

WORKERS OF THE
WORLD UNITE!

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THE TRUTH ABOUT THE STALIN-HITLER PACT!

Real Meaning Of Moscow Trials Is Clear

Today, at last, the world can see quite plainly the real meaning of the Moscow Trials.

Stalin's pact with Hitler! Stalin's blessing on the most savage, hideous political force in recorded history! Stalin's signal for Nazism to advance with a free hand, and to yoke ever more tens of millions of workers and peasants beneath the Nazi chains. The mask is off at last!

Stalin Murdered the Flower of the Party

One by one, by tens and dozens and hundreds and thousands, Stalin butchered. By frame-up in open court or in dark rooms in black night, in concentration camps or the cellars of the Lubianka, the guns of the GPU smoked. Zinoviev and Smirnov and Kamenov and Bukharin, Pyatakov, Mrachkovsky... all who remained of those who had led the great revolution, all Lenin's comrades and colleagues, those who had been the flower of the dead party which Stalin murdered, fell before the assassin of the Kremlin.

And, month by month, the staff of the Red army and navy, the mighty heroes of the civil war, those who had, starving and ragged, met and conquered the hordes of the counter-revolution and the armies of all the imperialist powers, were slaughtered by Stalin—by hundreds, by thousands, by tens of thousands.

These were the allies of Hitler, the agents of the Gestapo, the plotters of a "German orientation"! So said Vyshinsky — and the paid and unpaid hirelings and prostitutes of the unspeakable tyrant of the Kremlin!

Hand in Hand with Reaction

And now, with its fierce, terrible irony, history pulls aside the curtain: it is Stalin, Stalin the well-beloved, the eagle, the lion, the rain and the sun, who embraces Hitler over the bones of the workers of Europe.

Why the trials, and the ravaging purges? It is easy to understand now.

Stalin, the destroyer of the socialist revolution, the leader and defender of the power and the privileges of the new exploiters!

To destroy the revolution, to march hand in hand with the world symbol of the counter-revolution, Stalin had first to destroy all those who made the revolution, to smash the living bearers of the tradition of the revolution, to root out every potential center of that opposition which would arise from among the masses as Stalin's counter-revolution had to come into the open for its last stages.

Only by blood, by rivers and torrents of blood, could the new exploiters advance toward the consolidation of their new power and privilege over the masses.

Let us hear now from the defenders of the Trials! They know now what they defended: the alliance with Hitler, the free hand for Hitler.

They Meet on Common Ground!



National Committee Issues Call To Party On Stalin-Hitler Pact

TO ALL BRANCHES AND MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY:

The Hitler-Stalin Pact, and the world war danger, enormously increases both the tasks and the opportunities of our party.

More than ever must our energies be bent towards extending and deepening the campaign against war which we have launched. We are now in a better position to carry it through successfully than we ever were before.

The Pact is not merely a striking confirmation of the prediction we made after Munich. It is a mortal blow, delivered by Stalin himself, against all the Stalinist parties, the American included. The rank and file Stalinist workers, cruelly duped by the paid agents of the Kremlin bureaucracy, regimented in advance for war for the democratic front against the fascist aggressors, are everywhere in a state of confusion. Some of them have had their eyes opened to Stalinist perfidy at a single blow. Others, and they number thousands, are beginning to ask critical, imperious questions which all the base sophistry of the Brownists cannot dispose of so easily.

REACH THE C.P. RANKS!

As part of our campaign, we must now make an exceptionally concentrated effort to reach the ranks of the Stalinist party and those influenced by it with what they are so anxiously seeking—an explanation of what has happened, of how the Pact came to be signed, of what it means in world politics and to the working

class in particular. Patient explanation of our point of view must go hand in hand with a merciless offensive against Stalinism, the most virulent poison in the labor movement.

All branches must make special efforts to establish contact with the Communist Party and Young Communist League membership in their localities.

The special editions of the *Socialist Appeal*, devoted to an analysis of the shameful Pact, must be distributed widely among the Stalinist workers.

Every effort must be made to bring the largest number of Stalinist workers to the mass meetings of the party on this subject and—**FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR**

Every locality should hold at least one large-scale meeting at which the party position on the Pact is expounded.

Now is the time to concentrate on winning the betrayed Stalinist militants, those who are honestly devoted to the cause of socialism, to the banner of the Fourth International.

Now is the time to press harder the struggle against imperialist war, to expose the fraud of the "democratic peace front", to popularize the slogan of "Let the People Vote on War! Take the War-Making Power Away from Congress!"

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
Socialist Workers Party
MAX SHACHTMAN,
Acting Nat'l Secretary.

Stalin's Capitulation to Hitler Increases War Danger; Threatens Existence of Soviet Workers

Headlines in the capitalist press scream about Stalin's betrayal of the "democracies." In contrast, the putrid Stalinist press, in obedience to the Kremlin Butcher, calls the alliance a "blow for peace" and a "victory" for Stalin.

They both lie. They lied unitedly yesterday, they lie separately today.

They both—Stalin and the democracies—betrayed the illusory hopes of the masses. They deceived the peoples with the myth that the conflict between the imperialist powers is a conflict between "fascism" and "democracy." They fooled the masses into believing that the coming war is a war of "ideologies." To help this myth, the "democracies" helped dress Stalin up as a "democrat."

In their desire to maintain their monopoly over the world's markets against the assault of the Axis powers, the "democracies" were only too ready to use Stalin and his bloody totalitarian regime as a tool to defend the status quo.

WORKERS JEER, HIT STALINIST TALK AS FAKE

Defenders of Stalin
Line Scarce as Work-
ers Ask Questions

By TONY CHAPMAN
NEW YORK—Shock, resentment and revulsion gripped this city's workers as they mulled over the headlines announcing the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Non-Aggression Pact at Moscow.

Everywhere during the past three days, on street corners, in cafeterias, in their clubs, the workers have spoken of nothing else. Not since the advent of Hitler to power in 1933 have there been such widely profound expressions of bitterness and consternation. From 14th Street to the Bronx, from the Battery to Brooklyn, the pitch of proletarian anger against this latest Stalinist outrage has expressed itself in sharp, unqualified terms.

Workers Jeer
Tuesday night, on the corner of 170th Street and Walton Avenue in the Bronx, when the local Branch of the Communist Party attempted to stage an outdoor meeting in order to explain the ostensible benefits of the Hitler-Stalin pact, proletarian feeling ran so high that the Stalinists were forced to retreat under a barrage of bitter ridicule and derision.

"Heil fuhrer Stalin," the workers jeered.
Scores of hands went up in mock fascist salutes.
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In their assault upon the booty accumulated by the Western powers, the rapacious Nazi imperialists are only too ready to use those whom yesterday they called the "Jewish Bolsheviks."

"Ideologies" Change as Needed

Amid the scramble for super-profits, all the capitalist "ideologies"—both fascist and democratic — are revealed as flimsy garments, the imperialist wolves look alike.

Amid this feverish contest for capitalist domination, the Stalin regime has been unmasked, more openly than ever before, as a characterless tool of the imperialists.

A "blow for peace", the Stalinists brazenly call the alliance with Hitler. But Molotov's signature on that pact doomed Poland as an independent power, gave Hitler the signal to go ahead with his march Eastward.

A "victory" for Stalin, his lackeys say. But Stalin can expect even less gratitude from his present service to Nazi Germany than he got for his previous services to the "democracies."

Stalin fawningly sought the favor of the Western imperialists, providing them with the "Peoples Fronts" which brought about the victory of Franco over the Spanish masses and Daladier's dictatorship over the French working class.

