Only the Revolutionary Struggle Against War Can Save Humanity!



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BUILD WORKERS'

DEFENSE GUARDS

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 Kamenev 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!



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 Workers Ask Questions

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 Bolshevists."

"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.

Hand in Hand with Reaction

-"L

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 counterrevolution, 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.

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 cam-

paign against war whch 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 confirma-

tion 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 Browders 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, must be distributed widely among the Stalinist workers.

Every effort must be made to bring the larg- of proletarian anger against est number of Stalinist workers to the mass this latest Stalinist outrage has meetings of the party on this subject and-FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR qualified terms.

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

the betrayed Stalinist militants, those who are honestly devoted to the cause of socialism, to

against imperialist war, to expose the fraud

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

By TONY CHAPMAN NEW YORK-Shock, resent nent 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 cafeterias, in their clubs, the

workers have spoken of nothing else. Not since the advent of Hitler to power in 1933 have found expressions of bitternes

Street to the Bronx, from the Battery to Brooklyn, the pitch

Workers Jeer of 170th Street and Waltor 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 fuehrer Stalin." workers jeered.

Scores of hands went up

nock fascist salutes. (Continued on Page 2)

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

A "victory" for Stalin, his lackeys say. But there been such widely pro- Stalin can expect even less gratitude from his devoted to an analysis of the shameful Pact, and consternation. From 14th present service to Nazi Germany than he got for his previous services to the "democracies."

> Stalin fawningly sought the favor of the Westexpressed itself in sharp, un- ern imperialists, providing them with the "Peoples Fronts" which brought about the victory of Tuesday night, on the corner 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 (Continued on Page 3)

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 (Continued on Page 3)

Now is the time to concentrate on winning the banner of the Fourth International. Now is the time to press harder the struggle

of the "democratic peace front", to popularize the slogan of "Let the People Vote on War! Take the War-Making Power Away from Congress!'

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Minneapolis Labor Raises Bail In the Fund for Indicted WPA Strikers Labor

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

By B. J. WIDICK 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 The heaviest blow ever deliv-Minneapolis labor movement met Tuesday afternoon and voted ized by the government and the ered against the Stalinists in unanimously to begin immediately the raising of a bail bond to boss press.

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, presia bail fund sufficient to gain of the victimized strikers. the Stalin-Hitler pact in his na-

tional column! ed by Claude Skeldon of the It is no exaggeration to say Electrical Workers Union Local that the botiom of the Stalinist 292 and V. R. Dunne of Local out this week.

Unions

CIO and Stalin

Hitler is bound to sweep the entire labor movement. And a chief stock-in-trade of the Stalinists within the CIO, "anti-Hitlerism", boomerangs against them with a terrific thud.

Very significantly, John L. Lewis has maintained a discreet silence about the pact, al- Minneapolis AFL unions to a though William Green, presi-special meeting next Tuesday dent of the AFL, rushed to print evening, August 29th, 8 p.m., to chuckle over the dilemma of at the Central Labor Union. the present C.I.O. line which is Stalinist-influenced.

CIO Liability

For it is becoming increasingly clear to everyone that the Minneapolis WPA strike on Stalinists are a terrible liability to Lewis and the CIO from any hand down indictments against point of view. teaches that neither they nor their policies can be trusted. We know of many CIO unions in the East and middle-West Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Bill. where progressive tendencies making it a felony to interfere have been slowly arising. Now with relief clients working on they have been given another WPA. The law carries a penalpunch against the Stalinists. It ty of up to two years in prison. was furnished by Stalin.

U. S. Attorney Victor Ander-The taunts of the progresson, who is known to have high sives in the labor movement political ambitions, has anwill be exceeded only by the unnounced he is not through yet, concealed chagrin of the Staland that his jury will reconinist followers. Because there vene August 28 to consider furis no answer to the fact that ther evidence being gathered the overwhelming majority of by Murphy's G-men. people interpret the pact as, **Provocative Tactics an Outrage** "the Stalinists and fascists are

getting together." indicted were under arrest. Many big CIO unions are The manner in which some of holding conventions soon, in-the arrests were carried out cluding the national CIO. This was a downright outrage. U.S. deputy marshalls barged into cable dilemma. What happens the homes of the victims at all to the carload of Stalinist resolutions that usually swamped hours of the night, handcuffed the WPA workers and carted

Where will the resolution on collective security be? The one which Harry Bridges, Joe Cur-ran, Mervin Rathborne, and other C.P.ers defended at the last CIO convention

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 victim-

The entire conduct of U.S. free all those indicted. The committee, chosen by representa-Attorney Anderson, Attorney tives of the Central Labor Union, the Building Trades Council, the Teamsters Joint Council, daily press and Anderson are grand jury investigation, action of Local 544, aims to raise trying to give the impression companied by lurid and lying there will be a mass trial of all newspaper publicity, is delibday by neywood broad, prod a bail fund sufficient to gain dent ally in the CIO, on the new stalin line. Broun denounced of the victimized strikers A speakers committee, head- the trials may well drag along workers are criminals, which for some months. is certainly untrue. Their only

