

Workers! The Enemy Is In Your Own Country!

Forward With The
Fourth International!

Vol. II. - No. 14

Millions Died For The Fraud Of 'Democracy'

The slogan: "Fight to save democracy" is being raised by every war-monger. LEST WE FORGET, the last war was ALSO fought to save democracy. It brought fascism to Italy, Nazism to Germany, and dictatorships all over Europe. And here is what it cost:

IN HUMAN LIVES:

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

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

Total casualties at the front — 34,500,000

These figures were arrived at by a liberal historian who was himself drafted into the last World War.

ONE OUT OF FIVE DIED

"One out of every five men called or dragged to the colors was shot to death, blown to bits by high explosives, stabbed fatally with bayonet or trench knife, suffocated with poison gas, or fell victim to gangrene or epidemic disease."

"One out of every ten staggered home seriously injured, a large number maimed for life—blind, deaf, with face shot away, shattered by shell shock, often starkly insane, or with legs or arms—or both—gone."

"Of the more fortunate, an approximate average of one in five suffered injuries serious enough to require hospital attention." (George Willison, "Why Wars Are Declared," p. 25.)

At the rear: While this carnage was going on at the front, an even greater slaughter was going on behind the lines. Our liberal ex-soldier continues:

28,000,000 CIVILIANS PERISHED

"To the 14,000,000 soldier dead now add 28,000,000—for by the latest estimate, at least that number of civilians perished before their time as a direct result of the war. Women and children, the aged and infirm, for the most part—millions upon millions of innocent non-combatants, of all ages, of all races, of both sexes, in almost all countries of the world."

"Cut down by pestilence or famine, cold or exposure, fire or poison gas, shot or shell or bombs from the air, as they fled in panic here and there, abandoning their homes and all they held dear, to escape being trampled on or crushed to death between the contending armies. How many civilians in ADDITION suffered shocks and injuries disabling them for life as a direct consequence of the war will never be known and cannot even be estimated."

The World War cost in round figures \$40,000,000,000. The United States' contribution to the cost of the World War, even according to so reactionary an authority as President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, MIGHT HAVE given "each and every family in the United States a \$5,000 house—on a five-acre \$500 plot of ground—with \$1,000 in addition to furnish it comfortably and attractively."

THE WORKERS GAINED NOTHING

Concerning wages of workers during the World War, Professor Paul H. Douglas says: "All the evidences seem to indicate that at the termination of the great war the return in commodities which the American workman received for an equal length of time worked (one hour) was from 16 to 20 per cent less than it was in the decade 1890-1899, and from seven to 17 per cent less than it was before the sharp upward movement of prices in 1916. The purchasing power of the established week's work, moreover, was from 20 to 30 per cent less than in the 'nineties and from 10 to 20 per cent less than in 1915."

"American labor as a whole, therefore, cannot legitimately be charged with having profiteered during the war. Rather, like Alice in Wonderland, it was compelled to rush faster in order to stay in the same place." And Professor Douglas is considered America's outstanding authority on the history of wages!

THE CAPITALISTS ALONE PROFITED BY WAR

Of Armour, Swift, Morris, Wilson, and Cudahy, the big five among the meat packers, the Federal Trade Commission was forced to admit: "However delicate a definition is framed for 'profiteering,' these packers have preyed upon the people unconsciously." In 1916 and 1917, the profits of these firms shot up to 400 per cent, although their sales increased only 150 per cent. The same was true of other foods the workers had to buy.

