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Down With War Mongers!

Pink Flag To Bluff Allies

Admits "Final Victory" Is Not Quite So Final As Believed

Joseph Stalin made a feeble attempt this week to wave a faded pink flag in the face of the British and French bourgeoisie in hopes of exorcizing the specter of complete isolation that now hangs over the Kremlin as a result of Stalin's own counter-revolutionary policies.

Panic-stricken by the prospect that his bourgeois allies will abandon him in favor of a fourpower pact uniting Britain, France, Italy, and Germany at the expense of the Workers' State, Stalin suddenly re-discover-1 ed the existence of the world; working class as the only ally upon which the Soviet Union could in the final analysis de-

Undeserved Headlines

Stalin's statement, made in a letter to a young Communist published in Pravda, did not, however, deserve the sensational headlines given to it by the capitalist press which proclaimed Stalin's return to the cause of the world revolution.

He was trying only to bluff England and France out of their negotiations with the Fascist powers by seeming to threaten revolutionary action by the working class, at the same time trying to throw dust in the eyes of Communist workers who have grown restive under the mons trous betrayals of the People's Fronts in Spain, France, and other countries.

What Stalin will do when Chamberlain and Chautemps call his bluff remains to be seen. Stalin will not and cannot make a genuine revolutionary turn, if only because he would be the first victim of a resurgent revolutionary movement of the workers.

No "Victory" After All

While it did not, as the capitalist headlines suggested, embody a call to revolution, Stalin's letter did make a very significant retreat from the doctrine, hitherto official and sacrosanct, formally promulgated by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, that the victory of Socialism in Russia was both "final and irrevocable."

Stalin reiterated his reactionary, nationalistic theory of socialism in one country but instead of the "final and irrevocable" victory of Socialism in Russia of which so much was heard until this week, Stalin now says: "The aid of the international proletariat appears (1) to be a force without which the final victory of socialism in one country is not to be decided."

Even this halting, qualified retreat sounded strange after three years of the clamor of People's Frontism and "collective security" under which the safety of the Soviet Union has been placed at the mercy of dubious bourgeois allies while at the same time the revolutionary movement of the working class has been disoriented, undermined, and wreck-

"Democracies" Cool

Stalin's letter is a confession that his foreign policy is crumbl-

England is moving toward a deal with Italy and Germany. In France, the ruling class has cooled to the Franco-Soviet pact. The People's Front government of Chautemps will follow England. American imperialism, while moving toward open struggle for domination of the Pacific, has evinced no readness to respond

to Ambassador Troyanovsky's (Continued on page 4)

Stalin Waves | Socialist Workers Party Manifesto

Ethiopia. Spain. China. Already three million casualties, with the curtain not yet raised on the main act. Already three million dead, wounded, dying. Hundreds of cities already destroyed; factories, homes, mines, railroads, left in shattered, crumbling ruins. Thousands upon thousands of the most heroic and militant of the workers, peasants, students, torn to pieces by the machine-gun spray, the twisted fragments of time-fuse

All this is but the faint, mild foreshadowing, the first cracks in a world shell which is near the breaking point. Every nation points directly, with all its concentrating energy, toward the looming war. The precarious balance, upheld by the Versailles Treaty imposed by the winning imperialist gangsters in 1919, holds no longer.

No words can describe the horror of the war which threatens every day more closely. The last world war, the most devastating event in the whole long history of mankind, was a children's game in comparison. Today it is the very fate of humanity which is at issue.

Heading Directly Toward War

The United States, along with every other nation, heads directly toward the war. In these recent months, Roosevelt, the cunning leader of American imperialism, is moving rapidly toward first place among the warmakers of the world.

In his October address at Chicago, Roosevelt announced his direction: Toward the war! First place in his Annual Message to Congress was given to the war. At the bidding of his masters, the rulers of American industry and banking, he inserted into his budget more than a billion dollars for military appropria-

To the Ludlow Amendment, Roosevelt and his associates replied that the people have no right whatever to speak on such a question as war, that they will go to war when, how, and against whom the imperialists dictate, that no measure will be permitted which might have even the slightest chance for interference with the plans of the war-makers.

In a Special Message to Congress, Roosevelt demanded another eight hundred million dollars for the Navy. over and above the billion dollar military appropriation already carried in the regular budget. As the Congressional hearings proceed, there is every indication that even this sum will be indefinitely increased.

