

## Stop the Sell-Out!

CHAMBERLAIN has come into the open as the accomplice of Hitler. By covering his crime with the melodramatic flight to Berchtesgaden under the cry of "peace," he expects to dragoon British labor into support of his treason, and to smash the Popular Front in France, an aim long close to his heart. Fanatically pursuing the narrowest class interests of British monopoly capital, Chamberlain and his associates are striking at the heart of the last hopes of world peace and democracy. It is the blackest and most open treason ever registered in modern history. Through the betrayal of Czechoslovakia, world peace and democracy are to be betrayed.

A storm of protest must and will arise from all the world. From every peace-loving people must come the repudiation of this cynical treachery. Especially from the American people, who hold the greatest power to influence world events, and who have the most advantageous position to influence events for peace without immediate risks to themselves. It is the height of demagogy to cry out against the crimes of other lands if we of the United States should be influenced by those Pharisees who preach at us to pass by on the other side.

The Hitler aggression against the Czechoslovakian republic is one of the sharp points of universal aggression, directed against the whole world. Not least is it against the United States. The wild uprisings staged in the last months by Hitler's forces in Mexico, in Brazil and in Chile are only slight indications of what is to come when Hitler gets into his stride. The idiotic ravings of the Dies committee show how high within

our own government do Hitler's direct accomplices reach. And for years one of the principal problems of our Commerce and State Departments has been how to cope with the measures of economic war being waged by Hitler against the United States, in the form of trade practices directly contrary to every established policy of the United States and of every other democratic country.

It is time that the policy of surrender to fascism, of which Chamberlain gives the most dastardly example, be stopped all down the line, in big and little things. The United States should and must establish its own independent initiative to this end, not only from motives of human solidarity, but even from its most selfish national interests.

What are the minimum measures for implementing an American policy for peace in the present moment?

Two steps by Washington would decisively change the atmosphere of panic engendered by the accomplices of Hitler. They are minimum steps, they do not solve the problems, they are carefully buttressed in established American traditions, principles and legislation—but they have the merit of posing a more realistic estimate of the relation of forces in the world, and show that democracy still has teeth short of war. These two measures would be:

First, a declaration by the President that the United States, vitally interested in international order and peace, is prepared to discuss with all signatories of the Kellogg Pact those common measures which will become necessary to realize the aims of that solemn treaty if the present disturbances between nations continue.

Second, a declaration by the President, under the authorization of Section 338 of the Tariff Act, that the economic aggressions by Germany, foreseen by that act, have increased and become an established system, which can only be countered by

the United States by applying the full measure provided in the act—that is, by embargo on German trade with the United States.

For several years now, the spokesmen of the United States have been reading excellent moral lessons to the aggressors who drag the world to war. More and more, the response to these moral rebukes has come in the form of jeers and insults. Nothing more is to be gained by high-sounding words; they will contribute nothing to world peace, and will only dissipate our country's prestige and moral weight. The next word must be such as will carry weight—or it had better not be spoken. Mild words, but such as convey a businesslike determination toward peace, backed up by even a minimum of action, are worth a volume of the most brilliant generalities. We propose nothing more than that at this moment, when the fate of world peace is in the balance, because we are convinced even this small contribution—because it passes from words to deeds—might easily make all the difference between maintenance of what peace is left in the world and universal slaughter and catastrophe.

Hitler and all his helpers have set the world stage to place before the peace-loving majority of the world the alternative: Surrender or War!

They want the world to believe that the struggle for democracy and peace has come to an end, that it is hopeless, that the war-makers hold all the trump cards.

That is a typical fascist lie, a lie on the grand scale, the lie to suck out the fighting spirit from the democracies, to sap their morale, to spread defeatism among the masses of the peoples.

The fight for peace is only beginning. British labor is already shaking itself free from the shackles of Sir Walter Citrine and Chamberlain. British labor moves very slowly, it is not easily

provoked to action, but there is every indication that it is stirred to its depths by Chamberlain's attempted treason. And when British labor begins to move, it is a mighty colossus which can sweep away Chamberlain's power overnight. Let Chamberlain consult Winston Churchill on this point—that same Churchill who cracked his shins on Labor's Councils of Action in 1920, when he tried to use British power to restore the old order in Russia.

French labor, which has already been given a little foretaste of what a future of following Chamberlain has in store for it, has not agreed with Daladier to surrender the future of all France as well as the future of French labor to the ukase from Berchtesgaden.

And America has not yet spoken its final word. It will be a grievous mistake for the war-makers to think that the hesitation of America to speak that word arises from any doubts as to what kind of word it is to be. It will be an even more grievous mistake to conclude that the people of the United States are becoming pacifists willing to surrender democracy and peace to the world bandits. The fate of the world cannot be decided without the United States. And the United States is on the side of democracy and peace.

Let there be no mistake about this. Let the voice of America be heard, the voice of labor and of the people, first of all in our national councils in Washington, in meetings and in the press, and on the streets.

Let there be a mighty roar of protest against the treason of Chamberlain.

Let there be bold but coldly cautious counsels pressed upon our national spokesmen in Washington!

Let there be full knowledge given the world, that America will never surrender to world fascism, that America is ready to help the world stop its surrender to fascism!

War can still be stopped. Peace can still be saved! Democracy can still be preserved! But the hour is growing short. The people of America must speak!

*New Masses*, September 27, 1938.