

# Workers! The Enemy Is In Your Own Country!

Forward With The  
Fourth International!

# Socialist Appeal

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## 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 5500 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 profited 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 unconscionably." 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.

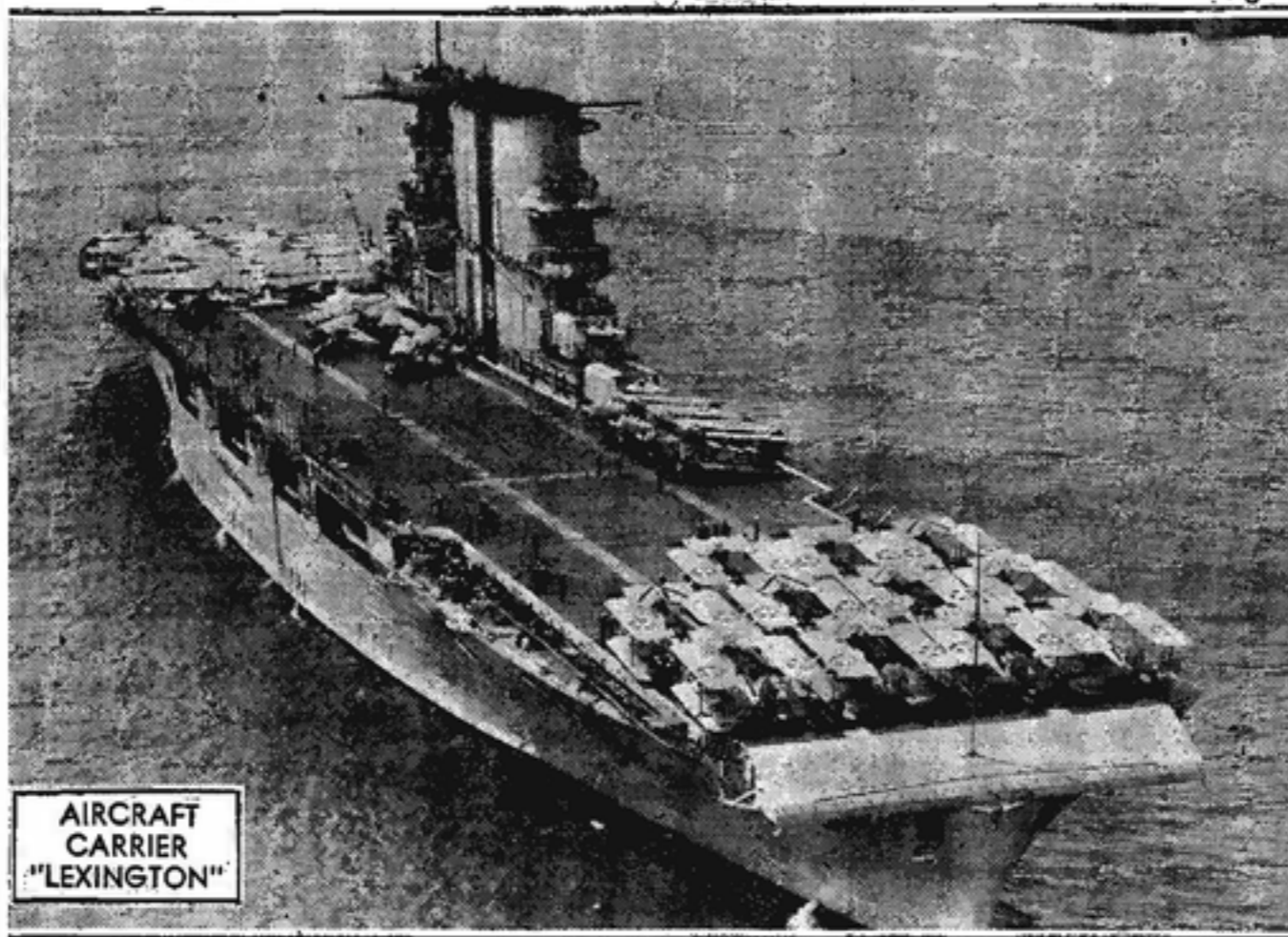
Steel is the basic war material. The net profits of the United States Steel Corporation show who profited by the war:

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
U. S. A.	11	225
Britain	78	850
France	160	1,150
Germany	18	800
Italy	83	365

## A ROOSEVELTIAN SHIP OF STATE



AIRCRAFT CARRIER "LEXINGTON"

## 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.)

### WARS SINCE THE "WAR TO END WAR"

After making an analysis of 902 wars and 1,615 internal disturbances over a period of 2,500 years, a Harvard professor reports that the war index for the twentieth century reached "a total eight times greater than in all the preceding centuries."