War Sentiment Being Whipped Up

To Japan, the presumed enemy nation of the Roosevelt program, Secretary of State Hull addresses a series of provocative notes designed to whip up war feeling among the people of this country. U. S. naval squadrons and companies of U.S. Marines in the Far East watch carefully over Standard Oil tankers and Americanowned factories busily drinking blood-stained profits out of the people of China,

Hull's notes on the sinking of the "Panay," the joint British, American and French notes on the Japanese naval building program, find their appropriate echoes in every section of the press. Jingo headlines re-appear, blazoned across front pages. Atrocity stories fill column after column; ponderous editorials, alike in pro-or anti-Roosevelt journals, call for ever more warships, ever larger armament. The newsreels of the sinking of the "Panay" are rushed by airplane to every movie theater in the country: the same theaters which for months were prevented from showing the films of the Chicago massacre of the steel workers. A vicious anti-Japanese race-hatred is being worked up by the war-mongers. What is this war for which Roosevelt is preparing?

Whose war is it? What is it for? It is a war for the re-division of the earth. It is a war of the rival imperialist powers for the major shares in the rights of exploitation, oppression, tyranny, profits. It is a war to decide which nations shall be most favored in the grabbing of markets, natural resources, and outlets for investment, for the benefit of their own capitalists. It is a war to decide which national set of robbers shall control the international imperialist racket.

Imperialists Are All Alike

In this war, there are no "good" and "bad" capitalist states, no "peaceful" and "aggressor" imperialisms. They are all tainted with the same disease, damned with the same curse, fascist and democratic, West and East alike. They are all driven by the same insurmountable

It is a war, from the point of view of every camp and coalition, against the masses of the people, against their every interest and need.

For the United States, the most powerful and vigorous imperialist state, it is a war in which will be sought undisputed domination for American capital on an international scale. Watching the new economic depression eating away the foundations of the social order, Roosevelt lunges toward the war as his solution for the insoluble crisis of U. S. capitalism. Perhaps, fertilized by enough blood, profits will again grow to a size that will satisfy the hunger of Morgan, Du Pont, Rocke-

What will come of this war? Who will win? What will the war solve?

This war will solve nothing for imperialism in general. The same insurmountable conflicts will remain unaltered. It will solve nothing, just as the last war solved nothing. Untold millions of workers will die and ling Saturday's demonstration. never so pertinent as now.

suffer and kill each other while industrialists and bankers manipulate war contracts to fill their coffers. The agents of wealth and privilege will descend in each nation upon their respective governments to squeeze the last percent out of every order for bombs, gas masks, submarines, machine guns, airplanes.

A peace of exhaustion will find one or another set at a temporary advantage, and the preparation for the next war will again begin.

Masses Have Nothing To Gain

Meanwhile destruction, death, misery, tyranny for the masses of every nation. Have the masses anything to gain? More food? Food will be destroyed, and those who should raise the food will be busy killing each other. Better houses? The bombs will blow up the houses. Higher wages? The war machine, in the name of sacrifice for war, will beat down real wages while war scarcity lifts the price level; and the social wealth representing generations of labor will be physically annihilated. Freedom? The war machine will impose a totalitarian dictatorship in every nation-a dictatorship being made ready in this country in the Sheppard-Hill Bill now pending before Congress. All democratic rights, above all every right of the working class-to strike, to picket, to demonstrate, to organize in free and independent unions-will be smashed by the war.

The traitors in the ranks of labor will tell us that it is our war, and that we must take part in it. They will tell us that it is the war of "democracy" against "fascism", of peace-lovers against war-makers, of civilization against barbarism. Already all of their efforts are devoted to the betrayers' task of winning the masses to support of the war. Under the slogans of "collective security," by falsifying utterly the nature of the war, with loud shouts for democracy, they make ready to lead the masses into the armies of imperialism

