

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Paul G. Stevens

New Recruits for Social Patriotism in France

Hitler's latest "surprise," swallowing nearly all that there was left of what was once Czechoslovakia, appears to have finally shattered the tender hopes of an understanding with him in France and British ruling circles. In France, Daladier is pushing through the Chamber of Deputies decrees giving him full dictatorial powers for eight months in anticipation of the inevitable clash with the Rome-Berlin axis.

While the social democrats under Blum and the Stalinists under Thorez grumble against this step and call for the "union sacrée" or national coalition cabinet, there is very little likelihood that they will go beyond that. They have prepared their following for just such moves as Daladier is now making.

The latter, taking a leaf out of Hitler's book, knows that if you can get your opponents to accept a partial defeat without serious resistance, you can get them used to accepting greater defeats without any resistance at all. Blum, Thorez and the trade union leader Jouhaux have played right into the hands of this henchman of French imperialism from the very first days of the "Popular Front." They will support him with or without the official "union sacrée."

Social reformism, Stalinism and the trade union bureaucracy have long been lined up for national defense, and their support of French imperialism has been virtually guaranteed. Now, new recruits have come over to the side of social-patriotism from unexpected quarters. They are the leaders of the purely syndicalist tendency in the French trade union movement who go under the name of "Amis de Syndicats" or Friends of the Unions. Their chief stock in trade throughout their existence has been: Lay off politics! Under this banner, they had attacked the social democrats and the Stalinists, as well as Jouhaux, from the "left." During the crisis last September, they were naturally against the war-mongering of the Stalinists. Since then, their fight against working-class participation in politics has taken them on strange paths—and into the camp of Chamberlain-Daladier "appeasement."

At a recent banquet one of the syndicalist leaders, the general secretary of the Teachers Union, Delmas went so far as to say: "If, for once, capitalism serves to stop a war, it will make up in part for the evils it has caused." Then he added: "Huge armaments may well be the price of peace."

The speech caused a sensation in France. Shortly after a manifesto issued by the group incorporating the same line appeared in the *Peuple Provençal*, an organ of the reactionary Fernand Bouillon who is allied with the pro-Fascist group of former Premier Flaminio. The paper commented enthusiastically on the manifesto. Now, when the "appeasement" policy

culminates in war preparations under a dictatorial Daladier regime, the anti-political syndicalists, headed by Delmas, Belin and Co., can be said to have done their share for the "union sacrée" equally well with the social democrats and the Stalinists.

As always in the past, the only consistent and reliable opponents of the social-patriotic wave in present-day France are the political revolutionists, those whose policies are based on Marxism. Any hope of resisting the war plans in France rests with the P.O.I. (the French Fourth Internationalists) and with the leftward development of the centrist P.S.O.P. (Socialist Workers and Peasants Party) which contains many excellent Marxist militants.

Paul Faure and His New Newspaper

Just a step ahead of the anti-political pacifists in this treacherous game is the "pacifist" minority of the S.F.I.O. (French Section of the Second International), led by Paul Faure who recently broke with Blum after a life-long collaboration.

Mr. Paul Faure's enthusiasm for "appeasement" is a la Daladier has led him to launch the publication of a newspaper called "Le Reveil du Peuple" (The Awakening of the People) jointly with... one Rene Brunet, an associate of the reactionary Guy Bonnet, present Foreign Minister.

Where is the money for the enterprise coming from? The cry is raised in the French revolutionary press. The answer is obvious.

Another Blow at Our French Comrades

In addition to the persecutions directed by Daladier against our comrades Suzanne Charpy and Loret, reported here last week, a new court sentence has hit one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth (Fourth International), comrade Steve. Steve has been sentenced to six months imprisonment for a placard which appeared on the walls of Paris entitled "This War Is Not Our War."

Heavy Prison Sentences for Algerian Fighters

Among the preparations of the French imperialists for their fight against the "Fascist powers" is a savage attack against the political organizations of the oppressed in the colonies. The latest to come under their blows are the militants of the Algerian Popular Party. Twenty-three leaders of the party recently faced a mass trial and were given sentences averaging one year's imprisonment each. Prominent among them was Ben Dahmane Amar, who was arrested in Paris last September and deported to Algiers.

