

See Your Friends for the  
Twice-a-Week Appeal

# Socialist Appeal

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## FRANCE'S FATE WARNS U. S. WORKERS: TAKE POWER IF YOU WANT TO DEFEAT FASCISM!

### Hope For Jobs From Arms Drive Is Illusion, CIO Shows

Unemployment during April stood at 11,259,000 despite heavy armament orders, the CIO declared last week in its monthly survey, "The Economic Outlook."

Non-farm employment increased only 23,000, or one-tenth of one per cent from March to April.

These figures demonstrate that billions for armaments will not provide jobs or prosperity for the American people, the CIO survey pointed out. Roosevelt's armament program "does not provide the basis for much increase in our industrial production or for any substantial reduction in the number of unemployed."

Only a few optimistic economists argue that armaments expenditures will raise the level of industrial production to that of December, 1939, within the next six months. But even if that were so, it was pointed out by the CIO, it would only mean jobs for about two million workers and still leave 9,250,000 unemployed.

For, the CIO pointed out, "expenditures under a program of armaments are of a less productive character both in terms of jobs and of socially-useful output than would be provided by similar sums expended on the usual public works program."

These plain and simple facts were known to the Senate when, last week, it adopted Roosevelt's proposed "relief" bill, slashing the WPA rolls. The Senate knew these facts, because in secret session before a Senate subcommittee considering the WPA appropriation, WPA chief Col. Harrington had warned that "regardless of events abroad unemployment in the fiscal year 1941 is likely to number eight million to nine million." Yet the Senate joined Roosevelt and the House in slashing WPA. (See story on Harrington, page 3).

### Behind the Lines

#### Hitler Victory Heads World Toward Greater Wars Between Totalitarian Blocs

by GEORGE STERN

The swift victory of Hitler on the continent of Europe is but the beginning of fresh agonies for a tortured world. More than borders and nations are being obliterated. It is the era of "democratic" capitalism and a multi-state system that is finally being stamped into the dust forever. Had its destruction been accomplished by workers' revolution the world to come would look different indeed.

But now out of the mad scramble of the victor and his satellites for the spoils there will emerge before long the principal features of the war world of an early tomorrow—a world divided into three vast continental blocs more or less continuously at conflict within themselves and with each other.

To a conquered Europe, Hitler will seek to bring full-blown the totalitarian machinery of organization already so developed in Germany. The working classes of Western Europe would be reduced to the helms of the Fascist system. Capital control would pass into the hands of the ever-narrowing group of super-finance capitalists knit closely with the tops of the totalitarian regime. The Germans will doubtless dominate this group but will not be alone in it. Capitalists in Belgium, France, and before long in Britain (for Britain cannot long withstand a German attack now), will readily come forward to accept whatever degree of participation Hitler allows them in the totalitarianized exploitation of wealth and labor. With this conscripted economy—assuming it will have time to be consolidated and extended throughout the continent—the new masters can and will turn to the problem of the rest of the world's markets, resources, and labor.

While Hitler thus brings into being this grotesquely distorted image of a United States of Europe, the United States of America will be engaged to its neck in trying to become the United States of the Americas. The American capitalist class realizes today that under the present form of organization it would be totally incapable of withstanding the economic assaults upon its markets in Latin America of a Germanized Europe and a Japanized Asia. It must—and speedily—estab-

lish no less a totalitarian control over this hemisphere.

Roosevelt's project for an "economic union" of the Americas shows how acutely this is realized now in Washington. The June 18 New York Times bluntly says that "the plan envisages almost (?) totalitarian control over exports of surplus commodities of North and South American countries."

This plan or something probably even more sweeping will be imposed upon all American nations, by force if necessary, if U.S. capitalism has its way. And an inevitable concomitant is the establishment of "almost" totalitarian control of American economy itself. The sheer adaptation of the American industrial and trade structure to the new situation will in itself mean a gigantic convulsion and will in itself lead swiftly to advanced stages of the totalitarian method—a method that means ruthless depression of living standards and equally ruthless repression of all working class resistance thereto.

This major crisis—immeasurably hastened by the unexpectedly swift debacle of the Allies—imposes upon U.S. imperialism a strictly hemisphere strategy for the time being. This leaves Japanese imperialism with hands free to complete, if it can, creation of the third great continental bloc.

Japan has already begun the process of moving in on the Far Eastern spoils of Hitler's victory, giving every sign of assuming to itself the first prerogative of deciding the fate of French Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies—and perhaps before long, of British Malaya, and even of India.

The Soviet Union would lie between a Germanized Europe and a Japanized Asia and without a revolutionary revival on a world scale would face the danger of being broken in two between them.

What we all face in the coming years are titanic collisions between these vast continental imperialist blocs or their break-up within through risings of the workers and the colonial peoples. The first will lead the peoples of the world deeper into the abyss. The second will lead them out to the dawning of a new, a socialist civilization.

