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## The Judas Kiss for Spain

One more bitter fruit from the rotten tree of "faith in democracy" is now ready to be flung in the face of the workers.

Recent dispatches from Europe are disclosing, as long ago predicted in our columns, the emergence of a carefully premeditated plan for the liquidation of the Spanish Civil War, a plan prepared under the combined auspices of Franco, Negrin, and the British and French foreign offices.

It is altogether clear that this plan is not the result of a "capitulation to the dictators," but is in the first instance sponsored by Great Britain and France. Even apart from the fact that Great Britain has stood for such a solution from the first, this is shown by the steps taken weeks and months ago, long before any thought of the Munich Conference.

Two days during the summer, Negrin made trips to Switzerland during which it is authoritatively reported that he held long interviews with representatives of Franco. The dismissal of the international volunteers from the Loyalist Army, a necessary pre-condition for liquidation of the war, began as is now known at least six weeks in advance of the recent public announcement. During the same time there have evidently been large withdrawals of Italian forces from Franco's army.

For the past month, the war itself has been virtually at a stalemate, with no large-scale military operations.

What is the plan that has been cooked up in the offices of Chamberlain and Daladier, with the acquiescence of Negrin and Franco? What will be the content of their new "peace with honor?"

They are making ready to complete the smashing of all the conquests of the Spanish workers and peasants. That, and that only, is their plan.

They visualize a provisional Spanish regime which will be, whatever name is given to it, simply an iron-clad military dictatorship. Its function will be to root out everything left of workers' control and workers' ownership, to break up the remaining peasants' collectives, and to

## A. L. P. Trails Capitalist Parties in N. Y. Convention

(Continued from page 1)

may declare for the new white-haired boy of the Republicans, Tom Dewey.

## Not a Word on War

In the midst of the gravest war crisis since 1917, not one word was spoken and not one line inserted into the Platform on the war question. Perhaps Alex Rose, Dubinsky and Antonini felt that mention of the war would have proved embarrassing to LaGuardia, who had just returned from his trip to Los Angeles as the reigning Lion of the American Legion's war-mongering and fascist-tending recent convention.

Featured at the head of a paragraph near the beginning of the Platform appears the sentence: "The American Labor Party affirms its faith in our great President, Franklin D. Roosevelt."

## Roosevelt and Reaction

This sentence was adopted at the very time when Roosevelt was issuing orders for a re-doubling of the rate of armament building, when he and his machine were standing four-square behind Hague in New Jersey and making peace with all of the rotten bosses involved in the Primary struggles, and when preparations are already under way for cutting the relief program drastically as soon as the elections are over with.

The A.L.P. has unquestionably advanced toward independent political action during the past two years, but it must be said that every step in this advance has taken place only as a result of the growing pressure of the rank and file of the workers themselves and against the sustained resistance of the trade union officials, who

are the present leadership of the Party, and their capitalist political friends.

Force Independent Nominees  
Even in this caricature of a Convention, the pressure of the rank and file was felt: in spite of the wish of the officials to go along 100 percent with the Democrats on the State-wide candidates, they were compelled to make the independent nominations of Leonard Post and Joseph V. O'Leary in place of the notorious labor-baiters named by the Democrats for Controller and Attorney General.

## The Road Forward

The Convention made clear the problem faced by the workers of New York. They have got to take control of the A.L.P. into their own hands, and make it their own political instrument. To do this, they must repudiate all deals with the old capitalist parties and refuse to permit or go along with the endorsement of any candidates of the capitalist parties.

And they must put forward a workers' program for their own party, not a re-hash of the tripe of New Dealism. This program has got to answer in bold and clear terms the problems of the workers: war, unemployment, democratic rights, decent wages

smash all resistance from the workers' organizations. Administrative details—what formula to use, what territorial divisions, what kind of a possible "plebiscite"—are evidently left for later agreement, but the main outline of the plan is already apparent.