Boss Governments Prepare to Hurl Masses Into a New World Slaughter

(Continued from Page 1) yond mere economic penetration and gobbles up territory under the marching feet and trundling wheels of his swollen army.

Moreover they understand perfectly well that Hitler's eastward march does not release them from fear of incursions upon their own empires. Italy is hungrily—and impatiently—awaiting its turn and Hitler has never renounced his demand for overseas colonies that could only be provided at the expense of the Western powers.

That is why under the hammer blows of Hitler's latest moves—and the new moves in immediate preparation—Britain and France are attempting to stiffen up sufficiently to challenge the threat of German imperialist expansion.

The Turn in France

In France the first move was the conversion of the Daladier government—only six months ago the fountain-head of the People's Front—into an open dictatorship. Daladier demanded and received, by overwhelming votes of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, full powers, unlimited and undefined, to govern by decree until next November.

Daladier made it plain that he intended to rule with an iron hand, to slash down the living standards of the workers, to increase hours, to speed up armaments, to make France an armed camp under a dictatorship that will permit no breath of freedom that interferes with the "grave eventualities"—i.e., the war—of which Daladier openly spoke.

Nothing could more plainly than this show how false and hypocritical is the propaganda that tries to befuddle the workers into thinking that the coming war is a war of "democracy" against the Fascist dictatorships.

The "democracies" France, even before the actual outbreak of war, is already swiftly converting itself into a totalitarian state where the worker who tries to oppose his own interests to those of the capitalists will be as ruthlessly crushed as he is in Hitlerite Germany.

In England it has already been publicly announced that the country far exceeded in scope and effect any steps taken by France and England during this crisis, and expressed once more, as did the Lima Conference, the fact that America has taken the leadership in a world offensive against the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo bloc.

Nazis React Sharply Washington's imposition of the new duties "came as a stunning blow to German official and, particularly, business circles," reported the N. Y. Times correspondent in Berlin.

STALINISTS MUM ON SHOOTING OF MADRID LEADER

(Continued from Page 1) edly committed various "crimes," said Suner. These "crimes," he said, must be taken into consideration when one speaks of generosity.

Francisco was preparing for an offensive if the Junta did not shortly surrender unconditionally. In his radioed appeal to Franco, Besteiro had addressed the fascists as "the Nationalist Government."

"The moment has come when the National Defense Junta must carry out its mission, and in consequence it addresses your government to inform it that we are disposed to undertake negotiations which will assure us an honorable peace. We await your decision."

Barcelo Was Communist Lieutenant Colonel Barcelo was done to death less than two days after an "Emergency Tribunal"—secret courts established by the Negrin government—had found him guilty of "complicity" in the Worker on Monday, nor did it revolt against the Junta.

He was a member of the Communist Party of Spain. News of his execution was not reported by the Stalinist Daily Worker on the front pages of the Daily Worker. As reported in the last issue of the Appeal, all references to the Popular Front Junta, which had previously been denounced as capitulators to the fascists, disappeared from the Daily Worker, beginning March 13.

Press reports of the reappearance of the Communist party press in Loyalist Spain, indicating that the Stalinists have made their peace with the Miaja-led Junta, have not been denied by the Daily Worker.

Why Stalinists are Silent The silence of the Stalinist press here, in the face of the latest Spanish events, can only be interpreted as an attempt to hide from the Communist party membership the fact that the Spanish Communist Party is going along with the Besteiro - Miaja Junta's

amendment which would have slily safeguarded workers' union rights—and the well-known industrial mobilization plans which will place the workers in a strait-jacket in time of war are also ample proof that "democratic" America too will convert itself into a Fascist dictatorship during the coming war.

"Democratic" Allies

And if any more proof were needed, we remind workers of the fact that "poor little Rumania" and "poor little Poland"—the next of Hitler's attention—are nothing but bloody dictatorships in which workers' rights were long ago crushed under the heel of totalitarian governments. These are the "allies" to whom the democracies, so-called, now appeal for encirclement of Fascist Germany.

Let no one be fooled by the

Roosevelt Uses European Crisis to Push Arms Program and Propaganda

(Continued from Page 1) was seeking to achieve by its latest moves.

No obstacles were placed in Roosevelt's way by the Republican and anti-"New Deal" Democrats.