Protests Flow In crime is that they are unem-Protests against the vindica- vloyed and that they are union strategy in the CIO dropped 544, is sending speakers to all tive attitude of the Roosevelt men and women, devoted to union meetings, appealing for administration towards the labor's cause. The defendants cal deal between Stalin and for property to be listed to tinued to rear in strikers con- took a brave and generous and for property to be listed to tinued to pour in. Last Sunday stand for union principles. It

the Iowa State Drivers Council is the responsibility of organguarantee the bail bond. adopted a stiff resolution pro- ized labor to stand by THEM in Special Meeting Tuesday testing the victimization of the their hour of need. The rapid In addition, a letter is being strikers. The Sailors Union of raising of a bail fund to gain sent out by officials of the Cen- the Pacific, which has had a the freedom of all defendants sent out by officials of the Cen-the Pacific, which has had a the freedom of all defendants tral Labor Union, summoning good deal of experience with will be a fitting answer to the the experience of all government strike-breaking, high-handed tactics of the fedthe executive boards of all government strike - breaking, high-handed tactics of the fedhas sent a protest resolution to eral authorities.

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 pow-

(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.)

Stalin's Democratic Front



Stalin Talk a Fake,

(Continued from Page 1) Pattempted to hold street corner "It's the lowest, meanest meetings. Wednesday night the hing that Stalin has ever Stalinists took to the corner of cried an infuriated Brighton Beach Avenue and 6th done. worker. The others picked up Street in Brooklyn to explain the cry. The local Stalinists, and defend the pact. bewildered, confused, incoher-

"The pact is a great step ently begging for a chance to forward to stop fascism dead 'explain," were routed. in its tracks and help Poland by forcing Chamberlain and **Group Discussions**

The speaker grew

Wednesday afternoon, as ler," declared a local Stalinist thousands poured out of their clairvoyant. shops in the Garment District, "The Soviet Union," the denunciation of Stalinist foreign speaker continued, "is a parapolicy echoed up and down 7th dise for Jews and oppressed Avenue. Everywhere workers peoples of all races and gathered in knots and groups, creeds." the latest editions under their eloquent about the "struggle" arms, arguing animatedly. of the Stalinist party against "All of Stalin's rabble-rousthe Coughlinites. ing talk against Hitlerism in "Where," interposed a lone the past was a lousy fake," declared one worker. "He was munist party at the time of the worker, "where was the Com-

ust spitting into the wind." On the corner of 39th Street linites into Union Square?" The and Seventh Avenue, large spell had been broken. "Yeah," groups of workers stayed way cried the assembled workers, past the dinner hour discussing 'where was the Communist the pact. Party?" "Look what it means for the The speaker dodged the mass

Polish Jews," said an irate question. "Chamberlain is the worker to a lone Stalinist apol- enemy of all mankind. Watch, ogist. "Stalin, your Stalin, your keep your eyes on the Munichfearless, wonderful Stalin has men," the speaker hollered. handed the Jews of Poland into

Meeting Routed Hitler's hands. That's progres-The lone worker, who already sive you want to tell me. had behind him the mass sup-That's the peace policy of the port of the crowd, called out. Soviet Union in action you want "Don't talk about Chamberlain. to tell me," he . continued Everyone expects Chamberlain "Listen you—I don't know what to sell out the workers. But **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

The meeting will discuss plans to rally labor support for the victims of WPA. The federal grand jury which began its investigation into the July 24, paused last Friday to Experience over one hundred Minneapolis citizens, workers on WPA. Most of those named were charged with violating Section 28 of the

last CIO convention. criminals.

No More Boycott?

In order to sustain the atmo-What about the CIO national sphere of a deep dark crime, resolution to boycott German the court and Anderson refused goods? And the one on peace to divulge the names of those and democracy? What kind of indicted, so that those named speech can John Brophy, Stal- could give themselves up. Ininized director of the CIO, give stead the authorities, undoubttwo weeks from now to the edly acting at the direction of United Rubber Workers of the national administration, pre-America convention? Last year ferred to continue their stupid he talked against Hitlerism. and sensational policy of Picture the headaches of the breaking into citizens' homes Stalinists in the auto workers and making newspaper headunions trying to defend a Hitler- lines. Stalin pact!

In the S.W.O.C. only a few weeks ago, David J. Macdonedly a liberal, joined in the ald, secretary-treasurer, with drive against organized labor the approval of Phillip Murray, took a blast at "communism." by setting monstrously high took a blast at "communism." Steel Labor, official publication of the SWO C communism of the SWO C communication wednesday noon, bail for each of the S.W.O.C., carried an edi-striker ranged from \$5,000 to torial repudiating all "isms." \$10,000, certainly a ridiculous Clearing their skirts of Stalfigure for honest workmen and inist association will be a macitizens earning \$60.50 a month, jor activity of many CIO leadalmost all of whom are long ers in the next period who pretime residents of Minneapolis viously went along. Of course, and the heads of families. red-baiting, amalgams, etc. will be far too common and to be no less than forty women, dangerous. former workers on the WPA

And the Militants?