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

Year	Percentage on Investment	Amount
1912	4.7	\$ 77,075,000
1913	5.7	107,320,000
1914	2.8	46,520,000
1915	5.2	97,967,000
1916	15.6	294,026,000
1917	24.9	478,204,000

THE WORKERS WERE LEFT WITH THE BILLS

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

	(In Dollars)	Percentual Increase
1913	1920	2025
U. S. A.	11	225
Britain	78	850
France	160	1,150
Germany	18	800
Italy	83	365
		4444
		440

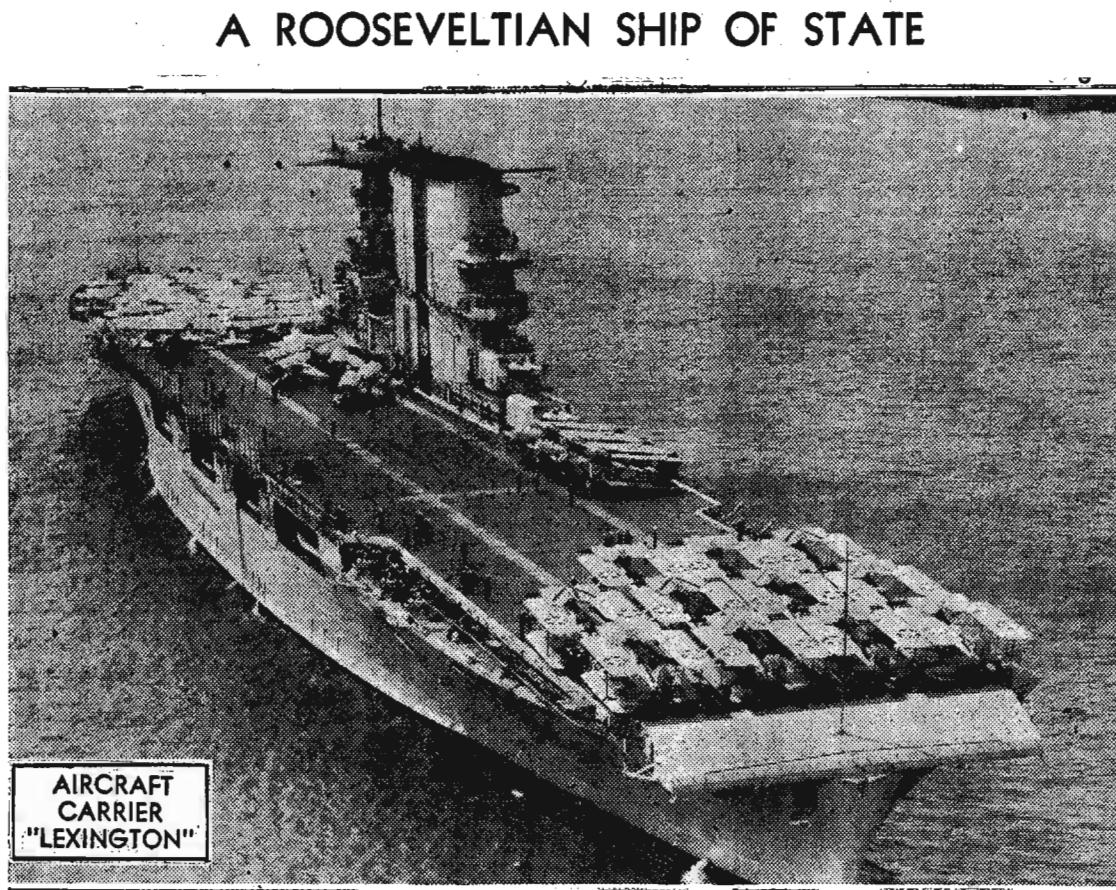
Socialist Appeal

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Special Anti-War
Supplement

Saturday, April 2, 1938

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DO NOT ALLOW THE LESSONS OF 1917 TO BE EASILY FORGOTTEN!

Boss War Is For Boss Profits and Not For 'Democracy'

As one glances back over the political experiences of the last two decades and observes the predominant sentiments of today, one cannot but be amazed at the short memory of the mass of the people. The bitter lessons that were absorbed in the past at frightful cost are readily forgotten under the impact of capitalist propaganda.

