the struggle for unemployment insurance, show the same loyalty to their masters by supporting their war policy. Under guise of representing the interests of the workers, they plead for more appropriations for military and naval purposes. Under a similar pretense, they venomously attack unemployment insurance as an "indignity" against the self-respect of the American workers. With even more venom they lead in the attack against the Soviet Union.

Similarly the Socialist Party which urges the workers to refrain from struggle for unemployment insurance, prates pacifism in order to disarm our struggle against war. The leader of the socialist party, Norman Thomas (another reverend!) joins with J. P. Morgan in support of the "block aid" racket for robbing the workers. He justifies this treachery by explaining that under the circumstances, even this is better than nothing. In the same manner, he supports war preparations and will support the war, as the only possible alternative if capitalism is to be saved.

**Reject the Capitalist Alternative—On with War against Hunger**

The capitalist ruling class offers us the alternative of death by slow starvation or death on its bloody imperialist battlefields. It offers us the choice of a bowl of soup in its slop kitchens or of beans in its army; of a flop in a lousy mission or in an equally crummy trench. It seeks to bribe us into a war of self-extermination by promises of a golden era of prosperity.



Prosperous U. S. A. feeding its unemployed on the garbage dumps.

and for the defense of the Soviet Union a central task of our organizations.

In examining this situation we must come to the conclusion that at the root of this are certain political weaknesses and unclearities. We merely wish to cite these:

1. **Underestimation of the actual danger** of an attack against the Soviet Union, and the possible nearness of such an attack.

2. **Underestimation of the role** that the working class can play in the struggle against war, in postponing an attack against the Soviet Union, etc.

3. **Fear of developing sharp struggle** against Japanese imperialism, and its agents in the U. S. on the ground that our duty is to fight only U. S. imperialism.

4. **Pacifist illusions** which have penetrated into our ranks and which, of course, are strong among large sections of our membership. These pacifist illusions particularly take the form of capitulation before "peace" maneuvers and the "peace" offensive of United States imperialism.

There is a feeling that the contradictions between the U. S. and Japan, which are, of course, real and deep, are a factor in postponing the attack against the Soviet Union. This is not only untrue, but on the contrary, U. S. imperialism, because of these contradictions, is trying to provoke an attack against the Soviet Union and in this way weaken both its imperialist rival, Japan, and the common enemy of all imperialisms, the U.S.S.R.

In this connection, we must also mention the recognition propaganda carried on by some of the newspapers in capitalist circles, and by a number of prominent senators and congressmen. We must point out that this recognition propaganda which is part of the "peace" offensive of the U. S. imperialism, is part of the Hoover-Stimson government maneuver against its rivals and for advantage in the attack on the Soviet Union.

This campaign, tho it takes into account and tries to exploit for the interests of the bourgeoisie, the widespread sympathy among the toilers for the Soviet Union, tho it takes into account the admiration of the toilers for the only genuine peace policy of the U.S.S.R., and the fact that it cannot be denied that certain capitalists would like to profit by trade with Russia, this does not in any way mean that the U. S. is not assisting Japan and is not trying to provoke war against the Soviet Union.

We must point out that even if such recognition was given to the U.S.S.R. by the U. S. imperialism, it would in no way change the

That our task is to struggle against imperialist war and to mobilize all forces now for the defense of the Soviet Union.

6. **Finally, there is a complete opportunist conception** prevailing in our ranks that by merely carrying on daily struggles against wage cuts, for unemployment relief, etc., that this in itself is sufficient to mobilize the masses against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

While it is true that we must connect up the struggle against war with the struggle against hunger, terror, mass starvation and misery, and only on this basis can such a struggle against war be successful, it is completely wrong to believe that only by carrying on struggle for economic demands, without a special mobilization against war, exposure of all pacifism, taking up special organizational measures to mobilize the masses, etc., that we can carry thru successfully a mobilization against the imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. And it is precisely this wrong conception which is very prevalent in our ranks, that is most dangerous and paralyzes our ability to mobilize large masses in the struggle against imperialist war.

