

# 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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# PEOPLE'S FRONTS BANKRUPT!

## For a People's Vote on War!

An Editorial

In a copyrighted article released Sunday, October 2nd, the American Institute of Public Opinion ("The Gallup Poll") reports that a recent survey conducted by it shows 68% of the voters of the country in favor of a constitutional amendment to compel submission of any proposal to declare war to direct vote of the people.

This huge majority of over two-thirds is certainly not exaggerated. The statistical methods of the Institute, and more especially the fact that the survey was taken before the recent crisis showed the American people even more clearly the imminence of the war danger, would indicate that in all probability the percentage is conservative.

In the last session of Congress, when the project for such a referendum was embodied, in modified form, in a measure introduced by Representative Ludlow, the entire strength of the Roosevelt machine was mustered to smash it, and to prevent even a vote upon it. The Roosevelt machine succeeded, and the measure was tabled.

What a comment this action was on the "democracy" of the Great Liberal in the White House! And how plainly it exposes the real intentions of his swiftly expanding armament program!

The feeling in the country on the question of the war referendum represents an expression of overwhelming sentiment against the terrible threat of the coming war. We do not ourselves believe that the referendum or any comparable step can of itself remove the threat of the war. We hold that the very system of capitalist-imperialism contains within itself the causes of war, and that therefore peace can be achieved in the end only by overthrowing imperialism. Nevertheless, the popular feeling for the referendum is genuinely progressive in character through its embodiment of sentiments directed against the war and against the war-makers.

The time has certainly come when this great majority must assert itself more firmly, openly and aggressively on this crucial issue. The Administration and Congress, allegedly and by their own boasts representing the people, must be called sternly to account.

A renewed drive to enact the popular referendum on war must be instituted. Such a drive can no longer rest passively on the hopes in Ludlow and the other weak-kneed liberals in Congress. Ludlow himself has sold out the movement for the referendum. He has done so in two ways: First, by adding so many amendments to his original proposal that it no longer means a thing. He not only excepts "the case of invasion"—and every war can be passed off by the General Staff of the Army as a case of invasion, as history so well proves, but he excepts likewise "invasion" of any territory in Central or South America, Hawaii, Alaska, all the islands and possessions owned by the United States or under its "protection." Second, he has sold out the movement by failing to carry the fight for it to the people and thus organizing the popular support for it.

The great majority which stands for the referendum must take the fight into their own hands. They must demand a clear cut measure calling for a popular referendum before the Administration or Congress shall have the right to engage in any military operations of any kind; and they must rule out all exceptions, since any exception whatever will prove merely the loophole which can be used for excuse to suspend the operation of the referendum.

The vote on the referendum, moreover, should be extended to all over the age of 18: these are included among those who would be expected to carry on the war, and therefore should be entitled to a voice in deciding about it. If they are old enough to fight, they are old enough to vote.

The trade unions, unemployed leagues, fraternal organizations, farm organizations, all of whose members are almost solidly in favor of the referendum, should and must undertake the fight for it. In this way, the mass opinion favoring the referendum will be mobilized in a manner to make Congress think twice before casting it aside as it did last winter; and if Congress and the President persist in disregarding so flagrantly the will of the majority, the people themselves will be able to see more clearly who are the enemies in the fight against the war, and upon whom they can rely.

## The Fourth International Fights Boss War!

### PROLETÁRSKÉ NOVINY

Nové knihy L. D. Trockého. Proletáři se musí připravit na válku... (Text in Czech)

### LA LUTTE OUVRIÈRE

PAS DE NOUVEAU 1914! LA IV<sup>e</sup> INTERNATIONALE! A BAS L'UNION SACRÉE!

### L'Humanité

PAS DE NOUVEAU 1914! LA PAIX PAR LA RÉVOLUTION!



## WORKERS FIGHT

### "The Enemy Is In Your Own Country"

Turn The Imperialist War Into Civil War! The enemy is in your own country!

