

RESOLUTION ON THE WAR DANGER

against Imperialist War—for the Defeat of the U. S. Government—for the Defense of the Soviet Union

The December Plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party, declares its complete agreement with the resolution of the 6th World Congress of the Communist International that:

"The problem of combatting approaching imperialist war, the defense of the U. S. S. R., the fight against the intervention in and the partition of China and the defense of the Chinese Revolution and colonial uprisings are the principal international tasks of the Communist movement at the present time. These tasks must be linked up with the everyday working class struggle against the capitalist offensive and directed towards the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Since the World Congress the correctness of the Congress estimation of the imminence of the war danger has been borne out by a whole series of events. In the last few weeks there have been such manifestations as the following in which preparations of America for war have played the central role; Hoover's trip to Latin-America; the Cumber-land Project for the annexation of Nicaragua; the Senate report on the Nicaraguan canal project; the plans for military intervention in Cuba to break the strike against the American imperialist United Fruit Company there; the fomenting by the United States of a war between Bolivia and Paraguay; the maneuvers for intervention by the United States, by Argentina and by the League of Nations in the Chaco-Paraguay affair, which are fraught with the possibility of a world conflict; the Pan-American Conference at Washington; Coolidge's message to Congress with its plan for a \$700,000,000 budget for war preparations; his Armistice Day speech claiming world hegemony for the United States; the plans for reservations even to the fake League Pact; the statement of the Naval Board of the determination to put the navy on a war footing; the frantic exchange of diplomatic and pseudo-diplomatic notes with Great Britain—all these events of the last few weeks make it clear that a new world war period has already begun and that the Workers (Communist) Party must sound the alarm rally the masses for struggle against imperialist war.

BASIC TASKS OF PARTY IN STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

In the light of this imminence of world war and of the aggressive role played by the imperialists of the United States, the two outstanding tasks of the Party at the present moment are:

1. The struggle against imperialism and the imperialist war danger.

2. The fight to maintain the Bolshevik line of our Party—the struggle against the influence of social reformism, jingoism and pacifism in the labor movement and within the ranks of our Party. In other words, the fight against the Right danger, which is today the main danger facing our Party, and against Trotskyism.

The struggle against the war danger and against the growing aggressiveness of American imperialism is the basic task of our Party which must take precedence over all other matters, must permeate all the life and activities of the Party, and must give an immediate objective to the Party's work in the trade unions, fraction work, nucleus work, among the working class youth, Negroes, the working class women and the poor working farmers, and the activities of the Party in every field. All strike movements, all struggles against wage-cuts, injunctions, open shop, the fight against unemployment, for social legislation, the struggle against the harmful effects of capitalist rationalization, speed-up, conveyor system, must be linked up with the basic struggle of the Party against imperialist war.

The struggle against the Right danger and Trotskyism and the struggle to unify our Party assume the enormous importance which they do precisely because they are necessary in order to prepare our Party for the struggle against war. Underestimation of the strength of aggressiveness of American imperialism, and consequent underestimation of the war danger; overestimation of the strength of American imperialism, and consequent pessimism, defeatism, and passivity; the conception that there is no perspective for sharp class struggles; the mass Communist Party, for new unionism so long as American imperialism is still on an upward trend; failure to see the role of the Party and the American Federation of Labor as part of the anti-imperialist struggle and the Party's work among the Negro masses, pacifist tendencies or failure to combat pacifism and jingoism, and other manifestations of Right errors and tendencies must be rooted out of the Party because they paralyze the Party's ability to carry on the struggle against the war danger. The new Trotskyist (Cannon) attack upon our Party also assumes the importance that it does, because it is a movement which attempts to poison the minds of the American workers against the Soviet Union, against the Communist International and against our Party, thus aiding imperialism in its preparations for war and undermining the authority of the Party and the Communist International as the leader of the toiling masses in the struggle against imperialism.

The permeation of the whole Party with a consciousness of the imminence of the war danger is an absolute necessity. The Central Executive Committee is convinced that not only is the American working class not aroused to the imminence of war, but not even the Party is really awakened to it. The question of the war danger has been so much treated as a question of the future, a matter of speculation about the relative nearness of war and not enough as a matter of immediate urgency and of day-to-day struggle against imperialist war, and steps in preparation for it.

