

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

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

For The Fourth
International!

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WAR ON U.S. WAR-MAKERS!

New Attempt Made To Frame Leon Trotsky

Goldman Challenges Dies Agent On Slanderous Charge Alleging Trotsky-Fascist Link

A fresh attempt to frame up Leon Trotsky came to light this week. This time it was at the Washington sessions of the red-baiting Dies Committee investigating "un-American" activities.

An investigator named John C. Metcalfe gave testimony purporting to link Trotsky with the Nazi Bund in this country and the Fascist Gold Shirts in Mexico.

Albert Goldman, noted Chicago labor attorney and counsel for Trotsky, wired an immediate challenge to the Dies Committee repudiating Metcalfe's charge as an "unqualified falsehood" and demanding the right to cross-examine Metcalfe on his testimony.

Smeared With G.P.U.

Metcalfe quoted a West Bund leader named Risse as saying that the Bund and the Gold Shirts were working in close collaboration in preparation for a "revolution" in Mexico, with the help of Trotsky and some "Russian Nazis."

This charge is literally smeared with the fingerprints of the G.P.U. It can be stated with almost mathematical certainty that investigation would show that either Metcalfe or his supposed informant, Risse, are connected

Friends in the Bund!

Goldman's Telegram

In his telegram to the Dies Committee, Goldman sharply repudiated the charge that Trotsky was in any way connected with the Bund or the Gold Shirts.

His wire was as follows:

"Yesterday's newspapers carried a statement by Metcalfe, witness before your committee, to the effect that he was informed by one Risse that Leon Trotsky was behind the Gold Shirts, a Fascist organization in Mexico.

"As attorney for Leon Trotsky I wish to make the following statement and ask that it be inserted in the record of your hearings:

"As a devoted champion of the cause of working class liberation, Leon Trotsky has nothing but hatred and contempt for any and all fascist organizations, including the Gold Shirts of Mexico. Any statement coming from any source intimating that Trotsky has at any time had or now has any connection whatever with any fascist organization is an unqualified falsehood.

Tool of G.P.U.

"I do not know whether Risse made any such lying statement as claimed by Metcalfe. Even if he did, Metcalfe's willingness to peddle it around without the slightest investigation of its truth brands him as an irresponsible falsifier and a willing tool of the liars and murderers constituting the organization of Stalin's G.P.U. "I ask to be given an opportunity to cross-examine Metcalfe with reference to the scurrilous slander made or repeated by him before your committee."

Trotsky's statement and his demand was published in whole or part by newspapers throughout the country.

LEON TROTSKY

directly or indirectly with the G.P.U. Only from that source could there come a charge so patently false, a charge that has the obvious sole motive of seeking to prejudice the present asylum of Trotsky in Mexico.

Those motives are the motives of the G.P.U. That fact will come to light the moment a steady white light is trained on this Dies Committee investigator and his



STALINIST ISSUE PARAMOUNT AT CIO CONVENTION

By B. J. WIDICK

Labor Secretary, S.W.P.

WASHINGTON. D. C. — The struggle between the top leaderships of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. for the dominating position in possible unity negotiations for the labor movement were revealed this week in three developments.

John L. Lewis announced that the C.I.O. would hold a national convention in Pittsburgh on November 14 to set up a permanent organization on a nation-wide scale.

A proposal was made by Hey-

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The Appeal Needs Cash!

Everybody is excited and enthusiastic about the tremendous success of our special anti-war issues of the **SOCIALIST APPEAL**. The reception given to the paper all along the line has really been inspiring.

BUT . . . We don't want to hide the fact that we're in hot water with our printer. These special issues have raised havoc with our financial status because of the extra-heavy printing bills and additional expenses they have required.

. . . The APPEAL staff hasn't been paid a cent in wages for 2 weeks now. The editors have been working night and day to get the paper out as we promised. Our printers have been more than co-

operative and have made heavy sacrifices for the paper.

But . . . While many locals, notably New York, have responded nobly, all too many branches and units throughout the country have . . . absolutely . . . failed to do their share! As a result, we are in a serious financial jam.

We need money and lots of it RIGHT NOW. We are sending these special issues to all branches at no cost to them and with the understanding that ALL proceeds are to be turned in at once —VIA AIRMAIL. It is the simple, elementary revolutionary duty of each and every branch to carry this out. Once again, we appeal to you to rush funds to us, care of the **SOCIALIST APPEAL**. —THE BUSINESS MANAGER.