This thought is sharply called to mind by a reading of Rose M. Stein's "M-Day": a scholarly, documented account of how America got into the last war, how capital gained and labor lost, and what the War Department has in store for labor during the next war.

The Real Facts

While our history text-books still teach the children that America went to war out of consideration for the highest of human ideals, adult America has come to snicker cynically at this tale and seek the explanation in the more sordid, but also more authentic story, of Morgan & Co.'s loans to the Allies. Were all of adult America to read Miss Stein's book they would know that their cynicism about "making the world safe for democracy" is based upon more than a good guess. Miss Stein gives the following table showing the amount loaned by Morgan to the Allies:

April 1915	
\$30,000,000 to France	
June 1915	
\$40,000,000 to France	
October 1915	
\$500,000,000 to Anglo-France	
September 1916	
\$250,000,000 to Great Britain	
October 1916	
\$300,000,000 to Great Britain	
January 1917	
\$250,000,000 to Great Britain	
March 1917	
\$100,000,000 to France	
In April, 1917, the United States entered the war.	

Behind the Scenes

How many of the sons of American workers and farmers who shouldered arms to fight the "war to end wars" would have fought had they known the real designs of the members of the pacifist, liberal, idealistic Wilson Administration as revealed in the correspondence that went on between them? The following quotation, given by Miss Stein, stands in stark contrast to the honeyed public declarations of Wilson and his aids. On March 5, 1917, the American Ambassador to Great Britain, Walter Hines Page, wrote to the State Department at Washington:

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

Why Troops Went

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

Miss Stein proves from numerous official sources that the

Why Wars are Fought

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

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

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

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

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

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Miss Stein proves from numerous official sources that the

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

Why War is Brought On

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

Lenin and Zinoviev

SOCIALISM AND WAR

The following is an extract from the pamphlet "Socialism and War" by Lenin and Zinoviev, written in Switzerland in 1915. When it was written, its two authors were part of a tiny handful of Socialists notwithstanding the wave of Chauvinism that overcame the leaders of the Socialist Parties of all countries who led the workers to the slaughter under the slogan "defense of the fatherland." Two years later the simple ideas put forth in this pamphlet found living expression in the Russian revolution and the emergence of the first Workers State. Lenin died in 1924. His co-author, Zinoviev, first chairman of the Communist International, was shot by Joseph Stalin as a "Fascist spy" in 1936. Leninism is synonymous with the most uncompromising resistance to imperialist war. Stalinism, its negation, today stands for support of imperialist slaughter under the hypocritical cloak of "democracy vs. Fascism" just as the Second International, in 1914-18, supported the war under the slogan of "Democracy vs. Kaisersm" or "German culture vs. Czarist barbarism."

"War is politics continued by other (i.e., forcible) means."

This famous dictum belongs to one of the profoundest writers on military questions, Clausewitz. Rightly, the Marxists have always considered this axiom as the theoretical foundation for their understanding of the meaning of every war. It is from this very standpoint that Marx and Engels regarded wars.

Apply this idea to the present war (the world war). You will find that for decades, for almost half a century, the governments and the ruling classes of England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria and Russia, conducted a policy of colonial robbery, of suppressing labor movements, of oppressing foreign nations. Such a policy, and no other one, is being pursued in the present war. Notably in Austria and Russia the policy of both peace and war times consists in the enslavement of nations and not in their liberation.

NATIONAL AWAKENING

On the contrary, in China, Persia, India and other dependent nations we note in the last decade a policy of national awakening, tens and hundreds of millions of people striving to liberate themselves from under the yoke of the reactionary "great" nations. War growing out of this historic basis, even at the present time, can be of a bourgeois progressive nature, a war for national liberation.

One glance at the present war, conceived as a continuation of the policy of the "great" nations and their fundamental classes, shows that the opinion which justifies "defense of the fatherland" in the present war is false, hypocritical and in glaring contradiction to the historic facts....

WHAT IS SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM?