Republican Spokesman Approves Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, generally regarded as an important possibility for the Republican presidential nomination in 1940, speaking on Saturday at the National Republican Club, directly answering the question whether he approved the administration's denunciation of Germany, declared that he "certainly approved."

The requisite atmosphere for jamming through the abrogation of neutrality legislation was sought by the dramatic step, taken Saturday, March 18, of applying new tariff duties, regarded as prohibitive, against German goods.

This application of economic sanctions against the German regime far exceeded in scope and effect any steps taken by France and England during this crisis, and expressed once more, as did the Lima Conference, the fact that America has taken the leadership in a world offensive against the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo bloc.

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CP "Americanism Week" Hits "Isms"

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) NEW ORLEANS.—"Americanism Week" was celebrated here the first week of March by the Communist Party, Louisiana section.

Postcards sent out read verbatim: "May we remind you that this is Americanism Week. The Communist Party of Louisiana declares its steadfast loyalty to our Nation's democratic institutions, pledging ourselves in word and deed to fight any 'ism' of any clique, groups or minority from within our country or from abroad that would destroy or undermine our democratic institutions of government."

"Tune in on 'Pauperism is Unamerican,' Station WDSU, Friday, March 3rd, 8:30 p.m. Hear Mr. Jerome Benton, Secretary of the Communist Party of Louisiana."

Press reports on March 15 quoted La Verdad, Communist party organ in Valencia, as asserting that the Communist party also wanted "an honorable peace," as does the Junta.

Barcelo, who took his membership in the Communist party seriously, believed the word "Communist" meant what it once did, and fought to prevent capitulation to Franco, was executed by the Junta—and in death is not even honored by the Stalinist press by a news item, much less a declaration of solidarity!

QUEENS Anti-Fascist Rally
FRIDAY, MARCH 24 8:00 P.M.
Oddfellows Hall, Jamaica 159-31 90th Avenue
Speakers: Albert Goldman E. R. McKinney (8th Ave. Subway to Parsons Blvd. — B.M.T. to 160th St.)
Auspices: Jamaica and Astoria Branches, S.W.P.

propaganda already dripping in thick blobs from the entire press, from the Tory Herald Tribune to the Stalinist Daily Worker. The coming war is a war among the bosses, fighting like wolves over the prey, the rich produce of the workers and the profits they make out of them.

The Soviet Position

Britain and France are also turning now, in the present crisis, to the Soviet Union—which they were ready only yesterday to hand over to Hitler—for renewal of the long-discarded collective security pacts. To these overtures Stalin, as explained elsewhere in these columns, is giving a cynically cautious response, waiting to see if Hitler will respond to his public bid for a bloc against the Western powers.

In any case, we are witnessing one of the final—if not the final—period of desperate pre-war ma-

neuvering for position. Events are beginning to move far more swiftly than the numbing minds of the capitalist diplomats. The new imperialist war, the new slaughter of the nations is almost upon us. United action by the workers of the world will transform that war of the bosses into a war for the emancipation of all mankind by overthrowing the system that breeds wars—capitalism. But for the historic treachery of the Second and Third Internationals during the past two decades, such action would have long since taken place. Now, in these darkest of hours, that gigantic task falls to the Fourth International, which will fight to the utmost of its powers to smash the war-makers and on the smoking ruins of capitalism erect the new world order, the only order of world peace, the order of world socialism.

Present Arms Costs Not even the administration pretends to be able to estimate the exact cost of the measures which are receiving Congressional authorization, but it will amount to at least four billion dollars during the next two fiscal years. These sums are primarily allocated to expansion of the naval and air forces, for these involve types of equipment required to be on hand before war breaks out, while the equipping of a gigantic army requires merely the existing economic capacity of the nation's factories plus the re-tooling and re-training of personnel which will be provided by army "educational orders" and manufacture of munitions for England and France.

Eventual Arms Costs

Tens of billions will be spent on the army, but these costs will begin on the immediate eve of war. Every million dollars now voted for "educational orders" is mainly used by the contracting companies for preparing for mass production of war materials. For every million thus expended now, a billion will have to be expended later on the actual war materials. The Administration is thus paving the way for the most gigantic and expensive war that mankind has ever seen.

Welles Opens Fire The opening gun in the series of American moves was the statement issued March 17 by Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles, with the approval of President Roosevelt, declaring that "acts of wanton lawlessness and of arbitrary force are threatening world peace" and refusing to characterize incorporation into the Reich of Bohemia and Moravia as anything but "temporary extinguishment."

