

### Woodrow Wilson, In Four Installments How He Led Us To War

August 18, 1914, Woodrow Wilson declared:

"The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what the American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned."

March, 5, 1917, Walter Hines Page, United States ambassador at London, wrote in a confidential letter to President Wilson:

"Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our present preeminent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted. The submarine has added the last item to the danger of uncertainty about our being drawn into the war, no more considerable credit can be privately placed in the United States and a collapse may come in the meantime."

April 2, 1917, Woodrow Wilson addressed Congress on the "Necessity of War against Germany."

"We are glad now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus

for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German people included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty."

1919, Woodrow Wilson stated in a speech at St. Louis:

"Why, my fellow citizens, is there any man here or any woman, let me say is there any child here, who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? The real reason that the war that we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them. The seed of the jealousy, the seed of the deep-seated hatred was hot, successful commercial and industrial war. It was not a political war."

## MINNEAPOLIS VETS TAKE MILITANT ANTI-WAR STAND

The following resolution was adopted at a meeting of several hundred war veterans in Drivers Hall, Minneapolis, on March 12, under the auspices of the Federal Workers Veterans Committee.

WHEREAS we, war veterans of the World War, were taken in by the 1917 hysteria to "Make the World Safe for Democracy," only to find that our comrades and brothers died, as did tens of millions of our so-called "enemies," not to make life fuller and happier for humanity but solely for opposing groups of International Bankers, and

WHEREAS those same interests since 1917 have continuously seized upon every means and pretext to beat down and avoid every vestige of compensation or comfort for us or for our dependents and to amass for themselves great wealth and power in total disregard of not only ourselves but of the entire working class of people—everywhere, and

RAVAGES OF DEPRESSION WHEREAS the suffering, malnutrition, human wastage, perversion of youth, domestic wreckage and industrial chaos of the depression in America were cold-bloodedly unloaded upon the workers during Hoover's administration; and the Roosevelt administration scarcely provided sufficient relief; and a new depression is upon us which the National Administration "answers" with a gigantic armament program instead of with public works and relief, and

WHEREAS neither we nor the Chinese masses can, in view of our experiences as veterans, expect any more humane treatment nor better livings from American imperialists than from Japanese, British or any other capitalists since all are equally bent upon preserving and in-

creasing their own power, and

WHEREAS America's vast natural resources, scientific processes and competent manpower are ample for the unprecedented well-being of every man, woman and child without resort to war; in sharp contrast to the social suicide and barbaric reversion which would now result from a MAJOR WAR OF CONQUEST as forecast by Roosevelt's words and deeds,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED BY THE WORLD WAR VETERANS OF MINNEAPOLIS:

1. That in view of our experiences we now warn the younger generation against the false propaganda of "democracy" and "peace-loving nations," which is but a thin sugarcoating for the fatal pill of imperialist conquest;

2. That we now call upon all veterans and their organizations, and all other workers to actively oppose all war preparations of this country and to demand the immediate return to America of all American forces in the Far East;

3. That we demand of Congress the complete defeat of the Sheppard-May Bill;

4. That we now demand of Congress and the Administration the immediate diversion of all naval and military funds to UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF;

5. That we here and now declare that we are ready and willing to fight again but only in support of Labor's determination to release the wheels of industry and resume the accelerating production of needs and comforts of life, and for the plentiful distribution and peaceful use and enjoyment thereof BY ALL THE WORKERS AND THEIR DEAR ONES.

## Roosevelt-Hull Heading Toward New World War

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ations may go forward smoothly and uninterrupted, so that mass opposition to war may be canalized into streams which are harmless to the warmakers.

That is why, finally, the social-patriots in the ranks of the working class, with the Stalinists out ahead, grow more and more vociferous and reveal themselves ever more openly as the defenders of bourgeois property, enemies of the workers' struggle against war, defenders of the imperialist fatherland.

### Capitalism Stifled

The coming period will add considerably to the already imposing weight of evidence that "democratic," "peace-loving" American imperialism is preparing, preparing consciously, and with all possible speed, to fight for its position as the world's

greatest imperialist power—to engage in a robber war against its rivals, for the subjection of backward peoples, for control of at least a goodly portion of the earth.

Capitalism in the United States is stifling within its national boundaries. The economic crisis long ago gave warning that American capitalism must expand those boundaries, capture new markets and fields of investment, or resign itself to permanent decay.

Just as the exploiters will not get off the backs of the workers until they are thrown off—so, too, they will not watch their system decay and die while there are rivals whose territories, markets and profits can be snatched. That is why American imperialism will and must go to war. That is why the policy of the Roosevelt government is headed directly toward war.

