

# Only the Workers of the World Can Defend the USSR!

Workers Of The  
World Unite!

# Socialist Appeal

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

For The Fourth  
International!

VOL. II—No. 41

Monday, October 3, 1938

375

One Cent per Copy

# PACT MENACES RUSSIA

The "democratic" and Fascist powers of Europe have struck a new bargain which, if it is carried out, will lead directly to war against the Soviet Union.

That is the meaning of what happened at Munich last Thursday.

That is the meaning of the "peace" that came at the eleventh hour when millions stood mobilized at all the frontiers of Europe and the outbreak of a new imperialist war seemed a matter of hours.

That is why foreign correspondents are already calling the Soviet Union "Europe's great outsider."

That is why the workers of the world have to be mobilized now as never before to fight the makers of war, the bosses in their own countries.

There can be no more room now for the sakers and frauds, the Stalinists and the labor scabers, who have been telling the workers for years to put their faith in the "democratic" nations to fight Fascism. At Munich the treacherous illusion of "collective security" was buried once and for all.

What we have got to drive home now is the real collective security of the international working class—which lies in uniting the workers of all countries, "democratic" and Fascist for the common struggle against their bosses. That is the way we'll get security from war. That is the way we'll get security for ourselves. That is the way we will save the Soviet Union, still the workers' fatherland despite Stalin, from the enemies who are now planning to crush it in hopes of solving that way their own insoluble conflicts.

This is the real lesson of Munich.

At Munich Chamberlain, Daladier, Mussolini, and Hitler came together in recognition of the fact that nothing could be more fatal to all of them than the outbreak of an inter-imperialist war which none of their regimes would survive. After 72 hours in which it seemed that despite this fact war among them had become inevitable, there was a swift and spectacular change in the situation.

All the concrete factors in that change will only come to light in the next few months. One thing is sure. Anglo-French imperialism made sweeping promises to Mussolini and Hitler which involve a complete realignment of the balance of power in Europe. The Czechoslovak issue was the least important of all. The dismemberment of that country had already been agreed upon. The ease with which the plans to carve up the country created by the Versailles victors were arranged at Munich makes this perfectly plain. The stake was not Czechoslovakia. The stake was the domination of Central Europe and in all probability a re-division of the colonies of the world.

Britain and France had everything to lose in an immediate war. Especially since neither power considers itself prepared militarily to join the issue on the battlefield and in the air. To postpone a showdown and to provide a breathing space in which they can perhaps realize the cherished dream of an anti-Soviet bloc they were willing to pay a heavy price. And that price they paid at Munich and in the secret diplomatic parleys that went on before Munich and are going on even now.

What is the Soviet Union going to do now? Stalin and his lackeys in the Communist Parties have been filling the heads of the workers everywhere with the notion that the "democratic" nations are the Sir Galahads upon whom the workers could depend to kill the Fascist dragon. Now the Galahads are all lined up with the dragons. The Izvestia correspondent at Geneva suddenly was permitted to say that "the social and political class regime is essentially the same in both the aggressor and capitulating countries." The other Soviet papers are silent. They don't know what to say any more and apparently the Kremlin does not know yet just how to proceed from the perilous point it has now reached.

The Daily Worker turned somersaults every 24 hours during the fluctuating hours when war or peace seemed uncertain. The New York Times reported from Paris that the Stalinists seemed to fear the war would not come, and had constituted themselves the principal war party in the nation. Now that particular war is off, for the moment anyway. Where do the Stalinists go from here?

That is what they will have to be asking themselves while the workers will be learning to abandon the parties that have proved themselves in these past few weeks to be the most rabid war-mongering organizations in the world and whose policies, claiming to secure the defense of the Soviet Union, have only resulted in imperiling the Soviet Union's very existence.

The Munich agreement may not stand a week. It may fall down on the very first attempt to apply it. It

may crack up later when the time comes to conclude deals on far greater issues than that of Czechoslovakia. Then once again the attempt will be made by the boss politicians in France, Britain, and in the United States, to whip up the war fervor for "defense of democracy" and for "collective security" just as they were doing in those 72 hours last week when war seemed so near.

The theme song "war for democracy" can just as quickly again replace the theme song "sacrifice for peace." We saw this week how quickly, how cynically the "democratic" statesmen were able to juggle these two alternatives around to suit the diplomatic exigencies of the swiftly changing situation. We propose not to dance to either tune or to any tune played by the bosses.

