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Down With War Mongers!

Stalin Waves 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 four-power pact uniting Britain, France, Italy, and Germany at the expense of the Workers' State, Stalin suddenly re-discovered the existence of the world working class as the only ally upon which the Soviet Union could in the final analysis depend.

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 monstrous 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 (!) 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 wrecked.

"Democracies" Cool

Stalin's letter is a confession that his foreign policy is crumbling.

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 readiness to respond to Ambassador Troyanovsky's

(Continued on page 4)

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 bombs.

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 war-makers 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 appropriations.

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 American-owned 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 conflicts.

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, Rockefeller.

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

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 revolutionaries—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), 11:00 A. M., Sat., Feb. 19, for the Workers' Alliance demonstration and march to Wall St.

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 Workers' Alliance proposed that the Saturday demonstration should take place at the City Hall, and should be directed against the anti-union actions of the administration as well as against its miserly relief policy. The leadership of the Workers' Alliance, saturated with "People's Frontism," opposed any action which might embarrass the supporters of LaGuardia and advocated instead a demonstration against the "60 families," and the "economic royalists."

Relief Problem Acute

Although the demonstration was first projected some weeks ago, its importance and timeliness is emphasized by the events of last week. Under pressure of the miserable and worsening relief conditions in New York—reduction in clothing allowances for February, delays and rejections of the weekly thousands of new applications—"sit-ins," pickets and demonstrations broke out at the bureaus during the past week. All progressive workers must show their solidarity with the Workers' Alliance by attending Saturday's demonstration.

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 marvelous 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 in the land.

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 UNEMPLOYED!

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. GOVERNMENT IN ANY WAR!

END WAR BY THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

BUILD THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, THE ONE ANSWER TO THE WAR-MAKERS!

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

National Committee,
Socialist Workers Party

W.A. Militants
Call Jobless
To Struggle

Progressive Group Takes
Lead In Setting
Forth Demands

Summoning the growing army of unemployed victims of capitalism 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 follows:

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 hours.

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 (one-tenth 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 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!

Twin Cities Progressives Score Smashing Victory

Splitters Swept From Top Bodies

Minneapolis Teamsters Sue "Daily Worker" for Libel

Elections Drive Them From Central Labor Organs in Midwest

MINNEAPOLIS.—With one clean sweep, progressive slates in the Minneapolis Central Labor Union and the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly last month drove out of office local Stalinists and their fronts who have long been striving to split and raid established unions in the Twin Cities.

A number of other progressive developments have occurred in the Twin Cities area during the past month, the effect of which has greatly strengthened the union movement in this section.

On January 7-8 the annual elections in the General Drivers Local 544 were held, resulting in the return of all officers to their previous posts. Bill Brown won the race for president, the only office which was contested, by a 3 to 1 vote.

Miles Dunne Elected

On January 14 the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council demonstrated the harmony existing in the ranks of the local driving crafts by unanimously agreeing upon the new executive board. Miles Dunne was elected to the post of secretary-treasurer, the office formerly held by the martyred Pat Corcoran.

On January 14 the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, at the largest delegate assembly ever held, repudiated the anti-labor St. Paul Grand Jury report which, inspired by the Citizens Alliance, was intended to be a weapon against the drivers' movement in the Twin Cities. By this action the delegates emphatically reversed an earlier endorsement of the jury report made by the St. Paul Union Advocate and by a few conservative union officials in that city.

Split Drive Defeated

In Austin, Minnesota, the employers initiated a campaign designed to split and disorganize the union movement. The Austin Drivers Union and the C.I.O. movement, which in this town is directed by progressives, formed a united front, beat back the scabby schemes of the bosses, and through a strike won a 10-cent hourly increase for a Miscellaneous Workers Union of the C.I.O.

A committee of 150 Minneapolis union officials has been formed to draw up and present to Governor Benson demands calculated to return to the trade union movement the decisive voice in Farmer-Labor Party circles. Benson and a group of Stalinist stooges, backed by the Communist Party, are seeking to carry the F.L.P. far to the right into a People's Front steered by right-wing F.L.P.'ers, New Deal Democrats and "progressive" Minnesota Republicans, thus isolating in F.L.P. circles the progressive union movement of the state.

