

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 63 August 29, 1939

Published twice a week by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. For-
eign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders:
2 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in
foreign countries. Single copies: 2 cents.
Front and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for six
months; \$3.00 for one year.
"Registered as second class matter February 16, 1939, at
the post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March
3, 1879."

Editor:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Associate Editors:
EMANUEL GARRETT
FELIX MORROW
General Manager:
MARTIN ABERN
Assistant Manager:
SHERMAN STANLEY

**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 vigilantes and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Browder "Explains"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Raw Deal

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Change Your Partners!



THEY DENIED THE PACT

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

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

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

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

Harry Gannes, foreign expert

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 Communist International's "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.

ANNOUNCEMENT:
GALA SOCIAL at the Brownsville Branch, 1779 Pitkin Ave. Brooklyn. Saturday, 8 P.M., August 26. Lots of fun—free sandwiches & refreshments. Hank Rice master of ceremonies. 35c admission.

**Let the People
Vote on War!**

of the Daily Worker, was particularly aroused by the occasional speculations about a Hitler-Stalin pact.

On March 13 he wrote in the Daily Worker, that "the press treachery of the Munich negotiations make the dirty insinuations that the Soviet Union is 'considering' rapprochement with the fascists."

On March 21 Gannes was positively beside himself because Ludwig Lore "proceeded to spread some more of his lies about 'rapprochement' with fascism." Gannes termed Lore's speculation "one of the slimiest examples of an extended vicious campaign."

On May 13, the Daily Worker editorially repudiated as "the vilest anti-Soviet slanders" the idea of a Stalin pact with Hitler. It quoted "a United Press dispatch from Berlin which gave the game away," and approvingly quoted the dispatch as follows:

"Rapid spreading rumors of an impending German-Soviet reconciliation, circulating with obvious consent of the German government, tonight were regarded as A NAZI ATTEMPT TO THWART A 'PEACE FRONT!'"

"MALIGNING THE BULWARK OF PEACE"

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

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

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

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

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

The Daily Worker, April 20, declared:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

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

The Pact shows the hollowness of Hitler's 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-for-word plagiarism from Chamberlain's Munich-period speeches.

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

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

Kremlin Unmasks Itself

We were never partisans of the Stalinist policy of yesterday, the so-called "democratic front," the policy of war alliance with Anglo-French imperialism, with its conversion of the masses into cannon fodder for the preservation of the loot taken by the "democracies" in the last war. But then, at least, the Kremlin gave had a plausible-sounding screen behind which to operate. It could exploit the truly deep mass hatred of fascism with comparative ease: it could pretend that it was acting on behalf of Loyalist Spain or semi-colonial China; it could easily claim to be warding off fascist 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 Smigly-Ridz might continue in power. That was yesterday. Today, we condemn just as vigorously the Pact and the policy by which Stalin says to Hitler: Keep hands off me and you can have all of Poland without a whimper from Moscow.

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

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