This basically wrong approach has led to comparative neglect of the anti-imperialist work, to failure to give the war danger primacy in the shaping of the activities of the Party in every field of struggle and in every department of Party work.

The Central Executive Committee calls the attention of the Party to these short-comings and declares that the Central Executive Committee and the Party must multiply manifold their efforts to arouse the masses of American workers to a realization of the war situation and to develop their will and capacity to struggle against the imperialist war. Any failure in this respect is a failure in the major task before the Party and a failure in our basic duty to the working class.

BEGINNINGS OF A NEW WORLD WAR

The roots of the present world war situation are:

1. The growing antagonism between the United States and British imperialism. This is the basic antagonism between the imperialist powers today, and takes the place of the antagonism between German and British imperialism prior to the war of 1914-18.

2. Growing aggression of U. S. imperialism in Latin America. This has gone so far that it not only represents conflicts with British capital to drive it out of Latin America, but also represents a definite attempt to take permanent possession of the two American continents for American capital and establish direct financial, political and military control.

3. Formation of a United Front of imperialist powers for war against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Beside the antagonisms between the imperialist powers, stands the most fundamental of all antagonisms—the antagonism of the imperialist powers on the one hand and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics on the other—the irreconcilable antagonism between the two opposite poles: capitalism and socialism. In spite of the antagonisms between the imperialist powers, their common antagonism to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—a common hatred of all imperialist powers toward the proletarian revolution and the Workers' government—has been strong enough to result in united preparations for war on the Soviet Union. These preparations are already being completed.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM PREPARES.

American imperialism is working overtime in completing the war preparations of the United States.

1. Military-Naval Preparations. The new budget provides the enormous sum of over \$700,000,000 for military and naval expenditures. Since the so-called "disarmament" conference of Washington, \$190,000,000 have been added to armament expenditures, and this year there is another \$100,000,000 increase as a sequel to the "disarmament" conference of Geneva. After the "war to end all wars" has come to a "victorious" end, every imperialist power is spending more on preparations for war today than they did in 1914. But the increase in expenditure of the United States is greater than that of any other big power.

Submitted by Comrades Gitlow and Minor and Adopted by the December Plenum of the Central Executive Committee

President Coolidge's message of December 5 congratulates the nation on the "outlawing of war" by the Kellogg Pact and then urges haste in the passage of the bill for the construction of fifteen new battle cruisers at a cost of a quarter of a billion dollars. This is part of a larger three-quarter billion dollar program of seventy-one cruisers.

That there may be no doubt of the meaning of this gigantic program of battleship construction, Secretary of the Navy Wilbur issued a statement on Navy Day delivering an ultimatum to the world that henceforth America will rule the seas and push its imperialist expansion more aggressively than ever. His statement formulates the basic principles of American imperialist preparations as follows:

1. To create . . . a navy second to none.
2. To make war efficiency an object of all training.
3. To make the strength of the navy for battle of primary importance.
4. To support in every possible way American interests, especially in the expansion and development of American foreign commerce and the American merchant marine.
5. . . . the maintenance in readiness of an expeditionary force.
6. A system of outlying naval and commercial bases suitably distributed.
7. To acquire accurate information pertaining to the political, military, naval, economic and industrial policies . . . of foreign countries.

In addition to a systematic fostering of civilian and airmail flying with a view of using it for war purposes, the President's budget included a program for 1,000 army and 1,800 navy planes by the end of 1931. The chemical division of the war department is working day and night on the preparation of new and more deadly gases, poisons and bacteria to wipe out whole populations in the next war.

This enormous military-naval-air-chemical preparation is for the purpose of conquering and maintaining by force the hegemony over the world that Coolidge openly claimed in his Armistice Day speech, when he said:

"Recent developments have brought to us not only a new economic but a new political relationship to the rest of the world. . . . It is our duty to ourselves and the cause of civilization, to the preservation of domestic tranquility, to our orderly and lawful relations to foreign people, to maintain an adequate army and navy. . . . It is obvious that . . . world standards of defense require us to have more cruisers."

Thus Coolidge celebrates the 10th anniversary of the armistice that ended the "war to end all wars."