These are some of the papers of European sections of the Fourth International which alone has raised the firm voice of workers internationalist opposition to boss war in the crisis over Czechoslovakia. On the left is the Proletarske Noviny, Bolshevik-Leninist organ in the Czech language. Note the lengthy section out by the censors in "democratic" Prague. Next to it is the Banner, illegal organ in the German language of the Fourth Internationalists in Sudetenland. On top is the "Lutte Ouvriere," organ of the P.O.I. (Workers' Internationalist Party), French section of the Fourth International. The banner headline reads: "No New 1914!" and the sub-head: "Down with the sacred union! For Fraternization of the Workers of All Countries!"

page of L'Humanite, the Stalinist party organ, of Aug. 3, 1934—on the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of war, before the days of the People's Front and before the Stalinists became the chief warmongers in the world—with the same headline: "No New 1914!" and in the sub-head: "Peace by Revolution!" Under a picture of Lenin is the caption: "With Lenin Against the War." It is the Fourth International that today carries forward the internationalist struggle!

## Trotsky Predicts Stalin Will Now Seek an Understanding With Hitler

By LEON TROSKY

### LABORITES TRAIL BOSS PARTIES

#### A. L. P. Convention Again Endorses Gov. Lehman

In the midst of elaborate ballyhoo that left no time for serious political discussion, the Convention of the American Labor Party held this week in New York City endorsed the candidates of the Democratic Party for the key State-wide political offices of Governor and Senator and adopted a wishy-washy platform that could have been written by any New Deal liberal.

The Convention, whose delegates had been carefully hand-picked by the officials of the A.L.P., themselves not elected but self-appointed at the founding of the party two years ago, was a slap in the face at the desires and needs of the New York workers for a genuinely independent and militant party of their own. Instead of authentic spokesmen for the workers, there paraded across the platform one after another of the Democratic machine-politicians—Lehman, Wagner, Polletti—preceded by none other than His Honor Mayor LaGuardia. Ironically enough, His Honor did not even promise to go along with the action of the Convention (Continued on page 4)

As a military power Czechoslovakia is disappearing from the map of Europe. The loss of three and a half million deeply hostile Germans would be an advantage in the military sense if it did not signify the loss of natural boundaries. The stanchions of the Bohemian fortress are collapsing at the sound of the fascist horn. Germany acquires not only three and a half million Germans, but also a firm boundary. If until now Czechoslovakia was considered a military bridge for the U.S.S.R. into Europe, it now becomes a bridge for Hitler into the Ukraine. The international "guarantee" of the independence of the remnants of Czechoslovakia will signify immeasurably less than the same guarantee for Belgium before the World War.

The collapse of Czechoslovakia is the collapse of Stalin's international policy of the last five years. Moscow's idea of "an alliance of democracies" for a struggle against fascism is a lifeless fiction. No one wants to fight for the sake of an abstract principle of democracy: all are fighting for material interests. England and France prefer to satisfy the appetites of Hitler at the expense of Austria and Czechoslovakia rather than at the expense of their colonies.

The military alliance between France and the U.S.S.R. from now on loses 75% of its value and can easily lose the entire 100%. Mussolini's old idea of a four-power pact of European powers, under the baton of Italy and Germany, has become a reality, at least until a new crisis.

The terrific blow at the international position of the U.S.S.R. is the pay-off for the continuous bloody purge which beheaded the army, disrupted economy and revealed the weakness of the Stalinist regime. The source of the defeatist policy rests in the Kremlin. We may now expect with certainty Soviet diplomacy to attempt rapprochement with Hitler at the cost of new retreats and capitulations which in their turn can only bring nearer the collapse of the Stalinist oligarchy.

The compromise over the corpse of Czechoslovakia does not guarantee peace in the least but only creates a more favorable basis for Hitler in the coming war. Chamberlain's flights in the sky will enter into history as a symbol of those diplomatic convulsions which divided, greedy, and impotent imperialist Europe passed through on the eve of the new slaughter which is about to drench our whole planet in blood.

### DRIVERS POWER IN A.F.L. MEET

#### Council Straddles on Issue of AFL-CIO Unity

HOUSTON, Texas.—The 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor being held here this week reflects the cross-currents in this organization arising under the impact of the social crisis gripping America.

For the first time in years, the executive council took cognizance of the A.F. of L. unemployed members in a supplementary report which said that 1,400,000 of the unionists were out of work.

Growth of the Teamsters Union during the past year was shown in the council's report that over 309,000 truck drivers were paying per capita tax into the federation.

Teamsters A Power The added power of the Teamsters union was revealed in the fence-straddling position the council report took on the question of unity with the C.I.O. The truck drivers and the railroad brotherhoods represent the largest group within the federation favorable to a more friendly attitude towards the C.I.O.