## Lessons of Last War Must Not Be Forgotten

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While the English army had little trouble from mutinous troops, the widespread strikes and discontent at home made it perilous to recruit new troops for fear of contaminating the army with the rebellious spirit of the industrial workers.

Entire regiments of the French army refused to take the offensive, saying that they would only enter the trenches to "hold off the enemy but not to advance. The plans of the French general staff for an offensive had to be abandoned until efforts could be made to rebuild the morale of the troops. Miss Stein quotes a letter of Col. House of June 30, 1917, on this point:

"I see evidence of all the belligerents weakening, and the cracking process being actively at work. My letters from France indicate that the condition there is serious, and it is a question whether they will be able to hold out during the year."

Therefore, America to the rescue! If it does not suffice to give the French and British soldiers ammunition, then send two million Americans to France to rescue the Morgan loans and America's "preeminent trade position."

The plans for American participation were radically revised. The mutinies in the French and British armies made it indispensable to reinforce American munitions with American man-power.

### Ready in 1916

A Congressional investigation of War Department expenditures in 1919 was amazed to discover that the Council of National Defense had outlined a complete plan for the mobilization of the nation's resources for war in 1916, a year before Congress declared war. This commission, under the leadership of Bernard M. Baruch, had already decided upon the coordination of industry, the control of labor, and the conscription of soldiers. (In accord with their perspective of

America's role in the war they had decided on conscription as a means of limiting the size of the army and selecting only those not needed in industry.)

The National Council provided for the mobilization of industry by means of War Boards upon which industry was represented by its Dollar-A-Year patriots. While the industrialists were eager to serve on boards like the Price-Fixing Committee for a paltry \$1 per year, they were less patriotic when they thought the price they received was too low. A number of industries absolutely went on strike against the government, refusing to manufacture for the government until their price terms were met. The du Pont Company, powder manufacturers, held up plans for the construction of a government powder mill for three months until their terms were met.

### Treatment of Labor

Labor, however, was accorded a vastly different treatment if it struck for better conditions. The reign of terror against the lumber workers of the Northwest who struck under the leadership of the I.W.W. was carried through in a fashion that Hitler and Mussolini might well envy. The sadistic lynching of Frank Little, I.W.W. organizer, by a mob of patriots intent upon "making the world safe for democracy" was typical of what workmen faced if they dared strike against intolerable conditions. Statistics indicate how intolerable these conditions really were. Let those who expect prosperity from war carefully study the following figures:

Taking the pre-War level of both wages and the cost of living as 100, the Labor Department index records the following increases:

Year	Wage Rates	Cost of Living
1914	102	103
1915	102	105.1
1916	106	118.3
1917	112	142.1
1918	130	174.4

Compare the above with the

## "Keep America Out of War," Asks New Committee; But How?

The latest "peace society" is the "Keep America Out of War Committee." Its program calls for withdrawal of American ships and marines from China, no increase in the army and navy, support of the Ludlow Amendment, against the Industrial Mobilization plans, the struggle against injustice, unemployment, bad housing and poverty at home, American cooperation for international peace, but no war alliances.

The two crucial questions in any anti-war movement are: (1) what is its attitude towards the American imperialist government; (2) does it rest programatically and organizationally on the working class movement.

### Attitude Toward Government

Let it be recalled that the Republican members of the Senate Naval Committee and Republican and Democratic congressmen voted against the Roosevelt naval program; that many of these gentlemen are in favor of withdrawal of American marines from China; that some liberal capitalist politicians are opposed to the Sheppard-May Bill, etc. The disputes over these questions are conflicts within the ruling class itself over which measures can best serve imperialism. They can become points of conflict between the working class and the ruling class only if utilized in a particular manner. Otherwise the avowedly anti-war movement, no matter how sincere its adherents, becomes a mere pawn in imperialist war plans.

net earnings of the United States Steel Corporation for the same years:

1914	\$ 52,716,390
1915	104,433,846
1916	316,436,899
1917	544,994,879
1918	500,808,116

### Present Mobilization Plan

The lessons of mobilization of labor for war have not been forgotten by the War Department. Labor can realize what it has awaiting it in the next war from the fact that a Planning Commission worked from 1920 to 1933 to perfect the scheme now known as the "Industrial Mobilization Plan" whereby the wage slaves of America will be subjected to a military discipline that is equally severe whether they are at the front or working in industry. Miss Stein sums up the plans of the War Department for the regimentation of labor as follows:

"American Labor's part in the next war is fully outlined in the Industrial Mobilization Plan which is the result of thirteen years of study in the War Department's planning division, and which has the approval of the Secretaries of War and Navy, and of prominent industrialists. Under this Plan labor will have to either work or fight. The classification will be determined in the first instance by actual need and in the second by from 5,000 to 6,000 local draft boards. Assignment to one class or another will be subject to change at any time. Thus anyone, who for one

