

Workers
of the World
Unite!

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HOW CAN WE FIGHT HITLER?

War Plans Pushed By Roosevelt

Pittman Rips Mask
Off Military
Program

MOBILIZE INDUSTRY

The Roosevelt administration, with the approval of Republican leaders, has moved swiftly day by day during the European crisis to utilize it for the American government's own war preparations.

Intensifying the crisis atmosphere by a series of moves against Nazi Germany, the administration—having thus presumably created the necessary hysterical atmosphere—moved to expand the American war machine by wiping out existing neutrality legislation.

The role of exports of munitions as a method of expanding American war industries was emphasized by Senator Key Pittman, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, in a radio broadcast Sunday night:

"The emergency demands of our government an expeditious and enormous increase of the capacity in this country for the production of materials and instruments of defense.

"It is totally impracticable, if not impossible, for our government to sufficiently increase the capacity of government works to meet any such emergency. Our government must rely upon the expansion of the capacity of private industry. Private industry will not expand if it is denied the right and power to export its products."

Pittman Moves Fast
Pittman's first statement, on Saturday, proposed to permit the export of arms to belligerents in time of war on the so-called cash-and-carry basis—that is, all right, title and interest in the consignment would have to be transferred to some foreign government before export, and the arms be carried in vessels of foreign registry.

But by Sunday night he went further, foreshadowing provisions in the new law permitting American vessels to carry the materials of war. Recalling that it was the determination to "fight for our rights as neutrals on the high seas that forced us into the World War," he added:

"The existing Neutrality Law constitutes a surrender of those legal rights that we fought for in the World War."

Pittman further justified his proposal by the "realistic" argument that it serves to secure "a substantial balance of power" in Europe, so that no European group will be free to interfere with American interests anywhere.

"We have sufficient power through our navy and through our tremendous financial and economic resources to resist any encroachment upon our rights," said Pittman.

"We are interested, however, in seeing that there is maintained in Europe a substantial balance of power because if any one group obtains absolute power over Europe and Asia, then we are faced with the defense of the Monroe Doctrine in Latin America."

Frankly Imperialistic
Pittman's statements—as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee he undoubtedly speaks for the majority in the Senate as well as Roosevelt's intimate circle—differed from the stream of "idealistic" propaganda with which the American people were flooded throughout the week, in its frankness in expressing American imperialist objectives.

Like a loyal Rooseveltian he interspersed his points with indignant references to "aggressors," "totalitarian regimes," etc., but concentrated mainly on explaining to hard-headed businessmen just what the government

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A Lesson for the Workers, Too!



STALINISTS SILENT ON SHOOTING OF MADRID LEADER

Mijaša Executes His
Fellow-Communist,
Barcelo

Lieutenant Colonel Luis Barcelo, a leader of the troops who revolted against the Popular Front Junta's plans to capitulate to Franco, was shot by a firing squad in Madrid on March 19, the morning after Julian Besteiro, as Minister of State of the Junta, had radioed an appeal for peace to Franco.

But this bloody sacrifice did not appease the Spanish butcher, any more than did Gen. Mijaša's suppression of the troops who wanted to continue the fight against Franco.

"Our caudillo, General Franco, has prepared an army which will carry to the last village in Spain the only peace which is honorable—a peace obtained by arms," the Burgos radio announced, in interpreting the direct answer to Besteiro by Ramon Serrano y Suner, Franco's brother-in-law, that "Nationalist Spain can only accept a victorious peace."

Will Massacre Workers
No mercy would be shown to the "red militiamen" who alleged.

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Auto Union Groups Shape Up for Coming Convention

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

DETROIT, March 17.—From all present indications the Cleveland convention of the United Automobile Workers will be no feast of harmony, tolerance and unity.

The rumblings of a scramble for power become louder every day. Unless John L. Lewis by gentle persuasion or not-so-gentle threats can parcel out the posts, at least to the temporary satisfaction of the contestants, the trouble now brewing in the Executive Board will boil over in Cleveland during the week of March 27.

Three major tendencies have come to the front. First, the Frankenstein-Addes combination, which is looked upon approvingly by the Stalinists and probably directed from behind the scenes by the Communist Party commissar.

This faction controls a sizeable bloc of votes and will have great bargaining power in Cleveland. It will control the large Flint dele-

Stalin Waits For Nazi Reply to Bid

Duranty Quotes Bismarck to Support Idea
of Soviet-German Friendship

Despite its bombastic note about the invasion of Bohemia and Moravia, the Stalin government of the Soviet Union is still leaving its door wide open to a deal with Hitler.

Britain and France only yesterday were ready to throw the Soviet Ukraine to Hitler's tender mercies if in return he would only let them alone. That was the meaning of Munich.