Stalinists, Social Democrats Shout War

First and foremost, in this as in every other country, the Stalinists prepare the betrayal of the masses. In voices louder than Hearst's they snarl at the Ludlow Amendment, praise Roosevelt's war program, demand revenge for the sinking of the "Panay." Day in and day out their unspeakable attacks, their lies and viciousness and slanders and frame-ups are launched against every militant in the labor movement who raises a voice

against the coming war. Within the labor movement, the Stalinists, under the whip of the butcher of the Kremlin-his hands reeking with the blood of the Russian and Spanish revolutionists-are today the chief force building the fires of the war spirit. Tomorrow they will be the most active of the recruiting agents of Roosevelt and Chautemps and Chamberlain, and the spearhead of the lynch gangs hounding the war's opponents. They will play the same role in the coming war that was enacted by the Second International in the last war and is being played even

now by the social-democratic parties. No pretense even of a fight against the war is conceivable apart from the unremitting struggle against Stalinism and the parties of the Second International.

This struggle cannot fall back into the dreams and illusions of pacifism and "isolation". Isolation is impossible for this country because this country is bound hand and foot to world imperialist economy. Profits

Unionists Will March In Relief Demonstration

Demonstrating against layoffs and for increased relief, thousands of workers will mass in Foley Square (two blocks north) of City Hall) at 11 a. m. Saturday, February 19, for a march to Wall Street.

Organized through the initiative of the Workers Alliance, the demonstration is sponsored by the

Relief Problem Acute miserable and worsening relief the "economic royalists." conditions in New York-reduction in clothing allowances for

All workers out to Foley Square (two blocks north of City Hall), 11:00 A. M., Sat., Feb. 19, for the Workers' Alliance demonstration and march to Wall St.

The Progressive Group of the Trades Union Committee for Un- Workers Alliance proposed that employment Relief with numer- the Saturday demonstration ous participating trade unions, in- should take place at the City Hall cluding the Transport Workers, and should be directed against Furriers, Painters, District Coun- the anti-union actions of the adcil No. 9, Radio and Telegraphers, ministration as well as against Boot and Shoe workers and others, its miserly relief policy. The leadership of the Workers Alliance, saturated with "People's Although the demonstration Frontism," opposed any action was first projected some weeks which might embarrass the supago, its importance and timeliness porters of LaGuardia and adis emphasized by the events of vocated instead a demonstration last week. Under pressure of the against the "60 families," and

One slogan that featured past February, delays and rejections demonstrations of the unemployof the weekly thousands of new ed will be conspicuously absent. applications-"sit-ins," picketings The slogan "All War Funds for and demonstrations broke out at the Unemployed" when proposed the bureaus during the past by the progressives was rejected week. All progressive workers by the C.P. controlled leadership, must show their solidarity with despite the fact or perhaps bethe Workers Alliance by attend- cause of the fact that it was

for U. S. capital cannot be maintained without the world market; and a share in the world market cannot be upheld without fighting for it. No Ludlow Amendment ever devised could keep U. S. imperialism from plunging into war. To rest the fight against the war upon the illusions of pacifism and isolation means to block the genuine fight against war.

There is in the final analysis only one way to fight the war, only one way to overcome it. The only answer to the imperialist war is the class struggle of the workers and the socialist revolution. For the coming imperialist war, we reiterate the battle-cry of Karl Liebknecht and Lenin in the last war: "The enemy is in our own country!"

The militant, unflagging class struggle of the workers alone can delay and hamper the war-makers. The socialist revolution alone can overthrow the whole imperialist system, root out those causes which make war under imperialism inevitable, and build a society in which peace and freedom can be achieved. All other hope is vain.

The class struggle and the socialist revolution in the capitalist countries is also the only sound way of defending the remaining conquests of the Russian Revolution, of protecting them from imperialist attack and from bureaucratic Stalinist undermining.

Build A World For Peace

Workers of the United States! Consider your marvellous machines, the railroads you have built, the mines you have sunk, the great rolling mills, the blast furnaces, the precision tools, the shining turbines! Are they to be used forever to turn out profits for the bosses, and, in the war, to send death to your brothers? You have made them: Take them into your own hands, to bring peace, and to give men what they need!

Farmers of the United States! Look at the beautiful rich land, at the tractors, reapers, combines! Are you raising your cotton to make high explosives, your wheat to provision your sons in the trenches? Let us use the land for ourselves, not for profits, to make peace possible by giving men enough to eat.

Scientists, teachers, engineers, artists, students of the United States! Will you again let your talents be perverted into the service of the war machine, for the sake of a system and a class which does not permit you to use those very talents for any genuinely human purpose? Join with us to defeat the war and to build a new society!