**Immediate Tasks**

1. We must set up anti-war committees in all our union bodies, beginning with the National Committees down to the locals. These anti-war committees must also be organized in the factories, and we must take the initiative to organize them, in the A. F. of L. locals, opposition groups and in the Unemployed Councils. These anti-war committees must be given tasks. The tasks are for all unions, and are as follows:

a) To carry thru an agitation and propaganda among the entire membership of the unions, to acquaint them with our policy, and the struggle against imperialist war, with the nearness of war, etc.

b) These committees are to take steps for the union mobilization of the entire membership, calling mass meetings of workers, meetings at factory gates, house to house canvassing—in other words, to mobilize the workers in the industries workers will know not to trust them.

2. We must expose all the propaganda of the bourgeoisie that the imperialist war is a way out of the crisis. We must point out that this is no solution, that it may mean bread for one man, and bullets for thousands and millions. We must stress the peace policy of the Soviet Union, and demand that the funds appropriated for war purposes be used for the unemployed and relief, etc.

a) We must popularize the slogan

defense of the Soviet Union.

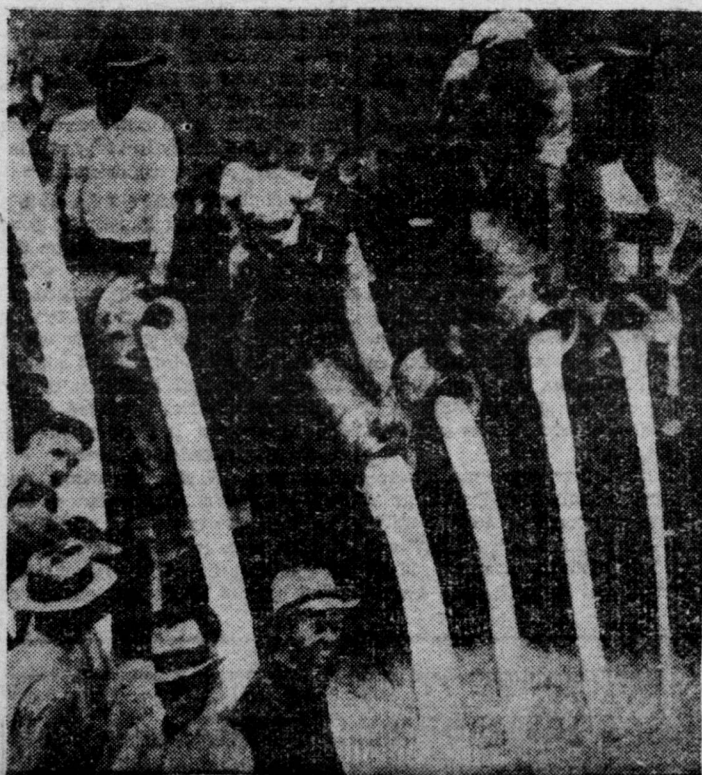
Special attention must be given to reaching the young workers, the members of the National Guard, the ex-servicemen, and the regular armed force.

c) They must undertake the struggle against all forms of jingoism and pacifism, with concrete struggle against the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, socialists, not only at the top, but in the district organizations, etc., those who are known to the workers, so that we can expose them as mobilizers for the war against the Soviet Union, and the

3. Special tasks must be worked out, particularly in such unions and leagues as steel, railroad and marine, to actually take up the question of demonstrations, struggles and strikes to stop the manufacture and shipment of munitions and supplies to Japan. The District TUUC's must select at least one important chemical plant in each industry, at least one munition plant, to concentrate our best forces for work among these workers, mobilizing them as active forces in the struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

4. We must go over from merely propaganda and agitation against war, to actual struggle. This means demonstrations and actions against Japanese imperialist agents in the U. S.

## TOO MUCH MILK—WHILE BABIES DIE



Bosses dumping milk to keep up prices.



# 'TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA'

"TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA" by William Z. Foster, Coward-McCann, Inc., New York, 343 pp.