Will Earn No Gratitude

In gratitude for these services, he was left out in the cold at the time of Munich, when his "democratic" allies believed they could buy peace from Hitler by giving him a free hand against Czechoslovakia and the Ukraine.

The brand of gratitude that Stalin will get from Hitler was foreshadowed by the fate of Poland. Only last September, when the Nazis marched on Czechoslovakia, Poland was allowed to participate in the partition of that country as payment for its neutrality. With Hitler's blessing a year ago, the Poles took Teschen. Today they are on the verge of being taken themselves.

The annexation of Poland by the Nazis, in whatever form it may take place, will only bring closer the day of Hitler's assault upon Soviet Russia with the full blessings of his present enemies in the West.

Ready yesterday to praise Stalin if only he would fight on the side of the "democratic" imperialists, today the democratic capitalists and their social-democratic lackeys seek to utilize

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WHOM CAN THE PEOPLE TRUST?

AN EDITORIAL

Whom can the people trust?

Faced with the supreme questions—the question of war, and the question of the preservation of freedom from fascism and totalitarian dictatorship—on whom can we, the masses of workers and farmers, rely?

We were told to trust in a "collective security" which would be brought about by the "great democratic powers". These powers, led by their Edens and Chamberlains and Blums and Daladiers, showed the kind of collective security they were interested in when they handed Ethiopia to Italy, Spain to Franco, and Czechoslovakia to Hitler.

Above all, we were told to put our faith in Stalin, the

"mighty bulwark of peace and democracy", the genial chief of the peoples of the world.

Now Stalin drives home a blow against the people everywhere beside which Munich pales into insignificance. Never, perhaps, in history, has there been a more brutal, cynical betrayal of the hopes of a great part of mankind.

Do you think Roosevelt is fashioned from a different bolt of cloth than his fellow rulers?

The present rulers of the great powers, and the exploiters whose servants they are, are all identical in their hatred and contempt for the masses of the people, in their callous

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In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

CIO and Stalin

The heaviest blow ever delivered against the Stalinists in the CIO was given this week by Stalin through his agreement with Hitler.

Symbolic of days to come was the public attack Wednesday by Heywood Broun, president of the CIO, on the new Stalin line. Broun denounced the Stalin-Hitler pact in his national column.

It is no exaggeration to say that the bottom of the Stalinist strategy in the CIO dropped out this week.

A revulsion against the cynical deal between Stalin and Hitler is bound to sweep the entire labor movement. And a chief stock-in-trade of the Stalinists within the CIO, "anti-fascism," boomerangs against them with a terrific thud.

Very significantly, John L. Lewis has maintained a discreet silence about the pact, although William Green, president of the AFL, rushed to print to chuckle over the dilemma of the present C.I.O. line which is Stalinist-influenced.

CIO Liability

For it is becoming increasingly clear to everyone that the Stalinists are a terrible liability to Lewis and the CIO from any point of view. Experience teaches that neither they nor their policies can be trusted.

We know of many CIO unions in the East and middle-West where progressive tendencies have been slowly arising. Now they have been given another punch against the Stalinists. It was furnished by Stalin.

The taunts of the progressives in the labor movement will be exceeded only by the unconcealed chagrin of the Stalinist followers. Because there is no answer to the fact that the overwhelming majority of people interpret the pact as "the Stalinists and fascists are getting together."

Many big CIO unions are holding conventions soon, including the national CIO. This places the C. P. in an inextricable dilemma. What happens to the carload of Stalinist resolutions that usually swamped progressives?

Where will the resolution on collective security be? The one which Harry Bridges, Joe Curran, Mervin Rathbone, and other C.P.s defended at the last CIO convention.

No More Boycott?

What about the CIO national resolution to boycott German goods? And the one on peace and democracy? What kind of speech can John Brophy, Stalinized director of the CIO, give two weeks from now to the United Rubber Workers of America convention? Last year he talked against Hitlerism. Picture the headaches of the Stalinists in the auto workers unions trying to defend a Hitler-Stalin pact!

In the S.W.O.C. only a few weeks ago, David J. Macdonald, secretary-treasurer, with the approval of Phillip Murray, took a blast at "communism." Steel Labor, official publication of the S.W.O.C., carried an editorial repudiating all "isms."

Clearing their skirts of Stalinist association will be a major activity of many CIO leaders in the next period who previously went along. Of course, red-baiting, amalgams, etc. will be far too common and dangerous.

And the Militants?

From our point of view, however, the important question is what happens to the hundreds of union militants who joined the Stalinists under the illusion that it was a "progressive party." Their first reaction inevitably will be, "We've been sold out!" All the fine talk by Stalinist organizers that "Our Party is the only real opponent of Hitler," will mock the militants.

Obviously, if there is a serious dent in the ranks of the Stalinists—and it seems probable—it will come first from these healthy proletarian elements. Already there are reports of how Stalinist members in the CIO wince and duck when razzed by the cry, "Hell Stalin!"

A friend at the teachers union convention now meeting in Buffalo wrote today that the Stalinists were dazed and punch drunk by the news of the pact.

A crack up of Stalinist forces

Minneapolis Labor Raises Bail Fund for Indicted WPA Strikers

Federal Grand Jury Hands Down 103 Indictments—Unionists Organize Against Outrage—23 Already Under Arrest

Outraged at the bloodthirsty tactics being followed by U. S. Attorney Victor Anderson and the boss press towards the 103 indicted WPA strikers, a broad committee representing the Minneapolis labor movement met Tuesday afternoon and voted unanimously to begin immediately the raising of a bail fund to free all those indicted. The committee, chosen by representatives of the Central Labor Union, the Building Trades Council, the Teamsters Joint Council, and the Federal Workers Section of Local 544, aims to raise a bail fund sufficient to gain the release of every single one of the victimized strikers.

A speakers committee, headed by Claude Skeldson of the Electrical Workers Union Local 292 and V. R. Dunne of Local 544, is sending speakers to all union meetings, appealing for cash donations to the bail fund and for property to be listed to guarantee the bail bond.

Special Meeting Tuesday

In addition, a letter is being sent out by officials of the Central Labor Union, summoning the executive boards of all Minneapolis AFL unions to a special meeting next Tuesday evening, August 29th, 8 p.m., at the Central Labor Union.

The meeting will discuss plans to rally labor support for the victims of WPA.

The federal grand jury which began its investigation into the Minneapolis WPA strike on July 24, paused last Friday to hand down indictments against over one hundred Minneapolis citizens, workers on WPA. Most of those named were charged with violating Section 28 of the Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Bill, making it a felony to interfere with relief clients working on WPA. The law carries a penalty of up to two years in prison.

U. S. Attorney Victor Anderson, who is known to have high political ambitions, has announced he is not through yet, and that his jury will reconvene August 28 to consider further evidence being gathered by Murphy's G-men.

Provocative Tactics an Outrage

Up to press time, 23 of those indicted were under arrest. The manner in which some of the arrests were carried out was a downright outrage. U.S. deputy marshalls barged into the homes of the victims at all hours of the night, handcuffed the WPA workers and carted them off to jail. All this was done to the tune of lurid headlines and pictures in the daily boss press. The Minneapolis Tribune and the Star-Journal vied with one another to make the arrested strikers appear as criminals.

In order to sustain the atmosphere of a deep dark crime, the court and Anderson refused to divulge the names of those indicted, so that those named could give themselves up. Instead the authorities, undoubtedly acting at the direction of the national administration, preferred to continue their stupid and sensational policy of breaking into citizens' homes and making newspaper headlines.

