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PREPARES
THE NEXT WAR**

**By
JAY LOVESTONE**

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America Prepares The Next War

By JAY LOVESTONE

The present aggressive role of American imperialism largely grows out of its strength as the dominant world power—a country with a huge world trade and a tremendous capital export.

The key to the policies of the United States imperialists in the world situation today is to be found in its role as the leading capital exporting country.

America's export of capital can be divided into three main stages: Before the war America was a capital importing country. In the first immediate post-war stage the export of American capital was characterized mainly by its use for the outright crushing of revolutionary proletarian and colonial movements. It was American dollars that were the mainspring of the forces drowning in blood the revolutionary uprising of the working class of Europe.

In the second stage American capital served primarily as a "safety valve." It was employed, in the main, for helping the stabilization of capitalism in Europe.

In the present, or the third period, American capital exports to Europe serve predominantly to strengthen the competitors of Wall Street. This very strengthening of the European capitalist competitors develops conflicts amongst the imperialist powers. The huge export of American capital grows out of the very strength of the North American imperialists, but this very great export of capital serves simultaneously not only as the source of contradictions in American capitalism, not only as the basis of the aggressive imperialist policy, but also as the basis of the increasingly powerful resistance to this policy.

Let no one for a moment think that it means advertising American imperialism when one recounts its still existing strength. We cannot understand the powerful offensive United States capitalism is developing; we cannot grasp in the least its role in the coming

imperialist war, unless we are fully aware of its potentialities as well as its contradictions.

The national wealth of the United States is approximately four hundred billion dollars. American imperialism still controls at least half the world's monetary gold. With only 7% of the world's population, America controls the bulk of the world's resources. For example, 44 out of every 100 tons of coal produced; 70 out of every 100 barrels of oil; 52 out of every 100 tons of steel; 60 out of every 100 bales of cotton; 60 out of every 100 bushels of corn and at least half the railway mileage, copper and pig iron produced in the world are to be found in the United States. Today American industry is characterized by mass production, tremendous accumulation and huge concentration of capital.

The total amount of capital exported by the United States to date is about 25 billion dollars. Over 5 billion have been exported to Latin America, over 4 billion to Europe, nearly 4 billion to Canada, close to 1 billion in the Far East and about one-half billion scattered in Africa, the Near East and elsewhere. The American bourgeoisie receives annually an interest on its exported capital of about one billion dollars. Today no one doubts the fact that America has definitely displaced Great Britain as the world's creditor.

WHY THE HUGE EXPORT OF CAPITAL?

Why is there such a huge export of capital from the United States? The war lent tremendous impetus to the development of production in the United States. First of all there is a surplus plant capacity averaging 26%. In the automobile industry we find a surplus plant capacity of 26%. In agricultural implements it is 39%, etc. Secondly, there is a surplus of credit in the country. Thirdly, the present acute depression. Fourthly, there is a relative shrinkage of the domestic market due to the greater rate of increase in productive efficiency than of the forces making for an increase in the domestic market. Here we must keep in mind the fact that the agrarian crisis which, though somewhat alleviated, still continues acute, has been making for a narrowing of the domestic market.

The huge number of unemployed, in whose ranks are to be found a very large proportion of permanently disemployed, due to the tremendous rationalization, must be taken into account here. Fifthly,

the increasing competition in the world market as especially evidenced by the growing international cartel movement in Europe.

What are the effects of the export of capital? What contradictions does this phenomenon develop in American capitalist economy? What does it mean for the workers?

When American imperialism exports capital to China, Italy, India or any country which is less developed industrially, it is in a position to dominate the industries of these countries and there to manufacture commodities at lower cost, at lower wages than in America. This very strength of American imperialism which enables the bourgeoisie to have super-profits so as to give a few crumbs to the labor aristocracy, itself develops contradictions. For the bulk of the working class in the imperialist country these contradictions bear the danger of lowering the standard of living, because of the very increase of the export of capital. The reduction of the standard of living and the standard of wages of the working class, or any section of the working class, is determined not by the highest but by the lowest wages which the bourgeoisie can force the workers to accept. Consequently, if the American capitalists through their export of capital to the less industrially developed countries, are able to secure cheaper labor power in European or Asiatic countries, they will either reduce their working forces in America or slash the wages of those working forces at home.

Second, we notice an increasing conflict between finance and industrial capital—for instance the deepening of the differences over the tariff issue now developing new features in the United States.