Welles' statement was, however, merely a stop-gap for public consumption until receipt afterward of a German note officially informing this government of the occupation. This opened the way for a formal protest directly to Germany. It was expected that the formal protest would rival the punitive duties in its sensational character as a move against Germany.

Roosevelt Seeks All Power The Roosevelt Administration utilized these moves not only to break down any tendency by Congress to seek a voice in determining foreign policy.

Even the big Democratic majority in Congress, and the approval of his moves voiced by Republican leaders, does not reassure Roosevelt, for he knows that when the present hysteria wears off, the powerful anti-war sentiment of the masses will again create pressure on Congress, the body of the government which most directly responds to public opinion.

What Roosevelt wants Congress to do is summarized by Arthur Krock, Washington correspondent of the Times, on March 18: "The administration wants Congress in this perilous time to abandon its effort to legislate foreign policy and put its trust in the Executive. It wants discretion for him to enforce a unilateral policy of aid extending to arms, ammunition and implements of war. It proposes that the President shall have a power of decision, supported by all the resources of this nation, which will enable him effectively to throw our whole weight on any bloody cause according to his concept of national interest."

Hull's Hypocrisy This revealing summary of the president's objectives indicates how hypocritical was Secretary of State Cordell Hull's argument against the proposed popular referendum on war.

Hull argued that such a referendum was incompatible with representative government, that the people, having elected their representatives to Congress had thereby delegated to them the power to deal with the question of war and peace. This subterfuge hides the real aim: to take the decision away, not only from the people directly, but from Congress.

Meanwhile, even before revision of the neutrality act, the government was in a position to initiate a gigantic process of expanding war industries, on the basis of putting through the ar-

LEFT — JABS

Believe It Or Not

The credential below, which we clipped from "Justice," was handed to an International Ladies Garment Workers Union organizer when he asked for a permit to give out leaflets in Waltham, Mass. Other town authorities have their minds made up and changed in the same way, as Beal, but few are frank or dumb enough to say so.

"To whom it may concern: "Mr. James R. Gallagher, at 11:10 A.M. on Thursday, February 23, 1939, has made application for a permit to pass out hand bills at what I shall call the Mill Gate on Moody Street.

"His object is to unionize the Boston Maid Company. I decline to issue the permit for the best interests of the City of Waltham. I have suggested to Mr. Gallagher that he might confer with the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and thereby possibly have me change my mind.

Very truly yours, (signed) Henry F. Beal City Engineer and Director"

The LaGuardias of Prague The government officials, the anti-fascist LaGuardias, and Newbold Morrises of Prague, called on the people to submit quietly to Hitler, to make no demonstration against him and to lay down their arms.

The Cops The Prague La Guardias sent their cops (with tears streaming down their faces) to help Hitler's Storm Troopers arrest anti-fascists and Jews.

The Czech Civil Liberties Union The C.L.U. of Prague — there must be one—no doubt demanded free speech for Hitler and the safeguarding of all his democratic rights.

General Syrový The one-eyed democratic people leader of Czechia showed that he was true to type and welcomed Hitler with a hearty handshake.

A Haven! Universal News Reel shows what they announce as "Jewish people driven from Europe find a haven of refuge," and then shows them landing in—Shanghai!

Did Browder Send Greetings? News Item: "Lieut. Jose Miaja, son of the Council head, who was released March 10 by the Nationalists, arrived in Madrid in time to celebrate his saints' day with his father."

SPAIN CP'ers TOLD "NOT TO MOVE AGAINST CASADO," ADMITS FISCHER

That the Negrin cabinet had no intention of prolonging the war against Franco, and that the Communist party of Spain ordered its members not to oppose the Miaja-Casado Junta which ousted Negrin—charges made in previous issues of the Appeal—are corroborated by Louis Fischer, the well-known "unofficial" Stalinist journalist, in a cable to The Nation, March 18.

On Negrin's policy, Fischer says: "When Barcelona fell, the Loyalists realized that the war was lost and would soon end. On February 1 Negrin emanulated to the Cortes three conditions—the cessation of hostilities—national independence, a regime with popular support, and the promise of no reprisals; but within a week the British and French governments were informed that the republic was ready to reduce these to one—clemency. . . ."

