

# MASS MEETING

JAMES P. CANNON, National Secretary of the S. W. P., and NATHAN GOULD, National Organizer of the Y.P.S.L., just back from Europe, will speak on the "WAR CRISIS IN EUROPE AND THE MEANING OF THE MUNICH PACT," at the CENTER HOTEL, 108 West 43rd Street, SUNDAY, October 9, at 8 P. M.

Workers Of The World Unite!

# Socialist Appeal

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Watch for the Appeal During Our Anti-War Campaign Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday

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# AFTER MUNICH -- WHAT NEXT?

What has really happened in Europe? What will be the effect on the international Labor movement? What has the effect been on the position of the Soviet Union? What must we do now? These questions must be uppermost in the minds of every worker, of every labor sympathizer, of every sincere member of the Communist Party who has believed and still believes he is working for the proletarian revolution and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

It is time, high time, to face these questions. It is impossible to go on blindly as before. The peril is too great, too real. Events have been too harsh, too disastrous, to be ignored.

We've got to stop and think! We've got to stop and draw a balance for ourselves: Where have we been heading? Where did our policies lead us? WHERE ARE THEY GOING TO LEAD US NOW?

Surely it is time now honestly to realize that there must have been something wrong, something radically wrong with policies that led to such disastrous results.

Surely it is time now to face realities, to change direction and to use the brief time that remains to regain lost ground. For this every militant has to thrust from his mind old lies and prejudices and catch-phrases. He has got to try to tell himself the truth, to see things as they really are.

Let us take up our questions one by one and try to see what that truth really is and to examine events from the common point of departure of all honest militants: the interests of the Soviet Union, the interest of the socialist revolution in which we all see the sole hope of the future.

The Munich deal has a double significance for us. In the first place it exploded once and for all the mythical idea that the workers of Russia and of all countries could depend on their "democratic" governments to fight fascism. It showed us that our "democratic" governments, acting in perfect accord with their own fundamental capitalist interest, are ready and willing to strike a bargain with the Fascist governments rather than risk social upheavals that they know will mean the end of capitalism, in its "democratic" and Fascist form alike.

In the second place it showed how flimsy and meaningless bourgeois "democracy" really is. The "democratic" parliaments, to say nothing of the masses, had no say in the dickering, in the poker-playing, in the ghastly maneuverings with the lives of millions of men, that went on in the chancelleries of Europe. The masses were simply called on to be ready to die if and when the

bosses called on them to do so. To make sure there was no protest, the "democrats" promptly clamped down on newspapers and the radio. They forbade public meetings. They decreed TOTALITARIAN rule. They showed clearly what imperialist war will mean to the great mass of the workers. It will mean the yoke of dictatorship for the masses while the imperialists carry on their own struggle for world markets and for the preservation of their capitalist regimes. What happens then to the myth of "democracy" vs. Fascism?

For the Soviet Union the Munich conference represented the complete collapse of its entire foreign policy, the complete collapse of the whole idea of "collective security." Let us be perfectly clear on this. Five years ago the Soviet Union decided to abandon even the pretense of proletarian internationalism in favor of supporting those bourgeois governments which agreed to make alliances with it against Fascist Germany. The result was the Franco-Soviet Pact, the Czech-Soviet Pact, the People's Front, and the abandonment of the attempt to guide the workers along the path of their own independent class struggle in opposition to their own boss governments.

This same policy led to the stifling of the Spanish revolution, because the Soviet Union feared that the workers' revolution there would antagonize its "allies" in Paris and London. The result agreed to and participated in by the Soviet government, was the criminal "Non-intervention committee" which was used to destroy the Spanish revolution. The result was subordination of the Spanish workers and peasants to the Spanish "democratic" bourgeoisie. This has led in turn now to preparations for "liquidation" of the civil war under the benevolent joint auspices of France, Britain, Germany, and Italy.

What did this policy lead to when the crisis came to a head in Czechoslovakia? It reduced the choices to two, both of them contrary to the interests of the Soviet Union and of the working class of all countries: the advance of German Fascism into Czechoslovakia or imperialist war, with all the horror, the slaughter, the repression, that such a war will mean.

In Czechoslovakia the Communist Party became not the instrument of the workers of all races and minorities, but the instrument of the Czech national bourgeoisie. Its policy of unqualified support to the Czech regime served only to widen the chasm among the workers of the different races, to accentuate the attractive power of reactionary nationalism, of race differences. The workers of all races were split wide apart, instead of being united in a common working class policy that would have awakened an echo among the workers across the front-

iers in Fascist Germany, in authoritarian Poland and Hungary!