Demands To Be Made

The committee of unionists will demand of Benson that he return the coming F.L.P. state convention from Duluth to St. Paul, that he assure labor its proper dominant role in the F.L.P. councils, etc.

The net result of the above listed developments is to place labor in Minnesota in a stronger position than ever, and to assure the continued progressive development of the unions in this state.

JOE LUBICH

With deep sorrow the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party reports the death of Joe Lubich, 48, treasurer of the Janitors Union, for 20 years a member of the Workmen's Circle, an old socialist, and a sympathizer of the Left Opposition since 1928.

Joe Lubich was chairman of a committee which came to the General Drivers Union in the early hours of May, 1934, to offer its services to the strikers. This committee became one of the main props for food collections during the May and July strikes and represented an important section of the Northside labor movement which was thus placed behind the strike.

The executive board of the General Drivers Union, together with a large delegation of drivers, attended the last rites for their friend.

Martyred Unioinist



PATRICK CORCORAN

Big Steel Signs Again With C.I.O.

Would Avoid Difficulties With Fat War Orders Coming Soon

NEW YORK.—Big Steel last week renewed its agreement with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the C.I.O., maintaining the basic \$5 per day and 40-hour week that has prevailed throughout United States Steel subsidiaries the past 12 months. The alacrity with which the steel company signed up reflected its unwillingness to invite labor difficulties at a time when fat war contracts are looming.

The contract signed February 6 differs from the 1937 agreement only in that it runs for an indefinite period. Negotiations can be opened by either party on ten days notice. If, after an additional ten days of negotiations, agreement is not reached the contract is null and void.

Open Shop Prevails

As before, the S.W.O.C. represents only its own members, and the companies still hold to the open shop. Union officials did not ask for a closed shop, it was reported.

While the contract was ostensibly negotiated between the union and Carnegie-Illinois Steel, it will apply to all subsidiaries of U.S. Steel. Union officials estimated that 500,000 steel workers will be under similar agreements before negotiations are concluded.

Union officials hailed the signing as a victory for the C.I.O. policy of maintaining wage-levels despite price cuts, especially as U.S. Steel used the occasion to announce reductions in the price of steel.

Murray Satisfied

Expressing his satisfaction with the renewal of the former contracts, Philip Murray, chairman of the S.W.O.C., stated: "These agreements will definitely turn the tide of wage-slashing which has been imminent throughout the country."

No provisions for the better handling of grievances in the shop, a matter of great interest to the workers actually in daily contact with foremen and superintendents, were discussed. Such details, dealing with the working life of union members, were ignored by the official negotiators.

No opportunity for the rank-and-file of the steel workers to discuss or vote upon the agreement as a whole was afforded.

EVELYN GORDON

It is with deep regret that we have to announce the death of Comrade Evelyn Gordon, a member of the Brownsville Circle of the Y.P.S.L. Only 20 years old at the time of her death, which occurred February 8 after a brief illness, our comrade was already an old battler for the cause of Socialism, her record going back to the days of the Spartacus Youth League.

Complaint Lists Repeated Stalinist Slanders Against Union

Charging that the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party published false, malicious and defamatory statements about them, five leaders of Minneapolis' largest union filed suit this week in the Federal Court of the Southern District of New York, claiming damages of \$335,000.00. The complaint is probably the longest on record in any libel suit, covering over 100 pages and 16 exhibits.

Local 544 of the General Drivers Union of Minneapolis, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, William S. Brown, the president of the Local, Farrell Dobbs, Grant Dunne, Miles Dunne and Vincent Dunne, all leaders of the Union, are the plaintiffs. Morris D. Forkosch of New York is the attorney co-operating with Albert Goldman, Chicago labor attorney and attorney for Leon Trotsky during the hearing of the Dewey Commission in Mexico.

Malicious Slanders

In the complaint it is alleged that on 16 different occasions the Daily Worker falsely and maliciously designated the plaintiffs as "Trotskyite racketeers, gangsters, gunmen and associates of the employers and the underworld." The plaintiffs assert that the Stalinist Communists are in a conspiracy to injure their reputation among the workers of the whole country and particularly of Minneapolis.

