

Why Is Russia Mobilizing? ... By Leon Trotsky

Not Even the Kremlin Knows!

Moscow mobilizes and everybody asks himself, against whom? But at the present moment even the Kremlin doesn't know. One thing is clear: the German-Soviet agreement facilitated the defeat of Poland, but didn't at all guarantee the Soviet Union's neutrality. The Polish army proved to be weaker than many supposed. Now in Paris and London, undoubtedly, the people are looking at the German army's approach to the Soviet border with interest and without excessive alarm. The friendship of Stalin and Hitler needs distance. The complete defeat of Poland can prove fatal to the German-Soviet agreement. Having settled down on the borders of the Ukraine and White Russia, Hitler will propose to Stalin to give a more active character to his new "friendship". Simultaneously, he can turn to Paris and London with a proposition to give the German army an opportunity to march farther east, and will show complete willingness to bind himself, at the same time, not to raise the question of colonies for twenty-five or fifty years (Hitler gladly exchanges time for space). Under the pressure of double blackmail Stalin will have to make a definite choice. In view of this critical moment's approach, the Kremlin is mobilizing. In order to maintain both possibilities, the Moscow radio stations are giving news in the Russian language favorable to the Western democracies, and in the German language favorable to Germany. It is difficult to imagine a more symbolic expression of the Kremlin's double dealing politics and of Stalin's personal character. In what way is this double dealing going to be solved?

Long War Dangerous to Hitler

Stalin understands what even ex-Kaiser Wilhelm understood: namely, that with a prolonged war Hitler is headed toward a great catastrophe. But the whole question is one of time limits and tempo. On the road to the abyss Hitler can not only crush Poland, but he can give the Soviet Union such blows as to cost the Kremlin oligarchy their heads. And those gentlemen value their heads above everything. For their salvation they can be compelled to go farther on the road with Hitler than they wanted at the moment the pact was concluded.

As an obstacle on this road there is, it is true, the extreme unpopularity among the masses of the alliance with fascism. Molotov referred to it recently in his latest speech when he complained that the "simplified propaganda" (that is, the Comintern's propaganda of yesterday against fascism) gave birth even in the Soviet Union to discontent with a German-Soviet combination. The above mentioned radio news in the Russian language testifies to this fact. But Stalin expects to master public opinion in his own country by further purges: the enmity of the Russian workers and peasants, unlike the enmity of Hitler, is not yet armed. Thus, having started as Hitler's quartermaster, Stalin can become his half-prisoner and ally.

Is a New Turn Possible?

But can't the Kremlin complete a new sharp turn, breaking the Soviet-German agreement and throwing itself at the last moment against Hitler? For this there would be necessary, of course, serious military successes by France and England in the next period, plus a radical change of the neutrality law in the United States. But the Kremlin would hardly enter an open war against Hitler even in this case. However, the concentration of significant forces on the western border would permit Stalin to reject Hitler's absolutely inevitable new demands.

To connect the question of the direction of Moscow politics with the ideas of the international working class, with the tasks of socialism, with the principles of democracy, et cetera, can only be done by completely ignorant babblers or by paid agents of the Kremlin. In reality, Moscow politics is exclusively determined by the ruling oligarchy's struggle for self-preservation. The Kremlin's choice of roads will be determined by the material interrelation of forces of both camps and by the march of military operations in the next weeks. It is better not to say the "choice of roads", but the direction of the next zig-zag.

LEON TROTSKY

Coyacan, D.F. September 11, 1939

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Stalin has moved more than a million troops to the Polish and Rumanian frontiers and the whole world is wondering why.

The black line of the Nazi advance through Poland is moving like lava across the land. It has already submerged the industrial heart of Poland and at this writing the Germans are claiming entry into the outskirts of Lwow, capital of the Polish Ukraine, only 100 miles from the Soviet frontier. What is going to happen when the lava curls steaming up against Stalin's borders?

Trotsky says he does not believe the Kremlin itself is sure of the answer to this question. The only certain thing we have to go on is Stalin's fearful determination not to let himself be drawn into a war that he knows will mean his end and the end of his ruling clique. Stalin's union with Hitler was a shotgun wedding and is consequently destined to be neither blissful nor long-lived. That is why the approach of Hitler's borders to the Russian frontier has the whole world guessing.

Is Hitler's wedding gift to his frightened bride going to be a slice of the Polish Ukraine? Or is he going to begin, even at this early date, to show her who is master in this chancel house? One guess is that Hitler will keep right on marching. But if he does he will greatly oblige the French and British by creating a real eastern front. There will be plenty of Hitler-Stalin double-crossing before the world sees daylight, but it is not likely to take the form of a Soviet-German clash at this stage of the game. Hitler won't choose this path because for the time being he has too much to gain from Soviet "neutrality."

Stalin certainly won't choose it because he willingly fights

only against adversaries who are helpless. He may use his bayonets against the Polish refugees who seek haven in his domain, but this column's guess is that when the German troops reach the first Russian outposts they will more likely be greeted with respectful salutes and congratulations for the speedy and efficient completion of the drive across Poland.