In France and Britain and in this country the Communist Parties and their affiliated organizations and sympathizers became most loudly, most notoriously, most aggressively, the supporters of a war policy, an imperialist war policy!

But the imperialists in London, Paris, Berlin, and Rome recognized that they had fundamentally more in common than they had in conflict. They recognized, even while they were mobilizing their troops for a gigantic display of military might, that their wisest course was to be master of Central Europe — in order to turn the edge of war against the remaining small nations and align all against the Soviet Union.

This is what they made a beginning at in Munich. This is the real meaning of the Munich four-power agreement. France and Britain abdicated from control of Central Europe and turned it over to Hitler. To Mussolini they made promises which have not yet come to light. In return they have agreed to negotiate all further issues in hopes of forming a bloc that will enable Germany to attack the Soviet Union with impunity. In this way they hope, for some time longer, to preserve the rotting capitalist system which is strangling Europe and all the world.

The Franco-Soviet pact and the Czech-Soviet pact were blotted out of existence by the agreement at Munich.

The Soviet Union stands more perilously isolated today than at any time since it came into existence.

The workers of the world stand under the constant menace of an early return of the war crisis.

That is the net result of "collective security."

That is the net result of the "People's Front."

That is the net result of the "Democratic front."

That is the truth. Let's not kid ourselves or let ourselves be kidded. Let's instead ask ourselves seriously: Where do we go from here? How can we get back on the rails toward the workers' revolution which we know alone will smash Fascism in every country, which alone will insure peace, which alone will insure real collective security — the collective security of the international working class?

The answer is not complicated. We've got to go back to a policy based upon the interests of the workers.

We've got to drop the false and treacherous notion that we will serve the "ultimate" interests of the workers by playing lackeys to the bosses now.

We've got to arouse the workers of all countries to vigilance under their own banners.

We've got to forge a united front of the workers AGAINST the bosses instead of a united front with the bosses.

We've got to tell them: Your enemies are your own bosses. Your first enemy is in your own country. You'll fight fascism not by going to war for your bosses but by going to war AGAINST your bosses who are already planning to ape the German and Italian Fascists and move against you as soon as you raise your heads!

We've got to link the workers of every land with the firm bonds of workers' solidarity instead of continuing to separate them by pandering to the worst nationalist prejudices.

We've got to remember that we will never defeat Fascism in Germany and Italy unless we make a powerful alliance with the German and Italian workers! They are our real allies and they will raise their heads to the struggle when we show them that we stand firmly by their sides against their bosses and against our own bosses! Not capitalist alliances but the world-wide alliance of the working class will smash Fascism!

Above all, those who are Communist Party members have to demand the right to raise these questions for free and open discussion in that party!

The Communist International is now preparing some dizzy new turn. That's what Browder has gone to Europe for — and you may be sure members of the Communist Party will not be asked for their views — the new "line" — whatever it is — will be crammed down your throats.

In this country you may expect that you will be called on to make yourselves more than ever devoted patriots, ardent partisans of Roosevelt, of American imperialism, which is now Stalin's last bet. This policy will only lead you tomorrow to some new catastrophic Munich conference or else will lead the working class to the battlefields of a new imperialist war.

Comrades and all who fight against capitalism, against fascism, and against imperialist war!

Time is growing short! You cannot go on zigzagging crazily until you all plunge over the abyss to which these zigzags lead!

YOU'VE GOT TO STOP AND THINK AND BE HONEST WITH YOURSELVES.

YOU'VE GOT TO GET BACK ON THE RAILS THAT LEAD TOWARD THE WORKER'S POWER, TOWARD THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE.

THAT WILL LEAD TO PEACE THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE AND OF THE WORLD!

## Cannon Reports on Strong Peace Spirit of Masses

S.W.P. National Secretary, Just Back From Europe, Tells of Anti-War Activity in Paris

TO SPEAK OCT. 9th

Just returned from a prolonged stay in Europe, James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, gave a vivid description of conditions in France at the height of the mobilization when the outbreak of war seemed a matter of hours.

Cannon will speak on his impressions of the war crisis and will discuss the meaning of the Munich Pact at a meeting this Sunday Oct. 9, 8 P. M. at the Hotel Center, 108 West 43rd St. Nathan Gould, National Organizer of the Young People's Socialist League, will share the speakers platform with Cannon. Gould has also recently returned from Europe.

"I left France," comrade Cannon began, "the day after the break-down of negotiations at Godesberg and when the French Government, poised for war, had begun the general mobilization.

During the preceding week it seemed as though the entire population was completely absorbed in one thing and one thing only: the war crisis. The feverish excitement of the American people, eagerly awaiting the extras and the special editions of the newspapers, will give you but a faint intimation of the feelings which pervaded the people of Paris living directly in the shadow of the big war guns.