The suit is a direct result of the killing on November 17 of last year, of Patrick J. Corcoran, Minneapolis labor leader. Corcoran was Secretary of the Joint Council of the General Drivers Union and was closely associated with the plaintiffs. According to the complaint the Communist organ has in several articles intimated that the plaintiffs were responsible for the murder. They are specifically charged with being behind the trigger-men who killed Corcoran.

G. P. U. Methods

Attorney Goldman stated that the Stalinists are transferring their frame-up methods from Moscow to the rest of the world. The Moscow trials which have been designated a frame-up by the Dewey Commission have been followed by a wave of terror in France, Spain and now in the United States. The disappearance of Juliet Poyntz, a former Communist who broke with the Communist Party, and the obvious attempt of the Soviet G.P.U. to use the Robinson-Rubenses for the purpose of implicating anti-Stalinist elements in this country in some fantastic plot, are serious indications that not only Trotskyists but all honest trade unionists and opponents of the Stalin regime must be exceedingly careful.

"I hope that this suit will help defend all anti-Stalinist elements in the labor movement and will check the unbridled ferocity of the Stalinists in their campaign to rule or ruin the labor movement," Goldman declared.

Demands To Be Made

The committee of unionists will demand of Benson that he return the coming F.L.P. state convention from Duluth to St. Paul, that he assure labor its proper dominant role in the F.L.P. councils, etc.

The net result of the above listed developments is to place labor in Minnesota in a stronger position than ever, and to assure the continued progressive development of the unions in this state.

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Demands To Be Made

One In Six In N. Y. Depend Upon Relief

One-sixth of the population of New York City is dependent on some form of relief, according to the findings in a survey quoted February 13 by the New York Times.

Public assistance rolls embrace, according to the survey, 1,255,000 of New York's 7,470,000 men, women and children and the number is rising at the rate of 5,000 per week.

This revealing statistical picture of capitalism in decline points the urgent need for organization and militant action by the workers, both employed and unemployed, to prevent the capitalists and their government from loading the burdens of the crisis onto their backs—to fight for socialism as the only way out of the blind alley of capitalism.

Rorty Gives Stinging Reply To "Writers"

Tells Few Home Truths To Communist Stooge Organization

A stinging rebuff to a well-known Stalinist stooge organization, the so-called League of American Writers, has been delivered by James Rorty, prominent radical author and journalist and a member of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky.

Occasion for the rebuff was a circular letter issued in the name of the "League" to the writers of America over the signature of Donald Ogden Stewart, asking for answers to the following questions: "Are you for, or are you against Franco and Fascism?—Are you for, or are you against the legal government and the people of Republican Spain?"

What He Wanted

"We desire," said Stewart, "to print your answers. We wish the whole country to know what is felt by the most sensitive instruments of the national life, you American writers. Your verdict will have world importance."

On February 4, Rorty replied as follows:

"Dear Mr. Stewart:

"I take it my name got on your mailing list by mistake. Since I have never been asked to join the League of American Writers, I must assume that I do not come under your definition of the term 'writer' or 'American writer.'

"However that may be, I think it is sufficiently well known that I am against Franco and Fascism and for the legal government and the people of Republican Spain in their struggle against Franco and Fascism.

Against Fascist Methods

"I am also for the legal government of Republican Spain when, as and if it opposes the unscrupulous policies and actions of the Communist Party of Spain, which uses fascist methods (murder and slandering) and has already seriously disrupted and impaired the unity and the morale of the Spanish workers. I am, finally, against the League of American Writers, as now organized and led, because I regard it as a typical Communist Party 'innocent club,' and as such a fake and a nuisance.

"If you use this letter in any way, I must ask you to use it in full. Incidentally, does it not occur to you and your associates that when you adopt the name 'League of American Writers' and then exclude from your membership writers of recognized competence and integrity who have devoted far more years than you have to liberal and radical struggles, simply because they differ with the particular political faction that controls your organization, you are not merely dishonest, but guilty of a profound disloyalty to the high tradition of the writer's craft?

"Truth and forthrightness are the very source spring of the writer's profession. You have fouled that spring, but frankly I doubt that you are enough of a writer to understand that.

"Sincerely
(signed) "James Rorty."

ions of additional unemployed and their dependents he tasks Congress to a maximum of \$250,000,000.

Party Resolutions

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT and the S.W.P.