Orders Not to Resist Before they left Spain," says Fischer, "Communist leaders gave orders not to oppose Casado with arms. I know definitely that the Communist pilots were told by their chief not to move against Casado."

This confirms our contention that the Stalinist leaders, already in agreement with Negrin for a speedy peace, were ready to subordinate themselves to the Casado-Miaja Junta.

The leaders having thereupon fled, the ranks of the Communist party took things in their own hands and fought back when they were attacked. Safe outside Spain, the leaders refused to accept any responsibility for the heroic resistance.

STALIN AWAITS HITLER'S REPLY

(Continued from Page 1) only real ally of the Soviets, the international working class.

Fate of the U.S.S.R. Crawling from one capitalist camp to another, alternately whining and beating his breast in vain braggadochio, Stalin is ready to bank the fate of the Soviet Union on capitalist promises—either from London-Paris or Berlin-Rome, which obviously are not worth the paper they are written upon. The fate of Czechoslovakia, surely, is sufficient proof of this—and that goes both for Hitler and for Chamberlain-Daladier.

But the fate of the Soviet Union will not rest with those who have taken the roles of gravediggers of the great October revolution, any more than it will be permitted to rest with the imperialist bandits of whatever stripe. This question, like all the questions raised in the coming war, will be settled by the workers of the world under the banner of the Fourth International.

Workers' Information Please!

Your Questions Answered by Our Board of Experts Shachtman-Morrow-Burnham Master of Ceremonies—Garrett at the 'QUESTION MARK' DANCE Saturday Nite, March 25 916 9th Avenue Hot Music! Admission 30c

FLASH! Prize for any question you submit that our Experts fail to answer. BUT you must be present at the Dance to receive your prize. Submit your question in advance.

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

John was an Italian worker who came to America looking for a job. He was a stone-cutter and a good one. He could not speak English and had little time to learn because there were four small children and a wife to feed. And when the employment agent sent him to a Vermont quarry to work, he borrowed some money from friends and took the family along. A new life had begun for John and he was happy.

It was hard work and no time for play or study. Up early to work and home late and to bed. The boss was always nearby, and it was busy, busy, busy every minute of the long day. John did not complain or ask questions. No matter how weary his arms or sore his back, John's heart sang with joy because the job meant that the bambino and the mother had a roof over their heads and spaghetti on the stove.

And it meant also that his oldest son, Joseph, could go to school and grow up to be a smart fellow like the boss. Maybe he would be a doctor or a lawyer—who knows, maybe President?

"Why Must People Be Hungry?"

Four years went by and John worked harder each year. He had not saved any money, but who saves money when times are good? Besides there were so many little bills to pay each week, each month. One must pay rent. One cannot sleep in the fields—especially when little Elsie had the cough that didn't go away. . . . And a family must eat. In winter every one must have coal to heat the house. Growing boys wear clothes to shreds overnight. Doctors must get paid or they, too, get hungry.

One day there was no work at all. The boss came out and told the men to go home until he sent for them. John waited for the others to leave and then he went up to the boss. "I work very much. I do not ask questions. I need the job very much. I'll take less pay if you keep me on the job. Please?" The boss just walked away. He didn't even answer John.

It was a long winter. John thought every day the boss would send for him. Sometimes he walked to the great quarry where he used to work and looked at all the stone waiting to be cut into big blocks for building, houses and bridges and statues. Sometimes he thought, "What has happened in America? Why must people be hungry when there is so much fine land for growing potatoes, wheat, corn and tomatoes? Why do people live in houses like stables when lumber and stone and iron are right in the ground under the very nose? Why must people shiver in thin rags and walk in broken shoes while clothing stores are overflowing? Why? What is wrong?"

He could not answer these questions without getting dangerous ideas which frightened him and yet made him feel better right away. "There are answers to all questions," he would say to himself.

There Was a Depression

One day, when spring came, John packed up the family's goods in a big tablecloth and took the mother and the children to the road and started off toward the city. A truck stopped and the driver said, "Hop in." They accepted the invitation without knowing where they were going.

New York City is very large, and it is easy to get lost there because all the streets look so much alike. With two children in their arms and two walking alongside, the family walked and walked. After a great many blocks, they

(To be continued next week)