"During the hours of the crisis, the newspaper kiosks were stormed by crowds who grabbed at the

papers, fearfully scanning the latest headlines. Commotion often resulted from the milling groups of men and women jamming the kiosks.

"We mingled with these crowds and everywhere the strong and vocal sentiment expressed was for peace — solely for peace. This was the dominant current felt everywhere — an elemental but powerful opposition to war.

Reserves Go to Front "We watched the reserves called up in the mobilization marching off to man the pillboxes of the Maginot Line. Everywhere the agonizing scenes produced were totally, strikingly unlike the mobilization of 1914. No fanfare, no cheering, no dainty ladies pelting the troops with flowers. Weeping women ran after their departing sons and husbands and sweethearts in the streets. The whole scene was permeated with an atmosphere of tragedy. Not a trace of the enthusiasm of 1914.

"It seems obvious to me that what the bourgeoisie feared was not simply a military trial of strength with Germany. What they feared above all else were the

social consequences of another devastating war.

Rulers Fear Revolution

"If the masses have not had time to forget the horrible experiences of the last war and hence openly manifest a determined opposition to a new slaughter, the imperialists also have not forgotten that the war of 1914-1918 produced the Russian Revolution. What would another war — wreaking infinitely greater havoc and destruction — give rise to after six months of destruction.

"This is the ghost that sits in the conference rooms and paralyzes the will of the imperialists for military adventure. The fear of revolution remains the

(Continued on page 2)



JAMES P. CANNON

## A SMASH SELL-OUT! Penny Appeal Makes Hit

The special issue of the Appeal last Saturday was a smashing sell-out a few hours after it rolled.

There was an uproar in the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party that afternoon when scores of Appeal sellers discovered that every one of the 7,000 copies allotted to New York City had been sold and that they would have to await new press runs to get out on the streets again.

On Times Square one seller had people lined up waiting to buy. In front of the Cameo Theater on 42nd Street George Zola and Esther Schor of the Lower East Side Branch sold 350 copies in less than half that many minutes. In the garment center comrades of the Bronx "Soviet", Shackley

and Rose, sold 418 copies in the same period.

Ted Bekos of the West Side Y.P.S.L. did the star rush business on 14th Street. He sold 350 copies to carry off individual scoring honors. He was ready to start a one-man revolution when he was told on reporting back that he'd have to wait for more copies from the printer.

Sam Roth was a close second to Bekos. He sold 262 copies and indulged in some sharp criticism of our business staff for not giving him the 1,000 copies he was sure he could have sold. Sam came back with some rich stories. Scores of Stalinists, with Lincoln Battalion button and all, were among his customers.

"Some bought timidly. Some (Continued on page 2)

## Czechs Bound for Economic Collapse After Munich Pact

Partitioned Country Will Become Vassal of Reich

By W. KELLER

Old Czechoslovakia has collapsed. Its richest provinces, Bohemia and Moravia, linked through century-old economic ties must undergo for the second time in the last twenty years a drastic surgical operation.

The principal industry of the Hapsburg Austro-Hungarian empire had been concentrated in Bohemia, or to be more precise, in Sudeten Bohemia. Bohemia's and Moravia's wheat and livestock found a competitor only in Hungary.

The partition of the monarchy, an unexpected victory for the Czechs, brought them face to face with the serious problem of organizing a new national economy. French gold, pumped out of defeated Germany and Czech colonial brutality finally established a new equilibrium mainly the expense of the Sudeten German bourgeoisie and the other national minorities.

Crippled Economy And now again, the painfully reconstructed economic system is smashed. As a result of the Munich deal, Czechoslovakia loses more than three-fourths of its textile industry, 90 percent of its glass and porcelain industry, 80 percent of its paper and cement production, 70 percent of its ore-smelting and electro-tech-

(Continued on page 2)

This is the first of a series of articles on future developments in Czechoslovakia resulting from the partition at the Munich conference and the invasion by Germany and Poland.—Ed.

Army Will Be Converted Into Anti-Soviet Force

Versailles Treaty — which was chiefly due to an equal distribution of industry and agriculture — now dwindles down to the level of a beggar country similar to the "independent" Austrian Republic, before its annexation by Hitler. From one of the most powerful industrial states of central Europe, it is being transformed into a largely agrarian country. The remaining industries, above all the gigantic Skoda works, which provide the entire Balkan area with arms and ammunition, will now largely depend upon Greater Germany's sources of raw materials.