Roosevelt was compelled to intervene directly in the crisis, with his spectacular cables to the heads of the various governments. His intervention as everyone recognizes, was an important factor in bringing about the Munich conference itself. And he and his State department have made clear that they go along with the Munich agreement in exactly the same sense as Chamberlain and the others.

At the same time the Administration utilized the crisis to re-double and triple the speed of U. S. armament preparations.

At the same time we saw how all the flag-wavers began to whip up the war hysteria, and to prepare a mass psychology which would brand as "traitors" and "spies" all those who stood against the war.

All this simply shows that Roosevelt and the rulers

(Continued on page 2)

HITLER SPEEDS EASTWARD DRIVE AGAINST U.S.S.R.

All Central Europe Passing Under Nazi Heel

The technical provisions of the Munich agreement concerning the territorial cessions to Germany have already been thrown overboard. Hitler's legions are occupying large slices of territory never mentioned at Munich and he has added a new demand for "reparations" from Czechoslovakia to insure himself a paralyzing grip on Czech economic life in the regions that remain.

At Berlin the international commission which was created to delimit the frontiers of the ceded areas presented in miniature a picture of the relationship that now exists among the four powers. When the British and French ambassadors gently demurred at the new claims the German representatives blandly reminded them that Hitler was just as ready to go to war now as he was the week before the Munich conference.

A Hangover

In London and Paris, where the British and French parliaments voted confidence in the Chamberlain-Daladier policy, there was a distinct after-Munich hangover. There was a lot of shaking of heads over the price that it is now apparent England and France are paying for the chance to bring about a four-power bloc. But France and England are paying this price for a very definite purpose and with a very definite hope. They hope to postpone and, if possible, avert an inter-imperialist war by turning the sharp edge of the German Fascist sword to the east, toward the Soviet Union.

That is why the rapid strides Hitler is taking now toward expanding and consolidating his new grip on Central Europe represent the execution of the Munich agreement.

New Crises Coming

This will not take place smoothly and without the development of new and acute crises. Poland and Hungary, feeling themselves drawn irresistibly under the wheels of the Nazi juggernaut, are tearing away in their turn at Czechoslovak territory in a wavering effort to form a common boundary between them and to create some kind of barrier, however feeble, to Germany's eastward expansion which is destined to swallow them up.

In both those countries the ten-

(Continued on page 2)

Appeal Concludes Extra Editions -- Now, Forward!

With this issue of the Socialist Appeal, we bring to a close our special anti-war campaign. For the time being we will discontinue the issuance of the Appeal three times a week. The regular four-page edition of the Appeal will appear as usual every Thursday morning.

The Socialist Appeal is proud to report the results of its internationalist, anti-war campaign,

1. Four issues of the Socialist Appeal—including the current number—published in a period of less than two weeks.

2. A total of more than 40,000 copies of the paper have been printed and successfully sold on the streets of New York and the other major centers of the country.

3. Thousands of workers have for the first time read the program of revolutionary struggle against imperialist war.

Now this is a modest record but contrast it for a moment with what the other tendencies of the labor movement have been doing during this fateful period.

The majority of the leaders of the trade union movement, C.I.O. and A.F.L., have been swept along in a tide of patriotism and war-mongering unprecedented in recent years.

The Communist Party through its shameless rag, the Daily Worker, has been screaming for an immediate commencement of war and for plunging the United

States into the holocaust at once. Not even the pre-1917 jingoes dared to speak in such brazen terms as the Stalinist recruiting sergeants.

Now look at the other side—at the so-called anti-war and pacifist movements!

1. The Keep America Out of War Committee: Begun with a great fanfare of publicity, with solemn oaths to fight war to a last ditch, this pacifist chop suey of well-meaning preachers, soft-spoken old ladies, retired generals and publicity-seeking labor leaders crumpled to dust at the first touch of the real war crisis. Not a meeting, not a press statement, not a leaflet—not a word of warning or leadership during the crucial hours and days. The Keep America Out of War Committee kept itself out of sight—vanished into thin air, as we predicted it would, when it came time to make good on its promises.

2. The Socialist Party: This decrepit personal organ of Mr. Norman Thomas boasted of its anti-war position and laid claim as heir to the tradition of Eugene Victor Debs. At the time when the world trembled on the brink of war, its paper failed to appear. That is comment enough. But let us add that at this very moment they are preparing a merger with the reactionary social democrats and their pro-war paper, the New Leader.