By EARL BROWDER

William Z. Foster has made another big contribution to the struggle of the American working class against its oppressors in his new book "Toward Soviet America." Serving as an extended statement of the Communist Party platform in the coming National Election struggle, in which Foster is the Communist candidate for President, this book is at the same time a more fundamental document. It places the immediate tasks of the Communist Party, as the vanguard of the working class, in connection with the whole historical period of the decline of capitalism and the rise of socialism in the Soviet Union, and especially in connection with the present situation arising out of the world wide economic crisis, and developing imperialist war.

The Keynote.

"The most striking and significant political and social fact in the world today is the glaring contrast between the industrial, political and social conditions prevailing in the capitalist countries and those obtaining in the Soviet Union." These first words of Foster's book provide the keynote. The first chapter deals with the decline of capitalism, the immediate economic crisis, its relation to the general crisis of capitalism, the Marxian analysis of capitalist development, the development of a new imperialist war, the world wide upsurge of the forces of revolution, and the revolutionary perspective that faces the capitalist world. "Capitalism has created the objective conditions for socialism. But it can go no further. It cannot carry society to higher stages of development, to socialism and communism; it has become an obstacle in the upward path of humanity, a means of condemning hundreds of millions of people to mass starvation and death. History will soon sweep aside this obsolete system. Capitalism has provided its own executioners and grave-diggers, the proletariat.... World capitalist society is heading irresistibly towards the proletarian revolution."

The rise of socialism is the subject of the second chapter. It is the unique advantage of the Communists, that he alone is able to deal with the question of the reconstruction of society, now bankrupted by capitalism, upon the basis of the concrete example of actual achievements in building socialism in the Soviet Union. Comrade Foster explains the conditions making possible the unprecedented rise of Bolshevik economy, which was made possible only by smashing through the limitations of capitalist private property, by the defeat and destruction of the capitalist state and its replacement by a new state power, that of the working class in alliance with the toiling peasantry, in the form of the Soviet Government. The practical achievements flowing from the working class seizure of state power, in the revolutionary upbuilding of a new industrial system, the transformation of agriculture to a collectivist basis, the unprecedented rise in the conditions of life of the toiling masses, the cultural revolution which has brought tens of millions of workers and peasants into conscious participation in the collective building of a new social life—these world-shaking facts are marshalled in a brief but illuminating review, making a sharp contrast indeed to the picture of decay and chaos in the capitalist countries.

Capitalist Way Out.

Foster brings out very sharply the essential prerequisite for these achievements, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat, "the first form of the new toilers' democracy after the overthrow of capitalism," under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The third chapter is a detailed examination of the various phases of the drive of the bourgeoisie for

a capitalist way out of the crisis at the expense of the toiling masses. Especially illuminating and valuable in this chapter is the clear presentation of the role of the socialist party and leaders of the American Federation of Labor as agents for the carrying through of the capitalist way out of the crisis. Hammering home this lesson with fact after fact, Comrade Foster traces the evolution of social reformism to its present role as the pathfinder for fascism, as the principal social bulwark of decaying capitalism, as the agency within the working class of the capitalists. Concretely tracing this development of social fascism Comrade Foster is at his best in exposing the division of labor between its right and "left" wing. A rich array of facts are marshalled showing how the self-styled left wing of social fascism (Muste group, "Militants," Trotskyites, Lovestoneites), far from being an exception, furnishes additional examples of the development of reformism into fascism. The illusion cultivated by the social fascists and other ideologists of the capitalist way out of the crisis, to the effect that "capitalist planning" provides a way out both for capitalism and for the working class, is exposed in its true anti-working, counter-revolutionary character. The capitalist way out of the crisis, whatever form it may assume and whatever victories it may win over the toiling masses, inevitably fails to solve any of the fundamental contradictions which produce the crisis, but on the contrary intensifies all these contradictions, giving rise to a new and deeper crisis.

Workers' Way Out.