Monstrous Bail Set

Federal Judge Bell, supposedly a liberal, joined in the drive against organized labor by setting monstrously high bail for those arrested. Up to Wednesday noon, bail for each striker ranged from \$5,000 to \$19,000, certainly a ridiculous figure for honest workmen and citizens earning \$60.50 a month, almost all of whom are long-time residents of Minneapolis and the heads of families.

Among the indicted are said to be no less than forty women, former workers on the WPA sewing project. The deputy marshalls are understood to be plotting a roundup of these women on Thursday and Friday. Almost all the women are breadwinners for families. While these women are shackled in jail, their families must continue to eat and be cared for, which raises an additional problem for the labor movement.

Lengthy Trials Seen

Attorneys John Goldie, Tom Kochemacker and Gilbert Carlson, all well-known in labor circles, sat in Tuesday afternoon's meeting at the Central Labor Union. The attorneys pointed out that though the

in the labor movement is now on the order of the day! Incidentally, will the Stalinists be forced to employ a new technique against labor progressives in the future? Once they called them "Trotskyite-fascists," or simply "Trotskyites." Will they now snarl and call them "dirty anti-fascists"?

Roosevelt and Murphy, as have numerous union and unemployed groups throughout the nation.

Stand by WPA Victims

The entire labor movement, and every member of organized labor, must assume the responsibility for protecting and vindicating the rights of the defendants who are being victimized by the government and the boss press.

The entire conduct of U. S. Attorney Anderson, Attorney General Frank Murphy and the grand jury investigation, accompanied by lurid and lying newspaper publicity, is deliberately designed to make the public believe these WPA workers are criminals, which is certainly untrue. Their only crime is that they are unemployed and that they are union men and women, devoted to labor's cause. The defendants took a brave and generous stand for union principles. It is the responsibility of organized labor to stand by THEM in their hour of need. The rapid raising of a bail fund to gain the freedom of all defendants will be a fitting answer to the high-handed tactics of the federal authorities.

Protests Flow In

Protests against the vindictive attitude of the Roosevelt administration towards the Minneapolis WPA strikers continued to pour in. Last Sunday the Iowa State Drivers Council adopted a stiff resolution protesting the victimization of the strikers. The Sailors Union of the Pacific, which has had a good deal of experience with government strike-breaking, has sent a protest resolution to

The Berlin-Moscow Treaty

ARTICLE I

The two contracting parties obligate themselves to refrain from every act of force, every aggressive action, and every attack against one another, including any single action or that taken in conjunction with other powers.

(This means that the Soviet Union gives Hitler a free hand not only in Poland, but also wherever else he may choose in the future to strike.)

ARTICLE II

In case one of the parties of this treaty should become the object of warlike acts by a third power, the other party will in no way support this third power.

(This means that Stalin promises not to help any power which may desire to block Hitler's "aggressions".)

ARTICLE III

The governments of the two contracting parties in the future will constantly remain in consultation with one another in order to inform each other regarding questions of common interest.

(This means that both Stalin and Hitler are now bound by ties of deep mutual interest and that they will act in unison in the international political arena.)

ARTICLE IV

Neither of the high contracting parties will associate itself with any other grouping of powers which directly or indirectly is aimed at the other party.

(This means that Russian participation in any bloc of powers aimed at Hitler is henceforth excluded.)

ARTICLE V

In the event of a conflict between the contracting parties concerning any question, the two parties will adjust this difference or conflict exclusively by friendly exchange of opinions or if necessary, by an arbitration commission.

(This means confirmation of the intimate relations now obtaining between Stalin and Hitler.)

ARTICLE VI

The present treaty will extend for a period of ten years with the condition that if neither of the contracting parties announces its abrogation within one year of expiration of this period, it will continue in force automatically for another period of five years.

(This means that both Stalin and Hitler look forward to a long, happy and mutually profitable relationship.)

ARTICLE VII

The present treaty shall be ratified within the shortest possible time. The exchange of ratification documents shall take place in Berlin. The treaty becomes effective immediately upon signature.

(This means that ratification is but a formality, and will be accomplished without delay.)

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Stalin's Democratic Front



Stalin Talk a Fake, Cry Aroused Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

"It's the lowest, meanest thing that Stalin has ever done," cried an infuriated worker. The others picked up the cry. The local Stalinists, bewildered, confused, incoherently begging for a chance to "explain," were routed.

Group Discussions

Wednesday afternoon, as thousands poured out of their shops in the Garment District, denunciation of Stalinist foreign policy echoed up and down 7th Avenue. Everywhere workers gathered in knots and groups, the latest editions under their arms, arguing animatedly.

"All of Stalin's rabble-rousing talk against Hitlerism in the past was a lousy fake," declared one worker. "He was just spitting into the wind."

On the corner of 39th Street and Seventh Avenue, large groups of workers stayed way past the dinner hour discussing the pact.

"Look what it means for the Polish Jews," said an irate worker to a lone Stalinist apologist. "Stalin, your Stalin, your fearless, wonderful Stalin has handed the Jews of Poland into Hitler's hands. That's progressive you want to tell me. That's the peace policy of the Soviet Union in action you want to tell me," he continued. "Listen you—I don't know what to call you—from now on Stalin's hands are as bloody as Hitler's as far as I'm concerned."

The Stalinist apologist, surrounded by angry workers, answered meekly. "The Soviet Union is still the beacon of the struggle against fascism."

No Defenders

But those willing to defend this latest turn in Soviet diplomacy were rarely to be seen or heard. As this writer sought painstakingly yesterday for bona-fide Stalinist comment, he could find no one in the Garment District willing to admit he was a Stalinist.

It was almost in desperation that we finally hit it up towards the Garment Center Kremlin at 151 West 33rd St., where, we were informed, a Stalinist educational forum was in progress. Once arrived, we stopped a moment to ponder. What if someone were to recognize this Trotskyist stalwart? Indeed, we might hardly be surprised if, in keeping with this latest turn in Soviet foreign policy, someone were to denounce us as a counter-revolutionary spy in the pay of the nefarious Democracies. A moment later, we had entered the pearly gates.

Explaining the Dialectics Through the half open door we could see a Communist party fraction listening to a functionary "explaining" the pact.

"We must understand," said the plaintive voice, "that the Non-Aggression Pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union signifies, in the language of dialectics, the unity of opposites." The plaintive voice concluded. "The Soviet Union hopes by this pact with Nazi Germany to accelerate the process of drawing the democracies into action for peace."

Apprehensive over the reactions created by the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Stalinists, where they felt they were sufficiently entrenched,

attempted to hold street corner meetings. Wednesday night the Stalinists took to the corner of Brighton Beach Avenue and 6th Street in Brooklyn to explain and defend the pact.

"The pact is a great step forward to stop fascism dead in its tracks and help Poland by forcing Chamberlain and Daladier to fight against Hitler," declared a local Stalinist clairvoyant.

"The Soviet Union," the speaker continued, "is a paradise for Jews and oppressed peoples of all races and creeds." The speaker grew eloquent about the "struggle" of the Stalinist party against the Coughlinites.

"Where," interposed a lone worker, "where was the Communist party at the time of the projected parade of the Coughlinites into Union Square?" The spell had been broken. "Yeah," cried the assembled workers, "where was the Communist Party?"

The speaker dodged the mass question, "Chamberlain is the enemy of all mankind. Watch, keep your eyes on the Munich-men," the speaker hollered.

Meeting Routed

The lone worker, who already had behind him the mass support of the crowd, called out. "Don't talk about Chamberlain. Everyone expects Chamberlain to sell out the workers. But must we also expect the same thing from Stalin?"

The crowd took up the cry. "What about it, what about it?"

For the first time in years the Stalinists suffered rout in one of their major New York strongholds. Silent, confused, the Stalinists packed up and left the corner. From ten o'clock onward, workers milled on the corner, bitterly denouncing the Stalin betrayal.

