

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Business Is Business

The great nations are today helping one another to be ready to fight, quite possibly with each other, as never before.

Britain's aircraft factories are producing large quantities of planes for export as well as those for her own defense.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 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.

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-

last year. Russia, of course, has sent vast supplies to China, but Germany's deep affection for Japan has not interfered with her also entering the rich Chinese market.

Krupps still find business satisfaction in the fact that at Jutland both the British and German fleets carried their products.

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.

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.

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

(Continued from Page 1)

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

Fake Line-Up

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

Already the "democratic" veneer of Great Britain and France is wearing thin.

Throughout his terrible reign, Stalin has organized nothing but defeats.

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

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

The wiping out of Stalinism

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

Earl Browder, big, strong, and very much silent man in these days of Moscow Madness, generated another thunderclap of "me-no-talk" for his dismayed and silence-deafened disciples.

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."

Whom Can The People Trust?

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let the people decide!

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

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

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

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

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

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

Liberal Weeklies, Disillusioned, Break with Stalinists over Pact

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

Ardent defenders of the Moscow Trials, apologists for any number of Stalinist crimes—they refused to publish any criticism of the Stalinist murders of revolutionists in Spain.

Stalin "Abandoned Poland" "Stalin's Munich" is the title of the New Republic editorial in its August 30 issue.

The Soviet Union . . . has abandoned Poland to Hitler," it declares.

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

For years the Communist movement has been preaching collective security. . . . But now it lies slain at the hands of its chief supporter. . . . Some rationalization will be discovered and some new line will be promulgated, no doubt.

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

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

Its net result constitutes a threat to all the democracies of the world, including the United States. It has always seemed to me that the failure of the German Communists to co-operate with the republic made the rise of Hitler possible.

Free Hand for Hitler "The whole theory of the popular front appeared to be based on the belief that Fascism was a thing so deadly that radicals must make common cause against it with liberals and progressives."

The pact between Russia and the Reich opens up new territory in which Hitler will now have a free hand to sell his wares, both material and spiritual.

In his indignation, Broun tardily reveals his conviction that the Stalinists in Germany made the rise of Hitler possible.

Broun remains a popular fronter, with whom we have nothing in common. In his break with the Stalinists, he proposes merely to continue on yesterday's Stalinist policy.

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.

raise higher than ever the slogan:

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

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

LONG LIVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION OF THE WORKING CLASS! LONG LIVE SOCIALISM! LONG LIVE THE WORLD INTERNATIONAL, WORLD PARTY OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

PACT TOO MUCH FOR H. BROUN

What of the immediate effects in Europe of this reorientation of Moscow? Obviously the danger to Poland is intensified.

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THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Race Riots in Chicago

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

What precisely happened in Chicago twenty years ago? Thousands of Negroes will unsuspectingly give you the account given by Congressman Ellender in the debate on the Anti-Lynching Bill, Feb. 15, 1938.

Bourgeois History

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

The great exodus of Negroes from the South created problems of adjustment between whites and blacks and of course the Negroes were the ones who caused the trouble.

Their "illiterate" ways, 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.

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

Now the natural reaction of a Negro, or a white person who resents white arrogance to Negroes, is to say as follows: If Negroes went to the parks, played baseball and listened to concerts, they were perfectly justified in doing so, and if race-riots took place, it was not the Negroes' fault.

The Bosses Seek to Split the Workers

In 1919 there were some 12,000 Negroes working in the stock yards of Chicago. The Stockyards Labor Council, founded in July 1917 had been struggling to organize the industry.

In come the capitalist police and with brazen impudence claim that this parade is going to cause racial conflict! They therefore forbid it.

The police followed up this outrage by sending a large force of militia, police, etc., into the stockyards "to prevent racial strife", and agents-provocateurs were let loose among the white workers to incite them to violence.

Black and White Workers Remain United

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

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

But despite this desperate provocation, the 35,000 whites and Negroes in the union remained solid and would not go back to work until the police and militia were removed from the yards.

The workers black and white had caused the police to be withdrawn from the yards. On the day that they went back there wasn't a single indication . . . of any racial feeling.

That was twenty years ago. The full story was told in the Stalinist press ten years after, and some of it is in official reports. But the bourgeois press and bourgeois publicists still circulate their lies about the Chicago race riots, and with their babble about maladjustment, they cleverly obscure one of the most significant events in American working class history.

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

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"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED"—KARL MARX.

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