From our point of view, however, the important ques- women on Thursday and Frition is what happens to the day. Almost all the women are hundreds of union militants breadwinners for families. who joined the Stalinists under While these women are shackthe illusion that it was a "pro- |led in jail, their families must gressive party." Their first reaction inevitably will be, "We've been sold out!" All action the fine talk by Stalinist organ- ment.

izers that "Our Party is the only real opponent of Hitler," will mock the militants.

Obviously, if there is a seri-Carlson, all well-known in labor ous dent in the ranks of the circles, sat in Tuesday after-Stalinists-and it seems probnoon's meeting at the Central able-it will come first from Labor Union. The attorneys these healthy proletarian elepointed out that though the ments. Already there are re-

ports of how Stalinist members in the CIO wince and duck in the labor movement is now when razzed by the cry, "Heil on the order of the day! Incidentally, will the Stalin-

Stalin!" A friend at the teachers unists be forced to employ a new ion convention now meeting in technique against labor pro-Buffalo wrote today, that the gressives in the future? Once Stalinists were dazed and they called them "Trotskyitepunch drunk by the news of fascists," or simply "Trotskyites." Wifi they now snarl and the pact. A crack up of Stalinist forces call them "dirty anti-fascists"?

the arrested strikers appear as

Monstrous Bail Set

Federal Judge Bell, suppos-

Among the indicted are said

sewing project. The deputy

marshals are understood to be

plotting a roundup of these

continue to eat and be cared

for, which raises an additional

problem for the labor move-

Lengthy Trials Seen

Attorneys John Goldie, Tom

Kochelmacker and Gilbert

Up to press time, 23 of those

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.)

FOR A ROLLICKING GOOD TIME

Come to the Anti-War Fighters'



to call you-from now on Stal- must we also expect the in's hands are as bloody as thing from Stalin?" Hitler's as far as I'm con-The crowd took up the cry.

cerned. 'What about it, what about The Stalinist apologist, sur- it?" rounded by angry workers, an-For the first time in years

swered meekly, "The Soviet the Stalinists suffered rout in Union is still the beacon of the one of their major New York struggle against fascism." strongholds. Silent, confused, No Defenders

the Stalinists packed up and But those willing to defend left the corner. From ten his latest turn in Soviet dip- o'clock onward, workers milled lomacy were rarely to be seen on the corner, bitterly denouncor heard. As this writer sought ing the Stalin betrayal. Uptown, in the Bronx, workpainstakingly yesterday for bona-fide Stalinist comment, he ers stayed on the streets way could find no one in the Gar- past their retiring time, argument District willing to admit ing, discussing, putting every Stalinist to rout and stampede. he was a Stalinist. It was almost in desperation But through all the bitterthat we finally hit it up to- ness, there was much derisive wards the Garment Center laughter. The workers laughed Kremlin at 151 West 33rd St., long and heartily when a cowed where, we were informed, a Stalinist remarked that "After Stalinist educational forum was all, Stalin will use his personal in progress. Once arrived, we relations with Hitler to convince the Chancellor that he stopped a moment to ponder. shouldn't persecute the Jews.' What if someone were to rec-

ognize this Trotskyist stalwart? Indeed, we might hardly be Tenth Anniversary of Russian Bulletin

This Sunday, Aug. 27, the "Friends of the Russian Bullenefarious Democracies. A mo- tin," will celebrate the tenth anment later, we had entered the niversary of the publication's existence. There will be a boat ride to Rye Beach, leaving the Through the half open door Battery at 10:15 a.m. . . . an all we could see a Communist party fraction listening to a day picnic at Playland, with boat leaves at 8:00 p.m. . the dancing and floor show on boat. "We must understand," said Tickets are available at the National Office, 116 University Place, for only one dollar. In case of rain, the outing, will be

> INFORMAL HOUSE Box 245 Kerhonkson, N. Y. (Near Ellenville) 120 acres of greenland in the Catskills. 40 acres of pine for sunbathing; handball, ping pong, archery; swimming and horse-back riding nearby; dancing. UNUSUALLY LOW RATES \$18 Weekly \$6 Weeken Busses met at station Tel. Kerhonkson 118 R

held on Sunday, September 10.