Third, we have an increasing integration of the state apparatus with big business. This means that the frequency of the working class clashing with the state apparatus, even in its every day struggles and the likelihood of the most elementary economic struggles taking on a political character, are on the increase. Furthermore, the increasing export of capital means increasing aggressive imperialist policy. Increasing aggressive imperialist policy demands sharper, swifter, more decisive action by the ruling class. This explains why the leading organs of the American Government are being dominated by such figures as Dawes, a mid-western big banker; Morrow, a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Com-

pany; Hoover, himself a millionaire, and Mellon, said to be the wealthiest man in the country.

Fourth, the development of a parasitic rentier class.

Fifth, the driving towards a collision of imperialist powers for markets, sources of raw material, capital export possibilities and spheres of influence.

THE AGGRESSIVE ROLE OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Formally, America has no big colonial possessions as compared with such imperialist powers as England and France. Still there are one hundred million people living in Latin America and in the Pacific possessions of the United States, that are virtually colonial or semi-colonial in their relation to the United States. No continental European country since Napoleon's day has extended its territorial domain in the same proportion as has the United States. American imperialism always boasts of being peace-loving. Yet, it is doubtful whether any of the European imperialist powers have taken by conquest more of their neighbors' land. The hypocrisy and demagogy of American imperialism are immeasurable. When the Yankee imperialists speak of "peaceful penetration" they mean dollar penetration. They boast of the "education" they bring to their colonies. They are proud of the "sanitary systems" they introduce. There is as much truth as jest in the statement that American imperialism has as its emblem the sewer.

Some of the defenders of American imperialism even speak of "painless imperialism." We find Roosevelt, a pioneer in the "Big Stick" policies of Wall Street, thus explaining the robbing of the land for the Panama Canal by the United States:

"This country (America) made every possible effort to persuade Colombia to allow herself to be benefited.

... If I had followed traditional conservative methods, I should have submitted a dignified state paper of probably 200 pages to Congress and the debate on it would be going on yet. But I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate, and while the debating goes on, the Canal does too."

This illustrates the fake humanitarianism, the demagogy and the brutality of American imperialism.

Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama and Santo Domingo are American protectorates. Since the opening of the 20th Century, American imperialism has intervened over thirty times in nine supposed sovereign states. Some of these interventions have lasted for years. In four such supposedly sovereign states there are American customs collectors. American imperialism has its own specific technique in its aggrandizement. Usually it is to manoeuvre to put a properly disposed government into power, negotiate with it a treaty which includes a loan guaranteed by customs control or such other revenues and concessions as turn over the wealth of the country to the American companies on the ground. Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica and Panama are examples in point.

In Liberia for instance, the Firestone Plantation Company, with the open assistance of the American State Department, is introducing a system of colonial slavery. In Cuba, American investors, supported by the State Department, gave aid and recognition to a government especially notorious for open political assassinations and imprisonment of workers. In Chile the American State Department upholds a dictatorship that crushes the labor movement and gives special privileges to American nitrate interests. Thousands of peasants have been robbed of their land in Haiti and the country has been enslaved by means of loans put through by the puppet president Borno, who has helped the murder of thousands of defenseless Haitians by American marines.

This is the "painless imperialism" which serves as the primary financial support for Mussolini and fascism. Wall Street imperialism is at the same time casting longing glances at Africa and the Far East. Manchuria is already being called, by the self-styled humanitarians of American imperialism, the "Belgium of the Far East."

The Yankee imperialists see Europe in a state of unstable equilibrium. They often call Canada the 49th state. Virtually, Canada, in the financial sense, is an American colony. This is true despite the fact that Canada is a land of rising capitalism and even exports means of production.

DRIVING FORCES OF AMERICAN IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

The driving forces for the increasing aggressiveness of American imperialism are:

- (1) The fight for new markets for its commodity surplus.
- (2) The fight for new markets for its capital surplus.
- (3) The fight for sources of raw material, such as rubber, oil, nitrates, etc. For instance, the United States producing 70% of the world's oil, controls only 12% of the world's oil resources.

Ogden L. Mills, Assistant Secretary of the U. S. Treasury Department, thus formulates the present American imperialist policy:

"It is of vital importance, therefore, that our foreign policy should be such as shall not only protect American trade but also contribute to the stabilization of conditions throughout the world. . .

