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MAX SHACHTMAN HAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE Associate Editors S. STANLEY, Business Manager

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

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

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

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

Cannon Reports on Strong of revolutionary struggle against war, the Fourth International Peace Spirit of Masses

(Continued from page 1) only real deterrent to the precipitation of war. All the hullareal 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 ers Party, French Section of in almost every country of the scene of armed conflict - to the Fourth International) car- world. fully appreciate the emotional in- ried on a vigorous anti-war tensity of the French workers during the crisis. On top of the crisis. Despite a rigid, war-time memories of the past war, they dictatorship which resulted in have fresh examples of modernized horror in Spain and China. They see war as bloody death energetic activity in the working and destruction.

C. P. Alone for War.

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 warmongering 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 sec tions 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 indigna-

"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 pussilanimous policy of keeping cautiously one step behind the maneuvers of the Government ready to jump of the patriots if war broke loose.

ing almost in comic impotence, gress. of Stalin's foreign politics was "It is an event of the greatest tional in the period ahead. on everybody's lips. Three years historic significance," Cannon of treacherous maneuvering with continued, "that the foundation imperialist powers, with the congress of the 4th International The trends of French Canada THE NEW INTERNATIONAL League of Nations and with a convened and completed its work (Quebec) toward Fascism are 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW France-Soviet pact came to its in the very midst of the war brilliantly discussed by E. Robert- YORK, N. Y.

logical and inevitable debacle at greatest - one may say the the Munich Conference. The piti- stress and horror of the coming ful bleating of Litvinov at the holocaust will indubitably find League of Nations palaver at the channels of revolutionary exbaloo about Democracy plays no Geneva, while Stalin's French pression. ally was closing the deal at Munich without Soviet participaion, gave ironic emphasis to the atter collapse of Stalinist foreign

"Alone of all parties and tendencles in the labor movement, Their program is more clearly the P.O.I. (Internationalist Work- formulated. It has tested cadres campign during the days of the the suppression of one of its papers, the P. O. I. enaged in class quarters. Its widespread distribution of papers, leaflets and proclamations, unfolding its un-"During the weeks of the crisis alterable 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 antiwar 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 Eu- situation up to date. rope. More details on the Congress will be found in a special founding of the Fourth Interna- class-conscious men and women. on the bandwagon with the rest edition of the Socialist Appeal tional organization, hailing its The October number is especially which will appear shortly and be formation as a great achievement valuable with its many fine art-"The complete collapse, result- devoted primarily to the Con- and unfolding the role and im- icles on the European and inter-

crisis. In formulating its program 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

"The genuine revolutionary forces represented by the Fourth International are not yet very numerous but they are ten times. eve of the last imperialist war.

"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 possibilty of quicker and more effective utilization of the war than was the case before."

NEW INTERNAT'L OFF THE PRESS

icles of international importance. vak crisis and outlines in detail the Fourth International revolu- F. W. Dupee. tionists. The Editors in their Comments bring the European field, THE NEW INTERNA-

portance of the Fourth Interna- national situation. The subscrip-

Czechs Bound for

(Continued from page 1) borders to agricultural commodities of other European countries. But there it encountered resistance from the agrarian bourgeoisie, the strongest economic and 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 im-

Ruins Sudetens Neither France, saturated industrially and agriculturally, nor the agrarian partners in the Little Entente - Rumania and tion of this tremendous standing Yugoslavia — were able to imple- army cannot be separated from ment 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 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 Hugary. Depending politically on France, it

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 ner only substantial outle. throughout Europe is the starving, over-industrialized war economy of Germany.

Vassal of Reich

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-

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 INTERNATIONstronger than they were on the AL 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 analyses 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.

Raibeart E. Scouller 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 The October number of THE D. Murphy and Herbert Proch-NEW INTERNATIONAL is now now; "The Seven Soviet Arts" by off the press, and features art- Kurt London; "A New Anthology of Modern Poetry", edited by Selden Rodman; and "Death on Walter Held's article on Czecho- the Installment Plan" by Louisslovakia reviews the Czechoslo- Ferdinand Celine. The reviews respectively are: Rubin Gotersky; the anti-war position of Edna Margolin; Parker Tyler and

A magazine outstanding in its TIONAL deserves to be read by Leon Trotsky writes on the all intelligent, forward-looking tion rate is \$2.00 per year. Single Signal copies may yet be purchased at 20c per copy. Address:

man raw materials. Soon these war-industries will figure as a marker in the strategic maps of built in the name of Law and Order, of Democracy and Sanctity of Treaties, and which received

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 disposi-

stika against the Soviet Union.