The French working class has been placed in the chains of German Fascism.

Only three years ago the workers of France stood at the threshold of revolution. The great wave of strikes culminating in the occupation of factories throughout the land in the general strike of June, 1936, placed the country in their hands.

But the French People's Front of Blum-Stalin checked and dispersed the revolutionary wave with the dire warning: "Revolution will open the road to Hitler."

So the French workers gave the factories back to the capitalists. And the capitalists, as events have now shown, left the road open to Hitler.

The French capitalists proved totally incapable of defense against the Nazi invasion. They could not equip themselves adequately for the struggle against their German rivals. Above all, they could not arouse and inspire the masses to the ferocious struggle needed to defeat the Fascist invasion on the fighting front and behind it.

Instead the French capitalists helped Hitler place between the French and German workers a Maginot line of national division and hatred. While that Maginot line held fast, Hitler found it easy to crack the other Maginot line of steel and stone and to cut his way to a swift and terrible victory.

Thus bourgeois France has gone down to ignominious defeat at the hands of the rival it humbled 22 years ago. The advanced workers will not weep at the passing of the French Empire. Its millions of black and yellow slaves will fight the new masters as they had to fight the old.

Nor will they weep at the passing of French "civilization." The time has long passed since bourgeois France added a single stone to the cultural accumulation worthy of being carried into the future. French capitalism, tormented in permanent crisis. Its German rival succeeded earlier in crushing the workers and giving itself the hypodermic of totalitarianism. Had bourgeois France succeeded in defeating Nazi Germany it would in its turn have gone swiftly down the same dark road of totalitarianism—it was already beginning to do so during the war. Instead it was Germany which conquered and the ghastly tragedy of Versailles is to be re-enacted, only with the roles of the principals exchanged.

Only a workers' France could have turned the tide of European history in a totally different direction! Only a workers' France could have assured the defeat of Fascism in Spain. Only a workers' France could bring welling to the surface all the mighty latent forces of the people in struggle against slavery, home-grown or imported. Only a workers' France could have reached into the heart and core of the German working class to revive and nourish their struggle against Hitlerism.

That is the incomparable advantage of a revolutionary workers' regime in war! As the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky showed in 1918 it not only can and does command the total sacrifice of the workers at home, but can and does successfully appeal to the workers of all other nations, including the workers under the bourgeois enemy.

Bourgeois France could do neither. It kept its own masses enchained and could not dispute Hitler's mastery within the Reich. And as events have proved, it could not dispute Hitler's mastery throughout continental Europe.

### Settlement Favors General Motors

FLINT, Mich., June 17—The threatened break in negotiations between General Motors and the UAW was avoided this week-end by agreement on a new contract between the union negotiating committee and the company, under heavy government pressure.

Terms of the agreement are not yet public, and will not be announced until the local unions vote on the new provisions.

From start to finish the negotiations were conducted under the pressure of a government campaign to force the union to accept whatever the corporation offered, because of the "pressing national emergency." R. J. Thomas, union president, repeatedly stated his undying patriotism and loyalty to the government, his support to the big rearmament campaign, but meekly tried to explain to the company, and the U.S. arbitrator, Steelman, that he couldn't go back to the membership without "something" to offer them.

#### A Poor Contract

In the last week the union was maneuvered into concentrating all negotiations around the question of wages. UAW officials, led by CIO representative Phil Murray, decided that there was only one way to get the union membership to swallow a contract that undoubtedly will be one of the poorest in all the CIO's history. That way was to throw out a bone . . . a few cents an hour increase in wages.

There is little likelihood that the new agreement contains any improvements whatever in bargaining procedure. The shop steward system will be a forgotten demand; seniority provisions will undoubtedly be weak; the contract will contain reactionary anti-alien provisions, anti-strike clauses, etc.

#### A Puny "Raise"

But as a counterweight to all this the workers will be offered a

slight wage increase. From what information is available, wages will be increased about 4%. This includes the vacations with pay based upon 2% of yearly wages.

This is all the workers will gain. The union committee has kept everything else in the agreement under a bushel.

Many local unions will probably oppose the rotten agreement; but enough government pressure will be put on to force it down the throats of a majority of the locals, in all probability.

While these negotiations were reaching a culmination, the Stalinists and the conservative UAW tops were putting on a campaign to rescind the actions of several local unions in demanding the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay.

In the Buick plant in Flint, Stalinists led the fight for a resolution rescinding their former support of the slogan. In Fisher

Body, where the campaign for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay opened, a well-known Communist Party member introduced an identical resolution to rescind support of the slogan. But in Fisher, where militants are in the leadership, the lone Stalinist was the only member to vote for his resolution!