· Read The New International

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)

116 Ne the	cialist Appeal University Place W York City. I would like to get better acquainted with your paper Socialist Appeal. Please send me sample copies for e next few weeks.
	Name
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surprised if, in keeping with this latest turn in Soviet foraign policy, someone were to lenounce us as a counter-revoutionary spy in the pay of the

pearly gates. **Explaining the Dialectics** party fraction listening to a functionary "explaining"

pact. the plaintive voice, "that the Non-Aggression Pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet

Union is another expression of the dialectic process. By that I mean," said the plaintive voice, "that the coming together of 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,

TUESDAY, AUGUST 29, 1939

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Stalin's Capitulation to Hitler -By Dwight Macdonald — THE SPARKS IN THE NEWS Increases War Danger; Threatens **Existence of Soviet Workers** By J. R. JOHNSON

"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 sup-

plies to China, but Germany's deep affection for Japan has not interfered with her also entering the rich Chinese market. Indeed, Tokyo argument to justify the coming for the struggle against the imbelieves that Germany has aided China in this war. The New York Times and perialist war. respect more than has any other nation. In the the yellow-"socialist" organs, World War thousands of German soldiers per- the Jewish Forward and the ate Communist Party smashed, ished before Verdun on barbed wire "made in New Leader now sing in chorus the yellow reformists of the So- cide! Germany" which France received, through that, as a result of the signing cial-Democratic Federation and Switzerland, shortly before the war began, and of the pact, the lines have be- the other lackeys of the "dem- ism and its war, and against its Bill, Feb. 15, 1938. Many revolutionists, including J. R. Johnson, many a British soldier met his death through an agency that was the product of his homeland. So it would be again.

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:

port 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.

see few evidences of any depression.

text, reprinted without addition or alteration, of an editorial which appeared in the N.Y. Times for August 21, 1939. Just what was in back of the mind of the editors of the Times

(Continued from Page.1) come clear: the "democracies"

Krupps still find business satisfaction in the lective security."

In conclusion, the committee desires to re-

Makers of armaments in other lands also

NOTE: What you have just read is the full in printing such an editorial, I don't know. But



Fake Line-Up

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

Organizer of Defeats Throughout his terrible reign, Stalin has organized nothing anyway, they have my thanks for doing a job building I couldn't have done (much) better myself. country'',

> ed only in defending the bureaucratic oligarchy which aised itself on the backs of the Soviet workers, Stalin has brought the Soviet Union to the orink of disaster.

volved.

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

Browder Won't Talk; Not Even When Radio

Earl Browder, big, strong, and very much silent man in these days of Moscow Madgenerated another ness. thunderclap of "me-no-talk" for his dismayed and silencedeafened 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.

everywhere — that is a vital raise higher than ever the slo Stalin's defection as a "new" step in organizing the masses gan:

Down with imperialist war! With the thoroughly degener-Congress! Let the people de-

are now faced by a front of "to- brushed aside-and we can en- tools, we raise our banners: LONG LIVE THE WORLD

REVOLUTION OF THE Bourgeois History class WORKING CLASS! LONG revolutionary

against the impending war. LONG LIVE THE FOURTH Against the enemy here at INTERNATIONAL, WORLD

home, against Roosevelt and PARTY OF PROLETARIAN the rest of the war-mongers, we **REVOLUTION**!

gainst the "totalitarians." But this "ideological" line-up Liberal Weeklies, Disillusioned, Break with Stalinists over Pact

The Nation and the New Republic, the two liberal weeklies effects in Europe of this reori- played baseball and basketball on the public fields, they apdictatorial decree. Roosevelt is which have been most closely entation of Moscow? Obviously peared in the municipal dance halls, they shared public bathing rushing in the same direction. allied with the Stalinist party, the danger to Poland is intenbroke with it this week on the sified. Berlin is now forecast-

ing action within the present ill-feeling." Hitler-Stalin pact. Ardent defenders of the Mos- week and is boasting that adbut defeats. In the name of cow Trials, apologists for any vance knowledge of this coup dent could and did precipitate a fearful race-riot. "socialism in one number of Stalinist crimes— had enabled it to tighten the Stalin turned his they refused to publish any crit-screws."

back on the world revolution. icism of the Stalinist murders These liberals have broken But only world revolution could of revolutionists in Spain-The with the Stalinists on the pact, save the Soviet Union. Interest- Nation and the New Republic and that is significant as demagainst the pact. Stalin "Abandoned Poland" "Stalin's Munich" is the title of the "collective security" But not only the fate of Stal- in its August 30 issue. "The So- erals have not moved an inch on the Negro question. Far from being a demonstration of the in's clique is at stake. The last viet Union . . . has abandoned nearer a real anti-war position. in s chque is at stake. The last Poland to Hitler," it declares. The Nation remains grooved in immigrants, the Chicago race riots are one of the greatest exworkers and peasants, are in- Soviet government will be in- while the New Republic makes working-class. jured both at home and abroad. a half-turn toward isolationism.

. For years the Communist Toward the real struggle The Bosses Seek to Split the Workers movement has been preaching against war, the struggle collective security.... But now against the capitalism which it lies slain at the hands of its breeds war, the struggle to or-

ternational, will be confused and disheartened. The anti-Stalin opposition will be jubilant and will redouble its ef-forts. More treason in the Soviet Union and more suppression of treason or so-called

treason is likely. Non-Commu-Heywood Broun, darling of nists throughout the world who the Stalinists and rabid defenhad been sympathetic with the der of all Stalinist policies in-Soviet regime and friendly tocluding the Moscow trials---has ward its recent line, but already chilled by the political broken with the Stalinists on the Hitler-Stalin pact! trials, will be further puzzled

"I do not see how anybody



"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN-

NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE

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 neces-Take away the war-making sary it is to turn our backs on whatever the American bourpower from the President and geoisie says about the Negroes.