With the conquest of Poland, Hitler will have other means of keeping his new axis partner in a state of perpetual trepidation. It is no accident that precisely at this time reports are reappearing concerning the activity of nationalist propagandists among the people of the Polish Ukraine. If the Nazi-Soviet pact did contain secret provisions for parceling out Poland, Hitler will be handing over to his friend in the Kremlin a heavily-charged bomb. Resurgent Ukrainian nationalism can and will have consequences just as explosive for Hitler as for Stalin, but Hitler's whole daring strategy is based upon playing with dynamite, a game in which Stalin cannot afford to join.

Stalin has strangled the Soviet Ukraine and earned the smoldering hatred of the Ukrainian peasantry. Any fuse touched off in the Polish Ukraine will reach charges laid deep in the Soviet Ukraine by Stalin himself. The spectre of a surge toward the creation of an independent, united Ukraine undoubtedly haunts the Kremlin these uneasy nights. That may be why Stalin has sent a million men to the border and that may also be why Hitler greets this move with evident satisfaction.

For a double cross on a grander scale by either party to this unholy union, conditions

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LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR

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F. D. R. CALLS SPECIAL SESSION TO FORCE VOTE ON WAR MOVES

SWP Drive To Get on N. Y. Ballot Progresses

Report Good Results Despite Interference Of Tammany

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 13—Despite orders from Tammany ward heeler to their supporters to block the anti-war campaign of the Socialist Workers Party and prevent it from obtaining the number of signatures necessary to place candidates Max Shachtman of the Bronx and George Lyman Paine of Manhattan on the ballot for the coming Councilmanic elections, canvassers report steady progress in filling out the nominating petitions.

In the Bronx yesterday 300 signatures were obtained in less than an hour and a half by canvassers of the Bronx branch. People not members of the Socialist Workers Party but sympathetic to its anti-war campaign, reports Max Mont, organizer of the Bronx branch, are giving the most encouraging help in order to insure the appearance of Max Shachtman on the ballot in their borough of the Bronx.

Needle Trades Respond

In Manhattan the workers in the needle trades industry are giving the campaign a particularly warm welcome. They are familiar with the successful anti-fascist drives of the Socialist Workers Party at Madison Square Garden on February 20 and in Union Square on August 19 when the Coughlinites threatened an invasion. Canvassers for George Lyman Paine report that those who sign the nominating petition greet them sympathetically on the streets when they chance to meet later, and lend a hand in securing more signatures.

A.L.P. Silent

Meanwhile the policy of silence on the part of leaders of (Continued on Page 2)

PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS WANT ACTION POLICY

By WILLIAM SIMMONS
CHICAGO—Ever since the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee delegation, headed by Van Bittner, presented its appeal to the Secretary of Labor in Washington, it has been clear that further moves in negotiations with the packers would be more closely related to the clean atmosphere of the national administration buildings than to the ill-smelling recesses of the stockyards.

Unfortunately for the young union, it has thereby also permitted itself to be maneuvered onto a weaker ground. Its strength lies in the yards. There the workers feel the pinch of their mounting grievances, and they have shown on more than one occasion that one ounce of action brings quicker results

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A Manifesto

To the Oppressed Peoples of Latin America, Asia, Africa!

Before even a generation has passed, Europe is again at war! The imperialist beasts are at large again, anxious to devour, in their greedy ferocity, all the riches of civilization and all of humanity itself. This once more confirms the precision of the Leninist description of our epoch as the epoch of wars and revolutions.

The Anglo-Franco-Polish imperialist bandits on the one hand, and the German imperialist bandits on the other, are however, only the outposts of the world catastrophe that has already begun. All of humanity stands on the brink of the abyss. Nothing can save us from destruction and a return to savage bestiality, except the revolt of the peoples against their capitalist governments.

No part of the world will be spared by the war. Mussolini stands on guard, awaiting the development of the situation and weighing the price offered him by the Anglo-French capitalists on one side and the German capitalists on the other for the sale of the Italian people. As always, the Balkan peoples will be the cannon-fodder of the big imperialist powers.

Roosevelt Will Plunge Us into War

Only those who wish to deceive themselves will be deceived: there is not a corner on the surface of the globe that will be spared by the war. The "assurances" of peace by the United States can fool no one. America, whether it be North, Central or South, is not a world apart. Roosevelt cynically lies, and the puppet governments of Latin America echo their master's lie, when they assert that the Western Hemisphere isn't Europe but is a continent of peace and democracy.

It is not true. The Yankee imperialist sharpens his teeth, feverishly prepares his weapons and awaits only the opportune moment to throw himself into the fight to overcome all his rivals. The whole world will then be but a single red-hot furnace. The fire will extend from Europe to Asia, from Alaska to Patagonia.