". . . The day of isolation in world affairs is over, nor is there any disposition on our part to seek an aloofness which can never be anything more than imaginary. We do not shirk our responsibility as a world power, but we still retain our rights to define what those responsibilities are and to state under what circumstances we shall use our power and resources." *Foreign Affairs Quarterly*, July, 1928.

American aggressiveness shows itself in Europe, in Asia (the recent manoeuvres with the Nanking Government), in Latin America (crushing of Nicaragua), the vigorous hostility to the Soviet Union (refusal to recognize), sharpening of Anglo-American relations (the struggle over the size of the navy, the war debt problem, the struggle over oil and rubber). A frank statement of the whole trend of American imperialist policy is thus given by Capt. Luke McNamee, one of the leading American naval strategists:

"The time is approaching when our prosperity will depend largely upon the ability to compete in the international market with manufactured goods. History shows that war is but an ultimate form of economic competition. If we are to compete on equal terms we must have a Navy able to protect our trade. 'He who controls the sea controls the world'—that is Mahan's dictum. We do not wish to control the sea but if protection means anything we are willing to fight for the freedom of that sea from the control of anyone.

". . . I wish to say a word about false propaganda against the Army and Navy. I am repeating no idle rumor when I tell you that much of this propaganda has a sinister foreign source, its

object—the overthrow of our government and the ultimate dictatorship of the proletariat."

VIGOROUS WAR PREPARATIONS

American imperialism is openly engaged in vigorous war preparations. In his address on Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Day, May 30, 1928, President Coolidge said:

"Our investments and trade relations are such that it is almost impossible to conceive of any conflict anywhere on earth which would not affect us injuriously. Whether so intended or not, any nations engaging in war would thereby necessarily be engaged in a course prejudicial to us."

And one of the leading aerial experts of the country has said:

"In my opinion we will never have an opportunity of debating about the next war, because it will come in the air, overnight, and the declaration of war will be ushered in by the dropping of a bomb which will not be preceded by the interchange of diplomatic courtesies as in the past. . . . America's only thought is her self-preservation but she has an awful lot to protect." (*Japan, the Air Menace of the Pacific*, by Lt.-Col. W. Jefferson Davis.)

American war preparations are manifested in seven main ways:

1. *Ideological.* Admirals and generals are touring the country proclaiming that the United States has never been defeated in a war. They are demanding increased military, naval and aerial budgets. Military training schools are being extended. Military training is being introduced into ever larger numbers of educational institutions. Feverish propaganda is being made for the building up of a bigger and more reliable officers corps especially selected from the biggest business interests. Position in the standing army is becoming more and more a first-class reference for high business positions. Active hatred of Japan, Great Britain and the Soviet Union is being propagandized. Coolidge is demanding that the press must be 100% loyal to the Government policies, without the slightest criticism or reservations, in foreign affairs, even in pre-war times. The Lindbergh tours through Central and South America were propaganda tours for the increasing military preparations of the United States, with the objective of still greater domination of Latin America.

2. *The pacifist offensive.* The Havana Conference had as one of its principal objectives the mobilization of the reserve forces of Latin-American countries in the event of a clash with European imperialist powers. All this, of course, was done under the guise of boosting peace. We must not overlook the fact that there are eighteen Latin-American countries in the League of Nations. Here we must especially cite the Kellogg Pact.

3. *Military, Naval and Aerial Preparedness.* Uncle Shylock now maintains the largest military and naval forces he has ever had during any time of peace. Within the last six years the United States has expended one-quarter billion dollars for aeroplanes alone. The Caribbean and Latin-American Air Line, today proposed for commercial reasons, are military highways. After the blow-up of the Geneva Naval Limitations Conference, the American Congress proceeded to pass the second biggest naval budget in the history of the country. The Coolidge administration has spent more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars on the navy. The total amount spent for armaments by the United States in 1927 is the biggest spent by any country — nearly six hundred million dollars. From 1913 to 1927 the United States increased its military budget by 124%; England by 65%; Italy by 15% and France by 2%.

In 1927, 82 cents out of every dollar spent by the government went towards meeting the expenses of past, present and future wars. The National Defense Act of 1916 lays the basis for immediate mobilization of millions of soldiers, and broadens the basis of the trained nucleus of the conscript army.