What precisely happened in Chicago twenty years ago? Thousands of Negroes will unsuspectingly give you the account given Against international capital- by Congressman Ellender in the debate on the Anti-Lynching

ocratic" imperialists can be Stalinist and social-democratic for years accepted it in outline, and it is probable that many still do, thereby subjecting themselves to the American bourgeoisie.

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 probems 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 impu-"... What of the immediate dent Negroes sat in considerable numbers on the park benches, beaches with the whites, and, the final crime, "the mere fact that they attended band concerts in large numbers added to the

Thus was the atmosphere created in which any small inci-

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 now carry bitter editorials onstrating that, despite all the sad fact and rush to set up an "inter-racial" commission. Browder's explanations, the A revolutionary who was not on his guard would say that here Pact means the abandonment was another example of white workers beig dominated by the reactionary ideas of the bourgeoisie. As a matter of fact, such of the New Republic editorial line. But in breaking, these lib- a revolutionary would be himself dominated by bourgeois ideas "The moral prestige of the the "war for democracy" line, amples of racial solidarity in the whole history of the American

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 capchief supporter. . . . Some ra- ganize the international work- italist bosses countered by introducing an increasing number of tionalization will be discovered ing class against all the war- plants. They hoped to influence the Negroes against the unions, and some new line will be makers, these liberals remain 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 egan 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 diate fact that the Soviet has here and now contributed to the burned a block of houses where white stockyard workers lived. "Red Star and Swastika, wrote Broun in his August 23 militin police followed up this outrage by sending a large force of once mutually exclusive sym- column in the New York strife", and agents-provocateurs were let loose among the white workers to incite them to violence.

Warning of Stalin's Perfidy, The Appeal Forecast the Pact

-D. M.

We continue in this issue excerpts from the numerous issues in which we predicted the Hitler-Stalin pact and explained its meaning. Our last issue carried excerpts from October 8, 1938 until December 31, 1938.

SOCIALIST APPEAL, MARCH 17, 1939: Stalin offers olive branch to Hitler in apologizing for the "fascist war-mongers" (article by Max Shachtman on the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union).

The democratic front on which all Stalinist foreign policy hinged-the "united front of the democracies against the fascist aggressors and war-mongers"-Stalin has dropped overboard without a splash. In its place is something so "new" that it must have had a stunning effect upon the Stalinist parrots all over the world.

Stalin holds out the olive branch to the fascist powers, to Germany primarily. The thunderous denunciation of fascism which, up to now, have filled the pages of the Stalinist press, give way in Stalin's report to an extremely soft and restrained comment on the activities of the Axis powers. But his change

proletariat. . . . The fundamental trait of Stalin's international policy in recent years has been this: that he trades in the working class movement just as he trades in oil, manganese and other

goods. In this statement there is not an iota of exaggeration. Stalin looks upon the sections of the Comintern in various countries and upon the liberating struggle of the oppressed nations as so much small change in deals with imperialist powers.

When he requires the aid of France, he subjects the French proletariat to the Radical bourgeoisie. When he has to support China against Japan, he subjects the Chinese proletariat to the Kuomintang. What would he do in the event of an agreement with Hitler? Hitler, to be sure, does not particularly require Stalin's assistance to strangle the German Communist party. The insignificant state in which the latter finds itself has moreover been assured by its entire preceding policy. But it is very likely that Stalin would agree to cut off all subsidies for all illegal work in Germany. This is one of the most minor concessions that make and he would be quit

botage of the class struggle of the French

The wiping out of Stalinism

Time Is Offered Him

and alienated."

promulgated, no doubt. But as hostile as ever. Russian opinion, and opinion throughout the Communist In-

in front is far more drastic than that. In actuality he offers an apology for them and their activities.

Which, boiled down to essentials, means that Stalin has turned over the initiative for the next step in world politics-to Hitler!

SOCIALIST APPEAL, MARCH 21, 1939-editorial:

On Friday, March 10, Stalin addressed the opening session of the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Stripped of its heavy overload of incredibly dull verbiage, of its bluff and bombast, the central point of the speech boiled down to a whining, cringing bid for a deal with Hitler.

... Hitler did not answer by another speech. He answered in blunter fashion, by moving his troops and tanks and airplanes into what was left of Czechoslovakia. He answered by advancing his front line within less than two hundred miles of the border of the Ukraine. . .

And how does Stalin propose to meet that danger? As Utopian as he is contémptible, Stalin proposes to meet it by begging for a deal. Ironically enough, he tries to adopt the 'policy of appeasement' which he himself declares has been Hitler's chief support. .