We have described the relative economic stability of old Czechoslovakia. This does not at all mean that this country was an exception to the general tendency of decay of world capitalism.

Czechoslovakia suffered chronically from industrial as well agricultural overproduction. With an industry which had furnished three-fourths of the Austro-Hungarian market, hard-pressed by German and Japanese dumping, it had to fight desperately for the maintenance of old and the conquest of new outlets.

In order to dispose of the products of its export industry it would have had to open wide its (Continued on page 2)

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MAX SHACHTMAN

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A Popular Referendum

While the question of peace or war swayed in the balance last week, the captains and the kings conferred; the diplomats and dictators concluded their deals behind closed doors; the official interpreters of public opinion monopolized the radio and press. The masses themselves remained excluded from all the conferences, their will unconsulted and their voices silenced until the spontaneous demonstrations in the streets of London, Paris, Rome and Berlin disclosed the passionate desire of the peoples for peace.

They, the potential cannon-fodder, were not asked whether or not they wanted war or peace. That was a question their masters had decided to decide for them.

The situation was the same in the democratic and the fascist countries. Just as Hitler and Mussolini proclaimed themselves the sole interpreters of the national will, so Chamberlain and Daladier assumed the role of supreme arbiters over life and death.

Plebiscites might be held among the inhabitants of a few disputed sections in Czechoslovakia to decide whether they preferred the domination of Czech or German capitalism. But even plebiscites at the bayonet's point could not be permitted their own peoples on so vital a matter as peace or war. Plebiscites were for foreign consumption only.

Nor did the duly elected representatives of the nation, the Parliaments of France, England and Czechoslovakia display the least independence of action during the crisis. They were convened, if at all, simply to hear reports of what had already been done and decided by their own Führers.

Rarely has the impotence of parliamentary government been more nakedly revealed than in England, the "Mother of Parliaments," during the past week. The House of Commons abdicated all its powers to the Prime Minister, handing him the blank check which he and Hitler filled out at Godesberg and signed at Munich.

The Congress of the United States was not in session during the war crisis. The fate of the

nation rested in Roosevelt's hands. The masses of the American people had no more control over this one man than they had over his Democratic predecessor, Woodrow Wilson, who in 1916 secretly prepared for war against Germany while he posed as a champion of peace.

The President "had planned it that way." Alarmed at the strength of the anti-war movement during the last session of Congress, the administration had mobilized its full forces, and the "peace-loving" President had personally intervened to defeat the Ludlow Amendment for a referendum on war. Roosevelt wants no curb upon his conduct of foreign affairs, even in the inadequate, feeble, and compromising form of the Ludlow Amendment.

The recent crisis has already resulted in a renewal of the militant offensive against any referendum on war. Major-General John F. O'Ryan fired the opening gun in this battle at the reunion of the 107th regiment in New York last Friday. "The proposed constitutional amendment for a referendum by the people before war could be declared is the greatest menace of our security, which must now rest on force," the General said. "This extraordinary proposal would prevent the United States from acting promptly, for example, to prevent Mexico from being invaded by a European nation."

"The world," he concluded, "must either organize for world law and order with an international police force or continue as at present under the principle of every nation for itself. This, of course, means we must increase our navy and provide for universal military training if we are to be safe."

When this General bluntly states that "a referendum by the people before war could be declared is the greatest menace to our security," he is obviously speaking for the interests of American imperialism and its plans for armed intervention in Latin America. Such are the hidden motives behind the present administration's opposition to the referendum on war!

We believe, on the contrary, that a popular referendum before war could be declared would serve to protect the security of the people against the war-makers. The blindest can now see that capitalist society is pregnant with a new world slaughter. Although diplomatic deals may delay it for a time, the danger of war cannot be averted so long as the system of imperialist robbery that breeds these wars is not abolished.

The American people must wrench the power of life and death out of the hands of their rulers. They must demand the democratic right to have a general popular referendum on the question of peace or war in which all persons over the age of 18 shall participate.

The war-mongers have formed an unholy alliance against the movement for such a referendum. Despite their powerful propaganda, backed up by all the authority of the administration, the American Institute of Public Opinion reported last Sunday that in a nation-wide survey 68 per cent of the voters favored such a referendum. Progressives in the trade-unions ought to take the lead in mobilizing this mighty anti-war sentiment.

Czechs Bound for Economic Collapse

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boundaries to agricultural commodities of other European countries. But there it encountered resistance from the agrarian bourgeoisie, the strongest economic and political section of the Czech ruling class. The Czech agrarians themselves in continual distress, were unable to create an outlet for their own products through an augmentation of industrial imports.