PREPARING THE "HOME FRONT"

As pointed out in the CEC Plenum thesis on the Economic and Political Situation and the Tasks of the Workers (Communist) Party, American imperialism, as an essential part of the war preparations, makes important changes in its internal structure, among them:

1. Enormous further consolidation of industry—trustification, mergers, fusion of industry with government and open control of government by the big trusts and banks. The merger of government with business and the ever more open domination of government by Wall Street are expressed by the taking over of the presidency by the outstanding personification of imperialist conquest and rationalization of industry (Herbert Hoover), the crowning even of a whole series of like manifestations, the taking over of one of the most important positions of the foreign policy apparatus by a partner of the House of Morgan (Morrow), and the taking over of the Treasury Department by the outstanding figure personifying the union of trustified industry and banking (Mellon).

2. Rationalization: systematic division of labor to increase efficiency, introduction of new machinery, speed-up, wage-cuts, etc., with the aim of increasing profits, strengthening the ability of industry to compete on the foreign market and insuring efficiency of production of war.

3. Further raising of the tariff walls, coupled with the further raising of the immigration barriers.

4. Union smashing and open shop drives to render labor impotent in war time. In this drive the employers are using the entire machinery of government, courts, police, militia and military.

5. Systematic corruption of the most privileged sections of the working class and above all of the bureaucracy of the labor movement. This has led to the A. F. of L. bureaucracy becoming openly a section of the imperialist war machine. At the last convention of the A. F. of L. even all pretenses of pacifism were dropped and substituted by the most open jingoism and war propaganda. The further development of class collaboration by the trade union bureaucracy makes it a mechanism for the recruiting of the workers for the war aims of imperialism. For war on the Soviet Union, for the aims of American imperialism, for high tariff and immigration restrictions, against a struggle by the workers against capitalism, for a struggle of the bosses against the workers, for the expulsion of all workers urging a fighting policy, against the Communists, for the parties, government, and aims of the capitalists, for the capitalist system, against the rule of the workers—such is the official program of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

6. Tremendous propaganda drive to create the illusion that under capitalism America can solve the problems of unemployment, poverty, etc., that are inseparable from the capitalist system. Every message of Coolidge, every speech of Hoover, every capitalist newspaper editorial, every capitalist "economics" book finds its way into the ears of the American masses. The Hoover proposal to "end unemployment" by a three billion dollar reserve fund is the latest futile effort to give substance to these illusions, an effort unable to solve the problem of unemployment, but strengthening the union of big capital and state apparatus.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST PACIFIST ILLUSIONS.

7. The creation of pacifist illusions—Just as the world war of 1914-18 was preceded by an epidemic of official pacifism (Hague conferences, arbitration treaties, Bryan treaties, etc.), so the new world war is being prepared by a new epidemic of government pacifism (Kellogg Pact, Washington, Geneva, Locarno, Lugano, Pan-American conferences, etc.). This aim of all this government "pacifism" is to cover up war preparations, to make them acceptable to the masses, to lull the masses to sleep while war is being prepared and to prove the government "didn't want war but was forced into it."

Petty bourgeois and church pacifists eagerly accept the pacifist words of the government and spread them among the masses, giving these illusions greater strength because of the apparent "innocence" of the petty bourgeois and church pacifists.

The worst of these are the socialists, who more than any others are fully conscious of the service they render to capitalism by disarming the masses, by blunting the struggle against imperialist war, by teaching that imperialism can become peaceful, by helping the war preparations, by supporting such imperialist instruments as the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact. At the same time, the socialist party provides the propaganda for imperialism to poison the minds of the masses against the Soviet Union and to recruit for war on the Workers' Government.

All brands of official and unofficial pacifism try to foster the illusion that war is avoidable under capitalism and that the imperialist powers can create instruments capable of preventing a second world war. The pacifist propaganda is in many respects even more dangerous than the openly jingoist and militaristic agitation, because it effects also those masses which are against war and are unwilling to serve as agents of United States imperialism.