Uptown, in the Bronx, workers stayed on the streets way past their retiring time, arguing, discussing, putting every Stalinist to rout and stampee.

But through all the bitterness, there was much derisive laughter. The workers laughed loud and heartily when a cowed Stalinist remarked that "After all, Stalin will use his personal relations with Hitler to convince the Chancellor that he shouldn't persecute the Jews."

Tenth Anniversary of Russian Bulletin

This Sunday, Aug. 27, the "Friends of the Russian Bulletin," will celebrate the tenth anniversary of the publication's existence. There will be a boat ride to Rye Beach, leaving the Battery at 10:15 a.m. . . . an all day picnic at Playland, with varied amusements . . . return boat leaves at 8:00 p.m. . . . dancing and floor show on boat. Tickets are available at the National Office, 116 University Place, for only one dollar. In case of rain, the outing will be held on Sunday, September 10.

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Stop Fascism In America!

Will Father Coughlin Become Dictator of the United States?

By JOSEPH HANSEN

(SIXTH INSTALLMENT)

During the World War the French had used Negro troops from their colonies to fight where the carnage was the bloodiest at the front. The United States, too, sent over large numbers of colored troops. All these Negroes fought with unparalleled bravery and thus won the especial hate of the German patriots. Men like Hitler feared the Negroes and considered them on the same level as apes.

Hitler played on this hate. He wove fantastic stories about the Negroes that would have shocked even a Southern Bourbon lynch-lover.

Who was responsible for bringing the Negroes to the Rhine? The Jews, stormed Hitler. It was the Jews in the first place who instigated education for the Negroes, "born half-ape." This act of the Jews was "nothing less than a sin against the will of the eternal Creator." (Mein Kampf, p. 640.)

"African negroes rape our women and children. . . ." (Mein Kampf, p. 532.)

"The black disgrace works havoc on the Rhine. Women, girls and children pay for the bestial negroes' lust with their death. An uninterrupted stream of poison and disease flows into the blood of our people." (Mein Kampf, p. 540.)

"It was and is the Jews who bring the negro to the Rhine, always with the same concealed thought and the clear goal of destroying, by the bastardization which would necessarily set in, the white race which they hate." (Mein Kampf, p. 449.)

Through a lurid campaign such as this against the Negroes who had fought on the side of the Allies in the World War Hitler brought his audiences to the seething point, then he directed this rage against the Jews who lived in Germany.

"This infection of our blood, which hundreds of thousands of our people overlook as though blind, is moreover promoted systematically by the Jews today. Systematically these black parasites of the nations ravish our innocent young blonde girls and thus destroy something that can never again be replaced in this world." (Mein Kampf, p. 826.)

"The personification of the Devil, as the symbol of all evil, assumes the living appearance of the Jew." (Mein Kampf, p. 447.)

"Therefore I believe today that I am acting in the sense of the Almighty Creator: BY WARDING OFF THE JEWS I AM FIGHTING FOR THE LORD'S WORK." (Mein Kampf, p. 84.)

Der Fuehrer went to enormous lengths to describe how the "international bankers," and "loan capital," these and the "Bolsheviks" and the capitalists were all one and the same: THE JEWS.

But not even this propaganda painted with hell flames was enough. Something else was needed. Action.

Der Fuehrer provided that too.

Hitler's Brown Shirts Go Into Action

Beginning very cautiously, by merely spreading Hitler's literature far and wide, the Brown Shirts soon initiated bolder actions.

They beat up workers.

No one stopped them.

They broke into the headquarters of trade unions and wrecked them, throwing typewriters out of the windows, breaking the furniture to kindling wood.

No one stopped them.

They tortured workers—not in the "refined" Italian way with castor oil, but by stripping their victim, man or woman, naked, strapping him down to a table, and then beating him unconscious with rubber hoses.

No one stopped them.

In fact the police helped the Brown Shirts. If a worker attempted to defend himself from the Brown Shirts, then the police arrested him.

When the Brown Shirts became strong enough to flaunt arms, the police furnished large quantities.

The Brown Shirts began killing workers in the streets. All over Germany, workers suffered from these murderous attacks of the Brown Shirts.

Still no one stopped them.

Der Fuehrer stepped up the brutality of his campaign. From the Rhine to the Baltic, he organized small militant groups of Brown Shirts to break up gatherings of workers.

Hitler describes one of the encounters between his men and the workers in the following words:

"My men rushed into the attack like wolves. They hurled themselves on their adversaries in packs of eight or ten and began to drive them out of the hall by showering them with blows. The hubbub lasted twenty minutes. By this time, our adversaries, of whom there were perhaps seven or eight hundred, had most of them been thrown out of the hall and driven down the stairs by my men, of whom there were less than fifty. . . . That evening we really learned many things." (Quoted in Fascism and Big Business, p. 101-2. See also Mein Kampf, p. 748.)

After that evening, Der Fuehrer called his men Storm Troopers.

(Continued in next issue)

Socialist Appeal
116 University Place
New York City.

I would like to get better acquainted with your paper, the Socialist Appeal. Please send me sample copies for the next few weeks.

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By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

"Business Is Business"

The great nations are today helping one another to be ready to fight, quite possibly with each other, as never before. From their principal ports hundreds of ships are streaming over the seas with the finished products and the materials which war must have. "Business is business," and in no business today is there more intense competition than there is in this great business. All perfectly legal, of course; yet, for example, it cannot be exactly pleasant, just now, for an Englishman to learn that Britain is sending 300,000 tons of coal to Germany every month; that Italy has just arranged for 1,000,000 tons of that necessity, from British mines; that during 1938 Germany received from Britain, France and Belgium ten million metric tons of imports largely of a character of potential assistance to her in preparation for war; that during 1938 Germany's imports of pig iron and scrap were nearly five times greater than they were two years before; that Britain, France and Belgium sent to Germany 45 per cent of that nation's recently imported supplies of iron ore and ore containing manganese. And the great supplies of oil that Britain has sent to Germany are, of course, a matter of common knowledge.

Britain's aircraft factories are producing large quantities of planes for export as well as those for her own defense. The United States' exports to Japan have been, and are being, of enormous assistance to that country. The Netherlands East Indies are practically defenseless, and the jittery mood of those important islands is evidenced by the wiring of oil wells for destruction. Yet the Netherlands were one of the three countries which supplied Japan with 75 per cent of her war necessities

last year. Russia, of course, has sent vast supplies to China, but Germany's deep affection for Japan has not interfered with her also entering the rich Chinese market. Indeed, Tokyo believes that Germany has aided China in this respect more than has any other nation. In the World War thousands of German soldiers perished before Verdun on barbed wire "made in Germany" which France received, through Switzerland, shortly before the war began, and many a British soldier met his death through an agency that was the product of his homeland. So it would be again.

Krupps still find business satisfaction in the fact that at Jutland both the British and German fleets carried their products. Before Hitler, Krupps employed 46,000; today, 105,000. Business is excellent. A recent annual report of Krupps ended thus:

In conclusion, the committee desires to report that it has taken full cognizance of reports that a conference designed to bring to pass a reduction of armaments is to be held, and that it has definitely established that these reports are baseless. The industry may, therefore, be assured that the coming year will be a period of undisturbed activity and steadily increasing prosperity.

Makers of armaments in other lands also see few evidences of any depression.

NOTE: What you have just read is the full text, reprinted without addition or alteration, of an editorial which appeared in the N. Y. Times for August 21, 1939. Just what was in the mind of the editors of the Times in printing such an editorial, I don't know. But anyway, they have my thanks for doing a job I couldn't have done (much) better myself. —D. M.