Chapter four deals with the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The

road to the revolutionary working class solution of the crisis begins with the mass struggle for the immediate life needs of the toiling masses, just as the capitalist way begins with the most ruthless attacks against the living standards of the masses. "The social fascists try to create the legend that the difference between them and the Communists is that while they fight for immediate demands, the Communists confine themselves simply to ultimate aims. This is not so. The difference is that while the Communists fight for the immediate demands as well as the final goal, the social fascists betray both." Under the conditions of the decline of capitalism every earnest struggle of the workers to defend their class interests inevitably comes into the sharpest collision with all the forces of the ruling

class and of the capitalist state. Every such class struggle raises the question of power, the question of which class shall rule, the capitalist class or the working class. Only the program of the Communist Party gives the working class the answer to these questions. "The path of class struggle whereby the workers defend their interests here and now, leads, therefore, step by step, to the full unfolding of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, to the overthrow of the capitalist state power and the establishment of a workers' state, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the Soviet Power. The working class in America is no exception to this general process that is going on in every capitalist country. "The toiling masses of United States will not submit to the capitalist way out of the crisis, which means still deeper poverty and misery, but will take the revolutionary way out to socialism."

The fifth and final chapter deals with the working class power in this country, the United States of America. "The Soviet system was not an invention. Its basic institutions arose naturally from the economic and political necessities of workers and peasants freeing themselves from capitalist exploitation. Thus, for the United States as well as other countries, the Soviet Union is a clear indicator of the society that is to be, taking into account minor variations for special conditions in the several lands. It foreshadows the broad lines along which the future Soviet America will develop."

This does not mean that the concrete problems of the revolutionary change are the same in all countries. On the contrary. One of the most profound differences

between United States and Russia, in achieving the socialist transformation, is provided by the different level of economic development in the two countries. The working class of Russia were faced with the task of laying the economic foundations of socialism after the seizure of power, after the establishment of the Soviet Union. This required a protracted and difficult period of struggle which will be entirely unnecessary after the establishment of the Workers State in America. In this country capitalism has itself created all of the productive forces necessary for a Communist society; all that is necessary here is to break through the paralyzing bonds of capitalist private property reinforced by the capitalist class state. In America the proletarian revolution will release such a flood of productive forces as cannot today be conceived; "the period of transition from capitalism to socialism in the United States will be much shorter and easier than in the Soviet Union."

Towards a Workers' State.

With a wealth of detail Comrade Foster shows how the American Soviets through the socialization of economy will solve all the problems of life, material and cultural, for the masses. The liberation of the oppressed Negro population, the establishment of the most complete equality and the right of self-determination in the Black Belt, will be one of the basic achievements of the proletarian revolution. The complete liberation of all the colonial and semi-colonial people now oppressed by American imperialism in the Philippines, Hawaii, the Carribean Islands, Central and South America will be a first act of the U. S. A. The emancipation of women, and the liberation of the youth from the barbaric conditions imposed by the capitalist society, are outlined by Comrade Foster in a few eloquent pages. The cultural revolution, which follows the establishment of working-class power, will sweep away the "maze of hypocrisy and intellectual rubbish" which characterizes capitalist America. The liquidation of crime and the criminal underworld, which is an organic and more and more dominating feature of capitalist society (to such an extent that the gang leader is the national hero in America) can be accomplished only by the workers' state.

"One of the revolutionary achievements of victorious world communism will be the ending of war.... So long as capitalism lasts war must continue to curse the human race. It is the historical task of the proletariat to put an end to this hoary monster. This it will do by destroying the capitalist system and with it the economic causes that bring about war."

"The advice of the revolution is difficult," Comrade Foster points out in conclusion. "Its pace is slow, and varies from country to country, but its direction is sure and its movement irresistible. Under the leadership of the Communist International the toilers of the world are organizing to put a final end to the long, long ages of ignorance and slavery, of which capitalist imperialism is the last stage, and to begin building a prosperous and intelligent society commensurate with the level to which social knowledge and production possibilities have reached."

This brief and entirely inadequate review of Comrade Foster's new book is intended merely to give some idea of its profound importance and to stimulate a widespread circulation and reading. We have here a powerful weapon for the organization of new hundreds of thousands of American workers for struggles against the beastly capitalist system, for the theoretical deepening and steeling of a Bolshevik Party in America, which will stand forth in the coming months and years of struggle as the leader and organizer of the million masses for the proletarian revolution in the United States.