This, then, is the reward for "reliance on democracy": more than two and a half of incomparably heroic sacrifice and courage to end in utter and absolute betrayal.

To put faith, in the struggle against fascism, on bourgeois democracy—on their own bourgeois government, on England and France—this was what the socialists and the Stalinists told the Spanish workers and peasants. Bourgeois democracy now gives its answer.

No event in history is more tragic than the struggle in Spain. Never have workers and peasants fought more magnificently; never have they been betrayed more basely.

We must resolve that these workers and peasants have not died in vain. Their sacrifice, heavy and terrible as it is, can yet be turned toward victory if—and only if—it can be made to teach the workers its lesson, which is at the same time the lesson of every great event of our time: *Bourgeois democracy cannot, will not, stand against fascism. Support of bourgeois democracy prepares the way for fascism. Only the workers, breaking from the illusions of bourgeois democracy, uniting their class ranks in independent struggle for their own class aim of the socialist revolution, can defeat fascism.*

Let the working class mark its enemies well! When the plan for liquidating the Spanish Civil War is published in full and open enormity by its distinguished democratic sponsors, let the workers remember who told them to trust those sponsors. Stalin, Blum, Citrine, Prieto, Negrin: it is their plan, for it is their policy which has produced it.

## Greetings to "Workers Voice"

Good work, Jersey!

The first issue of the "Workers Voice," campaign organ of the New Jersey Socialist Workers Party, has just appeared. It is a full-sized four page tabloid. A hard-hitting paper, it squares off with "I am the Law" Hague right in his own bailiwick.

The New Jersey comrades are running a full slate of candidates against the stooges of Hague—and Roosevelt. Their election ticket is significant not alone for the revolutionary program on which they stand—but for the fact that the candidates are all workers. Not professional politicians—professional betrayers to be more accurate—but workers from the unemployed movement and the trade unions, negro and white: these are the representatives of the Socialist Workers Party for political office.

The "Workers Voice" is blazing a trail for our party branches throughout the country. The "Voice" is a campaign paper. But it is more than that: it is a direct intervention of the party in local politics and in the daily life of the workers.

Good Luck, Jersey! And here's to more issues of the "Voice!"

and hours, the defense against Hague and vigilantism.

## Break with Roosevelt

Such a party with such a program is inconceivable without a complete break from Roosevelt: it is after all Roosevelt who is leading the preparations for the war, who has directed the country into the current crisis and unemployment, who stands back of Hague. How then can you fight war and unemployment and Hague by a declaration of "faith" in the man under whose active leadership they flourish?

Unless the ranks of the A.L.P. undertake a determined struggle along such a course—toward wholly independent working class politics and a bold, fighting workers' program—the A.L.P. itself is certain to be swallowed up in a re-organized Democratic Party or a new capitalist third party. If this result is not allowed to come by default, the workers themselves will have to take charge.

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## Czech Bourgeoisie Prepares For Turn To Fascist Regime

GETS THE SKIDS

This is the second 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.

By W. KELLER

Czechoslovakia is now economically and militarily caught on the hooks of the swastika. The brutal treatment meted out by the Czech "democratic" bourgeoisie to German anti-Nazi refugees from the Sudeten areas is already sufficient sign that it is already beginning to re-orient itself politically as well.

Authoritarian Poland has also suddenly discovered her sympathies for her fellow-Slavs, the Czechs. The latter may well rise to the bait and try to maneuver between Hitler and the Poles. But the Poles are themselves dependent upon Germany. How Poland will stand if the Anglo-French bloc should finally decide to take up arms, in alliance with Russia against Germany, is a question for the future. But even then it would be doubtful whether the Czech bourgeoisie, having already burned its fingers, would once more risk annihilation by Germany's war machine.

Even should Czech foreign policy return to the now extinct French alliance, this would not permit reconciliation with the Stalinist myth of "democracy" vs. Fascism. For the Czech bourgeoisie will in the meantime have learned new tunes. It will march better to the rhythms of national socialism than to the psalms of the People's Front.