Stalin's Capitulation to Hitler
Increases War Danger; Threatens
Existence of Soviet Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

Stalin's defection as a "new" argument to justify the coming war. The New York Times and the yellow "socialist" organs, the Jewish Forward and the New Leader now sing in chorus that, as a result of the signing of the pact, the lines have become clear: the "democracies" are now faced by a front of "totalitarians." The United States, they say, can now with an easy conscience join forces with England and France for "collective security."

Fake Line-Up

No doubt many of those nurtured until today in the Stalinist "collective security" line will join the "democrats" against the "totalitarians."

But this "ideological" line-up is as fake as the previous one of "democrats" against "fascists."

Already the "democratic" veneer of Great Britain and France is wearing thin. Chamberlain and Daladier rule by dictatorial decree. Roosevelt is rushing in the same direction.

Organizer of Defeats

Throughout his terrible reign, Stalin has organized nothing but defeats. In the name of building "socialism in one country," Stalin turned his back on the world revolution. But only world revolution could save the Soviet Union. Interested only in defending the bureaucratic oligarchy which raised itself on the backs of the Soviet workers, Stalin has brought the Soviet Union to the brink of disaster.

But not only the fate of Stalin's clique is at stake. The last conquests of the October Revolution, the lives of the Soviet workers and peasants, are involved.

The overthrow of the Stalin regime—that is the first step in a realistic defense of the Soviet Union.

The wiping out of Stalinism

Browder Won't Talk;
Not Even When Radio
Time Is Offered Him

Earl Browder, big, strong, and very much silent man in these days of Moscow Madness, generated another thunderclap of "me-no-talk" for his dismayed and silence-deafened disciples. It was learned by the Socialist Appeal from excellent authority within the Communist Party that the Earl of 13th Street rejected an offer of free time over a local radio station to debate the Soviet pact. It seems that Eugene Lyons, his adversary to-be, was unacceptable because he was tainted with Trotskyism. Eugene Lyons, for anybody who cares to discover it, is a well-known member of the American Labor Party and was directing manager of that Party's campaign for re-election of Lehman in 1938.

Whom Can The
People Trust?

(Continued from Page 1)

indifference to the people's needs and well-being, in their instant readiness to sacrifice the health and security and blood of the people to power and privilege.

With the same gesture with which they betray millions by diplomacy, they—and the present rulers of the United States in their front rank—are prepared to butcher tens of millions on the battlefields of the war toward which they plunge.

Whom can the people trust?

The people can trust only themselves, only their own strength, only their own courage.

We must take the decisions out of the hands of the present rulers.

We cannot permit the power to make war to remain in the hands of the President and Congress, who will use that power only against the people.

We must rally our forces to wrest from Congress the power of entering war and, through the requirement of a direct referendum on the issue of entering war, place that power in the hands of the people.

Let the people decide!

We must cast from our backs the false friends, the betrayers, the traitors, who will lead only from defeat to disaster.

We must carry through the fight against the war and for freedom, in our own way, with our own means, by our own unconquerable might.

everywhere—that is a vital step in organizing the masses for the struggle against the imperialist war.

With the thoroughly degenerate Communist Party smashed, the yellow reformists of the Social-Democratic Federation and the other lackeys of the "democratic" imperialists can be brushed aside—and we can engage the main enemy, the capitalist class!

Only revolutionary class struggle can be effective against the impending war.

Against the enemy here at home, against Roosevelt and the rest of the war-mongers, we

raise higher than ever the slogan:

Down with imperialist war!
Take away the war-making power from the President and Congress! Let the people decide!

Against international capitalism and its war, and against its Stalinist and social-democratic tools, we raise our banners:

LONG LIVE THE WORLD
REVOLUTION OF THE
WORKING CLASS! LONG
LIVE SOCIALISM!

LONG LIVE THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL, WORLD
PARTY OF PROLETARIAN
REVOLUTION!

Liberal Weeklies, Disillusioned,
Break with Stalinists over Pact

The Nation and the New Republic, the two liberal weeklies which have been most closely allied with the Stalinist party, broke with it this week on the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Ardent defenders of the Moscow Trials, apologists for any number of Stalinist crimes—they refused to publish any criticism of the Stalinist murders of revolutionists in Spain—The Nation and the New Republic now carry bitter editorials against the pact.

Stalin "Abandoned Poland"

"Stalin's Munich" is the title of the New Republic editorial in its August 30 issue. "The Soviet Union . . . has abandoned Poland to Hitler," it declares.

"The moral prestige of the Soviet government will be injured both at home and abroad."

For years the Communist movement has been preaching collective security. . . . But now it lies slain at the hands of its chief supporter. . . . Some rationalization will be discovered and some new line will be promulgated, no doubt. But Russian opinion, and opinion throughout the Communist International, will be confused and disheartened. The anti-Stalinist opposition will be jubilant and will redouble its efforts. More treason in the Soviet Union and more suppression of treason or so-called treason is likely. Non-Communists throughout the world who had been sympathetic with the Soviet regime and friendly to its recent line, but already chilled by the political trials, will be further puzzled and alienated."

The August 26 issue of The Nation says editorially:

Given Hitler Victory

"Red Star and Swastika, once mutually exclusive symbols, have come together, and the diplomatic map of Europe has been redrawn overnight. Russia has not joined the Anti-Comintern Pact, but by consenting at this precise moment to adopt the role of a disinterested neutral it has given Hitler a colossal diplomatic victory and laid foundations for another Munich."

What of the immediate effects in Europe of this reorientation of Moscow? Obviously the danger to Poland is intensified. Berlin is now forecasting action within the present week and is boasting that advanced knowledge of this coup had enabled it to tighten the screws."

These liberals have broken with the Stalinists on the pact, and that is significant as demonstrating that, despite all Browder's explanations, the Pact means the abandonment of the "collective security" line. But in breaking, these liberals have not moved an inch nearer a real anti-war position.

The Nation remains grooved in the "war for democracy" line, while the New Republic makes a half-turn toward isolationism. Toward the real struggle against war, the struggle against the capitalism which breeds war, the struggle to organize the international working class against all the war-makers, these liberals remain as hostile as ever.

PACT TOO MUCH
FOR H. BROWN

Heywood Brown, darling of the Stalinists and rabid defender of all Stalinist policies including the Moscow trials—has broken with the Stalinists on the Hitler-Stalin pact!

"I do not see how anybody can get away from the immediate fact that the Soviet has here and now contributed to the might and menace of Hitler," wrote Brown in his August 23 column in the New York World-Telegram.

"Its net result constitutes a threat to all the democracies of the world, including the United States. It has always seemed to me that the failure of the German Communists to co-operate with the republic made the rise of Hitler possible. I believe that no leader of the party ever made any public admission of that fact, but, by implication, some seemed to say as much."

Free Hand for Hitler

"The whole theory of the popular front appeared to be based on the belief that Fascism was a thing so deadly that radicals must make common cause against it with liberals and progressives. Fascism is still deadly, but the popular front now becomes extremely difficult, if not impossible."

"The pact between Russia and the Reich opens up new territory in which Hitler will now have a free hand to sell his wares, both material and spiritual. The tide of Fascism has been stepped up. Some have said that England and France are well equipped to keep a corner of Europe safe from the Nazi peril. It would seem to me as if they now are in deadly peril. The whole of western Europe may now be ground beneath the Nazis within our own time."