Roosevelt will change his democratic smile

to the bellicose snarl of the beast excited by the odor of blood and carnage. The state of emergency already decreed in the United States creates the necessary conditions for snuffing out in advance every critical voice, every manifestation of distrust of the militarist and pro-war policy of Washington. New astronomical sums are being swallowed up in preparations for war; new works are opening to manufacture more engines of destruction night and day; the war profiteers are already licking their chops in expectation of the profits they will draw from the slaughter of millions of men. The power of anti-democratic repression multiplies from day to day. Roosevelt's general staff prepares to call a million men to the flag immediately, while awaiting the transformation of Latin America into a source of supplies and a barracks for the exclusive service of Yankee imperialism.

Roosevelt Gives Orders to Latin America

Washington is already calling the governments of Latin America together at Panama to dictate to them what shall be their conduct in the present international situation. The Panama Conference is the continuation of the comedy of Lima. Authorized by the so-called "Declaration" of Lima, the Yankee imperialists are taking the first steps in the mobilization of the oppressed people of Latin America to lead them to the slaughter-house of war.

Already the watch-dogs of the imperialists, their most faithful lackeys in the mass movements, begin to yelp. Such a watch-dog is Lombardo Toledano, in Mexico, who cynically appeals to the Latin-American masses to support Roosevelt's war policy and the "democratic" imperialists, that is: Chamberlain-Daladier & Co., oppressors of the enslaved peoples of India, of Indo-China, of the five continents.

Pacifists Serve the Imperialists

In this tragic hour, when guns are deciding, the humanitarian verbiage of the pacifists is

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Act of War Seen in His Statement on Defense of Canada

Sole Function of Congress Will Be to Put Rubber-Stamp on Presidential Decrees—Repeal of Arms Embargo Certain

Having stacked all the cards, in open defiance of law, the Constitution and the will of the people, by his decree declaring a "limited state of national emergency" and by his unparalleled proclamation that the United States will defend Canada in its war against Germany, Franklin Roosevelt on Wednesday summoned the Special Session of Congress to meet on September 21st.

The war-mongering Roosevelt administration, rushing headlong toward direct military intervention, has decided not merely to deprive the people of any voice on the issue of the war. Following the example of the totalitarian democrats of

CIO JOBLESS UNION FORMED AT CONFERENCE

Delegates at Seven State Meet Oppose F.D.R. War Plans

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
PITTSBURGH, Sept. 10—Delegates from CIO-WPA unions in seven states met here over the weekend, at the call of the United Project Workers Organizing Committee of the CIO, to take steps to set up a permanent International Union of WPA and Project Workers.

Anti-Roosevelt Resolutions
The conference adopted significant resolutions opposing Roosevelt's war plans and denouncing the Administration's persecution of the Minneapolis WPA strikers.

Called at the initiative of Philip Murray, CIO vice-president, the conference—with 35 delegates from Pennsylvania, Alabama, Maryland, Illinois, Michigan, West Virginia and Ohio, representing steel, coal, rubber and auto areas—may possibly mean that John L. Lewis is preparing to wipe out the Workers Alliance in an anti-Stalinist offensive.

The conference recommended that the CIO national council set up a nation-wide WPA organization as an international charter local bodies.

Genora Johnson, representing the WPA and Unemployed Auxiliary of the UAW-CIO of Flint, Michigan, led the fight for a militant anti-war stand, and succeeded in carrying the resolutions unanimously.

Oppose Armaments
Supplementing the general anti-war resolution and giving it life by attacking armament appropriations, a resolution on flood control demanded that Congress "appropriate funds not for armaments for the destruction of life, but for flood

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Britain and France, Roosevelt is determined also to reduce Congress to the function of approving steps which have been taken beforehand by executive decree.

The plain fact of the matter is that Roosevelt's statement on the defense of Canada is an act of war. Canada has declared war against Germany. Roosevelt has notified the world that the armed forces of the United States will defend Canada against its declared enemy. By such a move, Roosevelt drops even the pretense of neutrality.

By what right, by what authority, does Roosevelt usurp the power to commit the United States to war?

Roosevelt's Strategy Plain
Roosevelt's campaign to rush the country into the war within the shortest possible time is moving fast and straight toward its goal. His strategy becomes plainer every day.

During the first two weeks, by his own acts as head of the government, he lines up the United States on the side of Anglo-French imperialism. At the same time, his subordinates start a howling war-mongering campaign throughout the country.

Rubber-Stamp Congress
Then, with the fundamental direction toward the war established in advance, he calls Congress together to rubber-stamp the moves already taken and to make the next giant steps.

In particular, he demands and will get from Congress repeal of the arms embargo. The Senate isolationists, led by Borah, feeling the pressure of the anti-war sentiments of the people, announce that they will fight to retain the embargo. Borah expressed the entirely correct belief that repeal of the embargo, coupled with the Administration's general conduct of foreign relations, "will inevitably bring us into the war."

Isolationists Will Collapse
Nevertheless, any reliance on the isolationists to block Roosevelt's war moves would be utopian. The isolationists are themselves patriots of the first water, advocates of an ever

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