Munich should open all our eyes to the cheap demagoguery of the "democratic" powers and to their readiness to reach complete unity with their Fascist fellow-imperialists to any extent required by their own vital interests.

The question of an inter-imperialist war, or a war of the imperialists against the Soviet Union still remains suspended on a sword's edge. For the workers of the world in either case there can be but one course.

Only the working class, completely independent of its capitalist governments and in struggle AGAINST those governments, can defend the Soviet Union.

Only the workers themselves will be able to create a real, durable pact by uniting their forces, across race and national boundaries, and joining their strength to establish the Socialist United States of Europe and of the World.

## On the Eve of War What Became of Democracy

We have predicted on innumerable occasions that the war for "democracy" would put a speedy end to democracy in the very countries where democracy was to have been protected. Within the past week this prediction has been confirmed to the hilt. In every "democratic" nation the mere threat of war was sufficient pretext to trample on all civil liberties and workers' rights.

The civil liberties of the people of France, England, Czechoslovakia and the other "democracies" all but disappeared as these nations went on a war footing last week.

### In Czechoslovakia . . .

The Czechoslovak Republic, for which the masses were called upon to shed their blood, became a military dictatorship overnight. If the change was not sudden, it was only due to the long record of systematic suppression of democratic rights by the Czech cabinets that preceded it.

General Syrový, (strong man of the military cabinet, rose to prominence as the Commander-in-chief of the White Guard armies in Siberia in 1919 during the Allied imperialist intervention against the Russian Revolution. His Czech Legion earned the hatred of the international working class for their brutal executions of Bolsheviks.

The Czech Fascist movement has often put forward the name of Syrový as their candidate for the post of dictator. The Czech Fascist Party hailed his elevation to the post of premier and pledged their wholehearted support.

The Syrový cabinet undertook to complete the mobilization of the nation in defense of "democracy" by wiping out the last vestiges of civil liberties. It immediately passed a press censorship decree that gave the army control over the editorial content of newspapers. Newspaper defying the censorship were threatened with immediate suppression.

This decree followed an earlier one by the Hodza cabinet which is summed up by the New York Times correspondent as follows:

"Security of person was abolished, meaning that persons are subject to arrest without warrants and can be held without charge.

"New restraints were placed on the press.

"Letters may be opened by government representatives.

"Homes may be searched and the right of free assembly was suspended."

### In France . . .

The French capitalist government likewise prepared itself to defend "democracy" by trampling upon the rights of the people. As long ago as last July, the government suppressed an issue of "Revolution," organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth, affiliate of the Fourth International. An article attacking the King of England upon the occasion of his visit to Paris was given as the reason.

The strike of the Marseilles longshoremen was broken by placing the harbor under military control and threatening strikers with court martial. Not trusting the French conscripts to enforce this decree, the government moved regiments of African colonial troops to the scene.

The strike of the construction workers in Paris was broken by threatening similar action.

In order to prevent any anti-war demonstrations, the French government banned all public meetings on international questions. All newsreels dealing with the Czechoslovakian question were ordered suppressed. The anti-war film, "Grand Illusion" was, quietly, removed from French movies because of its scenes showing German and French soldiers fraternizing. A "March of Time" edition showing Czechoslovakia, as "the last center of democracy in Central Europe" was also suppressed.

French police raided the Rennes headquarters of the Breiz Atao (Britanny Forever), the party of the Breton Autonomists, and confiscated posters that read, "We will not war for Czechs against our will."

The Breton Autonomists contend that they are still a Gallic people rather than French and demand minority rights within the French Republic.

Read the  
**SOCIALIST  
APPEAL**

## Socialist Solution Is Only One For Czech National Minorities

(From "Banner," Organ of the Sudeten Bolshevik-Leninists)

If according to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia social patriotism is necessary for proletarian, it must also be permissible for the German proletariat. If the proletariat of the "democracies" throws its internationalism overboard and concludes civil peace, and defends imperialist interests in unity with the bourgeoisie, the consequences will necessarily be that the German proletariat will, more certainly, line up behind Hitler. Only if the working class of the democracies continues the irreconcilable class struggle against its own bourgeoisie even during war, if it persists in political opposition to its government, overthrow them, establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus transforming the imperialist war into a revolutionary war, only then will the German proletariat enter the more easily and rapidly on to the path of proletarian revolution.