The following is the third and last installment of the resolution on the trade union question adopted by the convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

Precisely because of the intensely political and polemical environment in which our party has developed, it is necessary to emphasize a number of fundamental, elementary guiding lines for our trade union work.

The party is the leader and guide of all the work of its members in the trade unions. Without party leadership and guidance, all trade union work inevitably degenerates into opportunism and becomes a hindrance to revolutionary progress. In his mass work, the party member must not become a "mere trade unionist," or forget the need of imbuing the trade union movement with a revolutionary political class consciousness. However, in order effectively to pursue his work in the trade union movement the revolutionist must understand keenly the importance of approaching his fellow unionists and their problems not so much on the basis of his own consciousness and experience, but rather on the basis of the level of consciousness and the degree of experience of the average trade unionist.

To approach the trade unionist, trade union problems or even the trade union leadership in exactly the same manner in which one political organization deals with a rival political organization, would result in self-isolation. The revolutionist must be conscious of his political role, but at the same time also of the fact that he is dealing, in the first place, with trade union problems and with workers who have not as yet developed beyond a trade union consciousness.

The excellent work which our comrades have already done in various unions shows the vast, untapped possibilities for participation in the class struggle and recruitment to the revolutionary party which are opened up before us by a serious and systematic work in the trade unions.

Serious, Responsible Approach Needed

A serious approach to the trade unions and their problems, and not a hyper-critical one, is the need; a responsible attitude toward the work of building the trade unions and our influence within them, and not a light-minded, "experimental" one; an attitude of methodical, patient enlightenment of the politically undeveloped worker on the basis of his day to day experiences in the unions and in the class struggle, and not a supercilious, "high-political" approach to him.

The present period also calls for a highly responsible attitude in the key question of strikes in general, and particularly sit-down strikes. It is imperative to combat the defeatist, reformist propaganda that strikes are impossible in a period of economic crisis or decline. Strikes, and victorious ones, are possible even under such difficult circumstances; only, it is more important than ever that they be carefully organized, the moment and the place deliberately chosen, and the struggle conducted in the most militant and determined manner. In this connection it is important to be aware of the danger of strikes or other actions confined to small minorities, harmful in general, and always tending to degenerate into adventurist movements which only antagonize the bulk of the organized workers.

The sit-down strike is not a universal substitute for the classic form of strike action (quitting the plant, mass picket line, etc.), but it is indubitably a proved contribution to proletarian tactics and an effective weapon in their struggle. Its initiation and extension are a tribute to the resourcefulness of the proletariat in finding new and powerful methods of fighting its class oppressors. It has served, moreover, the important end of breaking down an awesome respect for bourgeois private property which the ruling class instills in the proletariat from its childhood onward. It is our duty to defend this weapon against all attempts to suppress, discredit or outlaw it. This does not signify that we advocate the indiscriminate use of the sit-down at all times and in all cases. We judge its feasibility on the same general considerations which determine our tactics in strikes: general objective conditions, the state of the union, mood of the membership, position of the employers and the state, possibilities of achieving the objective, etc., etc.

Sit-Down Has Significant Future

The sit-down strike has, however, an even more significant future before it than the ordinary strike. Precisely because it challenges the fundamental tenet of capitalism, the inviolable right of private property in the means of production, the sit-down strike seems to be one of the main indicated means of mass action—by virtue of the seizure of the plants and their temporary control by workers' committees—for realizing in the coming period the slogan of: **Workers' control of production!**

The deepening of the present crisis will push this slogan to the foreground and, properly directed by the revolutionary party, it may become the decisive popular slogan with the masses of the workers and above all the militant trade unionists.

We reject contemptuously the arguments against the sit-down strikes advanced by the government authorities, the employers and the trade union bureaucrats. On their lips, this opposition is simply one way of formulating their opposition to strikes in general, as well as to all militant mass action of the workers. At the same time, it is necessary to point out that, as a rule, any attempt by a small minority in a given plant or industry to impose a sit-down strike upon the big majority of the workers involved, without consulting them or obtaining their agreement, or at a time when the majority of the workers either have not acute grievances or are not as yet conscious of them—will lead inevitably to a reaction against sit-down strikes, ordinary strikes and even unionism in general on the part of the more undeveloped workers.