8. The role of Cannon-Trotskyism. In this connection, one of the most dangerous sources of propaganda for war on the Soviet Union, because it comes in the name of so-called "Communism," is the

poison spread by the Cannon-Lore-Eastman-Trotskyist renegades. Such slogans as "Defend the Lives of Trotsky and Radek," and "The Soviet Government is a Kulak and Nepman's Government" can have no other function than to make the intended war on the Soviet Union acceptable to the masses and to paralyze their will to defend the Workers' Government. Their attacks upon our Party and the Communist International are calculated to weaken the leadership of the Comintern and the Party over the masses in the forthcoming struggles. Naturally, the socialist and capitalist press gives ready publicity to this propaganda.

9. The Right danger. Social reformism, jingoism, and pacifism reflect themselves in the ideology of some sections of the Workers (Communist) Party. The influence of these manifestations of social reformism results in opportunistic Right errors committed by Communists. The theory which claims that American imperialism has already reached its "apex," which refuses to see that, quite to the contrary, the disproportion between the growing power of American imperialism and its "lack" of colonies and the declining power of British imperialism and its tremendous colonial empire is the most powerful factor working towards the next world war—leads to a dangerous underestimation of the war danger, makes a correct interpretation of the whole world imperialist situation impossible, and constitutes a very harmful Right error. The theory which denies the primacy of the external contradictions of the world-wide imperialist system, which claims the primacy of the internal contradictions in the individual countries, which refuses to see the mutual relations between external and internal contradictions, leads to a position which negates the struggle against the war danger as the central task of the Communist International.

The theory which places the struggle against rationalization and war danger on an equal footing amounts to the rejection of the thesis of the Communist International, which places the struggle against the war danger into the center of the tasks of the Communist parties and conceives of the fight against the harmful effects of capitalist rationalization, which in itself is only a part of imperialist war preparedness, as a portion of our struggle against the imperialist war danger. The conception which puts forward such a slogan as "Struggle Against More Cruisers" is an opportunistic view and leaders to advocating the demand of partial disarmament under capitalism. And these erroneous views of the Bittelman-Foster Opposition must be rejected by the entire Party.

Likewise such opportunistic conceptions must be rejected as expressed by Comrade Scott Nearing that the antagonism between British and American imperialism makes a joint imperialist war against the Soviet Union improbable, or that the suppressed peoples of Latin America cannot wage a revolutionary war against the United States. All remnants of provincialism, legalism within the ranks of our Party, all expression of white chauvinism, any lack of understanding toward the liberation struggles of the colonial peoples, or a nihilistic attitude toward the national question must be combated by the entire Party.

American imperialism is particularly concentrating on extending its domination over Latin America. Its efforts to drive Great Britain out of Latin America, to safeguard its rear, to secure the canal which gives access to the Pacific, to build another canal in Nicaragua, to monopolize the rich spheres of investment, trade and war materials, such as petroleum, minerals, etc.—all this has resulted in an enormous increase in the aggressiveness of United States imperialism in Latin America.

Its control over Latin America is exercised through ambassadors, financial overseers, military and naval "advisers," purchased governments, subsidized "revolutions" against governments under the influence of Great Britain or unwilling to surrender everything to American imperialism, and, in a whole series of countries, direct military intervention.

TASKS OF PARTY TO INTENSIFY WAR DANGER CAMPAIGN. In the face of this situation, the Plenum of the Central Committee calls upon the Party to execute as the immediate practical tasks for intensifying this campaign the following measures:

1. The adaptation of all agitation, all propaganda, all trade union work, all factory work—in short, all the activities of the Party—to our struggles against the war danger. Every campaign of the Party, every struggle of any sections of the working class must be linked up with the fight against the imperialist war danger.

2. The widest possible agitation to convince the toiling masses of the imminence of imperialist war and the necessity of struggle against it. Huge mass meetings, demonstrations, discussion by every comrade with his fellow-workers in the factory, resolutions and discussions in the union and non-Party organizations of every kind are necessary.

3. A most determined and continuous struggle to combat all jingoistic propaganda and all pacifism and pacifist delusions in the ranks of the working class, to destroy all illusions concerning the possibility of so-called "defensive war" on the part of an imperialist power like the United States. All tendencies towards "the defense of the home country," all tendencies to plant the struggle against imperialism and imperialist war in the abstract, to struggle against "war in general" and "imperialism in general," must be replaced by the instilling of a resolute determination on the part of the workers of America to fight their "own" bourgeoisie, to defeat their "own" master class, to overthrow their "own" imperialism, and by an adaptation of all the activities of the Party to the central aim of mobilizing the working class for the class war against the imperialist war.