Social-chauvinism is adherence to the idea of "defending the fatherland" in the present war. From this idea follows repudiation of the class struggle in war time, voting for military appropriations, etc. In practice the social-chauvinists conduct an anti-proletarian bourgeoisie policy, because in practice they insist not on the "defense of the fatherland" in the sense of fighting against the oppression of a foreign nation, but upon the "right" of one or the other of the "great" nations to rob the colonies and oppress other peoples. The social-chauvinists follow the bourgeoisie in deceiving the people by saying that the war is conducted for the defense of the freedom and the existence of the nations; thus they put themselves on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

Socialism and War, August, 1915.



V. I. Lenin

To the social-chauvinists belong those who justify and idealize the government and the bourgeoisie of one of the belligerent groups of nations, as well as those who, like Kautsky, recognize the equal right of the Socialists of all belligerent nations to "defend the fatherland." Social-chauvinism, being in practice a defense of the privileges, prerogatives, robberies and violence of "one's own" (or any other) imperialist bourgeoisie, is a total betrayal of all Socialist conviction and a violation of the decisions of the International Socialist Congress in Basle (1912, Ed.)....

MASS SUFFERING INCREASED

The war has undoubtedly created the acutest crises and has incredibly intensified the sufferings of the masses. The reactionary character of this war, the shameless lie of the bourgeoisie of all countries which covers its predatory aims with "national" ideology, all this inevitably creates, on the basis of an objective revolutionary situation, revolutionary sentiments in the masses. Our duty is to help make these sentiments conscious, to deepen them and give them form. The only correct expression of this task is the slogan "Turn the imperialist war into civil war." All consistent class struggle in time of war, all "mass action" earnestly conducted must inevitably lead to this. We cannot know whether in the first or in the second imperialist war between the great nations, whether during or after it, a strong revolutionary movement will flare up. Whatever the case may be, it is our absolute duty systematically and unflinchingly to work in that particular direction....

A mass sentiment for peace often expresses the beginning of a protest, an indignation and a consciousness of the reactionary nature of the war. It is the duty of all Social-Democrats to take advantage of this sentiment. They will take the most ardent part in every movement and in every demonstration made on this basis, but they will not deceive the people by assuming that in the absence of a revolutionary movement it is possible to have peace without annexations, without oppression of nations, without robbery, without planting the seed of new wars among the present governments and the ruling classes. Such deception would only play into the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries and their counter-revolutionary plans. Whoever wishes a durable and democratic peace must be for civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie.

Socialism and War, August, 1915.

Pacifism Separates Anti-War Fight From Struggle Against Capitalism

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

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

The Pacifist Argument

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

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

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

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

In The Labor Movement

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

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

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

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

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

The Roots of War

Wars are not fought in the modern world because "people want war." If so the problem would be simple. Indeed, the problem would already be solved, since people do not want war. But wars come nonetheless.

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

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

Rosa Luxemburg

The Meaning of Pacifism

Rosa Luxemburg, co-leader with Karl Liebknecht of the German Spartakusbund, was one of that small, valiant band of revolutionary internationalists who raised their voices against the imperialist slaughter of 1914-18. For her devotion to the cause of the socialist revolution, her refusal to join the social-patriots of the Second International in aiding the imperialists to prosecute the robber war, Rosa paid with her life. Together with Karl Liebknecht she was foully murdered on January 15, 1919, by the German government at whose head stood the social-patriotic traitors Ebert, Noske and Scheidemann. The ideas embodied in the following brief article by Rosa Luxemburg, written three years prior to the commencement of the World War, must be assimilated by every worker who is anxious to struggle, and struggle effectively, against the new imperialist slaughter which is now impending.—Ed.