And once again, for the thousandth time, history is making clear: The Soviet Union cannot, and will not be defended by the degenerate and counter-revolutionary Stalin and his gang.

The Soviet Union can be defended not by 'appeasing'' any imperialism, democratic or fascist, but by overthrowing every imperialism, democratic and fascist.

To struggle against every imperialism, above all their own imperialist states, this is the task of the workers of the world. And to carry through this task they must cast from their backs the hangman of the Kremlin who last Friday drove one more nail deep into the coffin which he has designed for the October Revolution. * * *

SOCIALIST APPEAL, MARCH 28, 1939:

The nature of an agreement, its aims and its limits, depend directly upon those who conclude such an agreement. Lenin's government might have been compelled in Brest-Litovsk to conclude a temporary agreement with Hohenzollern in order to save the revolution. Stalin's government is capable of entering into agréements only in the interests of the ruling Kremlin clique and only to the detriment of the interests of the international working class.

The agreements between the Kremlin and the "democracies" meant for the respective sections of the Communist International the renunciation of the class struggle, the strangulation of revolutionary organization, the support of social patriotism and, in consequence, the destruction of the Spanish revolution and sa-

Section State

willing to make it.

We can state one thing with certainty. The agreement between Stalin and Hitler would essentially alter nothing in the counterrevolutionary function of the Kremlin oligarchy. It would only serve to lay bare this function, make it stand out more glaringly and hasten the collapse of illusions and falsifications. Our political task does not consist in "saving" Stalin from the embraces of Hitler but in overthrowing both of them. (L.T.)

LEON TROTSKY, IN SOCIALIST APPEAL, APRIL 7, 1939:

In his speech to the Congress (of the C.P. S.U.) Stalin openly shattered the idea of the "alliance of the democracies to resist the Fascist aggressors." The instigators of an international war are now neither Mussolini nor Hitler but the two principal democracies of Europe, Great Britain and France who, according to the speaker (Stalin), want to draw Germany and the U.S.S.R. into conflict under the guise of a German attack on the Ukraine. Fascism? That has nothing to do with it. There can be no question, according to Stalin's words, of an attack by Hitler on the Ukraine and there is not the slightest basis of a military conflict with Hitler.

The abandonment of the policy of "alliance of the democracies" is supplemented at once with a humiliating cringing before Hitler and a hurried polishing of his boots. Such is Stalin!

In Czecho-Slovakia the capitulation of the "democracies" before fascism found expression in a change of government. In the U.S. S.R., thanks to the totalitarian regime, Stalin is his own Benes and his own General Syrovy. He replaces the "principles" of his policy pre cisely in order not to find himself replaced. The Bonapartist clique wants to live and govern. Everything else is for it a question of "technique."

. . . What is the lesson? During the last three years Stalin called all the companions of Lenin agents of Hitler. He exterminated the flower of the General Staff. He shot, discharged and deported about 30,000 officersall under the same charge of being agents of Hitler or his allies. After having dismembered the party and decapitated the army, now Stalin is openly posing his own candidacy for the role of-principal agent of Hitler. Let the hacks of the Comintern lie and get out of this how they can. The facts are so clear, so convincing that no one will succeed any longer in deceiving the public opinion of the international working class with charlatan phrases. Before Stalin falls, the Comintern will be in pieces. It will not be necessary to wait for years before these things come to pass.

The August 26 issue of The Nation says editorially: **Given Hitler Victory**

bols, have come together, and World-Telegram. the diplomatic map of Europe has been redrawn overnight. Russia has not joined the Antisenting at this precise moment ested neutral it has given Hitler a colossal diplomatic victory and laid foundations for an-

other Munich.

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. - . -

can get away from the imme-

"Its net result constitutes a of the world, including the Comintern Pact, but by con- United States. It has always eemed to me that the failure to adopt the role of a disinter- of the German Communists to co-operate with the republic made the rise of Hitler posible. I believe that no leader but, by implication, some

seémed to say as much. Free Hand for Hitler

that radicals must make com- violence. mon cause against it with lib-

ible. . .

been stepped up. Some have

time." In his indignation, Broun tar- about the Negroes. dily reveals his conviction that the Stalinists in Germany made

the rise of Hitler possible. He, cists-a crime which the Stalof course, believes that the inist parties have repeated ev-German republic could have erywhere. been saved by a popular front Broun remains, a popular there-and he ignores the fact fronter, with whom we have that a popular front did exist, nothing in common. In his of the Social-Democrats and break with the Stalinists, he the bourgeois democrats which, proposes merely to continue on

like all popular fronts, proved yesterday's Stalinist policy. The impotent, as in France and struggle for the overthrow of Spain. The real crime of the all forms of capitalism, the German Stalinist party was its militant struggle against fasfailure to make a proletarian cism at home-this road Broun united front, build Workers De- remains as blind to as when fense Guards to stop the fas- he was a Stalinist.

threat to all the democracies 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 of the party ever made any efforts to keep "order", they killed not one white man, but half public admission of that fact, 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.