- 1918-19—Polish-Ukrainian War.
- 1919-22—Inter-Allied Intervention Against Soviet Russia.
- 1919-20—British military occupation of Ireland.
- 1919-26—Conquests in Arabia by Ibn Saud.
- 1920 —Soviet-Polish War.
- 1920 —Turkish-Armenian War.
- 1921-22—Greek-Turkish War.
- 1921-26—Franco-Spanish Wars against Riffs.
- 1925 —French military expedition to Syria.
- 1925-27—Civil war and foreign imperialist intervention in China.
- 1925-35—Gran Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay.
- 1927 —Occupation of Nicaragua by U. S. Marines.
- 1931-32—Japanese seizure of Manchuria.
- 1932 —Sino-Japanese war at Shanghai.
- 1935-36—Italo-Ethiopian War.
- 1936-38—British bombing operations on Indian's Northwest frontier.
- 1936-38—Spanish Civil War: Franco aided by Hitler and Mussolini.
- 1937-38—Sino-Japanese War.
- 1937-38—British war on Arabs in Palestine.

#### 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.

#### 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

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)

## S. W. P. Policy On War

# FIGHT THE WAR-MAKERS!

Since war is inevitably bred by capitalist society, the only genuine struggle against war is precisely the struggle against the social system which breeds it, the struggle against capitalism and for socialism. Only through the elimination of the causes for war will war itself be done away with. Through socialism alone can mankind establish the foundations for enduring peace.

The S. W. P. is against every imperialist war, and opposes all wars fought by any and all imperialist states, whether fascist or democratic, since such wars can only be reactionary in character and counter to the interests of the masses and of the revolution. In the imperialist United States, the S. W. P. fights against war preparations and militarization; but at the same time always makes clear that war cannot be permanently prevented unless the imperialist government of the United States is overthrown and its place taken by a Workers' State, that lasting peace is possible only under socialism.

#### Role of Pacifism

Pacifism attempts to divorce the struggle against war from the prosecution of the class struggle against capitalism. In practice, therefore, pacifism is entirely futile and powerless against war itself; and, still further, spreads illusions about the nature of war which divert the masses from the genuine struggle against it and play into hands of

imperialism. The S. W. P., consequently, exposes the futility and illusion of pacifism. In the United States, pacifism is particularly dangerous because its ideas are so widespread and influential, and because it is in a sense the "official" imperialist doctrine—indeed, the ideological preparation for the next imperialist war bases itself largely on the notion that from the point of view of the United States it will be a "war for peace."

If, in spite of the efforts of the revolutionists and the militant workers, the U. S. government enters a new war, the S. W. P. will not under any circumstances support that war but will on the contrary fight against it. The S. W. P. will advocate the continuation of the class struggle during the war, regardless of the consequences for the outcome of the American military struggle; and will try to prepare the masses to utilize the war crisis for the overthrow of U. S. capitalism and the victory of socialism.

#### Oppose Social Patriotism

The S. W. P. opposes and will continue at all times to oppose every form of social-patriotism, all advocacy of "national union" or "suspension of the class struggle" during the war-time, and will make clear to the workers that no war conducted by the capitalist government of the United States can be to their interest, or can be other than a

war for imperialist profit and plunder.

The policy of the S. W. P. with respect to imperialist war holds good under all conditions; it applies if the war is conducted between the fascist imperialists and the "democratic" imperialists in the same manner as if the war takes place between coalitions including both the fascist and "democratic" imperialisms on each side. It applies also if the United States is in military alliance with the Soviet Union. In the latter case, the S. W. P. would unreservedly support the Soviet Union against imperialism; but would expose the treacherous imperialist aims of the United States in the alliance, would call for the overthrow of U. S. capitalism and its replacement by a revolutionary workers' government which alone could carry forward the war in the interests of labor, of the revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union and of the world socialist revolution. The practical steps which our Party will take in the course of its opposition to such a war will be decided in the light of the consideration of the need of facilitating the utmost aid to the Soviet Union's armed forces against an imperialist power in conformity with our position of defense of the Soviet Union from imperialist attack.

—From "The Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Workers Party."