The friends of peace in bourgeois circles believe that world peace and disarmament can be realized within the framework of the present social order, whereas we, who base ourselves on the materialistic conception of history and on scientific socialism, are convinced that militarism can only be abolished from the world with the destruction of the capitalist state.... The bourgeois friends of peace are endeavoring—and from their point of view this is perfectly logical and explicable—to invent all sorts of "practical" projects for gradually restraining militarism, and are naturally inclined to consider every outward apparent sign of a tendency towards peace as the genuine article, to take every expression of the ruling diplomacy in this vein at its word, to exaggerate it into a basis for earnest activity.

The Social-Democrats (read revolutionary socialists—Ed.) on the other hand, must consider it their duty in this matter, just as in all matters of social criticism, to expose the bourgeois attempts to restrain militarism as pitiful half-measures and the expressions of such sentiments on the part of the governing circles as diplomatic make-believe, and to oppose the bourgeois claims and pretences with the ruthless analysis of capitalist reality....

Militarism in both its forms—as war and as armed peace—is a legitimate child, a logical result of capitalism, which can only be overcome with the destruction of capitalism, and hence whoever honestly desires world peace and liberation from the tremendous burden of armaments must also desire socialism. Only in this way can real Social-Democratic enlightenment and recruiting be carried on in connection with the armaments debate.

This work, however, will be rendered somewhat difficult and the attitude of the Social-Democrats will become obscure and vacillating, if, by some strange exchange of roles, our party tries, on the contrary, to convince the bourgeois state that it can quite well limit armaments and bring about peace and that it can do this from its own standpoint, from that of a capitalist class state.

Leipziger Volkszeitung, May 6-8, 1911.

Karl Liebknecht

THE ENEMY IS IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY!

But to learn and not forget applies also, and above all, to the heroic struggle against the war which our Italian comrades waged and are still waging. They fight with their press, with meetings, with street corner gatherings. They fight with revolutionary strength and courage, opposing their bodies and their lives to the raging impact of the waves of nationalism whipped up by the government. Their struggle is worthy of our enthusiastic felicitations. Let their spirit be our model. May it become the pattern for the International....

The absurd watchword, "see it through," was disastrous; it can lead only deeper into the maelstrom of destruction. International proletarian class struggle against the international imperialist mangling of the people is the command of the hour.

The main enemy of the German people is in Germany: German imperialism, the German war party, German secret diplomacy. The German people must wage a political struggle against this enemy in its own country, in conjunction with the struggle of the proletarians of other countries against their own imperialists....

The enemies of the working class rely upon the forgetfulness of the masses; take heed, that their reliance may be groundless! They speculate on the forbearance of the masses—but we raise the stormy cry:

How much longer are the imperialist gamblers going to abuse the patience of the people? Enough of butchery! Down with the war-mongers on both sides of the border!

The slaughter of the people must end!

Proletarians of all countries! Follow the heroic example of your Italian brothers! Unite for the international class war against the conspiracy of secret diplomacy, against imperialism, against the war, for a socialist peace!

The main enemy is in your own country!

—From the leaflet issued on the occasion of Italy's entry into the war.

ism must first be got rid of.

Eliminate the Cause

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

Just so with pacifism. At its very best, pacifism is completely and necessarily ineffectual in the struggle against war; in practice it aids the war and the war-makers. This is, for many, a hard truth to digest, but

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

Really Aids War-Makers

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

Leon Trotsky

DEMOCRACY, PACIFISM AND IMPERIALISM

The following article on pacifism was written by Leon Trotsky in the third year of the imperialist world war and published originally in "Vpered," a Russian revolutionary organ, on June 30, 1917. Its timeliness today, on the eve of a new world war, when the pacifists are playing their old game of sidetracking the workers from the revolutionary anti-war struggle, is more than apparent.—Ed.

There have never been so many pacifists as at this moment, when people are slaying each other on all the great highways of our planet. Each epoch has not only its own technology and political form, but also its own style of hypocrisy. Time was when the nations destroyed each other for the glory of Christ's teachings and the love of one's neighbor. Now Christ is invoked only by backward governments. The advanced nations cut each other's throats under the banner of pacifism. . . . a league of nations and a durable peace. Kerensky and Tseretelli shout for an offensive in the name of an "early conclusion of peace."