In his indignation, Brown tardily reveals his conviction that the Stalinists in Germany made the rise of Hitler possible. He, of course, believes that the German republic could have been saved by a popular front there—and he ignores the fact that a popular front did exist, of the Social-Democrats and the bourgeois democrats which, like all popular fronts, proved impotent, as in France and Spain. The real crime of the German Stalinist party was its failure to make a proletarian united front, build Workers Defense Guards to stop the fas-

THE
NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Race Riots in Chicago

Twenty years ago this summer, there took place the notorious Chicago race riots. They are a good example of how necessary it is to turn our backs on whatever the American bourgeoisie says about the Negroes.

What precisely happened in Chicago twenty years ago? Thousands of Negroes will unsuspectingly give you the account given by Congressman Ellender in the debate on the Anti-Lynching Bill, Feb. 15, 1938. Many revolutionists, including J. R. Johnson, for years accepted it in outline, and it is probable that many still do, thereby subjecting themselves to the American bourgeoisie.

Bourgeois History

Mr. Ellender quotes extensively from the World's Work for December 1922, whose version runs as follows:

The great exodus of Negroes from the South created problems of adjustment between whites and blacks and of course the Negroes were the ones who caused the trouble. They were "illiterate", their manners were "uncouth", their clothes "outlandish and bad-smelling". When they found themselves sitting side by side with white people in trolley cars, the Negroes did not know how to behave. They "sprawled in their seats." They insisted on sitting when white women were standing. They went to live in quarters which white immigrants had for years regarded as their own; their children began to mingle in large number with the white children in the schools. But what "caused the greatest ill-feeling" was the increasing presence of Negro men and women in the public recreation centers. These impudent Negroes sat in considerable numbers on the park benches, played baseball and basketball on the public fields, they appeared in the municipal dance halls, they shared public bathing beaches with the whites, and, the final crime, "the mere fact that they attended band concerts in large numbers added to the ill-feeling."

Thus was the atmosphere created in which any small incident could and did precipitate a fearful race-riot.

Now the natural reaction of a Negro, or a white person who resents white arrogance to Negroes, is to say as follows: If Negroes went to the parks, played baseball and listened to concerts, they were perfectly justified in doing so, and if race-riots took place, it was not the Negroes' fault. A liberal would deplore the sad fact and rush to set up an "inter-racial" commission. A revolutionary who was not on his guard would say that here was another example of white workers being dominated by the reactionary ideas of the bourgeoisie. As a matter of fact, such a revolutionary would be himself dominated by bourgeois ideas on the Negro question. Far from being a demonstration of the difficulties of adjustment between white residents and black immigrants, the Chicago race riots are one of the greatest examples of racial solidarity in the whole history of the American working-class.

The Bosses Seek to Split the Workers

In 1919 there were some 12,000 Negroes working in the stock yards of Chicago. The Stockyards Labor Council, founded in July 1917 had been struggling to organize the industry. The capitalist bosses countered by introducing an increasing number of plants. They hoped to influence the Negroes against the unions, and by playing white against black to defeat unionization. The Stockyards Labor Council repudiated the color-line and made a drive to organize the Negroes, for without them, the whites could not win. There were inter-racial socials, a Negro was elected Vice-president of the Council. In June 1919, the Council began to organize street-corner meetings of whites and Negroes. This was death for the meat-packing bosses and they used mounted police to break these meetings up. Against this, the Stockyards Labor Council called a protest strike and won, and to celebrate, they called a great parade of white and Negro workers in the Negro neighborhood for July 6.

In come the capitalist police and with brazen impudence proclaim that this parade is going to cause racial conflict! They therefore forbid it. The Council, instead of defying the order, made Negroes and whites parade separately, but the two groups met on the Beutner playground at La Salle and 33rd Street and there was a grand demonstration of nearly 30,000 Negroes and whites (despite the fact that many of these Negroes had gone to the band concerts). The working class front of blacks and whites held firm and the capitalists had to break it. So on July 27 they sent whites with faces blackened to look like Negroes who burned a block of houses where white stockyard workers lived. The police followed up this outrage by sending a large force of militia, police, etc., into the stockyards "to prevent racial strife", and agents-provocateurs were let loose among the white workers to incite them to violence.

Black and White Workers Remain United

The Council called a mass meeting of 30,000 white workers which unanimously voted solidarity with the Negroes and demanded that the police withdraw all its armed men from the stockyards. The 4,000 Negroes endorsed the vote.

During this period, the riots did take place. Police and their allies, let loose in the Negro district, led the rioting. In their efforts to keep "order", they killed not one white man, but half the Negroes killed met their death at the hands of the police.

But despite this desperate provocation, the 35,000 whites and Negroes in the union remained solid and would not go back to work until the police and militia were removed from the yards. White and black union men worked together to help the wounded. The whites gave financial aid to the Negroes who came to the headquarters for assistance instead of going to the bosses' breadlines. Among 35,000 workers there was only one single case of violence.

The workers black and white had caused the police to be withdrawn from the yards. On the day that they went back there wasn't a single indication . . . of any racial feeling. In one plant, Negroes and Slavs "met as old friends." Many of them "put their arms around one another's necks." A Negro and a Pole got on a truck and rode all around the plant to show the other workers that a good spirit still existed. Says the official report: "There was nothing in the contact of the Negro and the Pole or the Slav that would indicate that there had ever been a race riot in Chicago, and there was nothing from the beginning of the race riot to the end that would indicate there was any feeling started in the stockyards or in this industry that led to the race riots."

That was twenty years ago. The full story was told in the Stalinist press ten years after, and some of it is in official reports. But the bourgeois press and bourgeois publicists still circulate their lies about the Chicago race riots, and with their babble about maladjustment, they cleverly obscure one of the most significant events in American working class history. These lies penetrate even into the revolutionary movement, and will continue to penetrate unless the revolutionary movement does not merely content itself with saying "No" to the capitalist "Yes", but turns its back completely on whatever the capitalists say about the Negroes.

cists—a crime which the Stalinist parties have repeated everywhere.

Brown remains a popular fronter, with whom we have nothing in common. In his break with the Stalinists, he proposes merely to continue on yesterday's Stalinist policy. The struggle for the overthrow of all forms of capitalism, the militant struggle against fascism at home—this road Brown remains as blind to as when he was a Stalinist.

A REQUEST

All available copies of Vol. 3 No. 9 of this year's Appeal are needed for purposes of binding.

We would appreciate it if Appeal readers would send in as many copies of this issue as they may have available.

Join the Socialist
Workers Party

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A Job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An Independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Browder "Explains"

A lengthy editorial in the August 23 Daily Worker and a press interview with Earl Browder in the following issue constitute, for the moment, the official Stalinist explanation of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Two main points strike the reader as soon as he reads the apologies and then compares them to the pact.

The Stalinist editorial, in justifying the pact as leaving the Stalin regime free to go on to make an alliance with the "democracies", rested its case entirely on the assumption that the Hitler-Stalin pact would contain an "escape" clause. The editorial said:

"And here it must be stressed that in each and every non-aggression pact which the Soviet Union concludes there is a basic clause of Soviet peace policy which provides that in the event one of the parties to the pact invades or commits an act of aggression against a third nation, that the other party (the Soviet Union) is not bound to the treaty, is free to act in defense of peace."

In his press interview, Browder also dwelt on the same point.

Two hours after that interview, the text of the pact came over the wires—without the "escape" clause.

Instead, in three different ways the pact pledges Stalin to remain in alliance with Hitler no matter what happens. The first Article pledges him "to refrain from every act of force" against Hitler, the second pledges that he, if Hitler is engaged in war, "will in no way support this third power", the fourth pledges that he will not associate himself "with any other grouping of powers which directly or indirectly is aimed at the other party."

The "escape" clause was the primary justification made for the pact. That alibi has now blown up in Browder's face.