Eugene V. Debs

## In Whose War Shall I Fight?

Eugene V. Debs, veteran leader of the American Socialist movement, who died in 1926, offered uncompromising revolutionary resistance to this country's participation in the war and was imprisoned for doing so. In the following stirring article, written in 1915, he made his position plain:

Since my characterization of the soldier in the Jingo edition (as "the hired assassin of his capitalist master."—Ed.) I have been asked if I was opposed to all war and if I would refuse to be a soldier and to fight under any circumstances, and to make my answer through the *Appeal to Reason*. No, I am not opposed to all war, nor am I opposed to fighting under all circumstances, and any declaration to the contrary would disqualify me as a revolutionist. When I say I am opposed to war I mean ruling class war, for the ruling class is the only class that makes war. It matters not to me whether this war be offensive or defensive, or what other lying excuse may be invented for it, I am opposed to it, and I would be shot for treason before I would enter such a war.

If I were in Congress I would be shot before I would vote a dollar for such a war.

Capitalist wars for capitalist conquest and capitalist plunder must be fought by the capitalists themselves so far as I am concerned, and upon that question there can be no misunderstanding as to my position.

I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth; and I am a citizen of the world.

I would not violate my principles for God, much less for a crazy kaiser, a savage czar, a degenerate king, or a band of pot-bellied parasites.

But while I have not a drop of blood to shed for the oppressors of the working class and the robbers of the poor, the thieves and looters, the brigands and murderers, whose debauched misrule is the crime of the ages, I have a heart-full to shed for their victims when it shall be needed in the war for their liberation.

I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people. I refuse to obey any command to fight from the ruling class, but I will not wait to be commanded to fight for the working class.

I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world-wide war of the social revolution. In that war I am prepared to fight in any way the ruling class may make it necessary, even to the barricades.

There is where I stand and where I believe the Socialist Party stands, or ought to stand, on the question of war.

—(From the *Appeal to Reason*, September 11, 1915.)

## WAR IS PIVOT OF AMERICAN PLANS

Preparations Are Going Ahead In Every Domain

Twenty-one years after it entered the "war to end wars," American imperialism, under the political guidance of President ("I hate war") Roosevelt is headed once more directly and consciously in the direction of a new and more ghastly "war to end wars."

Preparations for the fast-approaching holocaust, in which all the imperialist powers, fascist and "democratic," without any exceptions, will engage in a life-and-death struggle to save the tottering system of capitalism by redividing the world, are projected ever more sharply on the screen of contemporary events.

This is the meaning of the \$1,121,000,000 navy appropriation—separate from and in addition to the ordinary military and naval budgets. This is the meaning of the additional appropriation, totalling nearly \$500,000,000, for the army. Indications have already been given that additional sums will be sought to augment this "program of peace."

This is the meaning, too, of the Sheppard-May Bill which provides measures for the mobilization of industry for war purposes.

#### Pacific Maneuvers

This is, also, the meaning of the vast naval maneuvers now going forward in the Pacific—a pointed warning to imperialist Japan, which is threatening the trade and investments of American imperialism in the Far East.

The measures of physical preparedness are supplemented, as on the eve of every war, by an "ideological" campaign to prepare the workers to fight and die for their exploiters and oppressors.

This is the meaning of carefully-worded declarations of President Roosevelt, who seeks to deceive the working class into believing that American imperialism will go to war only in "self-defense" or for the preservation of "freedom and democracy" against the undemocratic "aggressor" states.

This is the meaning of the hypocritically-worded diplomatic notes drafted in increasing number by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, whose task is to ensure that when war comes American imperialism will be able to appear before the workers and the world at large as an unoffending power wantonly attacked by an "aggressor."

#### Kennedy's Slip

Occasionally, however, the real truth breaks to the surface notwithstanding all the efforts of the Washington government to prepare the war strictly according to plan. Thus Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy, in his first London speech, let the cat out of the bag by saying it would be wrong to assume the United States would fight only if attacked.

This is the meaning of Washington's "parallel" diplomatic action with Great Britain and of the moves already tentatively made toward the scrapping of the Neutrality Act, which represented the legal codification of the outworn "isolation" policy. The policy of "isolation" no longer serves in an era in which American imperialism consciously prepares to assert its world role against all challengers.

#### Pacifist Smokescreen

The war approaches! All spheres of government activity reflect its closeness. That is why, among other things, the Roosevelt administration uses the unemployment relief projects as recruiting grounds for the army.

That, too, is why, the smoke-screen of pacifist propaganda grows denser. This cover is needed so that the real war prepar-

(Continued on Page 4A)