Neither France, saturated industrially and agriculturally, nor the agrarian partners in the Little Entente — Rumania and Yugoslavia — were able to implement the military alliances by the fostering of economic relations. The Czech bourgeoisie broke through this vicious circle by shifting the burden of this crisis upon the non-Czech especially the Sudeten German population. It purchased bankrupt Sudeten enterprises for a song and manned them with cheap Czech labor. It allowed the remaining German enterprises to go to seed. It paid "AAA premiums" to Czech agriculture. And it did a thriving business with Germany and Austria. Almost one-fourth of its foreign trade was carried on with these two countries. Its entire commercial traffic passed through Germany, Austria, Italy, partly Poland and Hungary. Depending politically on France, it lived economically through the latter's enemies.

The annexation of the Sudeten German regions completes Czechoslovakia's dependence on the Reich. The fortifications on the Rhine cut her militarily from the West. The loss of her industrial basis and source of raw materials brings her definitely into Germany's orbit. All the commodities which the Czech bourgeoisie drew upon until now from its Sudeten colonies, it will have to import from Germany at high prices. If it had up to now financed its overseas imports with Sudeten exports, it will now be compelled to retrieve this loss through desperate efforts in finding a market for Czech agriculture. But not only a substantial outlet throughout Europe is the starving, over-industrialized war economy of Germany.

Vassal of Reich This Czechoslovakia will be obliged to travel the road already traversed by Rumania and Yugoslavia. She will become Germany's exclusive furnisher of war materials. But this new function will not be limited only to farming. Czechoslovakia's powerful war industry, which armed 2,000,000 troops and all of the Balkans, is now within walking distance for Germany, not to speak of its dependence on Ger-

man raw materials. Soon these war-industries will figure as a marker in the strategic maps of Goering's 4-year plan. Czech guns, built in the name of Law and Order, of Democracy and Sanctity of Treaties, and which received the benediction of Stalinism, will roll under the sign of the Swastika against the Soviet Union.

Army Against Russia But more than that. Even now one can say that it is likely that many of these guns will be manned with soldiers of the one-time 'democratic' Czechoslovakian army. The question of the disposition of this tremendous standing army cannot be separated from the future international relations of Prague.

The fate of the army is more over an economic problem in itself. Surpassing by far the proportions of population and national wealth, it had been created as a police force of France east of Germany. It created corps of officers whom friends of peace and democracy proudly called the "Prussians" of Middle-Europe. As far as their arch-reactionary mentality is concerned, this expression is certainly in order. To be sure, at present they nourish, like the whole Czech population, a deep hatred against Germany. But in new economic and international conditions, new "sentiments," new patriotic "ideals" will arise.

In the revolution of 1848 the Czech ruling classes actively participated in the suppression of the movement for liberation against Hapsburg absolutism. Under their influence, Czech soldiers led by the Austrian military clique fired at rebellious Hungarians and Poles (their Slav brothers!). Czech legions fought the Bolshevik revolution. After the war, a Czechoslovak army marched against the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Up to 1934, Benes, as foreign minister, resisted all mass pressure for de jure recognition of the Soviet Union so as to free his hands for service to the Anglo-French bloc which up to that time contemplated a new intervention against the Soviet Union.

Since the conclusion of the Czech-Russian military alliance, the Fourth Internationalists have unceasingly warned of the possibility and even the probability of a final anti-communist agreement between the Czech bourgeoisie and Hitler. Now least of all is there any reason to abandon this warning especially since Litvinov's system of alliances has been so utterly shattered.

C. P. Stages Red-Baiting Frame-Up

OAKLAND, Calif., Sept. 28. — Another Stalinist frame-up is being carried on here in the "trial" of Miles Humphries, a C.I.O. organizer who threw his Communist Party book into the faces of the Bridges clique when he realized its purpose in the labor movement.

The name of Humphries is intimately connected with the building of every C.I.O. union in the East Bay area and equally well known in the Oakland labor movement. When he refused to take orders from the Bridges clique and exposed the frantic attempts of the Stalinists to get into the good graces of the bosses a C.P. hatchet-man was brought in to carry on a campaign of slander and red-baiting against Humphries.

Import Hatchet-Man This stooge for the Browder-Bridges gang, Ward by name, deliberately circulated a whispering campaign to the effect that Humphries was a registered Communist! He also obtained the post of Secretary of the East Bay Industrial Council, a position which Humphries was slated to receive, and thus fastened his clutches on all who disagreed in any way with the class-collaboration line of the Communist Party. And the result is "trial" of Humphries by the C.I.O. The charges range from "kidnapping" to anything the Stalinists happen to think up during their testimony—of which there is no limit. The object of this frame-up is to induce the District Attorney's Office to throw Humphries in the penitentiary.