The other striking fact is the frenzied effort, in both the editorial and in Browder's statements, to define the pact as somehow not an alliance. That alibi, too, is blown up by the actual text of the pact, which constitutes as tightly-knit an alliance as the Soviet Union has ever engaged in.

Why this anxiety not to describe it as an alliance? Lenin used to say that the Soviet Union, if necessary, would make an alliance with the devil and his grandmother — if it served the world revolution. For example, in Lenin's time, the Soviet government made an alliance with Turkey, while the Turkish government was hounding Communists. Why can't Stalin, therefore, appeal to the example of Lenin?

He can't, and the Stalinists shy as far away as they can from such analogies, because the entire political conception and method employed by Lenin is completely foreign to Stalin. While Lenin's government made an alliance with Kemal Pasha, the Communist Party of Turkey was engaged in attempting to overthrow Kemal Pasha; likewise with the Rapallo treaty of 1922 with the German Republic, etc., etc.

But under Stalin? Not the least of the benefits derived by an ally of Stalin's is the subordination of the Communist Party of the allied country to its existing government. Laval and Daladier received the loyalty of the French Communist Party, etc. Even the hope of an alliance is enough to provide Roosevelt with the loyalty of the American Communist Party. This process has been a cumulative one. As late as the Seventh Congress, Dimitroff swore that the French Com-

munist Party would continue to vote against war credits, despite the Franco-Soviet treaty. . . And even after Munich, the French Stalinist party has voted war credits despite the withering of that treaty.

And so, Hitler, in the alliance, receives more than Stalin's aid. . . And since the members of the Communist party have been trained until yesterday morning in one school, the transition is provided by Browder—not by repudiating the Stalinist concept of an alliance, but by denying that the alliance is an alliance!

But Hitler will get every ounce he bargained for, that is certain.

The Raw Deal

In their vicious attack upon the unemployed of Minneapolis and the nation, the federal authorities are piling outrage upon outrage. Not content with slashing the wages and jobs of the unemployed, the WPA urged the Minneapolis police on to a murderous attack upon a peaceful picket line. FBI men disguised as WPA workers mingled with the pickets the night of bloody Friday, playing the role of agents-provocateur.

Attorney General Frank Murphy, President Roosevelt and Governor Stassen vie with one another in attacking the WPA strike and the strikers.

Now the federal grand jury sitting in St. Paul has interrupted its hearings long enough to hand down indictments against 103 jobless citizens, charging them with a felony which carries a penalty of two years' imprisonment.

The boss press joins with U. S. deputy marshals in carrying out sensational raids on workers' homes, and picturing the victims as dangerous criminals.

Federal Judge Bell joins the anti-labor pack by setting bail for the arrested strikers at \$5,000 and \$10,000 each.

The ridiculousness of the whole situation is only equalled by the serious implications which the repression of the WPA strikers has for the future of organized labor in the United States.

Imagine the marshals surrounding the humble home of a WPA worker at 5 o'clock in the morning, breaking in, handcuffing a \$60.50-a-month unemployed worker and dragging him off to jail, in the light of flashlight bulbs in the cameras of the boss press photographers. Imagine setting bail at \$10,000 — for honest workers whom even the boss courts haven't yet proved guilty of a single crime, for workers, heads of families, who have lived here all their lives.

For, understand this well, these workers are guilty of nothing save their devotion to trade union principles. It is one thing for U. S. Attorney Victor Anderson to wangle an indictment against them from a handpicked federal grand jury, operating on star chamber principles, on the testimony of assorted stool pigeons, G-men and crackpots with petty grievances. It is quite another thing to make the charges stick before an open jury trial, where the defendants and their witnesses can appear to defend themselves.

And \$10,000 bail—for \$60.50-a-month heads of families! Why, Judge Manton, a real honest-to-God crook who was convicted of receiving over a million dollars in bribes while sitting on the federal bench, only had \$10,000 bail placed against him. But then Manton was a big-time boss crook, and the WPA strikers are only poor workers who never exploited anyone in their entire lives.

And the vindictive attitude of the federal authorities! Last week Henry Ford told the National Labor Relations Board to go to hell, and the government never raised a hand against him. But Henry Ford is a very rich man and the WPA strikers are poor workers. Above all, these strikers are union men and women.

But make no mistake—these anti-labor clowns who are joining the outrageous attack against the Minneapolis unemployed and trying to paint honest workers as the blackest criminals, symbolize the growing reaction in America. The federal prosecution of the Minneapolis WPA strikers is a sharp warning to the labor movement of the nation that the national administration is deadly serious about its preparations for war and its campaign to hogtie organized labor.

We call upon the labor movement of this country to join in the most vigorous protest against the high-handed behavior of the federal authorities in the Minneapolis situation. Every trade union should adopt a resolution protesting the attack on the Minneapolis labor movement, and send copies of the resolution to Franklin D. Roosevelt, to Attorney General Frank Murphy, to U. S. Attorney Victor Anderson and to Federal Judge Bell.

The cause of the indicted WPA strikers is the cause of all labor. Our first duty to these union men and women is to free them from jail by raising a bail bond. This requires money. We appeal to every union to give generously and quickly to this worthy cause. Send all checks to Roy Weir, organizer of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, 18 North 8th Street, Minneapolis.

Answer the raw deal of the federal authorities! Help free the defendants!—(From the Northwest Organizer, August 24, 1939.)

Change Your Partners!



THEY DENIED THE PACT

Confronted with the accomplished fact, American Stalinist officials pretend to consider the Hitler-Stalin pact as the most natural thing in the world.

Until yesterday, however, on occasions when somebody or other speculated on the possibility of a rapprochement between Hitler and Stalin, these same Stalinist officials vehemently denounced such speculation as the dirtiest kind of slander!

Earl Browder, head of the Communist Party, wrote in his book, "Fighting for Peace," which was issued last month: "The reactionaries openly speculate that the Soviet Union may try to beat Chamberlain at his own game by joining hands with Hitler. But even those who hate the land of Socialism cannot believe it, when they see the Soviet Union alone rounds up the traitorous agents of Hitler within its own lands (i.e., the defendants in the Moscow trials), and put them beyond all possibility of doing any more of their wrecking, spying and diversions for Fascism."

Pondering this unconditional assurance that Stalin would never make a pact with Hitler, the rank and file members of the Communist Party will begin to realize that Stalin framed up and murdered the defendants in the Moscow trials—the whole generation that made the November revolution—precisely in order to give himself a free hand in a deal with Hitler. With Oriental sarcasm, Stalin called them "agents of Hitler," in order to become himself the partner and ally of Hitler.

Harry Gannes, foreign expert

"MALIGNING THE BULWARK OF PEACE"

"As far back as May 5, 1939, Wallace R. Deuel, Chicago Daily News Berlin correspondent said that Hitler wanted this impression to spread in order to defeat a peace front."

And those who gave credence to the possibility of a Hitler-Stalin pact, the Daily Worker in the same editorial described as thereby "maligning the bulwark of world peace and hope, the U.S.S.R."

On May 13 the Daily Worker described as "a Nazi attempt to thwart a 'peace front'" the mere rumor of an impending Hitler-Stalin pact. Today the same Daily Worker calls the pact a triumph for peace!

Day in day out the Daily Worker declared there was only one way to stop Hitler. That policy was summarized succinctly in the editorial of the Daily Worker of March 18: "A policy designed to stop fascism must provide for an immediate embargo on the fascist aggressor powers, Germany, Italy and

Japan." Today the way to stop Hitler, according to the Daily Worker—is a pact with Hitler!