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 manned them with cheap Czech officers whom friends of peace labor. It allowed the remaining 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 lived economically through 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 fight war. Republic. Up to 1934, Benes, as foreign ministter, resisted all mass pressure for de jure reto that time contemplated a new want to sell. intervention against the Soviet

Since the conclusion of the Czech-Russian military alliance, unceasingly warned of the pos-Thus Czechoslovakia will be sibility and even the probability obliged to travel the road already of a final 'anti-communist' agreement by Rumania and Yuga isie 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 move-

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 Oakand 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 chages range from "kindnapping" 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 peniten-

This "trial" will be no suprise 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.

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(Continued from page 1) passed with their nose in the air and then came sneaking back Goering's 4-year plan. Czech guns, when they thought they could

safely buy unobserved "One hesitated for fully 15 minutes, making up his mind. Finalthe benediction of Stalinism, will by he quickly handed me a nickel and stuffed the Appeal into his roll under the sign of the Swapocket. He didn't wait for his

> Later Sam apologized to the nearby newstand 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 top-

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.

a prize for the comrade who sells the most copies of the paper this declared for imperialist war in to the last "sieg heil" by the 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 Tuescomrades 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

Abe Miller, in charge of the literature department of the S.W. P. is swamped with requests clamation of the empire on May cognition of the Soviet Union so for more Appeals, and suggests 9, 1936. It is strange (!!) that Sigas to free his hands for service to that the comrades be down early the Anglo-French bloc which up on Tuesday and Thursday if they playing Italian crowds' warlike

announcing "Socialist Appeal, when he appeared in the role of One Cent" comrades will be out on the streets every day and the Fourth Internationalists have night this week selling the paper.

LET'S KEEP

(Continued from page 1) APPEAL is leading the strug-

gle 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 antiwar 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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echs Bound for PENNY APPEAL Peoples of Europe MAKES HIT 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 hos-

Answer to Labor Misleaders

able. The masses unmistakably lesson from this! gave their answer to the Jouhaux In Fascist Germany it was the The Labor Bookshop is offering and Citrines who at their pom- same. Hitlerite demonstrations pous meetings a few weeks ago have always been organized down the name of the workers they so Nazi party. It was a question of treacherously misrepresent!

But most significent of all were the outpourings in the Fascist to end the immediate war threat countries. There was a lifting of the German masses - kept in day and Thursday editions are the curtain from the blackness of ignorance of most of the main counted in the running. Other the totalitarian regime. What is developments by the controlled revealed was so illuminating, so press - broke out into spontclear, so unmistakable that even aneous demonstrations of joy. the bourgeois correspondents took note of it. "In Rome," reported Cortesi of

the New York Times -- an ardent admirer of the Fascist dictatorthe manifestations of popular joy eclipsed even those which greeted Premier Mussolini's pronor Mussolini who is fond of instincts should have scored the With attractive picket signs greatest triumph of his care e peace messenger. The explanation is probably to be found in the facthat today's were the most spon taneous and least organized of Fascist demonstrations."

> Where the Masses Stand What an admission this is of al Italy."

represented a tremendous out-swer.

Both in France and England the pouring of joy that war, for whatdemonstrations of joy and relief ever reason, had been averted. were tremendous and unmistak- Let those faint of heart take a

> singing the right tune -- or else. But the night that Munich seemed

Unsolicited 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 — unsolicited." 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 "Imperi

the real truth! What an answer The masses under the iron heel this is - all unwitting -- to the of Fascism were in no position to pitiful caterwauling of the liber- give expression to their feelings als and the bourgeois press who in any way but through the use have always "deplored" the fact and display of the symbols perthat the masses in the Fascist mitted them. But we may be percountries appear to be completely mitted to doubt that the cheers infected by the warlike spirit were for the Hitlers, the Mussolifostered by the totalitarian re- nis, and their ilk. Those cheers gimes. Surrounded by watchdogs were for peace and against the in blackshirts, the masses would war-makers. Those cheers tell the shout in the big carefully planned whole world that when the workdemonstrations for the duce in ers in other countries hold out his role as would-be god of war, their fraternal hands to their But the "most spontaneous and brothers in Italy and Germany least organized" demonstration they will not be wanting an an-

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Of SOCIALIST APPEAL, pub-York, County of N. Y.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county a- must be given.) foresaid, 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 116 University Place, N.Y.C. and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, aforesaid publication for the date ities: None. 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 owners, stockholders, and security 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this the list of stockholders and securform, to wit:

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me this 16th day of September,

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ANDREW NAPOLI,

Notary Public.