This "trial" will be no surprise to those who understand the role of the Stalinists in the labor movement. They are trying by every slimy method known to the G.P.U. to railroad every militant worker who dares to struggle against the boss class and especially against those who are daily leaving the ranks of the Communist Party in disgust. These workers must be defended and the frame-up exposed everywhere.

A magazine outstanding in its field, THE NEW INTERNATIONALIST deserves to be read by all intelligent, forward-looking, class-conscious men and women. The October number is especially valuable with its many fine articles on the European and international situation. The subscription rate is \$2.00 per year. Single copies may yet be purchased at 20c per copy. Address: THE NEW INTERNATIONALIST, 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

PENNY APPEAL MAKES HIT

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passed with their nose in the air and then came sneaking back when they thought they could safely buy unobserved.

"One hesitated for fully 15 minutes, making up his mind. Finally he quickly handed me a nickel and stuffed the Appeal into his pocket. He didn't wait for his change." Later Sam apologized to the nearby newsstand man for competing with him, "Competition?" came the rejoinder. "I've sold eight copies of the regular (5 cent) issue of the Appeal while your were here!"

Others reported similar success, less than three hours. Charles Jack Hartman sold 206 copies in Steward and the Dollinger brothers and Max Schoenfeld all topped 150.

One taxicab driver approached an Appeal salesman and bought ten for his friends. Several comrades sold out their bundles along the line of march of the Stalinist "Save Czechoslovakia" parade. There were other results. Not a few new faces called at headquarters to find out more about the party that seemed to be speaking with the only clear, ringing voice in this crisis.

The Labor Bookshop is offering a prize for the comrade who sells the most copies of the paper this week. Bekos is in the lead. Roth and Hartman right behind him. The prize will be Harold Isaacs new book, "The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution." The Tuesday and Thursday editions are counted in the running. Other comrades still have a chance to give them a race because the Appeal is seeing to it that the press run or the next issues will be larger to meet the demand for more copies of the only paper that tells the workers how to fight war.

Abe Miller, in charge of the literature department of the S.W. P. is swamped with requests for more Appeals, and suggests that the comrades be down early on Tuesday and Thursday if they want to sell.

With attractive picket signs announcing "Socialist Appeal, One Cent" comrades will be out on the streets every day and night this week selling the paper.

A GOOD START LET'S KEEP IT

(Continued from page 1)

APPEAL is leading the struggle against war is given by the fact that hundreds of Communist Party members not only bought the anti-war issue, but asked numerous questions of our salesmen. Thousands of New York workers displayed great interest in our message. We will continue appearing three times weekly for the proposed two-week period. As we have previously announced, we expect all branches to turn in at once the FULL proceeds of their sales. So far, the New York local has completely financed this undertaking. But we are counting upon the other branches to rush to us. Only in this way is the appearance of the two additional special issues guaranteed.

Keep up the good work, comrades. The APPEAL staff is working overtime to put out the paper. It is doing its share in the anti-war struggle. We know that comrades all over the country will redouble their efforts to reach thousands of new workers with the anti-war message of the Fourth International in America! Send in your extra orders at once — and don't forget to enclose plenty of money! ... The Business Manager

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Peoples of Europe Clamor For Peace

Even in Fascist Countries Spontaneous Demonstrations Show Deep-Going Opposition to War

The peoples of Europe were not consulted by their "leaders" last week when it was a question of deciding the issue of war or peace. Not even the "democratic" Parliaments were permitted to voice any opinion on the dickering that was going on or on the fateful decisions of military mobilization that were taken by the "democratic" governments in a manner no less dictatorial and totalitarian than the parallel measures taken by the Fascist powers.

The "peace" that was devised at Munich was actually part of the further preparation for war—among the powers or by the powers against the Soviet Union—in the none-too-remote future. But for the masses of Europe it represented for the moment release from the horrible threat of immediate war. Their reaction was full-hearted and spontaneous, even though it was expressed only in cheers for the "statesmen" who were popularly credited with having averted hostilities.

Answer to Labor Misleaders

Both in France and England the demonstrations of joy and relief were tremendous and unmistakable. The masses unmistakably gave their answer to the Jouhaux and Citrine who at their pompous meetings a few weeks ago declared for imperialist war in the name of the workers they so treacherously misrepresent!

But most significant of all were the outpourings in the Fascist countries. There was a lifting of the curtain from the blackness of the totalitarian regime. What is revealed was so illuminating, so clear, so unmistakable that even the bourgeois correspondents took note of it.