### How They Explain

There are many comrades, especially in the rank of the Social Democracy, who remained faithful to internationalism until May 21 (the first Czech mobilization) but who were carried away and confused by the flood of social patriotism. Now they see their salvation of the proletariat in a world coalition of the "democracies" against rapacious fascism. This leads them automatically into the ranks of the partisans of the status quo, and to the renunciation of class struggle against their own bourgeoisie. The socialist struggles in France fill them with a "concern for peace." And the socialist struggles in Czechoslovakia would again fill them with "concern for peace."

### Allies with Bourgeoisies

But instead the Social Democracy and after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International also the Communist Party chose the way of class peace and alliance with the Czech bourgeoisie. Thus the majority of the Sudeten German working class stands today in the camp of Henleins Nazism. Its numerous members believe that they are fighting for national self-determination. But in reality they are a tool of the imperialist aims of German financial capital which is not interested in national freedom (look at the South Tyrol) but . . . (at this point the article has been cut by the "democratic" censors of the Czechoslovak Republic . . . We will give the article its logical conclusion with an excerpt from an article in the latest issue of "Proletarske Noviny" which escaped the vigilant eye of the police censors.—Ed.)

In the midst of chauvinist fury,

## Fourth Internationalists Firm In Czechoslovakia

We publish articles herewith from the press of the Czechoslovakian section of the Fourth International. These excerpts are taken from the Czech language organ, "Proletarske Noviny" (Proletarian News) and the Sudeten German organ, "Banner."

The Fourth Internationalists of Czechoslovakia are of every nationality composing this polyglot nation. Whereas the Communist Party has become a purely Czech nationalist party, Czechs, Slovaks, Sudeten German, Poles, and Jews hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism. Neither the persecutions of Benes' state apparatus nor the violent pressure of Social Democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies could shake them in their firm ideas of revolutionary defeatism.

In the last decisive months they have been calling unceasingly to the workers of every tongue: Benes does not defend peace against a war-thirsty Hitler. He defends the interest of declining French imperialism against the rising German imperialism. Benes does not defend democracy against fascism but the imperialist privileges of the Czech bourgeoisie against the exploited masses of all nations in Czechoslovakia. The role of Benes and Stalin is the role of purveyors of defeat for the working class. The defense of the democratic rights of labor against fascist danger from within and without, is possible only through the organs and methods of proletarian class struggle.

And as we see the decisions of the Munich conference sufficed to prove the correctness of this point of view.

The few hundred "Trotskyites" in Czechoslovakia—their number is definitely small in comparison with the millions of social patriotic supporters of Social Democracy and Stalinism—have united from various backgrounds. The original group was expelled from the Communist party in 1928 after the Sixth World Congress. During the last few months they have established a common organization with former prominent leaders of the Communist Party who had broken with Stalinism, some of them after the German defeat, the rest after the Zinoviev trial. The Sudeten German elements are composed of former leading Communists and left Social Democrats, working even now within the Social Democracy and the Sudeten area. All these groups have a common basis in their irreconcilable struggle against social patriotism and the recognition of the necessity of a new world party of the proletariat.

Reading the articles, the reader must keep in mind that the revolutionary movement of Czechoslovakia has been a state of semi-legality for a year and in the last weeks in virtually complete illegality. From its very rise the Czech "democracy" has hampered the freedom of the written and spoken word with strong fetters of a preventive police and court censorship. Therefore, the Czech organ, which is published legally, must speak a language similar to that in Bolshevik legal publications in times of Czarist absolutism.

The rigid censorship in the German districts has always compelled our Sudeten comrades to publish their papers illegally. . . Working under the greatest financial and technical difficulties and under the furious terror of chauvinism, our Czechoslovakian comrades have been raising the slogans of the Fourth International even during the most trying circumstances of the war crisis. (The latest issue of the Czech organ appeared in August and the German organ in September.)

The Fourth Internationalists raise the slogan of the United Socialist States of Europe. Today skeptics will regard this slogan as impractical and fantastic. But at the beginning of the last World War the slogans of a handful of Russian Bolsheviks appeared equally fantastic. We stand at the threshold of great historical events. The bourgeoisie rushes headlong, senseless and blind, toward this debacle.

Nobody can foresee the outcome. But we know this: No matter how black it may look in the

## WE STAND WITH DEBS



"I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people. I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world wide war of social revolution."  
—Eugene Victor Debs.