What is the attitude of the "Keep America Out of War Committee" towards the imperialist government? The key to this question is given in point five of the program: "American cooperation for international peace



EUGENE V. DEBS

The late leader of the American Socialist Party took an attitude of uncompromising opposition to the imperialist government of the "pacifist" Wilson during the World War of 1914-18. Jailed for his revolutionary anti-war activity, Debs declared that he would fight only in the class war for the liberation of the workers from capitalism.

reason or another incurs the displeasure of those in authority, might have his status changed and might be called to the front on the shortest possible notice.

### War "Democracy"

"Those who will be assigned to work will be under the direction of a War Labor Administration whose director will be a prominent industrialist." Labor policies will be formulated by the labor division within the War Industries Administration made up essentially of the same personnel as the War Policies Board of 1918. The only representation allowed labor under this Plan is in the Advisory Council which in composition and in duties assigned to it resembles the peacetime company union.

To the ruthlessness of patriotic lynch mobs will be added the efficiency of a War Labor Administration. This is the "democracy" which Mr. Browder asks the American working class to defend!

Miss Stein understands the one fact which supporters of the "good and bad nation" idea refuse to see:

"The basic fact must be faced that modern war cannot be conducted save by dictatorial power, and the democratic frame-work, even if it is allowed to retain its existence and identity, is relegated to a position subservient to that held by the clique in authority."

—but no alliance with any nation or group of nations for war, declared or undeclared, under any name or any pretext." This does not differ from statements of Roosevelt and Hull. What does it mean concretely?

Spokesmen for the Committee correctly reject the Stalinist "collective security" policy because it will lead to imperialist war. But can the American government, the instrument of imperialism, conduct any policy in the interests of genuine peace—that is, against the interests of its own masters? What form of "cooperation for international peace" does the Committee propose that would not lead to the furtherance of the war preparation plans of the Roosevelt administration?

The Committee itself does not supply a clear answer. Under its demand for "American international cooperation for peace" diverse elements and programs can unite: avowed pro-capitalist isolationists like Charles A. Beard and Robert M. LaFollette, who believe that "neutrality" can keep us out of war, shamefaced supporters of "economic sanctions" like the Lovestonites, as well as the "ambiguous" pacifists of the Norman Thomas school.

### The Dividing Line

They are all united in the conviction that the American government can cooperate with other imperialist nations for peace. Here is a basic dividing line between the revolutionary socialist and all other programs against war. For once the class character of the government is lost sight of or denied, the real cause of war, the true nature of a genuine anti-war struggle cannot be understood.

That is why the "Keep America Out of War Committee" makes no appeal to the working class as such, to independent workers' action, to the class struggle against the war plans of capitalism. Instead it appeals to the "citizens" at large, irrespective of class lines, to rally around an apparently supra-class minimum program. It is therefore not accidental that among the chief spokesmen for the Committee are Robert M. LaFollette and Major-General William C. Rivers.

### The Anti-War Fight

As against such a set-up a working class struggle against war must be in line with the class struggle against capitalism and the government. It must be directed against specific pro-war measures of the Roosevelt administration, with the aim of defeating or obstructing their execution by the mass actions of the workers. It must, implicitly or explicitly, be directed against capitalist patriotism or loyalty to the government of the exploiters.

The most effective organizational form of such a movement is the united front of all labor organizations, above all the trade unions. Such a movement would not exclude lower middle class organizations in its midst or fail to appeal to the lower classes. On the contrary, only an anti-

## William Green Ready To Sub For Gompers

Has Already Announced Support of Roosevelt War Program

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has pledged wholehearted support to the Roosevelt administration's war plans. "I feel that at this period, when we take into account what is happening internationally, we must have confidence in the judgment of the chief executive... If he feels that a billion dollars are necessary to protect America, I feel we ought to support him." (New York Times, January 29, 1938.)

We can be certain that Green's activities are not confined to such public statements. It was recently rumored that he and a person close to John L. Lewis conferred with army men to prepare American labor for the next war. However that may be, it is known that Green at an earlier period endorsed the basic ideas of the Industrial Mobilization Plan.

### "If War Comes..."

Testifying before the War Policies Commission in 1931 he declared he was for a plan which would bring victory. "... war is to be abhorred. I think that is the attitude of the working people whom I have the honor to represent. They shrink from the very thought of it. But, of course, if the thing we abhor actually happens, then we realize there must be a plan and the plan must be a practical plan and a reasonable plan..." (Quoted by Rose M. Stein, "M-Day," p. 319.)