We must instill in the masses the firm conviction that only by revolutionary struggle can they put an end to all imperialism and the imperialist war system. The aim of all Communists must be to transform the imperialist war into civil war against the capitalist class, to overthrow the capitalist government, and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

4. Intensification of our work among the most oppressed sections of the toiling masses of the United States, particularly among the Negro masses and Latin-American immigrant workers.

5. Building of the apparatus of women's work for the effective mobilization of women in industry and the working class women generally in the struggle against imperialist war.

6. The All-American Anti-Imperialist League, a united front organization for a struggle against imperialism with branches in the United States and throughout Latin America and continental headquarters in Mexico, is an organization in which the Party takes an active part. We must build and strengthen the U. S. section with all possible energy on a broad labor basis.

7. Strengthening of the bonds which unite us with the Latin-American and Canadian Communist Parties and more support to the struggles of the toiling masses of the American continent, against American imperialism.

8. The building up and strengthening of the anti-imperialist department in every district and sub-district committee.

9. Increasing the number of shop nuclei, strengthening them and digging the Party's roots more deeply into the factories, proletarianization of the entire Party, is an indispensable part of the Party's preparation of its organizational form, composition, and activities, for the war situation. Special energy shall be devoted to the building of nuclei in war industries.

10. Combination of legal and illegal work; strengthening our apparatus for illegal work. The developing of nuclei on the part of legal organizations so that they can function in time of difficulties even when the center is unable to give instructions. Creation of illegal organizations for the distribution of our press in case of suppression of our papers by the post office. Creation of machinery for the distribution of our literature and mobilization of the masses for our Party slogans. The intensification of the drives to bring the base of the Party to the factory nuclei; such base guarantees that the Party will be able to function in time of illegality. Combatting of "legalistic" deviations.

11. Manifold increase in our work among the armed forces.

12. Energetic aid in the building of the revolutionary youth movement under the leadership of the Young Workers (Communist) League.

13. Mobilization of the workers in the unions and the organization of the unorganized on the basis of militant struggle against class collaboration, speed up, wage cuts, harmful effects of rationalization in all its forms, against jingoism, militarism, pacifism and imperialist war preparations and particularly against the efforts of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to reduce the labor movement to an adjunct of the war machine.

14. The socialist party must be stripped of all pretense of being a working class party and must be exposed in its true light as the most dangerous helper of the bourgeoisie in its preparations for war.

15. Any manifestation or tolerance of opportunism is especially dangerous in the ranks of the Party in such a period, therefore the Party membership must multiply manifold its vigilance in the struggle to correct Right errors, eliminate Right tendencies and strengthen the Bolshevik line of the Party. We must exterminate Trotskyism from the ranks of our Party and expose it before the working class as a counter-revolutionary attack upon the Party and the Comintern and an aid in imperialist war preparations against the Soviet Union.

16. The unification of the Party on the line and under the leadership of the Communist International. The tightening up of proletarian discipline in the Party, the consolidation of the Party, the elimination of factional strife, the development of absolute loyalty to the Comintern and the unreserved acceptance and execution of all its decisions, "are an absolute condition for the victorious proletarian struggle against all forces imperialism is mobilizing."

SLOGANS TO BE USED IN CAMPAIGN.

17. The struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union must be conducted under the following slogans:

1. Not a man, not a gun, not a ship, not a cent for the imperialist army and navy! Down with the Big Navy Bill!

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 of 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 regimes of United States customs control or "supervision" of finances in Latin America. Withdrawal of support from the puppet governments subsidized by United States imperialism, such as those of Gomez, of Venezuela, Leguia of Peru, and Ibanez of Chile.

7. Abolition of all extra-territoriality privileges of the United States in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

8. Down with the present mercenary army and navy and state militia, and struggle for a workers' militia. Election 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! 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.

10. Defend the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the only proletarian country, the champion of the cause of the working class of all countries, against the conspiracies of the capitalist powers.

11. Immediate recognition of the Soviet government by the United States government.

12. 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 and absorbing the unemployed.

13. Establishment of direct connections between the American and Russian working class.

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