3. The Lovestoneites: Another small group which makes big claims for its anti-war position. During the crisis, their paper too failed to appear. And when it did—a faltering voice, a party afraid of its own shadow and frightened above all of what the bureaucrats might say. The revolutionary movement would be in a sorry state, indeed, if it had to look to this impotent, opportunistic sect in a time of crisis.

No, we are not exaggerating by so much as a comma when we say that the Socialist Workers Party through its official organ the **Socialist Appeal** was the only organization to take a bold uncompromising revolutionary stand during the war crisis. The only organization, the only paper in this country to expose the lies of a holy war for "democracy against fascism." The only organization, the only paper to point the road to peace through the Socialist Revolution.

We appeared three times a week because it was our duty to do so. We strained every financial nerve of our organization. We appeared three times a week despite a large deficit which existed before the campaign. In another column you will find the Business Manager telling the plain truth about the financial condition of the paper.

We are confident of our policy, sure that it is right against the world of patriots, hypocrites, renegades and war-mongers.

We are confident that the workers of America will be with us—will follow the revolutionary road—in the critical times ahead.

So great is our confidence, so firm is our conviction that we are ready to make any sacrifice to make our position known. That is how the revolutionists have always acted—Lenin and Trotsky, and Liebknecht and Luxemburg and Debs.

This issue concludes our three-times-a-week Appeal. But it does not end our anti-war campaign which will continue week in and week out. When Munich leads—as it surely will—to a new war crisis—our paper will reappear once again three times a week and daily if we can manage it. More than that we hope that the enthusiasm generated will enable us to make the Appeal three times a week a permanent institution in the not too distant future. The reception given the extra editions shows how great is the need for this expansion.

Let us go forward to our great tasks! Let us build up our revolutionary organ so it may answer the great problems of the American and international labor movement day by day and provide revolutionary leadership to the working class.

We have made a good beginning!

Now forward to new achievements and new goals!

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MAX SHACHTMAN

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HAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE

Associate Editors

S. STANLEY, Business Manager

War On U.S. War Makers!

(Continued from page 1)

of the country know that the United States is involved in the crisis as fatally as every other great power; that the United States will have to enter the war, and that they intend to prepare to drag the people of the country into the war whatever the wishes and needs of the people may be.

They are not going to lose a minute. From now on the entire strength and resources of the Administration and the ruling class will be concentrated on the main problem of preparing the country for war, preparing it in armaments and preparing it psychologically.

Under the mask of speeches by State Department representatives about disarmament and world conferences it is certain that the government will build more and more rapidly a military and naval machine such as has never been seen in history. The next Congress will have before it proposals for armament appropriations which will make those of the last Congress look like chicken feed.

The Administration plans likewise to push through the next Congress revisions of the Neutrality Laws which will put all power even more fully into the hands of the Executive, without any kind of check even from the Legislature, much less from the people.

A campaign is already started—as the American Legion Convention, for example, showed—to put on the statue books the laws already drawn up for the institution of a military dic-

tatorship upon the outbreak of the war, or even at the serious threat of war. This same dictatorial trend is to be found also in the anti-union referendum measures now on the ballots in the Far West. Labor, the ruling class figures, must be hamstrung before the war begins.

In the face of this prospect, workers too must conclude that they will utilize the time that remains for preparation—for preparation against the war and war-makers. And we must realize that it is against the war-makers in our own country that we must direct the main fight.

Labor and all those against the war must be organized for struggle, must be called to do battle against the war-makers, against the leader of the United States war machine: Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

There is overwhelming mass support for the enactment of the bill for a popular referendum on war. That support must be given fighting, militant expression, until it hammers against the resistance of the anti-democratic Roosevelt machine, and forces the hand of the President and Congress who aim to smother the will of the majority.

Every step of the preparations, every move in the direction of militarism must be countered. The plans of the war-makers must be denounced and exposed from every platform and at every meeting and demonstration.

The great sentiment against the war of imperialist plunder must be made unmistakable and irrevocably known. Let the ruling class understand that if it plunges the country into its war for profit it and its cohorts will be swept aside, overthrown by the mass indignation aroused against the war.

To act in this way, to direct our fire against the crucial danger and the main enemy—the enemy at home—is not at all to desert our brothers and comrades in Europe, to give up the fight against Hitler and Hitlerism. On the contrary: it is the only way in which to aid our European comrades, the only means whereby to defeat Hitlerism. Roosevelt's imperialism will not defeat Hitlerism: Roosevelt's war will only make certain the triumph of fascism and dictatorship in all countries, including most decidedly our own.