## Czech "Democracy"

Czechoslovakia was "democratic" for the same reason that the Versailles Treaty appeared to be "democratic." The victors, having humiliated and disarmed their adversaries, could enforce the new order by pacific means. The new impoverished Czechoslovakia will have to move toward Fascism for the same reasons that starved Germany, Italy, Hungary and Poland had to choose open dictatorships.

This prognosis can seem incredible only to those who allow themselves to be fooled by the social patriotic campaign of Stalinism about the "liberty-loving" Czech bourgeoisie.

However, the list alone of economic losses (see our article last week) which the Czechs are suffering as a result of the Munich deal is enough to indicate the real nature of Czech democracy. Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Holland are democratic at home while grinding their vast colonies under a black dictatorship. American democracy keeps the whole world covering under its economic lash. In Czechoslovakia for each inhabitant of the Czech nation there was one colonial slave of German, Slovak, Hungarian, Ruthenian, Polish, or Jewish nationality.

## A Slave Regime

Like a parasite, the Czech bourgeoisie lived on the wealth of Sudetenland that Hitler has now taken for his own. But more than that, it kept its eastern provinces—Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Russia—in permanent misery, establishing there a dictatorship which can be compared only to the rule of Czarist absolutism. Czech democracy spelt economic pauperism, political and cultural enslavement for more than one-half the total population comprising the six non-Czech nationalities living in the country.

For the Czech masses likewise, democracy was a meager quantity. It came into existence in a period quite different from that in which the French or American republics were created. In these instances the bourgeois revolutions were led by a class which saw the future as a broad avenue of uninterrupted progress. Reluctantly, but with self-confidence, it granted democratic rights to the exploited masses who grew only slowly to their political majority. If these rights limited somewhat the freedom of action of the ruling classes, they were far from threatening the social domination of these classes.

## Post-War Revolutions

The post-war democracies of Europe, however, arose in completely different circumstances. The motive forces of the revolutions against the Hohenzollerns and the Habsburgs were no longer the bourgeois classes but a modern industrial proletariat. Numerous and united in great organizations, the workers surged ahead of their partly reactionary, partly inexperienced leaders. The strength of their offensive was so great that the German and Austrian bourgeoisies were able to keep power only with the help of the Social Democracy, the Second International. The "democrats" of the new German and Austrian republics were nothing but a refined variety of bourgeois counter-revolution. In the end the German and Austrian workers had scarcely more right than they had wrested from the monarchies of Berlin and Vienna in long years of struggle.



EDUARD BENES

Even more false and ridiculous is the legend of a historically rooted Czech democracy and its prophet Masaryk. Up to the last war, Masaryk and Benes together with the bulk of the Czech bourgeoisie were faithfully devoted to the Habsburg monarchy. Their ideal was a cultural and provincial autonomy under the rule of Francis Joseph I. A People's Front did not exist at that time. But there was a "Kaiser Front." Even during the war, in 1916, all the Czech deputies in the Vienna parliament made a joint declaration of allegiance and fealty to the Emperor. Among the signers was none other than Mr. Smeral, then the leader of the Czech social democrats, later founder of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and today the real boss of the People's Front in Prague.

Masaryk himself had already at that time turned his back on the Habsburgs, but only in order to beg the Czar to put a Romanoff on the throne of the future Czech kingdom.

Faithful to the Emperor under the slogan of Pan-Slavism, "democratic" as French vassals, the Czech bourgeoisie changed its "ideals" like a courtesan changes her lovers. Indeed, it will find no difficulty in acquiring a new authoritarian philosophy.

## Workers' Struggle

As in the German and Austrian revolutions, the workers were the chief driving force in the Czech national revolution. Inspired by the Russian October revolution, they attempted again and again to conquer social along with national freedom. In its distress, the Czech bourgeoisie urgently called Masaryk from abroad. Just as Fascism looks for popular leaders whose social origin appeals to the masses, the Czech manufacturers and landowners had to find a national hero.

