THE WAR DANGER AND THE YOUTH

By Will Herberg.

For over a year now world imperialism has been openely mobilizing its forces against Workers' Russia and against the Chinese Revolution. Anyone reading the papers knows how powerful, how systematic, how shameless, how many-sided this campaign has been. Against the Chinese Revolution: intervention, diplomatic maneuvers such as the identic five-power note, bombardment and massacre, open and hidden support of the feudal war lords and traitorous labor-hating generals such as Chang Kai-shek and Feng Hyu-sien, marines, battleships, threats. . . . Against Workers' Russia: the encirclement of the Soviet Union by an iron ring of border states, the murder of Voikoff, the breaking off of diplomatic relations by the British Tories, the raid on Arcos and the Peking Embassy, the expulsion of Rakovsky from France, the withdrawal of the British trade unions from the Anglo-Soviet Unity Committee, the vile campaign of lies and misrepresentations in every corner of the bourgeois press. . . . Such a campaign recalls the "good old days" of intervention and blockade of 1918-1921.

Why this campaign at this time? Because the success of the workers and farmers of Russia are having in consolidating and strengthening their Workers' Government and in building a Socialist society for the benefit of the workers . . . the farmers constitutes an ever growing threat to the capitalist powers of the world. Because the Chinese revolutionary movement, betrayed by the native bourgeoisie, ambitious war lords and "cowardly" leaders, is still a menace to world imperialism which rests upon a foundation of colonial exploitation and oppression.

The leaders in this imperialist united front against the Soviet Union and China are Great Britain and the United States. Between these countries there are also deep seated antagonisms, as the events at the Geneva "Disarmament" Conference proved. United as the various capitalist countries are in fighting against any movement for the liberation of the toiling masses, they are yet torn apart by deep antagonisms, fears and jealousies. Such a situation constitutes the threat of a world war between the United States on the one hand and the European powers with Great Britain at the head on the other. But this threat is only secondary. The main source of the danger of war at the present time is the assault being organized by the imperialist powers, led by Great Britain and America, against the Soviet Union and Revolutionary China.

Will the Coming War Be Like the World War of 1914?

Will the coming war be like the World War of 1914-1918? Will it be an imperialist war of the same kind? No! In the World War both sides were imperialist powers or alliances of such powers. It was a war among the robbers themselves fought at the expense and through the lives and blood of millions of toilers who had no interest in whoever won the war.

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American League

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tions were not fully realized by the mass of the membership. The Y. P. S. L. was never anything more than a loose organization with confused ideas on youth activity.

The Socialist Party of America, with which the Y. P. S. L. was associated, was affected very much by the Russian Revolution and the revolutionary events of that period in general. A Left wing movement which began in 1912 with Comrade Ruthenberg as its outstanding leader culminated in 1919 in the split. At this time there was formed not one, but two Communist Parties in America. Both declaring their alliance with the Third International. Both of these parties then conducted activity to win the Y. P. S. L. for their section. This period was a very difficult one for the youth movement.

In December, 1919, in response to Left wing demands, an extraordinary convention of the Y. P. S. L. was called to consider the next steps to be taken. After some discussion it declared itself "independent" of all political parties; declared itself for the Young Socialist International and the Communist International. At this period commenced the attack of American capitalism against the Communist movement. Thousands of arrests took place and the Communist movement was declared illegal. The Independent Y. P. S. L. fared badly, and as a national organization went out of existence. Some sections remained in existence as social and educational organizations, at best providing an open forum for spreading Communist education in a limited fashion. In the pre-election periods of 1920-1921, the underground adult Party entered the election campaigns under legal names. In these instances the I. Y. P. S. L. gave excellent service in carrying on the drives. In 1921 the "Workers' Party" was launched as a permanent legal revolutionary movement. At this convention there were present delegates from the Young Workers' Leagues of New York City, and from Detroit representatives of the remnants of the Y. P. S. L. The "Workers' Party" pledged their full support for the development of the American Workers Youth movement.

Gradually groups were formed in many of the large centres. Finally, in May, 1922, there gathered together delegates from the various youth groups who brought into existence the "Young Workers' League of America." The fact that in the American League were members who spoke various lan-

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The threatened world war will be a war of world imperialism against the workers and farmers of the Soviet Union and of China. This makes a tremendous difference. In the World War of 1914 the class conscious workers called to the workers of every country to work with all their power to bring about the defeat of their particular country. The German workers, led by the Spartacus League, fought for the defeat of Germany but NOT for the victory of Great Britain and France. The Russian workers, led by the Bolsheviks, fought for the defeat of Czarist Russia but NOT for the victory of Germany. The British workers for the defeat of Great Britain, and so on. This is called "defeatism." This was the correct tactic for the revolutionary workers in 1914-1918.

Is it still the correct tactic today [illegible] when the next war comes? No! In a war where imperialism is arrayed against the Workers' and Farmers' Revolution in Russia and China, the workers and farmers of every country will have to fight for the defeat of imperialism and for the victory of the Soviet Union and China. Not only the Russian and Chinese people will have to fight for the victory of Russia and China and the DEFEAT of Great Britain, America, but also the workers of Great Britain and America will have to work for that end, for the defeat of "their own" country and the victory of the "enemy." The interests of every worker and farmer of every young worker of no matter what country, will be represented in the coming war by the Soviet Union and Revolutionary China and so it becomes the revolutionary duty of every worker and farmer throughout the world to throw himself into the struggle for the defeat of imperialism and the victory of the forces for freedom. In the coming war there will be but two sides. World Imperialism, as represented by Great Britain, France, the United States, etc., and World Revolution represented by the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolutionary movement. And it is our task to see to it that the powerful forces of the labor and farmer movement of every country are thrown into the scales on the side of World Revolution and against World Imperialism.

About the Civil War.

In the World War of 1914-1918 the Bolshevik slogan was "Turn the world war between the imperialist robbers into a civil war of the workers and farmers and colonial peoples against the imperialists of all lands." The coming world war will in itself be a civil war on a world scale. Our slogan will then have to be to mobilize the forces of the workers and farmers of every country for the support of the Soviet Union and China and thus cause the civil war to break out in each separate country. This will lead to world revolution. The next war in a much higher sense than the war of 1914-1918 will be the forerunner of the proletarian revolution.

What Shall We Do?

What must we, the revolutionary workers and especially the revolutionary youth, do today? We must rouse the workers to the nearness and the meaning of the war danger. We must mobilize them in the defense and support of the Soviet Union and China for only the united efforts of the workers and farmers can protect Revolutionary Russia and China against imperialist assault. We must carry on agitational, educational and organizational work among the masses of the young workers and farmers and among the soldiers, sailors and marines now in uniform so that when war does break out the armed forces of Wall Street will turn out to be a dangerous tool for the American capitalists and will ultimately be a force leading to the destruction of capitalism in this country itself.

Remember:

The imperialist world, headed by the U. S. and Great Britain, are preparing an assault on Workers' Russia and Revolutionary China.

In this war we, the American young workers and farmers, must be on the side of Russia and China and fight to defeat "our own" country.

In the coming war it will be our task to prevent the masses of the American people from supporting Wall Street and world imperialism; it will be our task to mobilize the masses of the American toilers and toiling youth against Wall Street and its government for a fight for freedom and a workers' government in America.