We can defeat Hitler and Hitlerism only if we join with our brothers in all countries, in Germany and Italy and Japan as well as in France and England, to fight against the entire international cabal of the war-makers. Our job, if we are really to accomplish it, must begin uncompromisingly at home.

HITLER SPEEDS
EASTWARD DRIVE
AGAINST U.S.S.R.

(Continued from page 1)

peace, force peace on a reactionary basis by the argument, "America has stood long enough for the quarrel in the family of labor. We can not allow two children to continually jeopardize the welfare of the nation through their squabbling. Public opinion says they should be spanked," etc. etc.

The A. F. of L. convention at Houston, Texas, admitted the International Typographical Union on a six-months probationary period despite the refusal of the union to assess itself for a contribution to the A. F. of L. "war chest" against the C.I.O.

Setting up of a national C.I.O. organization does not necessarily mean a wider split in the labor movement. It is primarily a defensive measure of the C.I.O. which Lewis hopes will give him more power and prestige in any possible negotiations with the A. F. of L.

The Broun proposal, coming right on the heels of President Roosevelt's message to the A. F. of L. convention urging peace, without question was Lewis-inspired and indicates that the C.I.O. is anxious to place further pressure on A. F. of L. leaders for resumption of negotiations.

The action of the A. F. of L. convention towards the typographical union shows that Greenberg & Co. intend to pursue a "smarter" course in the future in dealing with C.I.O. sympathizers within the A. F. of L.

Roosevelt's Role

A very grave danger exists in the role that Roosevelt has assumed in regard to the feud between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. and his intercession in the matter can have disastrous consequences for the independence of the American labor movement.

Roosevelt sent a commission abroad this summer to study English and Swedish labor conditions primarily because he wanted to orient American public opinion toward support of similar proposals in America. Even before his commission sailed abroad Roosevelt knew the facts of labor conditions abroad, but he wanted publicity for those ideas.

The second step in Roosevelt's strategy is to appear as the friend, counselor and mediator in the dispute in the "family of labor." Public opinion will be molded, and considerable union support obtained, for Roosevelt's proposed actions whatever he may decide.

CORRECTION

In the last issue of the Socialist Appeal, a typographical error appears in Trotsky's interview to the Cuban press. The sentence, "... the democratic problems of Mexico have no progressive and revolutionary character" should obviously be changed to "... THE DEMOCRATIC PROBLEMS OF MEXICO HAVE A PROGRESSIVE AND REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER."

I am interested in the activities of the Socialist Workers Party and in the Socialist Appeal. Please send more information to:

Name
Address
City

Czech Parties Long Prepared
For Authoritarian Regime

By W. KELLER

While Hitler tightens the noose around the neck of Czechoslovakia by raising his demands for territories and reparations, the Czech bourgeoisie is in turn tightening the noose around the neck of the Czech working class.

The resignation of President Benes, which was taken for granted, was closely followed by an understanding between Prague and the Clerical Fascist camp of the Slovak Autonomists. In solemnly announcing autonomy for Slovakia, they hastened to declare: "We take our stand beside those states that are lined up against the Marxist-Jewish ideology."

A Logical Development

Thus the shift in the Czechoslovak system of government is developing speedily. But it would be an error to attribute this speed to the National Socialist art of "Gleichschaltung" (the Nazi slogan for regimentation). What we are now witnessing in the inner conditions of Czechoslovakia is only the emergence of authoritarian and fascist tendencies which have long been concealed under the thin shell of "disciplined democracy."

It is no exaggeration to say that in the last few years practically all the political parties of the Czech bourgeoisie have been shaken by the fever of fascism. In all these organizations, the democratic elements have been on the defensive.

The main force of Czech democracy was the Social Democratic party. It clutched with all its numerous functionaries had acquired through ten years of participation in the government. Since 1935 it was assisted by the Stalinists, "the democratic outsiders" who renounced revolution in the interests of the Czech-Russian alliance.

Even the party of President Benes, the Czech National Socialists, which moves on the border line between the petty bourgeoisie and the labor aristocracy had to undergo several bloodlettings through fascist splits.

The National Democratic Party, sponsored by the Czech industrialists, the erstwhile Czech Tammany Hall, has been completely disintegrated by fascist tendencies.