Great attention is being paid in the United States to chemical warfare preparations. Recognition of this fact is clearly brought out in a speech recently delivered by Sir James Irvine, principal and vice-chancellor of St. Andrews University of Scotland before the Institute of Chemists of the American Chemical Society, where he said:

"America can only do the great work she has led in and set out to do by developing a most deadly gas, by creating and maintaining an adequate Navy and an adequate system of national defense."
(*New York Times*, July 4th, 1928.)

4. *Militarization of Industry and Mechanization of the Military Forces.*

The American war staff is studying the mechanization of the army. An extensive investigation of the mechanization of battlefield forces has been completed by the General Staff of the Army as indicated in an official statement of the General Staff, following in part:

"These studies indicate that the limit of movement with its companionate principle of surprise may be restored to battlefield tactics by some degree of mechanization. . . . The commercial development in the United States of the automobile would permit a comparatively simple process of change over from peace-time to military requirements in an emergency.

The Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Robbins, has also declared:

"Science and warfare now go hand in hand. The war of the future will be largely a mechanized affair, a war of machines."

Industry under the National Defense Act is being reorganized with a view towards the swiftest mobilization for operations on a war basis, and for the transformation of the most efficient and biggest factories into centres of war supply production.

5. *The Integration of the State Apparatus with Big Business.* The huge private armies maintained by the big employers and the extension of the executive power of the Government are evidence of the greater efficiency for war that is thus developed.

6. *The Repression of the Workers.* The present offensive against the working class is an integral part of the war preparations of the American bourgeoisie. A national anti-strike law has been prepared by the American Bar Association. This is an organization of the leading finance capital lawyers. This strike-breaking law has already received the sanction of the official leaders of the trade-union movement, Green and Woll of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council. The open-shop offensive is increasing its momentum. Through backdoor methods, definite steps have already been taken to institute the registration of foreign-born workers.

7. *The Extension of the Domination of the World Market.* Here we cite the recent adoption of the Jones Ship Subsidy Bill, the decision to build a new Canal to supplement the Panama Canal, which in less than a decade will be too small for American marine

traffic and naval effectiveness; the granting of special privileges to American export.

Hoover, who will probably be the next American president, is responsible for getting Congress to appropriate many millions to help the powerful American industrialists fight successfully against monopoly of certain commodities by foreign imperialists. Hoover is an ardent advocate of a Congressional Bill for the encouragement of American trustification with a view of meeting foreign competition. He played a dominant role in the Wall Street fight against British rubber monopoly and is aiming also to secure tax exemption for American investments abroad.

Today the State Department is actively supervising the export of capital with a view of considering "the possible national interests involved." This means the withholding of American capital from such countries and on such occasions where capital might increase the armaments of other powers "at the wrong time," for aiding foreign monopolies (refusal to make a German potash loan), hostility to a government representing another class (Soviet Union).

THE KELLOGG TREATIES

The Kellogg Treaties are part of the pacifist offensive of Wall Street imperialism. These treaties can be characterized in the following manner:

- (1) An attack on the League of Nations.
- (2) The laying of further emphasis on the United States as the world centre.
- (3) Trying to play with and perpetuate divisions among the European imperialist powers.
- (4) An answer to and an attack against the disarmament plan of the Soviet Union with a view towards helping isolate the Soviet Union.
- (5) A freer hand for an attack against the colonial peoples by the U. S.
- (6) Preparation for 1931, when the Washington Conference Agreement shall have expired.

The bluff, cheating and hypocrisy of the Kellogg Treaties are obvious. Secretary of State Kellogg himself, in commenting on

these treaties, has said: "Political questions cannot be arbitrated." These treaties aim to "outlaw" war everywhere except where it is most likely to occur. For instance, these treaties do not apply, in the hypocrisy of self-defense, for the fraudulent Locarno Commitments, for the League Covenant Commitments, for the safeguarding of certain special Wall Street interests in Latin America, or other imperialist interests in the Near East.

Obviously, while the United States is pretending to be for peace, it is engaged in a war on Nicaragua and is participating in the attack on China.

MAIN POLICIES OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The four main policies of American imperialism are:

- (1) Isolation.
- (2) Monroe Doctrine.
- (3) The Open Door.
- (4) The Dawes Plan.

These policies are a reflex of the various economic periods in the development of American capitalism. They do not conflict with each other. All of them are still resorted to by American imperialists whenever they find it necessary to use them either jointly or separately. The Dawes Plan, however, marks the highest point of development in the plans of American imperialist domination to date.