## Are Leading Toward New Dictatorships

### France and Czechoslovakia Turning Authoritarian; Loyalists Prepare For Deal With Fascists

Across Europe this week the profound transformation of the political map of Europe carried out at Munich began to have its first effects.

1. In France the People's Front was cut to pieces. Premier Edouard Daladier demanded and secured dictatorial rights which represent the first stride toward an authoritarian regime in France. Daladier made it plain that independent struggle of the workers would henceforth be regarded as "treason."

2. In Czechoslovakia the way was rapidly paved toward alignment of the Czech bourgeoisie with the Fascist bloc. President Benes, symbol of the Versailles settlement in Czechoslovakia, was thrust aside. The cabinet was re-vamped to bring in three generals and representatives of the Agrarians and the Slovaks with a view to making a rapid shift into the German orbit. The entire Czech press—only a week ago singing hymns to the "democratic" republic—chorused the demand for immediate adjustment to the new Fascist set-up. The demands of Poland and Hungary are being satisfied to hasten completion of the process.

3. In the Soviet Union it was semi-officially recognized that the Franco-Soviet pact was now a dead-letter. Reports that Marshal Vassily Bluecher, commander-in-chief of the Far Eastern Red Army, had been purged, seemed to indicate new internal convulsions reflecting the impasse of Soviet Foreign policy.

4. In Spain the Loyalist government—the People's Front—made plain its readiness to come to terms with the Fascists. At the Cortes on Tuesday Premier Juan Negrin called for an "understanding" with the Fascists and gave every indication that negotiations have already been going on toward that end. (See Editorial on page 4.)

Collapse of People's Front In Paris the People's Front—that proud coalition of the Stalinists, Socialists, and the bourgeois Radical Socialists which was forever to defeat Fascism in France and assure "bread, peace, and freedom" to the masses—was shattered into pieces. Daladier came before the chamber with a demand for immediate approval—with minimum debate—of his foreign policy, i. e., of Munich, and he won it, 535 to 75.

The Socialists, wobbling weakly, voted for the Munich agreement. The Stalinists, in speechless isolation, voted against it. On the demand for special powers in the financial domain to rule by decree, the vote was 331 to 78, the Socialists abstaining—thus making it possible for Daladier to remain in office—and the Stalinists again voting in the negative. These votes marked the official exit of the Stalinists from the ranks of the pro-government parties since Blum took office as

first People's Front premier in June, 1936. A Two-Year Record Under Stalinist inspiration the People's Front came into being three years ago. It was swept into office in the midst of the gigantic strikes of June, 1936. It adopted, under the pressure of those strikes, the 40-hour week and other sweeping "social" legislation. Meanwhile the People's Front regime permitted French capitalism to re-stabilize itself temporarily and in the last year we have seen all the gains of 1936 successively whittled away, culminating in the brutal military measures taken last month to break the workers' opposition to the abolition of the 40-hour week.

The People's Front that was to assure to the Soviet Union a firm ally against Fascist Germany led directly to Munich. The People's Front that was to smash Fascism forever in France has (Continued on page 3)

## Fate of UAW Lies With Rank and File Workers

(Editor's Note: This article was written before the session of the Executive Board of the U.A.W. in Washington, D. C., which reinstated the four expelled officers.)

By JOHN ADAMSON The International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers of America meets October 3rd in Washington, D. C., under the watchful eyes of Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman. The C.I.O. chieftains, acting as arbitrators under the recent "peace agreement" concluded in the U.A.W. factional fight, will undoubtedly reinstate the five expelled officers and attempt to unite the board again under the same program to which they finally won a majority in their "peace agreement."

The program is stated very plainly in the joint statement issued by Hillman and Murray and the International Executive Board of the U.A.W. when a settlement was arrived at between a majority of the International Executive Board and the C.I.O. leaders. The statement says in part: "Underlying the agreement is the realization that the factional differences in the U.A.W. are, for the most part, due to outside influences. This agreement is aimed at driving from this union for all time those influences whatever may be their name or whatever their source."

Obviously an authentic, genuine red-baiting program! This did not hinder the Communist Party from wholeheartedly accepting this program and with choking enthusiasm hailing the restoration of "peace." And why not? Has not the C.P. demonstrated again and again that it is the most reactionary force in the labor movement today? Does not the C.P. attempt to create (Continued on page 2)