We, the revolutionists of the Socialist Workers Party, with the Fourth Internationalists throughout the world, true to the great revolutionary anti-war traditions of Lenin and Liebknecht, pledge ourselves to fight unceasingly against the war, against every person and idea which supports it.

No Aid To The War-Makers

We will give nothing, nothing whatever, to support the war. We will give everything, our energies, our time, our brains, our lives, to fight against it. The workers have no fatherland! They can conquer one only when the socialist revolution makes them masters

We do not fear the war-makers, or their hireling traitors. The cold grasp of death clutches at their throat, mighty and powerful as they seem. Their strength is the fevered, diseased strength of dying men. History has already dug their deep and terrible grave; they struggle on its brink. The temple of their world, the world of a decayed and rotting social order, crumbles about them.

History, life, the future, are with us! Out of the vast ruins of a shattered civilization, with the great masses of mankind we shall go forward to build a new world!

DOWN WITH THE WAR-MONGERS!

ENLIST NOW IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE WAR!

AGAINST THE ROOSEVELT WAR PLANS! ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOY-

WITHDRAW ALL U. S. ARMED FORCES FROM THE FAR EAST!

AGAINST THE SHEPPARD-HILL BILL!

AGAINST COLLECTIVE SECURITY, THE MASK OF IMPERIALISM!

NO SUPPORT TO THE U. S. GOVERN-MENT IN ANY WAR! END WAR BY THE SOCIALIST REVOLU-

TION! BUILD THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PAR-TY, THE ONE ANSWER TO THE WAR-MAK-

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE! FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

> National Committee, Socialist Workers Party

Call Jobless To Struggle

Progressive Group Takes Lead In Setting Forth Demands

Summoning the growing army of unemployed victims of capital. ism to struggle militantly for a program of relief matching in dimensions the globular war budgets of the Roosevelt administration, the Progressive Group: in the Workers' Alliance of New York this week put forward a series of demands to serve as the rallying ground for action by all workers, employed as well as unemployed. The demands are as

1. For those on relief: A 40 per cent increase in relief allotments, plus clothing, dental and eye care for all who need it.

2. For new relief cases: The handling of emergency applications within 24 hours, and all other applications within 72

3. For W.P.A. workers: Trade Union wages to replace the present wage of \$55 per month, in order to end W.P.A. scabbing on union labor.

4. For the unemployed generally: Diversion of all war funds to unemployment relief.

These demands must become the battle cries of all the unemployed throughout the nation, starting with the great demonstration of New York's unemployed scheduled for today (Saturday).

While unemployment increases, with the need for relief assuming vast proportions, relief itself is being cut and made ever more difficult to obtain.

Relief Sharply Cut

In January, the clothing allotment for those on relief in New York amounted to half a million dollars. This month it has been cut to a niggardly \$50,000 (onetenth of the January figure), while dental and eye care has been practically discontinued: Those who try to get on relief are being given the run-around. Emergency relief cases fail to receive prompt attention. Other applicants take weeks to handle, Red-tape methods are used to discourage applicants, Not more than 50 per cent of those seeking relief, however dire is their need, manage to get on the rolls. The picture of New York is a picture of the country as a whole,

Numbers of the unemployed are suffering the pangs of starvation. Hunger takes an increasing toll of life. The list of suicides mounts daily. On December, 12, 1937 the Daily News reported: "Relief held up; baby is starved to death Assistant Medical Examiner said 'This baby died of starvation'..... Barbara would be alive now if the Home Relief had sent the check on time,' said Mrs. Mary Danielson, the mother."

Another Tragedy

The New York Post of January 12, 1938, reported that a Mrs. Montetoni had tried vainly for three weeks to get a Home Relief allowance. Her first application was turned down and she was given a new application. Thereupon she drank disinfectant and died. The report added: "Police said there was not a scrap of food in the house." Unemployed locals have staged spontaneous sit-ins to protest this callous treatment.

The reaction of the LaGuardia popular front" administration to the growing distress has been to launch an attack on the organization of the unemployed, the Workers' Alliance. This is part of a concerted, country-wide attack on the labor movement by

(Continued on page 2)

Demand All War Funds For Unemployment Relief!