1. *Isolation.* This policy was actually in vogue in the very first years of the national independence of the American bourgeoisie. As the American bourgeoisie developed, this policy was applied less and less and served more and more only as a shibboleth to cover up the increasing domination of American imperialism and as a stimulant for propaganda purposes at home in the covering up of aggressive imperialist policies.

2. *The Monroe Doctrine* is a closed door policy, in the first instance against all other imperialist powers in Latin America. Its latest and completest application is evidenced in the invasion and crushing of Nicaragua. The sham of American democracy is forcibly brought home in the provisions for the election laid down by the American imperialists. The United States Marine Captain,

McCoy, has veto power and is himself a quorum of the Commission supervising the elections. The most heroic fighters against American imperialism are not permitted to participate in the elections, for they are on the battlefield, giving their lives to drive out the invading forces of Wall Street.

In the course of the development of the Monroe Doctrine, a number of corollaries have been put forth indicating the growing aggressiveness and the increasing domination of American imperialism. Let us merely list the eight principal corollaries of the Monroe Doctrine:

(a) No Latin-American State may voluntarily give or sell any territory to any other power except the United States.

(b) The United States is the arbitrator in all ordinary disputes between Latin-American countries themselves or between Latin-American countries and other powers already possessing land on the continent.

(c) No private non-American corporations are permitted to secure harbors or other concessions of this sort.

(d) The United States looks with disfavor upon any economic concessions to European or Asiatic powers.

(e) The United States is authorized to use military and naval forces to settle conflicts within the Latin-American countries.

(f) The United States has the right to intervene on the pretense of preventing the developing of a condition which might demand intervention by European or Asiatic powers.

(g) When a supposed sovereign state of Latin America cannot maintain "order" and "disturbs international obligations," the United States may assume financial and political control of such a state.

(h) What is known as the Coolidge corollary makes Latin America, particularly Central America, an exclusive preserve of American imperialism and turns the Caribbean into "an American lake" or an "American Mediterranean."

3. *The Open Door Policy.* The open door policy formulated by former Secretary of State, John Hay, is a recognition of the fact that American imperialism has entered the Far Eastern field later than other imperialist powers and seeks to secure for itself first of all equality of opportunity for American imperialists, with the sole objective of in time dominating this field also. American imperialists are convinced that the future of China is the key to the future of Japan and America as world imperialist powers. Here the question of the Philippines is also of utmost importance to

American imperialism, not only as a tremendous reservoir of raw materials, but also as a primary military and naval base in the Far East.

4. *The Dawes Plan.* The Dawes Plan symbolizes the most complete expression of the exercise of American imperialist hegemony. It gives the American imperialists a virtual mortgage on the resources of Germany. The American imperialists do not look upon the Dawes Plan merely as a plan for Germany, but are suggesting adaptations of it for all countries. A similar plan was once suggested for France, (the Hurley Plan). Such talk is heard also in discussing American imperialist proposals for China.

It is significant that 60% of the German reparations are retransferred through the Dawes Plan, as if by a conduit pipe, to Washington. That is why the United States resists all efforts to trim the Dawes Plan. Most of these efforts are based on the fact that the war debt payments to the United States, which are integrally bound up with the Dawes Plan, rise on an ascending scale while the standard Dawes annuity will remain constant after this year.

FIELDS OF AMERICAN IMPERIALIST CONFLICT

The principal fields of conflict of American imperialism today are the following:

1. *The Anglo-American Conflict.* This conflict today occupies the place in the realm of conflicts among the imperialist powers that the Anglo-German antagonism did prior to the last war. We will merely sketch the sources of conflict between the United States and Great Britain:

(a) The decisive defeat administered to British capitalism in Canada by American capitalism.

(b) The sharp conflict of interests in Latin and Central America.

(c) The beating back of British imperialist interests in the Far East by American imperialism.

(d) The struggle for the mastery of the world's oil resources.

(e) The attempts of Britain to break the virtual American cotton monopoly through its own aggressive plans in Egypt.

(f) The increasing closeness of relations between Australia and New Zealand on the one hand and the United States on the other as a sign of the disintegration of the British Empire.

(g) The conflicts arising out of the debt question.

(h) The conflict for supremacy in the field of the export of capital and over the difficulties growing out of the gold standard

in the conditions under which the United States has within its possession at least half of the world's monetary gold.