Masaryk was "a man of the people." He stood "above the parties." Assisted by the Czech social democracy, he used the same methods which defeated the workers' revolutions in Germany and Austria. "Bolshevism must be de-

## Greet the Y.P.S.L. Convention

The Tenth National Convention of the Young People's Socialist League, American Youth Section of the Fourth International, will be held in Chicago, November 24-27. What promises to be the most important youth convention in the history of the international labor movement needs and deserves the support of the readers of Socialist Appeal.

The Y.P.S.L. is printing a program book dedicated to the heroic martyrs of the Fourth International (Klement, Sedoff, Wolf, Reles, Moulin and the hundreds of others who have laid down their lives in the struggle for the socialist emancipation of mankind). The dedication article is written by Max Shachtman. Outstanding among the other features of the program book are greetings from Leon Trotsky, in the form of an article entitled, "The Role of Revolutionary Youth," and greetings from our various youth sections in Europe now engaged in the daily life-and-death struggle against fascism and imperialist war.

You can do your bit in assuring the success of our all-important convention by sending in ads containing your personal greetings. Prices for ads are: Full page, \$10; half page, \$5; quarter page, \$3. Send all greetings to: National Convention Arrangements Committee, 190 N. Wells St., Rm. 808, Chicago, Illinois.

The National Convention Arrangements Committee.

stroyed by reforms" was his slogan. Rebellious Czech legionnaires secured land and posts in the new state apparatus. The workers were promised broad reform legislation, including socialization of industry.

While the new president spoke in factories and mines to striking workers, Czech police murdered hundreds of revolutionists. While he spoke of reconciliation with the Sudeten Germans, Czech troops drowned their demand for the right of self-determination in blood. Masaryk promised the Slovaks and the Ruthenians full autonomy. Instead they were given the brutal regime of the Czech gendarmery.

## Applied Democracy

Thus the Czech bourgeoisie had scarcely come to power when it was tormented by the nightmare of social and political collapse. In order to protect itself from the menace of the revolutionary workers, in order to stifle the rebellion of the oppressed nationalities, and in preparation for the inevitable revenge—now realized—of Germany, Poland, and Hungary, it had to put dictatoratorial fetters every year on the democratic constitution.

A "Law for the Protection of the Republic" was adopted in 1921 in which, among many other restrictions on civil rights, the written and spoken word was placed under preventive censorship and made subject to the criminal code. Even the Austria of Dollfuss did not have so far-reaching a check on the freedom of the press.

Since 1938 the government has had full power to dissolve by simple administrative order any party or trade union, and to send its leaders and members to prison and concentration camps by simple police action. This law was invoked against two German National Socialist Parties. It hung as a permanent threat over the Communist Party and all the organizations of the nationalities. Under this terror the Czech parliamentary machine could work in peace.

In 1936 the government obtained through the "Law for the Defense of the State" the right to abolish at choice the last constitutional rights of the population and to hand power to a military dictatorship.

## Dictatorship Established

In the frontier border districts this law was put into effect immediately, with its accompanying spy cases, economic persecution, and police terror.

When Czech imperialism prepared to launch the long-promised crusade of world democracies against fascism, i. e., to defend its Sudeten colonies by armed force, its first act was the establishment of a blunt military dictatorship throughout the country. The Stalinists shouted loudest for Siroy, the man on a white horse, who on the first day of his rule gagged the workers' press and the workers' organizations.

Meanwhile the democratic "crusade" has been called off. But the military dictatorship remains. The preparations for the reorganization of the government, a cabinet of "reconciliation" with Germany, are well under way. Siroy may stay or go. But the "constitutional" regime of martial law against the working class will stay. Holding the Czech workers by the throat, Prague will now proceed to a simultaneous foreign and internal political re-orientation.