## US LAWS READY TO SHATTER ALL CIVIL LIBERTIES

### In Case of War We Would Be Placed Under Iron Rule

What will happen to the American worker if the United States declared war "to make the world safe for democracy"?

There are enough laws on the statute books today to eradicate every democratic right that the workers have been struggling for years to maintain. Additional legislation will undoubtedly place the government under a virtual dictatorship.

The Communications Act of 1934 permits the government to shut down any radio station, no matter what regulations they have satisfied, if war is declared. Their equipment and apparatus can be taken away altogether if the government so desires.

### No Free Speech

Freedom of speech and press will be abrogated. The government can throw anyone who speaks against the war into prison for 20 years under the provisions of a seditious act now on the books.

All immigrants who have not as

## Roosevelt Moves Open Path to War

### Washington's Intervention Makes the Record, Helps Speed Up New Armament Outlays

In the critical events of the past week leading up to the four-power settlement at Munich, President Roosevelt enacted a role reminiscent of Woodrow Wilson in 1914. There was, however, one striking difference between them.

The intervention of Roosevelt in the present crisis of European imperialism was far more energetic and comprehensive than Wilson's amateurish efforts.

With the characteristic duplicity of capitalist diplomacy, this intervention assumed the dual form of public proclamations, on the one hand, and concealed movements, on the other. The note which Roosevelt dispatched late Tuesday to Hitler and Benes and immediately released to the world press, was obviously aimed at world public opinion and intended for home consumption.

### A Veiled Threat

This message, beseeching Hitler and Benes to continue negotiations and reminding them of the defunct Kellogg-Briand pact, was ostensibly a plea for peace. But behind the sanctimonious phrases lurked a veiled threat.

"The supreme desire of the American people is to live in peace. But in the event of a general war they face the fact that no nation can escape some measure of the consequences of such a world catastrophe."

Was not the apparently innocent statement intended to convey the intimation, more openly expressed in the past few months by Roosevelt, Hull, Ickes, and other high administration officials, that in the event of war the United States would align itself with England and French imperialism against Germany and its allies? The diplomatic purpose of the President's messages was first to stave off the war, and in case war exploded, to brand Germany with the stigma of "aggressor."

In his reply to Roosevelt's first peace plea Hitler rudely reminded this disciple of Wilson that "the right of self-determination which had been proclaimed by President Wilson as the most important basis of national life, was simply denied to the Sudeten Germans." Hitler was thus able to pose as the upholder of the democratic right of self-determination in the same fashion that Roosevelt could pose as a defender of peace.

### Behind the Scenes

While this exchange of notes was being published, more serious activities were going on behind the scenes. In accordance with the practices of secret diplomacy, the scope and precise nature of these

negotiations remain unknown to all but the governing clique. The public at large, whose fate is directly concerned, have yet to be informed of these secret negotiations. The full story cannot be known until it is too late for the people to intervene on their account.

The lifting of the curtain here and there has thrown a little light upon the backstage activities of the administration. It was disclosed, for example, that before sending his last appeal to Hitler, Roosevelt requested South American and European governments, and even Japan to bring pressure upon Germany and Czechoslovakia to come to an agreement. He also dispatched a personal appeal to Mussolini to prevail upon Hitler not to march. The text of this message remains secret.

It is unquestionable that this organized campaign on Roosevelt's part played a role in the crisis. Without more information it is difficult to determine how important this note actually was. In any case, Roosevelt rendered valuable supplementary diplomatic aid to Chamberlain in persuading Hitler to apportion Czechoslovakia in a "gentlemanly" manner.

### Military Preparations Speeded

The administration did not limit itself to diplomatic proclamations and backstairs maneuvers. Facing the prospect of European war, the army and navy chiefs made their own military preparations, and renewed their propaganda for larger appropriations. Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau conferred with the President on financial measures to be taken in case of conflict.

Equally ominous was the conference between the President and Bernard Baruch, Wilson's right-hand man before and during the last war. While Woodrow Wilson was making private preparations for war, Baruch's subordinate, General Hugh Johnson, was assigned to draw up plans for the draft and for a general mobilization of national resources. Johnson recently confessed that he had even gone to the extent of printing forms for draft registration months before America's entry into the last war. All these actions were, he admitted, illegal, dictatorial, and unknown even to Congress.

No less significant were the cordial relations in evidence between Roosevelt's diplomatic en-

(Continued on page 2)

(Continued on page 2)

(Continued on page 2)