

After Munich

No Defeatism! Rally the Peace Forces!

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London (By Cable).

THE urgency of the present hour requires immediate and active response from all the democratic peace forces, especially in Britain, France, and the United States. The fury and loathing with which every honorable man and woman must regard the black betrayal by Chamberlain, Halifax, Daladier, and Bonnet, who have not only sacrificed the brave Czech people to the Nazi bandits but have thereby deliberately, in the vain hope of saving their rotting regime, torn down the dykes of peace and opened the gates to the full flood of fascist domination and war over Europe for the destruction of their peoples—this fury and loathing must not for a moment blind us. It must on the contrary redouble and steel our energy and determination for the urgent practical tasks that now arise in consequence of this betrayal.

Nothing is to be gained by concealing the realities we have now to face. The alliance of Chamberlain and his tool, Daladier, with Hitler and Mussolini has dealt a heavy blow to peace and democracy in Europe. They have succeeded in making a breach in the defenses of the peace front: they have isolated France from its allies and reduced it to the status of a second-class power: they have presented Hitler with the strategic and economic domination of all Central and Southeastern Europe: they have frightened away every smaller state from the side of the Western democracies, whose "friendship" has been proved in the hour of trial more deadly than the open enmity of fascism: and they now seek to clamp down Europe under a fascist directory.

Neither should it be forgotten that the temporary success of this criminal pro-fascist policy, completely contrary to the democratic anti-fascist feelings of the British and French peoples, has only been made possible by the collapse at the critical moment of those vacillating labor, Socialist, and democratic elements who let themselves be carried away by the lying "war danger" propaganda of Chamberlain and his Nazi allies, the lie that the firm maintenance of the peace front would lead to the certainty of war, and therefore

fell into support of Chamberlain as the "savior of peace."

But the present situation is too serious for divisions over the past. The eyes of those who were blinded are now being opened. The real menace consequent on the betrayal is becoming visible to all. It is essential for all to unite and to throw aside all weakness and hesitation in order to defeat this menace. Fascism is a ruthless and rapid enemy. It will seek to take advantage of the temporary disarray into which the peace forces have been thrown by this betrayal in order to strike new blows. The first of these blows is now being directed at Spanish democracy. This is the purpose of the proposed Anglo-Italian and Franco-Italian conversations.

Spanish democracy is unconquered, is stronger than ever on the basis of the internal position in Spain. If only we can hold off this new blow being planned from outside, if only we can now win for loyalist Spain the material aid to which it has full right from British and French democracy. By aid to Spain we can save the French and British peoples. We can deliver the first check to the fascist four-power directory. We can counter the blow

of Munich. This is the center of the fight.

What of the further outlook of the international situation? This depends immediately on the answer to three questions: What is the prospect of the Four Power Pact? Where will Hitler's drive turn next? What is the future now for the peace front? The answer to all these questions is governed above all by the political situation in Britain and France. The continuous dream of British policy, of the Four Power Pact, appears on the surface realized. But in the real relations of power it is a very different Four Power Pact from that of which Britain dreamt. The British aim of the Four Power Pact has been the aim of the consolidation of European reaction, with the power of France and Germany balanced under British hegemony and with the point turned against the Soviet Union and eventually against the United States. But France has been reduced to extreme weakness and inferiority by British policy. Britain is in consequence isolated and in a weak position before the Berlin-Rome axis; and the effective leadership is, as a result, in the hands of Hitler.

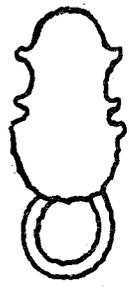
Chamberlain may dream that Hitler will turn the power which British capitulation has surrendered into his hands against the Soviet Union and spare Britain. Such an attempt is not excluded, but it is by no means the greatest likelihood that Hitler should necessarily direct his attack first against the strongest state in the world, the one state which had stood firm and not trembled before fascism. There are three other directions to which Hitler may first turn his attack.

His first and most obvious line of advance is to follow up the reduction of Czechoslovakia by pressing forward his domination in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe up to the borders of the Soviet Union and the Black Sea; to follow up the Drang Nach Osten into the Balkans, leading towards the Near and Middle East, Irak, and the old region of conflict with Britain.