"In Rome," reported Cortesi of the New York Times—an ardent admirer of the Fascist dictator—"the manifestations of popular joy eclipsed even those which greeted Premier Mussolini's proclamation of the empire on May 9, 1936. It is strange (!) that Signor Mussolini who is fond of playing Italian crowds' warlike instincts should have scored the greatest triumph of his career when he appeared in the role of peace messenger. The explanation is probably to be found in the fact that today's were the most spontaneous and least organized of Fascist demonstrations."

Where the Masses Stand What an admission this is of the real truth! What an answer this is — all unwitting — to the pitiful caterwauling of the liberals and the bourgeois press who have always "deplored" the fact that the masses in the Fascist countries appear to be completely infected by the warlike spirit fostered by the totalitarian regimes. Surrounded by watchdogs in blackshirts, the masses would shout in the big carefully planned demonstrations for the duce in his role as would-be god of war. But the "most spontaneous and least organized" demonstration represented a tremendous out-

pouring of joy that war, for whatever reason, had been averted. Let those faint of heart take a lesson from this!

In Fascist Germany it was the same. Hitlerite demonstrations have always been organized down to the last "sieg heil" by the Nazi party. It was a question of singing the right tune — or else. But the night that Munich seemed to end the immediate war threat the German masses — kept in ignorance of most of the main developments by the controlled press — broke out into spontaneous demonstrations of joy.

Unsolicted Joy "At 3 o'clock this morning," reported the New York Times, "the streets were still alive with celebrating Germans — a most unusual occurrence for a week night in this hard-working city. . . . Most of Berlin was beflagged today — unsolicted."

There were actual reports of anti-war demonstrations both in Rome and Berlin but these, naturally, it was impossible to confirm. But the very appearance of these reports indicates the degree to which the bourgeois "statesmen" are conscious of the ever-present threat of the great masses of people whose destinies they so light-mindedly juggle around with their yapping about "democracy," the "Greater Reich" and "Imperial Italy."

The masses under the iron heel of Fascism were in no position to give expression to their feelings in any way but through the use and display of the symbols permitted them. But we may be permitted to doubt that the cheers were for the Hitlers, the Mussolinis, and their ilk. Those cheers were for peace and against the war-makers. Those cheers tell the whole world that when the workers in other countries hold out their fraternal hands to their brothers in Italy and Germany they will not be wanting an represented a tremendous out-

Cannon Reports on Strong Peace Spirit of Masses

(Continued from page 1)

greatest — one may say the only real deterrent to the precipitation of war. All the hullabaloo about Democracy plays no real role in the politics of the imperialist powers. This sham and fraud is only a lying shibboleth in the mouths of the professional deceivers of the masses and of their dupes.

"In my opinion it is difficult, if not impossible, for the people of America — far removed from the scene of armed conflict — to fully appreciate the emotional intensity of the French workers during the crisis. On top of the memories of the past war, they have fresh examples of modernized horror in Spain and China. They see war as bloody death and destruction.

C. P. Alone for War.

"During the weeks of the crisis the solitary voice for war in France was that of the Communist Party. But in face of the great popular sentiment for peace they had to carry on their war-mongering agitation in whispers and always couched in the hypocritical terms of "defense of democracy" and similar lies.

"In these weeks we heard many reports from the workers sections of Paris in sharp opposition to the war-crying Stalinists, and a definite swing of sentiment away from the C. P. was clearly observable. This attitude was most clearly expressed by a spokesman of a group of workers to whom I personally talked. Shaking with rage and indignation he declared:

"It has just begun to dawn on us that these scoundrels (the Stalinists) actually want to drive us into war."

"The French Socialist Party maintained its usual pusillanimous policy of keeping cautious, one step behind the maneuvers of the Government ready to jump on the bandwagon with the rest of the patriots if war broke loose.

"The complete collapse, resulting almost in comic impotence, of Stalin's foreign politics was on everybody's lips. Three years of treacherous maneuvering with imperialist powers, with the League of Nations and with a Franco-Soviet pact came to its

logical and inevitable debacle at the Munich Conference. The pitiful bleating of Litvinov at the League of Nations plenary at Geneva, while Stalin's French ally was closing the deal at Munich without Soviet participation, gave ironic emphasis to the utter collapse of Stalinist foreign policy.

"Alone of all parties and tendencies in the labor movement, the P.O.I. (International Workers Party, French Section of the Fourth International) carried on a vigorous anti-war campaign during the days of the crisis. Despite a rigid, war-time dictatorship which resulted in the suppression of one of its papers, the P. O. I. engaged in energetic activity in the working class quarters. Its widespread distribution of papers, leaflets and proclamations, unfolding its unalterable opposition to war and pointing the road of revolutionary struggle, was warmly and sympathetically received by large groups of workers.