W. Z. FOSTER



Proposed Communist Candidate for President

## The Two Worlds at Geneva

By M. SALERNO.

The "Disarmament Conference" which the social-democrats hailed as a "guaranty of peace" was inaugurated precisely when Japan was sneaking into war against China, when as a consequence of this undeclared war Chapei, the proletarian city, was being reduced to a desolate ruin.

As the League of Nations, ostensibly created to outlaw war, only succeeded in outlawing the declaration of war, which is now regarded as unnecessary and practically unsafe; so the so-called "Disarmament Conference" merely served as a convenient maneuver to hide or at least to attempt to hide the actual war being carried on by Japan against China and the war preparations being speeded up by all imperialist powers against the Soviet Union.

Soviets for Peace.

When the conference opened, the disposition of forces on the question of disarmament reflected the fundamental contradiction between the imperialist powers, on one side, and the Soviet Union on the other side, while the contradictions existing among the imperialist powers themselves never ceased to find an expression in the resolutions and proposals advanced at Geneva.

The actual disposition of forces at the Conference is the following:

On one side the Soviet Union proposing, in view of the obstinate determination of the other imperialist powers to reject the original proposal for total disarmament, an objective and proportional disarmament which, while leaving unchanged the present correlation of forces, hinder the war preparations of the various general staffs and thus delay, at least, a new imperialist slaughter.

On the other side was France, advocating individual limitation of armament according to "security" and "international obligations," and demanding also the creation of an International Army by the League

of Nations.

The "Journal des Debates" voiced France's demand for "security" by stating quite frankly: "More than ever are we convinced that the maintenance of real peace is linked to the existence of a France strong enough to discourage the forces of destruction; and the day she delivers herself helpless to their desires Europe will enter on an era of catastrophes."

France was supported in this demand by Poland and Yugoslavia, while Germany and Italy stood for "equality" of armament at the level of the weakest powers. Evidently the "weakest" imperialist powers were endeavoring to defend their position by disarming their rivals. Naturally enough, the position of Germany and Italy is not a "peace position" but an imperialist position, which is in indirect relation to the economic weakness of the two powers.

U. S. for "Defense" Arms.

The American delegation, however, advanced a different proposal which called for the destruction of "offensive" armament while leaving the possibility of increasing the so-called "defensive" armament. This proposal was in line with the war preparations of America aiming at the creation of a new correlation of forces materially in favor of American imperialist ambitions.

The contradictions existing among the several imperialist powers thus asserted themselves on the question of "disarmament" which each of these powers wanted to utilize to foster its own position. In the light of the proposals which reflect the inter-imperialist contradictions, the real intention of the capitalist countries appeared as being bent upon hastening war instead of guaranteeing peace.

In view of the important and not negligible circumstance that the first phase of the world war is already on in China, in view also of the "forces of destruction" identified by the imperialist powers in

the Soviet Union with its successful socialist construction, and the colonial countries with their increasing revolutionary advances, the contradictions among the capitalist powers on the question of disarmament were temporarily quieted down by a resolution which embodies the modified British proposal.

The resolution reads:

"Without prejudice to the other proposals which fall to be discussed under later heads of the agenda, the conference declares its approval of the principal of qualitative disarmament, that is the selection of certain classes or descriptions of weapons, the possession or use of which could be absolutely prohibited to all powers, or internationalized by international conventions."

Obviously enough, the resolution harmonizes the French and the American proposals on the creation of an international army to be used, undoubtedly, against the Soviet Union, China and other colonial countries.

It is true that as such it does not eliminate the contradictions existing among the capitalist countries and it leaves a hole for the possible discussion of the other proposals, should the situation require it. But it answers the imperialist appeal for even a temporary solution of "the complex interplay of antagonistic forces," which otherwise would "endanger all democratic society."

This is so far the outstanding decision of the "Disarmament Conference": To create an international army against the Soviet Union and China.



"WE DON'T WANT A SINGLE FOOT OF FOREIGN TERRITORY. BUT WE SHALL NOT GIVE UP A SINGLE INCH OF OUR OWN TERRITORY EITHER, TO ANYONE."—STALIN.