"The whole theory of the White and black union men worked together to help the wounded. popular front appeared to be The whites gave financial aid to the Negroes who came to the based on the belief that Fas- headquarters for assistance instead of going to the bosses' breadcism was a thing so deadly lines. Among 35,000 workers there was only one single case of

The workers black and white had caused the police to be erals and progressives. Fas- withdrawn from the yards. On the day that they went back there cism is still deadly, but the wasn't a single indication . . . of any racial feeling. In one plant, popular front now becomes ex- Negroes and Slavs "met as old friends". Many of them "put remely difficult, if not impos- 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

"The pact between Russia workers that a good spirit still existed. Says the official report: and the Reich opens up new ter- | "There was nothing in the contact of the Negro and the Pole or ritory in which Hitler will now the Slav that would indicate that there had ever been a race riot have a free hand to sell his in Chicago, and there was nothing from the beginning of the race wares, both material and spir- riot to the end that would indicate there was any feeling started itual. The tide of Fascism has 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 said that England and France Stalinist press ten years after, and some of it is in official reare well equipped to keep a ports. But the bourgeois press and bourgeois publicists still circorner of Europe safe from the culate their lies about the Chicago race riots, and with their bab-Nazi peril. It would seem to ble about maladjustment, they cleverly obscure one of the most me as if they now are in deadly significant events in American working class history. These lies peril. The whole of western penetrate even into the revolutionary movement, and will con-Europe may now be ground be- tinue to penetrate unless the revolutionary movement does not neath the Nazis within our own merely content itself with saying "No" to the capitalist "Yes", but turns its back completely on whatever the capitalists say

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 Workens Party

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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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 only equalled by the serious implications which Hitler-Stalin pact.

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."

the same point.

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 the repression of the WPA strikers has for the Two main points strike the reader as soon as 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-amonth 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 In his press interview, Browder also dwelt on the testimony of assorted stool pigeons, G-men and crackpots with petty grievances. It is quite Two hours after that interview, the text of another thing to make the charges stick before their witnesses can appear to defend themselves. And \$10,000 bail-for \$60.50-a-month heads no matter what happens. The first Article to-God crook who was convicted of receiving over a million dollars in bribes while sitting on against Hitler, the second pledges that he, if the federal bench, only had \$10,000 bail placed against him. But then Manton was a big-time port this third power", the fourth pledges that he boss crook, and the WPA strikers are only poor will not associate himself "with any other group- workers who never exploited anyone in their en-



THEY DENIED THE PACT

Confronted with the accom-|of the Daily Worker, was par-, Japan." Today the way to stop plished fact, American Stalinist ticularly aroused by the occa- Hitler, according to the Daily officials pretend to consider the sional speculations about a Hit- Worker is-a pact with Hitler! Hitler-Stalin pact as the most ler-Stalin pact. The Daily Worker, April 20, On March 13 he wrote in the declared:

"The young Lindbergh who

and Chamberlain became an

Nothing enraged the Daily

tion with the fascists. He is

But Stalin's "economic" con-

versations with Hitler, fol-

lowed up by a political agree-

ment, all carried out by the

most secret back-door methods

ment of the accomplished fact

struck the world like a thun-

The venal editors of the kept

press of the capitalists brazenly

lie at the behest of their cor-

of the kept press of the Stalin-

the behest of their corrupt mas-

The abyss between these

who read that press is as deep

becomes for

proof of Stalin's genius.

On May 13 the Daily Worker ters. What was yesterday a

to thwart a 'peace front'" the them today triumphant facts.

Hitler-Stalin pact. Today the prostitutes of the press and the

same Daily Worker calls the unfortunately-deluded masses

Day in day out the Daily as the class struggle. The cap-

Worker declared there was only italist press is the instrumen

lescribed as "a Nazi attempt "vile slander"

mere rumor of an impending

pact a triumph for peace!

Daily Worker, that "the press other speculated on the possi- treachery make the dirty insin- by the American people. . . bility of a rapprochement be- uations that the Soviet Union is But the Lindbergh who became ween Hitler and Stalin, these 'considering' rapprochement a collaborator with Goering same Stalinist officials vehe- with the fascists." mently denounced such specu-On March 21 Gannes was object of pronounced suspicion lation as the dirtiest kind of

positively beside himself be- in the eyes of America." But cause Ludwig Lore "proceeded the Stalin who became a col-Earl Browder, head of the to spread some more of his lies laborator with Goering, says Communist Party, wrote in his about 'rapprochement' with the Daily Worker today, is "the "Fighting for Peace," Gannes termed mighty genius of socialism"! fascism." hich was issued last month:

Lore's speculation "one of the BACK-DOOR COLLABORAslimiest examples of an ex- TION MADE THEM MAD tended vicious campaign." On May 13, the Daily Worker Worker so much in these past

editorially repudiated as "the months as back-door collabora-vilest anti-Soviet slanders" the tion with the fascists. This was idea of a Stalin pact with Hit-its chief complaint against ler. It quoted "a United Press Chamberlain. As Harry Gan-Union alone rounds up the dispatch from Berlin which nes wrote on April 22: ave the



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 declamations 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-forword 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?

natural thing in the world. Until yesterday, however, on ccasions when somebody or apologizers of the Munich flew the Atlantic was trusted

the pact came over the wires-without the "es- an open jury trial, where the defendants and cape" clause.