A serious and responsible attitude in this question is absolutely imperative. While we do not join in the reactionary chorus of condemnation of so-called "outlaw" strikes—the responsibility for which usually reposes upon the bureaucracy, which cynically ignores the legitimate demands and grievances of the workers, and while we remain steadfastly on the side of any group of workers once they are engaged in a struggle with the capitalist class or any section of it, we are conscious of the responsibility that reposes upon us as a vanguard force, and therefore counsel against the indiscriminate or promiscuous use of the sit-down

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Cordell Hull Says "No!"

In reply to the questions of Senator Hiram Johnson concerning the existence of an "alliance, agreement or understanding" with England in case of war, or any agreement, "expressed or implied" for joint naval action with another power, Secretary of State Cordell Hull answered in a letter to Senator Key Pittman with an emphatic "NO!"

The Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Leahy, answered similar questions put to him at sessions of the House Naval Affairs Committee with just as emphatic a "NO!"

But the same day the Hull letter was made public in the press, Mr. Arthur Krock, the New York *Times*' well-informed Washington correspondent, wrote in a dispatch (Feb. 9, 1938) that he is "expertly informed that, should it at any time serve the common interests of the two great democracies [England and the U. S. A.], their navies would automatically complement each other in the Pacific."

And efforts to call Mr. Krock for testimony before the House Naval Affairs Committee were voted down under the whip of its chairman, Rep. Carl Vinson.

Whom shall we believe? Correspondent Krock who says "Yes" or Diplomat Hull who says "No" to the question: "Have the imperialist bandits secret agreements among themselves for common war action?"

With all the respect undoubtedly due to our Great Democratic Government and its Great Secretary of State, we believe Mr. Krock.

Every imperialist power is involved in dozens of treaties, agreements, "understandings"—kept secret from the masses and brought into play actively when the masses are dragged into war to protect the interests of the financial and industrial lords of the land.

Diplomacy is the art of concealing the truth about these treaties and telling lies about them. Diplomats are the liars who practise the art. Why should the masses believe one when none of his predecessors has given us any grounds for believing him?

On August 3, 1914, Foreign Secretary Edward Grey came before the House of Commons in London, asking for a declaration of war against Germany, and declared:

"I come first, now, to the question of British obligations. I have assured the House—and the Prime Minister has assured the House more than once—that if any crisis such as this arose, we should come before the House of Commons and be able to say to the House that it was free to decide what the British attitude should be, that we would have no secret engagement which we should spring upon the House, and tell the House that, because we had entered into that engagement, there was an obligation of honor upon this country."

Sir Edward was lying like a trooper. When the Bolsheviks took power in Russia three years later, they published all the secret treaties which showed that there were numerous "secret engagements" which England, France, Belgium, Russia and the other belligerents had committed themselves to before the outbreak of the war.

Woodrow Wilson, coiner of "open diplomacy openly arrived at" also deceived the masses when he ran for President in 1916 under the campaign slogan of "He Kept Us Out of War!" and when, early in 1917, he asked Congress to declare war upon Germany. Because, on March 7, 1916, a year before Wilson came before Congress, he had before him and even revised the notori-

ous memorandum of Sir Edward Grey and Colonel House which read:

"Colonel House told me [Grey] that President Wilson was ready, on hearing from France and England that the moment was opportune, to propose that a Conference should be summoned to put an end to the war. Should the Allies accept this proposal, and should Germany refuse it, the United States would probably enter the war against Germany."

Like Sir Edward, Cordell Hull is an honorable man. Like Mr. Wilson, Mr. Roosevelt is an honorable man. But the masses were tricked into the last "war for democracy" by honorable men and the same ones are trying to trick the masses into the next "war for democracy."

If Hull says, "No, there are no secret agreements," we say, "No, we don't believe you and your kind." The Russian workers finally got to the secret files in 1917 and proved that those who refused to believe the diplomatic liars were justified in their skepticism. The American workers will some day do likewise with the secret files in the White House.

Footnote To Carleton Beals

Mr. Carleton Beals will be remembered as the gentleman who withdrew from the Dewey Inquiry Commission during its hearing of Leon Trotsky in Mexico City. His attacks on Trotsky and the Commission promptly made him the darling of the Stalinists.