But now London and Paris realize that Hitler will not, can not, leave them alone and they are preparing for war as swiftly, as feverishly as they can. Part of these preparations is a fresh offer of a bloc to the threatened states of Eastern Europe, Poland, Rumania, and the U.S.S.R.

Waiting to See
In answer to British diplomatic soundings, the Soviet government proposed a nine-power parity. In the present circumstances this is nothing but a stall, because Stalin is still waiting to see what Hitler will do. In his speech at the Russian Communist Party congress last week, as we pointed out in these columns, Stalin openly invited Hitler to make terms with him instead of fighting him.

A few days ago Pravda, Stalin's official organ, denied that in talking over Czecho-Slovakia Hitler was driving toward the Soviet Ukraine. He was merely "clearing his tail from possible complications in the rear" before launching an attack upon the Western powers. In other words, despite Hitler's unmistakable threat to the Soviet Union, Stalin was keeping his skirts clear for a deal, while at the same time coyly holding Britain and France off at arms length.

Duranty's Dispatch
The middle position was stated most openly and most cynically by Walter Duranty, unofficial Kremlin spokesman, in a dispatch to the New York Times from Moscow on March 19:

"The Russians do not believe (Duranty wired)—as Stalin has said—that the Germans will be so silly as to play Mr. Chamberlain's game or M. Bonnet's game by attacking the U.S.S.R. . . . It looks to me, in this matter of Russia and Germany, rather like what Bismarck said and played as a major policy, that both of them ought to be friends, because they are complementary, meaning useful to each other."

This was published on the same day as the Soviet note to Germany, condemning in officially violent tones, the annexation of Bohemia and Moravia.

Two Positions
The official note represents the public position—which will be translated into acceptance of the Anglo-French flirtation in case Hitler does not respond to the unofficial position—stated with characteristic crudity by Stalin last week, and somewhat more aptly by Duranty in his dispatch on Monday.

In other words the Soviet Union under Stalin, in mortal peril of its very existence, is banking its life on the momentary shifts among the imperialist blocs. That the Soviet Union should take every possible advantage of such shifts goes without saying. But Stalin's crime is that he depends solely upon them, having long since abandoned his links to

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Boss War Will Mean Spread of Hitlerism

Workers of the United States! The Only Way to
Fight Against War and Fascism Is to Overthrow
the International System of Capitalist Slavery

The latest events in Europe once again, in the most acute form, raise in the minds of every worker the questions: Can we stop Hitler? How can we stop Hitler? How can we prevent this monstrous juggernaut from enslaving the world?

Let us reply at once to the first of these questions: We can and we must stop Hitler. His appearance of unbeatable strength is in reality a deception. What strength he has is the strength of desperation, like the frantic strength of a man in his death throes. He seems strong only because of the disorganization of the forces opposed to him.

ONLY TWO CHOICES

The crucial question is the second: How can we stop Hitler? This is what we must answer, with absolute clarity. We must stop him, and we will, but we must know exactly how to do it. If we do not, we may fail; or we may succeed in stopping Hitler only to end up with something as bad or even far worse than Hitler.

All proposals for stopping Hitler sift down, on analysis, to two. Realistically considered, our choice is between these two, and between them only.

The first is the proposal of the patriots and social-patriots, of Roosevelt and the Stalinists and the social-democrats. This is, in brief, to reconstitute the anti-German alliance of the World War, and to have the allied powers, headed by England, France and the United States, go to war against Germany. The masses of workers and farmers are asked to support these powers in the war.

WAR BRINGS REPRESSION

What will be the result of this proposal, if it is accepted by the masses, and acted upon?

We see the beginning of the answer already, in France. The dictatorial powers granted to Daladier will swiftly result in the wiping out all the gains and rights of the workers: the 40-hour week will be changed to 50-hours and then 60-hours; strikes will be prohibited; the rights of free assemblage and free press done away with; all militants in the labor movement will be hounded, jailed or shot; the working-class political parties will be outlawed; the unions will be illegalized or reduced to obedient parts of the dictatorial state machine.

Exactly the same measures are fully prepared in both England and the United States. Totalitarian military dictatorships will be imposed in both countries the moment war starts, or even, as in France, begun before war starts.

Universal conscription laws, already on the books, will draft the finest of the young workers and farmers into armies. Tens of millions, literally tens of millions, will be slaughtered—combatants and non-combatants alike.

HITLERISM WILL SPREAD

And what will be the final outcome? Hitler—Hitler, the individual human being—will lose out, will be defeated.

But Hitlerism, the barbaric and inhuman system of which Hitler the individual is only one expression, far from being overthrown, will only be a thousand times reinforced, not merely in Ger-

many this time but spread throughout the world.