Militants Active In Plants

Rank and file militants, bitterly disappointed at the turn of the negotiations, and seeing all their hopes for a great victory going up in smoke, are determined to force better conditions in their own plants at least. The company however, is arrogant and aloof, and strengthened both by government pressure and the cowardice of the UAW leadership, company officials are waging a bitter battle against all militant committeemen and stew-

ards.

### Trotsky Indicts the Kremlin's Role In Europe's Catastrophe

By LEON TROTSKY

MEXICO CITY, June 17—The capitulation of France is not a simple military episode. It is part of the catastrophe of Europe. Mankind can no longer live under the regime of imperialism. Hitler is not an accident; he is only the most consistent and the most bestial expression of imperialism, which threatens to crush our whole civilization.

But in line with the general causes of the catastrophe inherent in imperialism, it is impermissible to forget the criminal, sinister role played by the Kremlin and the Comintern. Nobody else rendered such support to Hitler as Stalin. Nobody else created such a dangerous situation for the U.S.S.R. as Stalin.

During a period of five years the Kremlin and its Comintern propagandized for an "alliance of democracies" and "people's fronts" with the aim of preventing war against "Fascist aggressors." This propaganda, as witnessed most strikingly in the example of France, had a tremendous influence upon the popular masses. But when war really approached, the Kremlin and its agency, the Comintern, jumped unexpectedly into the camp of the "fascist aggressors." Stalin with his horse-trader mentality sought in this way to cheat Chamberlain, Daladier, Roosevelt, and to gain strategic positions in Poland and the Baltic countries. But the Kremlin's own had unwor-

terribly greater consequences: not only did it cheat the governments but it disoriented and demoralized the popular masses in the first place in the so-called democracies. With its propaganda of "Peoples' Fronts" the Kremlin hindered the masses from conducting the fight against the imperialist war. With his shift to Hitler's side Stalin abruptly mixed up all the cards and paralyzed the military power of the "democracies." In spite of all the machines of destruction the moral factor retains decisive importance in the war. By demoralizing the popular masses in Europe, and not solely in Europe, Stalin played the role of an agent provocateur in the service of Hitler. The capitulation of France is one of the results of such politics.

But it is by no means the only result. In spite of the Kremlin's territorial seizures, the international position of the USSR is worsened in the extreme. The Polish buffer disappeared. The Rumanian buffer will disappear tomorrow. Mighty Germany, massive Europe, acquires a common frontier with the USSR. Scandinavia, a place of weak and almost disarmed countries is occupied by this same Germany. Her victories in the west are only preparation for a gigantic move toward the east. In the attack on Finland the Red Army, decapitated and demoralized, again by Stalin, demonstrated its weakness before the whole world. In his coming march against the USSR, Hitler will find support in Japan.

The agents of the Kremlin begin to speak once more about the alliance of the democracies against the fascist aggressors. It is possible that as the cheated cheater, Stalin will be forced to make a new turn in his foreign politics. But woe to the peoples if they again trust the dishonest agents of the Kremlin's chief! Stalin helped convert Europe into bloody chaos and took the USSR to the very brink of the abyss. The peoples of the USSR now cannot help but feel the greatest anxiety. . . . Only the overthrow of the Moscow totalitarian clique, only the regeneration of Soviet democracy can unleash the forces of the Soviet peoples for the fight against the inevitable and fast-approaching blow from imperialist Germany. Hence Soviet patriotism is inseparable from irreconcilable struggle against the Stalinist clique.

### Stalin Moves Into Baltic Countries

By FELIX MORROW

The complete occupation and transformation into military camps of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia by Soviet troops last weekend was almost universally recognized as a move inspired by fear of Hitler. With France out of the war, the Nazi armies completely dominated continental Europe, able to turn and rend the partner whose "peace and friendship treaty," freeing Hitler from any worry about a fight on two fronts, had so enormously facilitated the Nazis' speedy victory. Occupation of the tiny Baltic states provided certain strategic advantages in case of hostilities with Germany, but these seemed pitifully paltry as contrasted with the enhanced power of Nazi Germany now as compared with last August when Stalin entered the "peace" pact with Hitler.

From Stockholm it was reported by Otto Tolischus of the New York Times that "Germany makes little secret of her displeasure" at the Soviet move.

Almost the only source that did not characterize the step as a defensive move against Germany was the Stalin regime and its Stalinist press abroad. For Stalin could not admit now, any more than when he sought strategic bases in Finland, that he was seeking protection against the consequences of his "peace" pact of last year. Then he had justified the pact on the ground that it

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### STALINIST BAND ARRESTED FOR TROTSKY ATTACK

#### Mexican Police Say Case Is Solved as One Confesses

Twenty-one Stalinists are in the hands of Mexican police and General Jose Manuel Nunez, head of the police, announced that complete light has now been shed on the May 24 attack on Leon Trotsky's house, a cable from