Now comes a footnote to the case of Mr. Beals written by the German Nazis. In the December, 1937, issue of a virulently red-baiting magazine published by them in Berlin, *Contra-Komintern*, which describes itself as the "Fighting Organ of the Anti-Bolshevik World Movement" and calls Trotsky "the bloodhound of 'War-Communism,' one of the instigators of the world revolution" (Page 421), the Nazi editor writes:

"One of the members of the Inquiry Commission, the author Carleton Beals, finally recognized the unworthy role for which he had allowed himself to be misused and the dubious personality for whom he was supposed to stake his good name. Unequivocally and categorically he declared his withdrawal from the committee." (Page 423). Comment superfluous!

Falsifiers of Marx

Last Saturday, on the anniversary of Lincoln's birthday, the *Daily Worker* indulged in a veritable orgy of patriotic ballyhoo as the exponent of Twentieth-Century Americanism. As could only be expected from this Stalinist sheet, history as it concerns Lincoln and his social role was falsified.

In wads of quotations (including the inevitable quotations from Marx) and in editorial comment, Lincoln's fight against Negro slavery was extolled, but the full Lincoln was nowhere to be discerned.

It was left to the ultra-reactionary New York *Sun* to recall that Lincoln the Abolitionist was also an ardent defender of the system of private property. This paper quoted Lincoln as saying (March 21, 1864):

"Property is the fruit of Labor; property is desirable; it is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise."

In Lincoln's day the capitalist system of private property was historically progressive. Lincoln's struggle to universalize capitalist democracy against the reactionary slave-owning Bourbons of the South was likewise and unquestionably progressive. Marx remained true to himself in backing Lincoln and the progressive forces of capitalism against the slavers.

Today the system of capitalist private property and its sham democracy is in decline. It condemns multitudes to unemployment and starvation and exposes humanity as a whole to the horrors of periodic wars. It has lost all its progressive features and is an obstacle to social progress.

The Stalinists, in defending capitalism and capitalist democracy, and in seeking to justify this by reference to Marx's support of Lincoln against the slavers three-quarters of a century ago, reveal thereby their own reactionary role in the working class movement and the fact that nowadays they refer to Marx, co-founder with Engels of the revolutionary socialist movement, only in order to prostitute his teachings.

Stalin Waves Help Fight War

Faded Flag

(Continued from page 1)

plea, publicly made on February 8, for "Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union to form an alliance."

The ease with which Hitler has taken over Austria and the complacency with which this move has been received in London and Paris show how far the parleys have already gone toward the creation of a bloc of the European powers directed against the Soviet Union. In this perilous situation, dizzy last-minute twists of policy will be of no avail to Stalin.

Stalin is like the man on the flying trapeze. What we have to do is to make sure that when he falls, he does not pull the Workers' State with him into and against Stalin the hangman.