## Refugees Turned Back To Hitler

G. E. R. Gedy, the New York Times correspondent at Prague who transformed himself into the most fervid propagandist for the "gallant little Czechs" and for a holy war against Germany found himself last week compelled to report the following picture of Czech "democracy" in action after the German Army started moving into Sudetenland:

"Last night the writer saw motor cars and trucks held up to prevent refugees (from the Sudeten areas) from getting into the city, which does not want their numbers increased. Refugees from Komotau said today that measures were being taken by Czechs to prevent democratic German refugees in that area from escaping into the interior."

"A whole trainload of them arrived at Kladno en route to Prague but here, to the refugees' consternation, they discovered that their train was being derailed and moving slowly back to Sudeten territory. Frantic passengers pulled the alarm cord and demanded to be sent to Prague. Railway authorities refused to comply and a Social Democratic party secretary named Haas temporarily lost his reason and was taken to Budejovce asylum."

Members of the Republican defense corps were finally permitted to go to Prague "but military authorities said they could do nothing for the others, all of whom, including many functionaries of Left parties, were sent back to Komotau and deadly danger."

## Pinning 'em Down

By JAMES CASEY

## THE BLIGHT OF HITLERISM

Hitlerism must be smashed!

Greedy, robbery, persecution, concentration camps, destruction of life at the altar of profits—this is the creed of Hitlerism. Hitlerism is beating down, starving, subjecting to savage tortures the Jewish minority within Germany's borders. Hitlerism is working its tollers day and night for the manufacture of more guns and airplanes in the imperialist battles for more markets.

Hitlerism is reaching out for more and more people to enslave, more and more lands to exploit, for more and ever greater conquests. Hitlerism, in its inherent economic and political nature, is ruthless, barbarous, insensible to the killing and maiming by shell and gas waves, innocent and defenseless men, women and children. Hitlerism, fattening from the blood and sweat of labor, is never satisfied. Hitlerism must be smashed.

Workers everywhere will agree that the human race, if it is to continue to move forward to a brighter and finer life, must rid itself of Hitlerism—of his odious and poisonous growth before it overwhelms and consumes what is left of this civilization.

Not so many days ago, the representatives of England, France, Italy and Germany met at Munich. Ostensibly that meeting was called in the interests of Europe's masses and to avert an international conflagration. Ostensibly the premiers of the four Powers convened to bring peace to a waiting, terror-stricken world.

## TRADERS IN HUMAN FLESH

What transpired at that conference is now another shady chapter in the annals of imperialist diplomacy—a chapter, which, instead of assuring peace, sealed the guarantee of a new world slaughter within a year or two.

But what transpired at Munich was entirely inevitable. For the conferees were not spokesmen of Europe's tollers but, rather, the mouthpieces of their respective imperialisms. They were traders in human flesh, assembled to drive home a bargain. And to gain their ends, they were prepared to go the limit—their imperialisms were ready to lay cities and countryside in waste and snuff out millions of human lives.

Of course, the world will remember much talk about the future of Czechoslovakia, about "democracy," and about "justice for the minorities." Yet all these sham discussions, elaborated upon by the reactionaries and their allies, were merely a smoke-screen for the basic question of which imperialist grouping was to emerge as the economic oppressor of the Czech workers and peasants.

For an explanation of the recent imperialist negotiations and the whole Czech issue, let us take for our witness none other than Marcel Cachin, leader of the French Communist Party. In an analysis of the festering European disputes, given in a lengthy report to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, before the Stalin regime entered into People's Front alliances with the imperialist robbers, Cachin said in part:

## CACHIN EXPOSES CACHIN

"The crisis which is engulfing the world in its depths accentuates the contradictions between the various imperialisms. Vital antagonism of interest bring them into violent opposition. Never has peace been so gravely threatened.

"Nevertheless all imperialist contradictions, deep and serious as they are, give way before another antagonism which is sharper and more fundamental—that which exists between the capitalist system undermined by crisis, and the land where Socialism is growing."