No Mass Movement

But all the fascist organizations which arose from these splits, though at times very strong, were unable to create a really decisive mass movement. For a variety of reasons the Czech ruling class was compelled to maintain the external forms of parliamentarism.

It is obvious that after the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, the authoritarian wing of the Agrarians will take over the helm of the state. If the government keeps its present military cast, the lot will remain in the family, for the Agrarians who occupied the war ministry for a decade filled the entire "People's" army apparatus with Agrarians of Fascist tendencies.

First of all, large sections of the Czech middle classes were still comparatively satisfied with the positions gained in the newly-created state. Moreover, the Prague government was able to shift the burden of economic crises onto the non-Czech regions. In addition, the destruction of the democratic and the labor organizations, particularly, among the Czechs would have been possible only through collaboration with the fascist forces of other nationalities.

But the basis of Sudeten, Slovak, Ruthenian, Hungarian and Polish fascism consisted precisely in its irreconcilable opposition to the imperialist domination of the Czech bourgeoisie. Every attempt to unite against the "Marxists" failed because of the separatist tendencies of the non-Czech fascists.

Moreover, the Czech fascists feared German intervention in the event of civil war. And since the Stalinist Peoples Front diminished the immediate threat of proletarian revolution, the fascists were kept in the background.

Disguised Fascists

Nevertheless the fascist penetration of Czech parties continued to progress. Its largest potential power arose within the traditional leading party of Czechoslovakia, the Czech Agrarians. Supported by satisfied strata of peasants who had benefited after the war by a large land reform and who are now kept economically dependent by the monopolies.

Granted him by Parliament, already began to assume the airs of a little Bonaparte, threatening to crack down on the press for speculating over what financial measures the government will take to deal with the acute economic crisis.

He demanded the right to work in "calm and silence" and haughtily informed the press: "It is not my habit to confide my plans to anyone." Thus goes "democracy" on its path toward an authoritarian dictatorship in which the Slovaks will enjoy relative equality with the Czechs.

Dadalier Acts His Role

Meanwhile in France Daladier, with semi-dictatorial powers

granted him by Parliament, already began to assume the airs of a little Bonaparte, threatening to crack down on the press for speculating over what financial measures the government will take to deal with the acute economic crisis.

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All democratic pretenses have been dumped overboard in the frantic attempt of the administration to affiliate the Local to every stooge organization of the Communist Party. Proportional representation on all committees

This is the third 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. The next article will deal with the problems of the labor movement in the present situation.—Ed.

even for those circles who until now opposed it.

Compared to the other European post-war states, the Czechs lived in grand style. A clique of rich upstarts, a new, robust middle class was nourished by a widespread regime of governmental party corruption and on the wealth of the non-Czech provinces. A re-distribution of the shrunken national wealth and income is now inevitable. Thousands of enterprises are doomed to bankruptcy. Tens of thousands of petty bourgeois will lose safe positions. Hundreds of thousands of workers will be thrown on the streets. Prague alone has increased its population by 40 percent since it became the center of the new republic.

Occupying more and more of the decisive positions in the state, so that they virtually merged with the state apparatus, the Agrarians sought still more power. Because of their policy of high agricultural prices for the urban populations and low industrial prices for the rural population (that is, low wages for the workers), the Agrarians came into constant collision with their reformist partners in the government. Soon they began to see a way out in a moderate authoritarian government which would use the existing legal limitations on civil rights to crush the workers.

Opposed Western Orientation

With increasing worries, they also watched the changes in the relation of forces in the international field. Scents good business with a Germany in want of foodstuffs, they were not only determined adversaries of the Russian alliance but even opposed the ties with France and the League of Nations.

While keeping their "left wing" in the government, the real bosses of the Agrarian group sought in secret negotiations with Henlein to come to a deal with him and Germany. If it were up to them, Czechoslovakia would have been transformed a long while ago into a "neutral" like Switzerland with a corporative regime and a secret pact against the Soviet Union. The present catastrophic defeat of the Benes policy is their greatest political triumph and an important opportunity for their special economic interests.

It is obvious that after the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and Jews) is the fact that in our country the proportion of Jews in public and economic life does not exceed a certain reasonable limit. Should exceed this limit, then even among this reasonable people (the Czechoslovaks) a storm undoubtedly would rise."

Now the time is ripe for this "storm." The anti-Marxist and the anti-Jewish campaign will hold the foreground of the internal life of Czechoslovakia. And the working class which in the last years has been deceived by treacherous leaders will have to face the real fight against fascism: the fight against its own bourgeoisie.

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