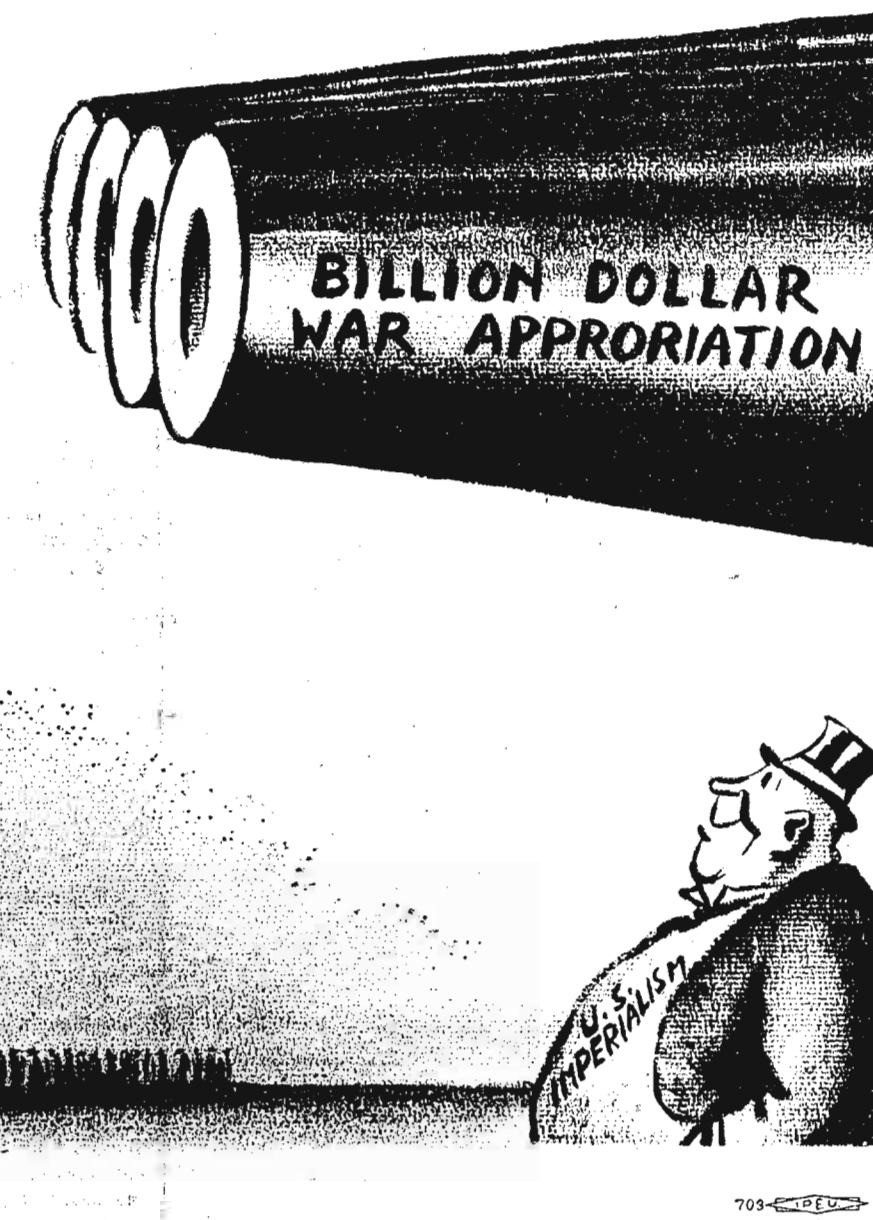
In connection with the Appeal subscription drive and the anti-war campaign of the Socialist Workers Party, this space in coming issues will be devoted to publishing results obtained by party locals in pushing the drive. The comparative standing of the locals throughout the country in gaining new subscribers to the Appeal will be given from week to week. Prizes for the "go-getters" will be announced later.

We feel that one of the most

bureaucracy is doomed. The workers of the world will, indeed, be the only bulwark for the Workers' State in the dark days to come. But they will fulfill this role adequately only by fighting unremittingly against their own capitalist classes and for the victory of Socialism. That struggle will be waged with the Workers' State with him into and against Stalin the hangman of the Russian people.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Relief A La Roosevelt



The Dream of Isolation

By James Burnham

The idea of "collective security" has never been popular with the majority of the people of this country. This has been proved on a number of occasions, most conspicuously during the period following the last war. In spite of the fact that the war itself showed that neutrality for the United States in a major European conflict was impossible, as soon as the war was over Americans wanted to steer clear of world affairs.

With the last war, the United States became a creditor nation, and has since become the first and most powerful of the imperialist powers. Its whole internal economy now depends upon its stake in the world market. Without its foreign trade and foreign capital investments, it would be bankrupt within six months. Far from decreasing in importance, the foreign trade and investments must necessarily play an even more crucial role.

BEARD SEES WHERE POLICIES ARE LEADING

In the New Republic debate over collective security between Earl Browder and Charles A. Beard, there is no doubt at all that Dr. Beard has much the best of the argument. He understands what Browder's argument means, that it means advocacy and preparation for war; and with his mature and rather tired irony he exposes Browder's meaning. He knows what Roosevelt is up to: The Roosevelt Administration, bewildered and baffled by the economic impasse at home, is employing sentimental coverages for excursions abroad.

He knows how "peace-loving" France and Great Britain are: "Having all the European territory required by their traditional ambitions and loaded with the spoils of empire, Great Britain and France do want peace—at their price.... The great democratic powers want peace and the possession of all they have...." He knows that Italy and Germany and Japan are driven by conflicts too great to be stopped by any peaceful "quarantines": "I find in history no justification whatever for assuming as truth that Italy, Germany and Japan would surrender unconditionally to a grand quarantine."