Turning to the war preparations of the French imperialists, Cachin touched on the genesis of the recent upheaval over Czechoslovakia. He emphasized that the Czech masses were merely pawns in the deals between the Paris and Berlin bankers and industrialists.

Said the leader of the French Communist Party: "France is closely bound to Czechoslovakia by a double interest. Czechoslovakia defends the Versailles and subsidiary treaties under which she is the beneficiary. Besides, she furnishes arms and munitions to the States bordering the U.S.S.R. The close connection between the Czechoslovakian and French war industry is well known. (Emphasis by J. C.)

"The Skoda works are financially united with the Schneider of Creusot and with the Banque de L'Union Parisienne, which actually controls them. Skoda has established branches in Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Skoda produces from 500,000 to 600,000 artillery shells per month."

Further, in denouncing those who would defend the aims of the French imperialists (as the Stalinists have been doing with the greatest gusto), the Communist leader, in his report, declared: "We must react with great energy against the propaganda of the Social-Fascists. The leaders of social-fascism stand at Geneva at the side of the imperialist leaders in order to maintain the contemptible Treaty of Versailles, to oppress national minorities, and to crush down the German proletariat with the burdens of the Young Plan."

"Similarly in the internal affairs of each country, the Social-Fascist leaders support their governments and their capitalists in the work of dictatorship and robbing the working class, in strike-breaking, in violence against the revolutionary organizations." (While the theory of "Social-Fascism" has been revealed by history to have been monstrously false, disruptive and misleading, Cachin's description of the role of the Social-Democracy is nonetheless accurate—J. C.)

And still further, the Communist leader said: "It is our duty to launch a mighty movement against imperialism, the murderer and devastator: against the unprecedented bestiality of chemical warfare, of gas, of bacteria; against the mass assassination which is being organized and which will once more drown humanity in blood."

The above report was delivered by Cachin at the nineteenth session of the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. at Moscow in April, 1931.

Little did Cachin imagine at the time he exposed the maneuvers of the war-mongers, that he and Stalin and Earl Browder were to stand before the world in 1938, championing the cause of one group of imperialist robbers as against another. Little did Cachin imagine, then, that he and Browder, carrying out the Stalinist line, were themselves to play "the role of Social-Fascists," goading the workers to fight for the British and French ruling classes, under the slogans of "Save Czechoslovakia!" and "Save Democracy!"

Little did Cachin imagine that in 1938 Browder would be urging the reactionary Dies Committee to "investigate the Trotskyites," because the Socialist Workers Party is exposing the machinations of the imperialists and uncompromisingly raising the voice of Revolutionary Socialism above the din of Stalinist rationalizations and treachery.

Hitlerism must be smashed. Hitlerism is capitalism in its last, decadent stages—in violent dictatorship form. But Hitlerism will no more be destroyed by its sister imperialisms than was Russia's Czarism by its World War allies. At the crucial hour, the allies joined with the Czarist white guards against the Russian masses.

So, too, will the "democracies" of the imperialists join with fascist rulers everywhere to protect Hitlerism in the final life-and-death struggle.

## SLANDER CANNOT HIDE THE TRUTH

The Stalinist press will continue to divert the attention of its readers from the crushing repudiation of the People's Front by Chamberlain and Daladier, with streams of invective against the Socialist Appeal, as did the Daily Worker on Sept. 24 and on numerous preceding dates. The Stalinist journals will continue to conceal the collapse of People's Frontism and the criminal failure of Stalin and the Comintern to appeal to the masses over the heads of the imperialists during the Czech crisis, with new slanders against militant workers and distortions of the facts about the international situation.

Hitlerism—fascism everywhere—will be smashed, as will also the "democratic" imperialisms. They will be smashed by the tollers fighting not against one another, but together against the common enemy and its People's Frontist apologists.

Against their alliances with the bourgeoisies, their calumnies and terror, the S.W.P. and the Fourth International will intensify the fight for Socialism—for the final triumph of the tollers of all lands.