"I repeat: it is to our everlasting credit that the French section of the Fourth International was the only proletarian tendency in that country to unfold a revolutionary program of opposition to war; to intensify its activities manifold in the teeth of the greatest crisis in recent years. We can say without hesitation that the P. O. I. is the bona fide representative of the deepest anti-war sentiments of the masses. In the event of war it will become a crystallizing pole for the opposition forces which will eventually be directed into the new French Revolution."

Fourth International Founded At this point, comrade Cannon turned to the subject of the World Congress of the Fourth International, recently held in Europe. More details on the Congress will be found in a special edition of the Socialist Appeal which will appear shortly and be devoted primarily to the Congress.

"It is an event of the greatest historic significance," Cannon continued, "that the foundation congress of the 4th International convened and completed its work in the very midst of the war

crisis. In formulating its program of revolutionary struggle against war, the Fourth International alone articulated the real sentiments of the masses which are represented by a general opposition to war and which under the stress and horror of the coming holocaust will indubitably find the channels of revolutionary expression.

"The genuine revolutionary forces represented by the Fourth International are not yet very numerous but they are ten times stronger than they were on the eve of the last imperialist war. Their program is more clearly formulated. It has tested cadres in almost every country of the world.

"It took two and one-half years of the last war to give rise to the first revolution. The next war will work more swiftly. The greatly developed technical capacities for slaughter will bring the endurance of the masses to an end within six months. The great preliminary historical work of the Fourth International will give the proletarian vanguard the possibility of quicker and more effective utilization of the war than was the case before."

NEW INTERNAT'L OFF THE PRESS

The October number of THE NEW INTERNATIONALIST is now off the press, and features articles of international importance. Walter Held's article on Czechoslovakia reviews the Czechoslovak crisis and outlines in detail the anti-war position of the Fourth International revolutionists. The Editors in their Comments bring the European situation up to date.

Leon Trotsky writes on the founding of the Fourth International organization, hailing its formation as a great achievement and unfolding the role and importance of the Fourth International in the period ahead.

On Canadian Fascism The trends of French Canada (Quebec) toward Fascism are brilliantly discussed by E. Robert-

son; and a program to combat the Fascist movement in Canada presented. Daniel Guerin, the author of the outstanding work on Fascism, is represented in an excerpt from his forthcoming book: "Fascism and Big Business."

"The British Policy in Palestine" by L. Rock of Jerusalem, Palestine, presents a thorough analysis of Britain's role in that center of class struggle. Additional articles by Rock are to follow and THE NEW INTERNATIONALIST particularly commends them to its readers.

Writing on the Soviets and Democracy, Maurice Spector completes the series of articles concerned with the grave international situation.

Mahoney Bill Analyzed The Mahoney Bill, a bill to establish state-owned industries in Minnesota and recently submitted to the Minnesota State Legislature by the Trades & Labor Assembly of St. Paul, is subjected to a detailed and keen analysis by David Cowles, as to its falsities, weaknesses and inadequacies, and amendments are proposed by the writer to make the proposed measure actually servicable to the employed and unemployed workers.

Ralbert E. Scouler of Glasgow, Scotland, contributes a discussion article on "Ways and Means" in support of Leon Trotsky's position in "Their Morals and Ours" as against that of Professor John Dewey.

Book Reviews Books reviewed are: "The Next Century is America's" by Carroll D. Murphy and Herbert Prochnow; "The Seven Soviet Arts" by Kurt London; "A New Anthology of Modern Poetry," edited by Selden Rodman; and "Death on the Installment Plan" by Louis-Ferdinand Celine. The reviews respectively are: Rubin Gotsersky; Edna Margolin; Parker Tyler and F. W. Dupee.

A magazine outstanding in its field, THE NEW INTERNATIONALIST deserves to be read by all intelligent, forward-looking, class-conscious men and women. The October number is especially valuable with its many fine articles on the European and international situation. The subscription rate is \$2.00 per year. Single copies may yet be purchased at 20c per copy. Address: THE NEW INTERNATIONALIST, 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

OF SOCIALIST APPEAL, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1938, State of New York, County of N. Y.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared S. Stanley, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Socialist Appeal and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Socialist Appeal Publishing Association, 116 University Place, N.Y.C., Max Shachtman, 116 University Place, N.Y.C., S. Stanley, 116 University Place, N.Y.C.

2. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: None.

3. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which the stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

4. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is (This information is required from daily publications only.)

(signed) S. STANLEY, Business Manager. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of September, 1938. ANDREW NAPOLI, Notary Public.