(i) The extreme suspicion with which Great Britain views the increasing American trade with India which has risen from 162 million dollars in 1913 to over one-half billion dollars in 1927.

(j) The conflict over rubber. America is trying to break the British monopoly through the development of its own plantations in the Philippines and Liberia. In recent months Great Britain has been compelled to give way somewhat to the United States in this field.

(k) The conflict over the mastery of the sea lanes and naval power. When the American Congress passed the Jones Ship Subsidy Bill, the Executive Council of the Shipping Federation of Great Britain declared that "legislation of this character amounts in substance, if not technically, to a breach of comity of nations."

2. *Latin America.* Except for Argentine, Brazil and Chile, the Latin-American countries are virtually protectorates of Uncle Shylock. Sharp rebukes greet the slightest attempt of these countries at some measure of genuine independence. As an instance we cite the recent offensive reply of Coolidge to the faint efforts of Porto Rico at securing the slightest measures of relief from American imperialist domination. The total amount of capital invested in Latin America by the United States is over 5.25 billion dollars. The export of capital to Latin America is increasing at a rapid pace and the rate of increase is especially noticeable in countries like Argentine and Brazil, where British capital hitherto had unlimited sway.

3. *The Fight Against the Soviet Union.* American imperialism continues to maintain an energetically hostile policy towards the Soviet Union. Its tactics here are most hypocritical. In order to mislead the masses, among whom there is considerable sentiment for the Soviet Union, the official Government policy pretends to differentiate between the Government of the Soviet Union and the people of the Soviet Union. Similar double-faced propaganda is to be noticed in the cry of the United States State Department that the Comintern and the Soviet Government are one.

The real reason for this hostility is to be found in the fact that nowhere is there brought out so clearly the sharpness of differences in the classes controlling the various Governments today as in the diametrically opposite characters of the classes controlling the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union. Here we have

the two opposite poles of society today, but the increasing need for new markets and outlets for its surplus capital are bound in time to change, in certain respects, the American Government's attitude towards the Soviet Union.

4. *The Conflict in Europe.* Today the United States imperialists are conducting so-called political flirtations with Germany, in order to prevent or at least to dominate all mergings or alliances of Franco-German capitalist interests. American manoeuvres in Poland and increasing efforts at domination of Polish government finances and industry are aimed at securing additional outposts against England. The whole conflict over debts and the tariff makes for increasingly aggressive participation by the United States in European affairs.

5. *The Conflict in the Pacific.* Yankee imperialists are increasingly looking upon the Pacific as the theatre of the next imperialist war. American naval and military strategy has this as its axiom. Many consider the Philippines as the Achilles Heel of American imperialism in the Pacific. The antagonisms between Japan and the United States dominate this sphere of international complications. These antagonisms are sharpening, though the United States has shown itself at all times ready to cooperate energetically with other imperialist powers for the purpose of crushing revolutionary China.

THE ROLE OF REFORMISM

The reactionary trade-union bureaucracy is part and parcel of the imperialist apparatus of the United States. The Pan-American Federation of Labor, organized by Gompers, is merely an adjunct of the Pan-American Union, which in turn is an agent of Wall Street for crushing Latin-American countries. The attitude of the trade-union bureaucracy towards foreign relations is determined by the attitude of the State Department. The American Federation of Labor Executive Council issues no declarations on international questions without first having these declarations approved by the State Department.

The Socialist Party is organically bound up with the trade-union bureaucracy. Hillquit, its leader, is a vigorous proponent of the

League of Nations. Its presidential candidate, the Rev. Dr. Norman Thomas, in characterizing the Kellogg Pact, has said:

" . . . The treaties, or rather the treaty, which is submitted to many nations for signature, and the explanatory note, are reasonable and convincing as far as they go.

"If this treaty is generally signed, it will be an important first step towards the abolition of war. So vital is the abolition of war, with its untold possibilities of destruction in our modern world, that we cannot afford to overlook, ignore or reject any step towards peace." (The New Leader, June 30, 1928).