The Daily Worker, April 20, declared: "The young Lindbergh who flew the Atlantic was trusted by the American people. . . . But the Lindbergh who became a collaborator with Goering and Chamberlain became an object of pronounced suspicion in the eyes of America." But the Stalin who became a collaborator with Goering, says the Daily Worker today, is "the mighty genius of socialism!"

Nothing enraged the Daily Worker so much in these past months as back-door collaboration with the fascists. This was its chief complaint against Chamberlain. As Harry Gannes wrote on April 22:

"Yet, Chamberlain has never ceased his back-door collaboration with the fascists. He is continuing it yet with the Nazis, in the form of 'economic' conversations and with the Italian fascists by personal, friendly and aggression - encouraging letters."

But Stalin's "economic" conversations with Hitler, followed up by a political agreement, all carried out by the most secret back-door methods so that the public announcement of the accomplished fact struck the world like a thunderbolt—that, of course, Harry Gannes transmutes into a new proof of Stalin's genius.

The venal editors of the kept press of the capitalists brazenly lie at the behest of their corrupt masters. The venal editors of the kept press of the Stalinist bureaucracy brazenly lie at the behest of their corrupt masters. What was yesterday a "vile slander" becomes for them today triumphant facts.

The abyss between these prostitutes of the press and the unfortunately-deluded masses who read that press is as deep as the class struggle. The capitalist press is the instrument of the capitalist exploiters of the masses. The Stalinist press is the instrument of the Stalinist bureaucracy, ally now of Hitler, which exploits the masses as vilely as do the capitalists in the democratic and fascist countries.

On September 16, the newly redecorated Irving Plaza Ballroom will be filled with members and sympathizers of the New York S.W.P. who have thrown off their cares and inhibitions to enjoy what promises to be the best party ever arranged by the District. The same comrades who were in charge of the much-talked-about and highly successful Pioneer parties are in charge

of the September 16 affair, and they promise an even bigger and better party this time. A first-class swing band has been arranged for and a highly diversified program of entertainment is being planned. If you really want to have one hell of a good time—be sure to be present and bring your gang. Tickets are 75 cents and can be obtained from the office of the party, 116 University Place.

ANNOUNCEMENT: GALA SOCIAL at the Brownsville Branch, 1779 Pitkin Ave. Brooklyn. Saturday, 8 P.M., August 28. Lots of fun-free sandwiches & refreshments. Hank Rice master of ceremonies. 35c admission.

Let the People Vote on War!

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

In signing the pact with Hitler, Stalin may not, as some wags put it, have joined the Anti-Comintern Bloc, but he did deliver a mortal blow to what is left of the communist parties organizationally. The resignation from the Communist party of Gabriel Peri, Stalinist spokesman in the French Chamber of Deputies and foreign editor of l'Humanite, who, under recent Kremlin tutelage became a raving French chauvinist, is only the first prominent herald of the hailstorm which will disintegrate the Stalinist parties in those few countries in which they still have any influence.

The Pact shows the hollowness of Hitler's declarations of a crusade against the Comintern which he knew better than the next man had long ago been destroyed as a revolutionary force by the Stalin clique itself. The reactions of the "respectable" capitalist press and the Leaders of Public Opinion — from the Herald-Tribune to the New Leader—are as usual arch-hypocritical, and where they do not outrage an elementary sense of decency, they are simply ludicrous: the gentlemen who, in the interests of American imperialism, hailed Roosevelt when he pressed to his bosom butchers like Batista of Cuba, Vargas of Brazil and Somoza of Nicaragua, pretend to be overwhelmed with indignation that a Stalin could join hands with a Hitler.

Making "Victory" of Capitulation

Yet, most revolting of all is the brutal cynicism of the Stalin regime in trying to pass off its capitulation to Hitler as a triumph for the "forces of democracy." "the democratic front," "the cause of peace" and—most impudent of all—"the independence of Poland."

More than a year ago, in April 1938, Earl Browder wrote that "the New Republic has gone over openly to the Chamberlain line (March 30 issue) by advocating rapprochement with Hitler without political conditions." What else did Stalin do a few days ago?

On November 14, 1938, at the 21st anniversary of the Russian Revolution meeting of the C.P., the same Browder said: "The reactionaries openly speculate that the Soviet Union may try to beat Chamberlain at his own game by joining hands with Hitler. But even those who hate the land of socialism cannot believe it, when they see the Soviet Union alone rounds up the traitorous agents of Hitler within its own land, and puts them beyond all possibility of doing any more of their wrecking, spying and diversions for fascism."

Now, "joining hands with Hitler" is explained away by the same Kremlin mercenary as "a distinct contribution for the protection of the threatened peace of the world"—an almost word-for-word plagiarism from Chamberlain's Munich-period speeches.

"The direct lie was given to all protestations that the Munich Pact was an achievement for peace," Browder said, and rightly, last December, "when, directly afterward, all governments announced vast expansions of their armed forces as their first response."

What is to be said, then, for the "peace contribution" of the Hitler-Stalin Pact when, on its very heels, follow more brutal Nazi demands on Poland, and the mobilization of troops in virtually every corner of Europe, troops who may be marching under cannon-fire by the time this appears in print?

Kremlin Unmasks Itself

We were never partisans of the Stalinist policy of yesterday, the so-called "democratic front," the policy of war alliance with Anglo-French imperialism, with its conversion of the masses into cannon fodder for the preservation of the loot taken by the "democracies" in the last war. But then, at least, the Kremlin gang had a plausible-sounding screen behind which to operate. It could exploit the truly deep mass hatred of fascism with comparative ease: it could pretend that it was acting on behalf of Loyalist Spain or semi-colonial China; it could easily claim to be warding off fascist war-mongering and the danger of war in general.

The open shift to Hitler, however, cannot be justified by the Stalinists with the remotest degree of plausibility, and Browder's arguments, multiplied by a dozen more that will be thought up for him, will impress only ox-heads, and even they would only be impressed by his vast effrontery.

For no amount of wriggling can prevent the masses from assimilating the basic truths we have been repeating for some time:

The Stalinist bureaucracy, personified in Stalin, is at the end of its rope. It rules, and cannot but rule, by terror and fear, because it is itself terrified and afraid. It is concerned least of all—Hitler, Ribbentrop and Mussolini have known it for years—with world revolution or the "Comintern." It is as much interested in "democracy" as in the snows of yesteryear. It is concerned, exclusively, with preserving itself and its tremendous vested interests, which are in direct conflict with the interests of revolution and of the world labor movement, Russia's included.

It fears war, primarily for its own sake. And here, as is so often the case nowadays, the fear of war is the fear of revolution . . . the revolution of the Soviet masses against the anti-Soviet bureaucracy.

We were not and are not today advocates of a war to "defend Poor Little Poland"—the Poland of the landed aristocracy, of anti-Semitism, of the martinet Colonels, of oppression for national minorities. We were and are for the armed national defense of a Poland ruled by its people, a people that has overturned its present rulers. We condemned the Stalinist policy of inciting the masses to die so that Beck and Smigly-Ridz might continue in power. That was yesterday. Today, we condemn just as vigorously the Pact and the policy by which Stalin says to Hitler: Keep hands off me and you can have all of Poland without a whimper from Moscow.

Therein lies the abominable treachery of Stalin's Pact, conceived by the Kremlin bureaucracy in a desperate effort to save its miserable hide. We said above: "bought off one enemy." But only for a moment. Tomorrow Hitler will repay his new partner, and richly. . . . Tomorrow, Stalin's crimes, and the advance of Hitlerism which they facilitate, will pose ever more clearly and urgently the Russian dilemma:

Either a new revolution that will stamp out the curse of Stalinism or the reduction of the Soviet Union to a colony of fascism.