Germany's Hitler may be prevented from getting the colonies which he seeks. The colonial peoples will be no less horribly oppressed by the Hitlers of England, France and the United States. The fascist yoke around our necks in England, France and the United States may not wear a label, "Made in Germany"; but it will bear down no less heavily as a "home product".

RULERS LOOK TO FASCISM

The rulers of England, France and the United States do not like Hitler, because he threatens their own possessions. But they have no objection, in spite of their present demagoguery, to Hitlerism. On the contrary, they know that the totalitarian organization of their own nations is now the only method they have for preserving their own powers and privileges.

The first proposal for stopping Hitler, then, adds up to just this: for the sake of defending the possessions of the finance-capitalists of London, Paris and New York, to guarantee the victory of fascism throughout the world.

The second proposal for stopping Hitler is that of the revolutionary socialists, of the Fourth International.

MAIN ENEMY AT HOME

This proposal declares: Workers of every imperialist state, of England and France and the United States no less than Germany, the main enemy is in your own country! It is the bosses of your own country who throw you out of work, drive down your wages, send their police and troops against you, and who plan in their war and forever after to impose dictatorship on you to drive you to the slaughter.

Your first job, therefore, is to get rid of these bosses and their government in your own country, to free yourselves, to take over the factories and mines and resources of your country for yourselves and administer them through your own government—a workers' and not a bosses' government.

UNITE AGAINST TYRANNY!

Inspired and learning from your struggle, the workers of Germany will once again take hope and courage. They will turn their anger and their weapons, not against their fellow-workers of France and England and the United States, but against their own main enemy, against their own government, against Hitler. Hitler will be swept aside; and this time not merely Hitler but Hitlerism; and Hitlerism not merely in Germany but throughout the world.

The German workers are our brothers and comrades, not our enemies. Shall we devote ourselves to killing them and being killed by them, because Roosevelt asks us to do so in order to safeguard the profits of the Sixty Families?

No! We must join with them, help them to join with us in the common struggle of all workers of every country, the world-wide struggle to wipe out the rotted system which condemns all workers to tyranny and starvation, and to replace it with the free socialist society of free men in a free and peace-assured world.

New World War Again Threatens

Bosses Prepare to
Hurl Masses Into
Slaughter

ARMIES ON MOVE

The peoples of the world were being dragged this week at a frighteningly swift pace toward a new world war.

On half a dozen fronts millions of men—the workers of all lands—were once more being prepared for the mutual slaughter.

The desperate world struggle of the capitalists for markets and raw materials was again reaching the point where, as in 1914-1918, it was passing over to the stage of armed conflict.

They almost reached the point of war last September but managed at the last moment to reach a "compromise"—the Munich accord—and now, after a brief six months the rival capitalist powers face each other once more on the edge of the precipice of war.

Little Room for Deal
A much slimmer base exists now for a "compromise" than existed at the time of Munich. But it is plain as day that any postponement will be only for weeks or for months. World capitalism can no more control its convulsive thrusts toward war than a dying man can control his convulsions as his end draws near.

Anglo-French efforts to keep the hungry imperialisms of Germany and Italy in check are failing fast. The British and French colonial empires, erected over the mangled bodies and with the stolen wealth of hundreds of millions of subjected slaves, are now directly threatened by the "starved" imperialism of Germany and its satellite, Italy.

The World War of 1914-1918 was fought by the capitalists of France, Britain, and the United States to crush the rising economic might of the Kaiser's Germany. The vindictive post-war settlement at Versailles sought to suffocate the conquered foe. Thanks to the treacherous failures of the Second and Third Internationals, the German revolution was beheaded and the result was—Hitler.

Hitler's Stages
Hitler took as his task the re-constitution of the German Empire. First crushing the workers, he then proceeded systematically with a program of rearmament and conquest that now brings him into direct collision once more with the rival capitalist empires of the world. That is the source of the threatening conflict.

In swift succession Hitler re-established German power in the Saar, reoccupied the Rhineland, rebuilt the German Army and Navy, seized Austria, annexed the Sudetenland, and last week bloodlessly conquered the rest of Czecho-Slovakia and now looks hungrily toward the oil and wheat of Rumania and the Soviet Ukraine.

Last Fall Britain and France deemed themselves unprepared to go to war immediately. They calculated that if they could turn Hitler's attention eastward by giving him a "free hand" in the Danube Basin, and against Russia, they would save their own skins, at best, and, at worst, give themselves a further period in which to complete their war preparations. That was the essential meaning of the Munich pact.

Pace Too Fast
Hitler has moved however, at a far swifter pace than Chamberlain and Daladier calculated upon. They see developing a colossus which threatens to become strong enough to tear them down almost at will. Under conditions of normal economic competition, the Anglo-French bloc could hope to checkmate Hitler to some extent in Central Europe. But that hope disappears as Hitler goes far beyond

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