Green shows himself a worthy successor to Samuel Gompers! Even before war is declared he makes it clear that he will support the war-makers, will do all in his power, once war is declared, to chain the workers to the war system!

### Like Gompers

It was Gompers who in the last war succeeded in corraling the American workers for the imperialist war machine. He was ably assisted by such renegades from socialism—before the war "uncompromising" fighters against militarism and war—as John Spargo, William English Walling and Charles Edward Russell (the latter is today a member of the Social Democratic Federation and a columnist for the New Leader), not to forget the free-lance chauvinist, Upton Sinclair.

Before 1914, Gompers "was a member of practically every peace society in which membership was open to me and participated in many conferences to promote peace between nations," he wrote in his autobiography. ("Seventy Years of Life and Labor," Vol. II, p. 322. All following quotations, unless otherwise stated, are from the same source.)

He was a pacifist so long as his masters, big business and its Washington Administration, were pacifist! When the decision was made that the United States would soon enter the war, Gompers in early 1916 enthusiastically helped to draw up questionnaires to manufacturers in preparation for the conversion of industry for war purposes. In October, 1916, he was appointed to the Council of National Defense. War required a servile labor movement!

### Assured Labor Docility

"England I knew had burdened herself with an unnecessary handicap by not seeking the cooperation of British labor at the beginning of the war," Gompers wrote. (p. 359.) So he proceeded to call a trade union conference in Washington, held on March 12, 1917, to assure labor support for the impending war.

The conference adopted a resolution to "pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic... But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared, as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard, and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow-work-

ers and fellow-citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom, and Humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service." (p. 360.)



WILLIAM GREEN

ers and fellow-citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom, and Humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service." (p. 360.)

### They Kept Pledge

And Gompers and his friends kept their pledge! Not their pledge to labor to oppose compulsory military training! On the contrary, Gompers soon discovered that "the most essentially democratic method of mobilizing human resources was universal draft" (p. 369); and cooperated in developing and carrying out the draft plans.

This "labor leader" also forgot his pledge to the workers to fight for a closed shop. He could not serve two masters: he served the bosses and accepted the open shop clause in the building of cantonments. ("M-Day," p. 250). As profits soared to fantastic heights the workers' wages barely kept up with the rising cost of living. But Gompers understood his role: "Organized labor realized that the most valuable service it could contribute to winning the war was to help maintain and raise production levels." (p. 372.)

### Fought Anti-War Movement

When workers' militant opposition to war developed, Gompers, in agreement with the Advisory Commission and Council of National Defense, and George Creel, chief of the Committee on Public Information, organized the "American Alliance for Labor and Democracy" to counteract the anti-war movement. Lucien Saniel, former leader of the So-

cialist Labor Party, Spargo, Walling, Ghent, Russell and other turncoats supplied the "socialist" coloration to this capitalist patriotic venture. The St. Paul Conference of the American Alliance, in late 1917, pledged "faithfully and loyally to support the government of the United States in carrying on the present war for justice, freedom and democracy to a triumphant conclusion..." (p. 383). And so they did!

Press censorship, arrests of anti-war speakers, deportation of aliens—all were defended in the name of the "war for democracy." For this war, production had to be increased; smooth industrial operations had to be assured; strikes to be broken, workers regimented.

Hugh Frayne was appointed by Samuel Gompers to the War Labor Policies Board set up in May, 1918. (Officially Frayne represented the War Industries Board.) This Board had as its announced policy to "determine, directly for war industries, all questions involving the distribution of labor, wages, hours, and working conditions..." ("M-Day," p. 257.)

"It was an industrial dictatorship without parallel..." said G. B. Clarkson, ("M-Day," p. 258.) But only a mild dose of what can be expected under the Sheppard-May Industrial Mobilization Bill.

Gompers, Wall, Frayne and their kind remained throughout loyal to the system of wage slavery and imperialist war. Their peace-time class-collaboration with the bosses could not but mean wholehearted and enthusiastic support to them during the war.

### Green Follows Suit

So today, William Green follows in the path of Gompers. He endorses the war plans and preparations of the Roosevelt administration—again in the name of the "struggle for democracy." Other labor leaders are not so outspoken but just as ready to serve their masters. In reality, if they appear to oppose the war plans, they can be even more valuable once war breaks out. Let us not forget the anti-war speeches of Woodrow Wilson, William Jennings Bryan, John Spargo, Charles Edward Russell and Upton Sinclair!

In the trade unions, the workers must be prepared for such betrayals. The militant class struggle against the bosses, independent working class action against the Roosevelt war plans, the struggle for a socialist warless world, are the only preparations against war, before it breaks out and also after it is declared.

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