Instead, in three different ways the pact pledges Stalin to remain in alliance with Hitler of families! Why, Judge Manton, a real honestpledges him "to refrain from every act of force" Hitler is engaged in war, "will in no way suping of powers which directly or indirectly is tire lives. aimed at the other party."

tion 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

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 ities! Help free the defendants !-- (From the Congress, Dimitroff swore that the French Com-

And the vindictive attitude of the federal au-The "escape" clause was the primary justifica- thorities! 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 author-Northwest Organizer, August 24, 1939.)

traitorous agents of Hitler provingly quoted the dispatch ceased his back-door collaborawithin its own lands (i.e., the as follows: defendants in the Moscow

"Rapid spreading rumors of continuing it yet with the Nazis, trials), and put them beyond an impending German-Soviet in the form of 'economic' conall possibility of doing any reconciliation, circulating with versations and with the Italian more of their wrecking, spyobvious consent of the German fascists by personal, friendly ing and diversions for Fascism."

"The reactionaries openly

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ion may try to beat Chamber-

lain at his own game by join-

ing hands with Hitler. But

even those who hate the land

of Socialism cannot believe

it, when they see the Soviet

slander!

government, tonight were re-and aggression - encouraging Pondering this unconditional garded as A NAZI ATTEMPT letters. surance that Stalin would TO THWART A 'PEACE never make a pact with Hitler, FRONT!'

the rank and file members of **"MALIGNING THE** the Communist Party will be-BULWARK OF PEACE" gin to realize that Stalin framed

"As far back as May 5, 1939, so that the public announce up and murdered the defend-Wallace R. Deuel, Chicago ants in the Moscow trials-the whole generation that made the Daily News Berlin correspondent said that Hitler wanted derbolt-that, of course, Harry November revolution-precisely in order to give himself a this impression to spread in or- Gannes transmutes into a new free hand in a deal with Hitler. der to defeat a peace front." And those who gave credence With Oriental sarcasm. Stalin to the possibility of a Hitlercalled them "agents of Hitler." in order to become himself the Stalin pact, the Daily Worker in the same editorial described rupt masters. The venal editors partner and ally of Hitler. Harry Gannes, foreign expert as thereby "maligning the bul-

the-U.S.S.R.'

wark of world peace and hope, ist bureaucracy brazenly lie at

French Communist Party Cracking

Gabriel Peri, foreign editor of l'Humanite, central organ of the French Communist Party, chief commentator on international events of the International's Communist "International Press Correspondence" and Communist Party whip in the Chamber of Deputies, has resigned from the party and from l'Humanite, in protest against the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Marcel Cachin, Communist Party spokesman in the French Senate, refused to write an editorial defending the pact with Hitler, according to the Paris correspondent of the New York Herald-Tribune on August 25.

ANNOUNCEMENT:

Let the People

Vote on War!

On September 16, the newly of the September 16 affair, and ALA SOCIAL at the Brownsredecorated Irving Plaza Ball- they promise an even bigger ville Branch, 1779 Pitkin Ave. room will be filled with mem- and better party this time. Brooklyn. Saturday, 8 P.M., bers and sympathizers of the A first-class swing band has August 26. Lots of fun-free New York S.W.P. who have been arranged for and a highly sandwiches & refreshments. thrown off their cares and in- diversified program of enter-Hank Rice master of ceremo hibitions to enjoy what prom- tainment is being planned. If nies. 35c admission. ises to be the best party ever you really want to have one

arranged by the District. The hellofagoodtime-be sure to be same comrades who were in present and bring your gang. charge of the much-talked-Tickets are 75 cents and can about and highly successful be obtained from the office of Pioneer parties are in charge the party, 116 University Place.

Kremlin Unmasks Itself "Yet. Chamberlain has never

> We were never partisans of the Stalinist policy of yesterday, the so-called "democratic front," the policy of war alliance with Anglo-French imper ialism, 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-specious 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 warmongering 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 Smygly-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

N.Y. District Dance Will Raise Funds for Anti-War Campaign

one way to stop Hitler. That pol- of the capitalist exploiters of icy was summarized succinct- the masses. The Stalinist press y in the editorial of the Daily is the instrument of the Stalin-Worker of March 18: "A policy ist bureaucracy, ally now of lesigned to stop fascism must Hitler, which exploits the massprovide for an immediate em- es as vilely as do the capitalpargo on the fascist aggressor ists in the democratic and faspowers, Germany, Italy and cist countries.