

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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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 alone 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.

Masses Want Peace "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



JAMES P. CANNON

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)

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 wait 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

A GOOD START; LET'S KEEP IT UP!

Within a few hour after it appeared hot off the press, the first special issue of the SOCIALIST APPEAL devoted to the struggle against capitalist-imperialist war had been completely sold out! A hurry call was sent in to our printer to rush thousands of extra copies onto the press.

In New York City alone, 6,000 copies were sold on the street during Saturday and Sunday. The members of the N. Y. S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. responded magnificently to the mobilization call that had been issued and under the direction of Abe Miller, city literature agent, soon were out on the streets selling the special is-

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)

sue. Wearing specially designed posters which had been prepared by our APPEAL POSTER-SHOP, they were soon the center of attraction along the main streets of the city.

Sells 340 Papers Ted Bekos, a Y.P.S.L. member, sold his papers so successfully that within an hour he had exhausted his original supply of 150 copies! By the end of the day he had disposed of 340 alone! Dozens of other comrades sold over 100 each during the day.

The greatest proof of the importance of this issue and conclusive evidence that the

(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-

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

Verdun 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 is 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)