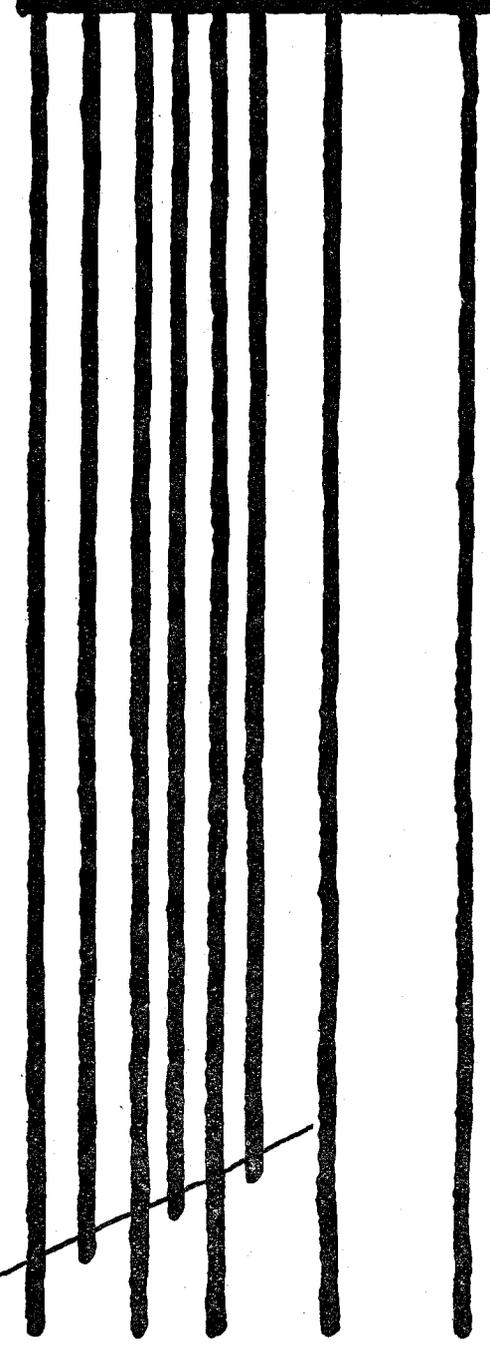
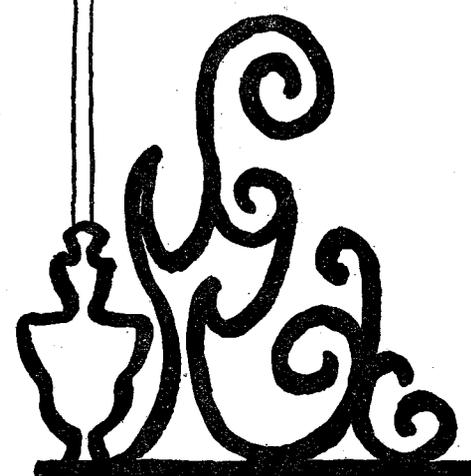
The second line of attack is against France, whose annihilation still remains the aim set out in *Mein Kampf*. British reaction's hos-



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tility to the people's front is unconcealed; and the Anglo-German Pact to the exclusion of France is the first sign of the isolation of France. Here the attack may in the first place follow the Spanish model and develop initially as the assault of French reaction in the service of Hitler against French democracy, with the aim to turn France into a vassal fascist state tied to Hitler.

The third line of attack now coming more and more into the open behind all the guise of present "friendship" is the deep and basic conflict with Britain for the possession of the spoils of the empire. Hitler's demand to Chamberlain for colonies is the direct warning of this future offensive. As this offensive comes more and more openly into view, the disquiet and division grows in the ranks of the conservatives. Alongside the anger of the popular forces against Chamberlain rises also the anger within the conservative ranks, seen in the resignation of Duff Cooper and the debate in Parliament.

Chamberlain's laurel crown of victory is already withering on his brow and will yet turn into his crown of thorns. Everything now depends on the political struggle of the popular forces in France and Britain. We have still an overwhelming superiority of the forces in the world that can save peace. If we can realize unity, if the popular forces can win in Britain and France, we can then win the cooperation of the United States together with the Soviet Union for peace. Such an Anglo-French-American-Soviet combination for peace, together with a revived and strengthened League of Nations, would rally the smaller states in Europe which still fear domination by Hitler, especially Yugoslavia, Rumania, Poland, and the Scandinavian states, and could still save peace and prevent world war. To this aim all our efforts need now to be directed against the reactionary Four Power Pact of fascist domination.

We call for a real international conference, including the United States and the Soviet Union, for the organization of collective security on a world basis, for peace. The realization of this depends on the defeat of Chamberlain and the pro-fascist forces in Britain and France. All divisions and weakness must now be cast aside. We must drive out the traitors who have brought the British and French peoples to the extremity of danger.

Unity of the democratic and peace forces can still achieve this, for the defense and victory of Spanish democracy, for the defeat of Chamberlain, Hitler's ally, and the victory of the democratic peace front in Britain and France, which can stem the advance of fascism, for a world conference of Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States together with the smaller states to organize the collective maintenance of peace against aggression. The existence and future of democracy in France, in Britain, and in Europe and the peace of the world are at stake.