The opposition of the petit-bourgeoisie to the American imperialist war plans is, at best, weak-kneed. Their conduct is treacherous. Senator Borah, their leader, has defended and supported American imperialist invasion of China and the war on Nicaragua. Norris, Shipstead and the other so-called progressive senators, have aided and abetted the imperialist campaigns in China and in Nicaragua in a most shameful manner.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The one source of conscious, vigorous opposition to American imperialism and the imperialist war danger, is the Workers (Communist) Party. The American communists have broken with pacifist errors, though the pacifist danger in the United States in the working class as a whole is very great. In fighting this tendency we have placed our communist position very sharply. Thus the keynote at our last election nominating convention was: **TURN THE NEXT IMPERIALIST WAR INTO A CIVIL WAR.**

On a limited scale the Party has already made a good beginning in practical anti-war work. Demonstrations have been organized before the New York and Philadelphia Navy Yards on the eve of the sailing of marines for Nicaragua. Sailors and marines in the Boston Navy Yards have been effectively reached with our leaflets. A beginning has also been made in communist activities among the forces on the West Coast, after overcoming the most dangerous pacifist mistakes our Party has made.

Our press is being utilized increasingly among the military forces. We have established a special "servicemen's" and "ex-servicemen's" column in the *Daily Worker*. Our Party has also formulated practical demands for the soldiers. During the war manoeuvres in

New York, there was an adequate distribution of leaflets. In all our propaganda work we are emphasizing defeatist slogans. This was particularly to be noticed in the campaign against war in Nicaragua, where we openly called upon the American marines to desert the forces of Wall Street and join the army of Sandino. Our Party has engaged actively in mobilizing sentiment and resources for the victory of the Nicaraguan forces led by Sandino over the American imperialist forces.

Very successful street demonstrations characterized our *Hands Off China* campaign. We consider as a very important section of our anti-war work, the campaign for the recognition and defense of the Soviet Union. Our Party is now working on the development of practical ways of securing the maximum cooperation between ourselves and the Latin-American sections of the Comintern, as well as with the Chinese Communist Party.

Increasing attention is being paid by our Party to the organization of the worker-soldiers who participated in the last world war. We have to take additional necessary steps to set up an effective apparatus for the Party in time of war. Likewise we must learn to tie up more effectively our Negro work with our anti-militarist work. We must emphasize that the successes which we have had in our campaign against the war danger are in a large measure due to the close, vigorous cooperation between the Young Workers (Communist) League and the Party.

The American Communist Party does not look upon the war danger as an abstract question. Among the ways with which we have been fighting pacifism effectively is that of constant propaganda for the Red Army and the popularization of the Red Army among large sections of the American working class. The recent election program presents the Party's complete practical proposals in the fight against the imperialist war danger. It follows:

(1) Not a man, not a gun, not a cent for the imperialist army and navy.

(2) Down with the imperialist war against Nicaragua; defeat Wall Street's war in Nicaragua; marines sent to Nicaragua must refuse to fight against the national liberation army. American marines in Nicaragua and China, go over to the side of the Nicaraguan and Chinese revolutions!

(3) Immediate withdrawal of all American troops from Latin America and from the colonies in the Pacific. Immediate withdrawal of United States warships and marines from China.

(4) Complete and immediate independence for all American colonies and semi-colonies.

(5) Hands off Mexico.

(6) Abolition of the regime of the United States customs control, or 'supervision' of finances in Latin America. Withdrawal of support from the puppet governments supervised by United States imperialism such as those of Gomez of Venezuela, Legueta of Peru, and Ibanez of Chile.

(7) Abolition of all extra-territoriality privileges of the United States in South and Central America.

(8) Abolition of the present mercenary army and navy and state militia, and struggle for a toilers' militia; selection of officers by the soldiers and sailors. Full right to vote and hold office for the members of the military forces.

(9) Fight for the abolition of the whole system of infamous imperialist 'peace treaties.' Down with the Dawes Plan! Down with the Kellogg Treaties! Cancellation of all debts of the last imperialist world war. Immediate withdrawal from the World Court and refusal to enter into the League of Nations.

In reference to the campaign for the defense of the Soviet Union, we have advocated:

(1) Defend the Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union, the champion of the cause of the working class of all countries, against the supporters of the capitalist powers.

(2) Immediate recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States Government.

(3) Promotion of trade with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics by the granting of sufficient credits by the Federal Government as a means of stimulating American industry for absorbing the unemployed.

(4) Establishment of direct connections between the American and Russian working class.

Now that the Sixth Congress has effectively emphasized the need for redoubled anti-war activities, the American Party will serve as an increasingly decisive force in combatting American imperialism and turning the next imperialist war into a civil war.

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