There is no Juvenal for this epoch, to depict it with biting satire. Yet we are forced to admit that even the most powerful would appear weak and insignificant in the presence of blatant baseness and cringing stupidity, two of the elements which have been released by the present war.

THE ROOTS OF PACIFISM

Pacifism springs from the same historical roots as democracy. The bourgeoisie made a gigantic effort to rationalize human relations, that is, to supplant a blind and stupid tradition by a system of critical reason. The guild restrictions on industry, class privileges, monarchic autocracy—these were the traditional heritage of the middle ages. Bourgeois democracy demanded legal equality, free competition and parliamentary methods in the conduct of public affairs.

Naturally its nationalistic criteria were applied also in the field of international relations. Here it hit upon war, which appeared to it as a method of solving questions that was a complete denial of all "reason." So bourgeois democracy began to point out to the nations—with tongues of poesy, moral philosophy and certified accounting—that they would profit more by establishment of a condition of eternal peace. Such were the logical roots of bourgeois pacifism.

From the time of its birth pacifism was afflicted, however, with a fundamental defect, one which is characteristic of bourgeois democracy; its pointed criticisms addressed themselves to the surface of political phenomena, not daring to penetrate to their economic causes.

THE IDEA OF "ETERNAL PEACE"

At the hands of capitalist reality, the idea of eternal peace, on the basis of a "reasonable" agreement, has fared even more badly than the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. For capitalism, when it rationalized industrial conditions, did not rationalize the social organization of ownership, and thus prepared instruments of destruction such as even the "barbarous" middle ages never dreamed of.

The constant embitterment of international relations and the ceaseless growth of militarism completely undermined the basis of reality under the feet of pacifism. Yet it was from these very things that pacifism took a new lease on life, a life which differed from its earlier enthusiasm.

Official pacifism could have desired nothing better. It could now give satisfactory assurance of imperialistic "preparedness." After Bryan's own declaration, only one thing was necessary to dispose of his noisy opposition to war, and that was, simply, to declare war. And Bryan rolled right over into the government camp. And not only the petty bourgeoisie, but also the broad masses of the workers, said to themselves: "If our government, with such an outspoken pacifist as Wilson as its head, declares war, and if even Bryan supports the government in the war, it must be an unavoidable and righteous war...." It is now evident why the sanctimonious, Quaker-like pacifism of the bourgeois demagogues is in such high favor in financial and war industry circles.



Leon Trotsky

phase as the blood and purple sunset differ from the rosy-fingered dawn....

Theoretically and politically, pacifism stands on the same foundation as does the theory of the harmony of social interests. The antagonisms between capitalist nations have the same economic roots as the antagonisms between the classes. And if we admit the possibility of a progressive blunting of the edge of the class struggle, it requires but a single step further to accept a gradual softening and regulating of international relations. The source of the ideology of democracy, with all its traditions and illusions, is the petty bourgeoisie....

IF WAR SHOULD COME . . .

(William Jennings) Bryan rashly and noisily expressed the natural aversion of the farmers and of the "small man" generally to all such things as world-policy, military service and higher taxes. Yet, at the same time that he was sending wagon-loads of petitions, as well as deputations, to his pacifist colleagues at the head of the government, Bryan did everything in his power to break the revolutionary edge of the whole movement.

"If war should come," Bryan telegraphed on the occasion of an anti-war meeting in Chicago.... "we will all support the government of course; yet at this moment it is our sacred duty to do all in our power to preserve the nation from the horrors of war."

These few words contain the entire program of petty bourgeois pacifism: "to do everything in our power against war" means to afford the voice of popular indignation an outlet in the form of harmless demonstration, after having previously given the government a guarantee that it will meet with no serious opposition, in case of war, from the pacifist faction.

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

