By Dwight Macdonald-

"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 en- Stalin's defection as a "new" step in organizing the masses gan: tering the rich Chinese market. Indeed, Tokyo believes 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, With the thoroughly degener-World War thousands of German soldiers per- the Jewish Forward and the ate Communist Party smashed, Congress! Let the people deished before Verdun on barbed wire "made in New Leader now sing in chorus the yellow reformists of the So- cide! 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 back of 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.

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

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 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 contemptible, 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

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

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 agreements 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- years before these things come to pass.

proletariat. . . .

The fundamental trait of Stalin's international policy in recent years has been this: just as he trades in oil, manganese and other Union. 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 he would have to make and he would be quite 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 precisely in order not to find himself replaced. The Bonapartist clique wants to live and govern. Everything else is for it a question

. . . 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

Stalin's Capitulation to Hitler SPARKS IN THE NEWS Increases War Danger; Threatens NEGRO QUESTION Existence of Soviet Workers

argument to justify the coming for the struggle against the imalitarians." The United States, gage the main enemy, the capthey say, can now with an easy italist class! conscience join forces with lective 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."

is as fake as the previous one of "democrats" against "fas-

Already the "democratic" veneer of Great Britain and France is wearing thin. Chamberlain and Daladier rule by Organizer of Defeats

Throughout his terrible reign, Hitler-Stalin pact. Stalin has organized nothing but defeats. In the name of eaucratic oligarchy which against the pact. raised itself on the backs of the Soviet workers, Stalin has brought the Soviet Union to the brink of disaster.

lution, the lives of the Soviet volved. The overthrow of the Stalin

regime-that is the first step in

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 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

(Continued from Page. 1) | everywhere - that is a vital raise higher than ever the slo- The Race Riots in Chicago

Only England and France for "col-struggle can be effective LIVE SOCIALISM! against the impending war.

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 revolutionary class WORKING CLASS! LONG

Against the enemy here at INTERNATIONAL, WORLD home, against Roosevelt and PARTY OF PROLETARIAN the rest of the war-mongers, we REVOLUTION!

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

building "socialism in one number of Stalinist crimes— had enabled it to tighten the country". Stalin turned his they refused to publish any crit- screws." back on the world revolution. icism of the Stalinist murders These liberals have broken

Stalin "Abandoned Poland"

promulgated, no doubt. But as hostile as ever. Russian opinion, and opinion throughout the Communist International, will be confused and disheartened. The anti-Stalin opposition will be jubi-

lant 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 trials, will be further puzzled the Hitler-Stalin pact!

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 other Munich.

Whom Can The

(Continued from Page 1)

indifference to the people's needs and well-being, in their

instant readiness to sacrifice the health and security and

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

The people can trust only themselves, only their own

We must take the decisions out of the hands of the pres-

We cannot permit the power to make war to remain in

We must rally our forces to wrest from Congress the

We must cast from our backs the false friends, the be-

We must carry through the fight against the war and for

freedom, in our own way, with our own means, by our

trayers, the traitors, who will lead only from defeat to

the hands of the President and Congress, who will use that

power of entering war and, through the requirement of a

direct referendum on the issue of entering war, place that

People Trust?

blood of the people to power and privilege.

Whom can the people trust?

strength, only their own courage.

power only against the people.

power in the hands of the people.

Let the people deside!

own unconquerable might. --

plunge.

ing action within the present ill-feeling."

collective security. . . . But now against the capitalism which

Heywood Broun, darling of the Stalinists and rabid defen-Soviet regime and friendly to- der of all Stalinist policies inward its recent line, but al- cluding the Moscow trials-has

> "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 Broun in his August 23 column in the New York

"Its net result constitutes a

and the Reich opens up new terbeen stepped up. Some have time."

power from the President and geoisie says about the Negroes.

LONG LIVE THE FOURTH

public, the two liberal weeklies effects in Europe of this reorirushing in the same direction. allied with the Stalinist party, the danger to Poland is inten-Ardent defenders of the Mos- week and is boasting that adcow Trials, apologists for any vance knowledge of this coup dent could and did precipitate a fearful race-riot.

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 dem-Pact means the abandonment in's clique is at stake. The last viet Union . . . has abandoned nearer a real anti-war position. botage of the class struggle of the French workers and peasants, are injured both at home and abroad. a half-turn toward isolationism. . . For years the Communist Toward the real struggle movement has been preaching against war, the struggle

ready chilled by the political broken with the Stalinists on

World-Telegram.

of the world, including the United States. It has always a colossal diplomatic victory made the rise of Hitler posand laid foundations for an-sible. I believe that no leader but, by implication, some seemed to say as much.

Free Hand for Hitler that radicals must make com- violence. mon cause against it with libsible. . . .

In his indignation, Broun tar- about the Negroes. dily reveals his conviction that the Stalinists in Germany made the rise of Hitler possible. He, of course, believes that the German republic could have erywhere. been saved by a popular front united front, build Workers De- remains as blind to as fense Guards to stop the fas- he was a Stalinist.

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN-

By J. R. JOHNSON_

Twenty years ago this summer, there took place the notori-Down with imperialist war! ous 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 bour-

What precisely happened in Chicago twenty years ago? Thousands of Negroes will unsuspectingly give you the account given Germany" which France received, through that, as a result of the signing cial-Democratic Federation and Against international capital- by Congressman Ellender in the debate on the Anti-Lynching 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, come clear: the "democracies" 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 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 impu-The Nation and the New Re- | ". . . What of the immediate dent Negroes sat in considerable numbers on the park benches, 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 beaches with the whites, and, the final crime, "the mere fact broke with it this week on the sified. Berlin is now forecast- 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 ed only in defending the bur- 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 was another example of white workers beig dominated by the "Stalin's Munich" is the title of the "collective security" 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 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 difficulties of adjustment between white residents and black conquests of the October Revo- Poland to Hitler," it declares. The Nation remains grooved in immigrants, the Chicago race riots are one of the greatest ex-"The moral prestige of the the "war for democracy" line, amples of racial solidarity in the whole history of the American

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 that he trades in the working class movement a realistic defense of the Soviet it lies slain at the hands of its breeds war, the struggle to or-The wiping out of Stalinism chief 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 Councilbegan 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 pro-

claim 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.

threat to all the democracles Black and White Workers Remain United

The Council called a mass meeting of 30,000 white workers seemed to me that the failure which unanimously voted solidarity with the Negroes and deof the German Communists to manded that the police withdraw all its armed men from the co-operate with the republic 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 tremely 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: "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

> cists-a crime which the Stalinist parties have repeated ev-

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

A REQUEST

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