UNDERSTANDS VALUE OF DEMOCRACY

He knows also just what "democracy" is worth to imperialism, and just how democracy is served by imperialist war: "Does anyone conversant with British history really believe that the operations of the British government since 1914, let us say, have been controlled by some conception of democracy, as distinguished from British interests in the Mediterranean, Africa and elsewhere? Or the operations of the French government? What did these governments do for democracy in Germany between 1919 and 1933?.... And if it comes to another war for democracy against the three offenders, have we any ground for expecting beneficent results in the way of a universal democratic advance?"

BASE FOR ISOLATION NO LONGER EXISTS

As the United States entered the imperialist stage of its development, the economic basis for the policy of isolation was destroyed. The idea of isolation lingered on in a vacuum. This All I ask anyone to consider on

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ANTI-LYNCH BILL

A Speech I Did Not Deliver In The United States Senate

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Gentlemen: Some of you feel that you have already done your duty, that is, you have done what appears to you to be politically advisable. Thirty-seven of you who are in favor of the anti-lynching bill voted to close debate and proceed to vote. You think that you have thereby cleared your skirts and can go back to your Negro constituents with the claim that you are a friend of the Negro people. What else could anyone expect from you? Did you not vote in favor of closing debate and thus bring the bill to a vote, something which the two dozen Southern senators refuse to permit by their filibuster? And now there is no use continuing the attempt to pass the bill because the filibuster will prevent this august body from considering other important measures!

In some states there is a law which makes a governmental subdivision absolutely liable for all damage done to property in the course of a riot. Wagner could certainly have treated the Negroes at least in the same way, that is, the bill could have provided absolute liability on the part of any governmental subdivision where a lynching occurs. But property is more sacred than Negroes.

Motive of Southern Senators

Why are the Southern Senators so bitterly opposed to a bill, the effectiveness of which can be questioned even for the purpose it is intended to serve? Should the bill pass, white masters will continue to have their properties; they will continue to exploit both Negro and white workers; the share-cropper will continue to live on the brink of starvation; and the Negroes will still be spat upon, reviled and terrorized. The Northern States have shown that lynching can be limited to revolutionary workers, as in the case of Frank Little, or that it can be done with all the legal forms, as in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, without in the least disturbing the well-being of the capitalist class.

The arrogance of the ruling whites in the South knows no bounds. They will not permit any encroachment upon their right to do as they please with their "niggers." And then there is a possibility that the Negroes, even though they may be mistaken, will think that there is some power to protect them against the brutality of the white bosses and this thought might cause them to lift up their heads. The Senatorial representatives of the white ruling class of the South are anxious to prevent the slightest concession to the people who created all the wealth of the South.

How Lynching Will End

It is necessary that the Negro workers clearly understand the nature of this anti-lynching bill and the motives of those who have introduced it and support it, as well as those who are opposed to it. The Democrats who allegedly support it, do so because they see a chance to assure themselves of a huge number of Negro votes. The Senators who oppose it are unwilling to yield an inch of their right to keep the Negro in utter degradation.

The Negro workers must understand that even if the bill is passed (and it has very little chance of passing) it is doubtful whether it will have any effect upon lynchings. I shall vote for the bill because, as weak as it is, it might conceivably have some slight effect in saving the life of a Negro. The Socialist Workers' Party states clearly that a far more effective method than this bill to stop lynchings in the South is for the Negro and white workers to organize and shake their united fist in the face of the white masters. Only a united struggle of white and colored workers will improve the horrible conditions of the working class of the South. Do not rely upon the charitable feelings of the masters; do not depend upon the good will of the Northern Democrats. Rely only upon your united strength.

Against Capitalism

And it is not enough to struggle against lynching alone. There is very little choice between being lynched and starving to death. Lynching is only one of the results of the conditions under which both Negroes and white workers are compelled to live. So long as the white capitalists are permitted to rule this country, so long will there be unemployment, war, terror, starvation, lynching.

Not an anti-lynching bill will do away with lynching, but a bill introduced by a workers' government abolishing the right of the white ruling class to own the wealth of this country and exploit the workers of all races and creeds. For the Negroes to gain complete economic, political and social equality, and for the white and Negro workers to live as brothers free from the exploitation of capitalists, it is necessary to create a workers' government.