

Stalin-- The Temporary Holder Of the Ukraine

By Leon Trotsky

(The following is a translation of a statement by Leon Trotsky given to the press about the time of the Stalinist invasion of Poland. We reprint it from the organ of the Mexican section of the Fourth International.—Ed.)

War, like revolution, is distinguished by the fact that it blows away the stupid formulas and reveals the naked reality underneath. "Defense of democracy" is an empty formula. The invasion of Poland is a bloody reality.

Today it is clear that in the very same years in which the Comintern was bringing to a head its clamorous campaign for an alliance of the democracies against Fascism, the Kremlin was preparing a military understanding with Hitler against the so-called democracies. Even complete idiots will have to understand now that the Moscow Trials, with the aid of which the Bolshevik Old Guard was destroyed under the accusation of collaboration with the Nazis, were nothing but camouflage for the Stalinist alliance with Hitler. The secret is out. While the British and French missions were discussing with Voroshilov the problem of the most effective defense of Poland, the same Voroshilov, together with the representatives of the German General Staff, was discussing the best manner in which to smash and divide Poland. The Kremlin not only deceived Chamberlain, Daladier and Beck, but also, and systematically, the working classes of the Soviet Union and the entire world.

By the Terms of the Pact

Some fatuous people and snobs accuse me of being impelled to make horrible predictions out of "hatred" of Stalin. As if serious people allow themselves to be swayed by their personal feelings in questions of historical importance! The inexorable facts prove that reality is more horrible than all the predictions that I made. In entering Polish territory, the Soviet armies knew beforehand at what point they would meet—and as allies, not as enemies—with the armies of Hitler. The operation was determined in its main points by the secret clauses of the Germano-Soviet pact; the general staffs of both countries were to be found in constant collaboration; the Stalinist invasion is nothing but a symmetrical supplement of the Hitlerite operations. Such are the facts.

Until very recently the Kremlin, trying to gain the friendship of Warsaw (in the given case, to deceive it), declared that the slogan of self-determination for Western Ukraine (Eastern Galicia) was criminal. The purges and executions in the Soviet Ukraine were provoked mainly by the fact that the Ukrainian revolutionists, against the will of Moscow, aspired to the liberation of Galicia from Polish oppression. Now the Kremlin covers its intervention in Poland with a penitent concern for the "liberation" and "unification" of the Ukrainian and White Russian peoples. In reality, the Soviet Ukraine, more than any other part of the Soviet Union, is bound by the ferocious chains of the Muscovite bureaucracy. The aspirations of various sections of the Ukrainian nation for their liberation and independence are completely legitimate and have a very intense character. But these aspirations are directed also against the Kremlin. If the invasion gains its end, the Ukrainian people will find itself "unified," not in national liberty, but in bureaucratic enslavement.

Facilitating Hitler's Objectives

The Hitlerite press gives absolute approval to the "unification" and "liberation" of the Ukrainians under the claws of the Kremlin. With this Hitler is accomplishing two tasks: first, drawing the Soviet Union into his military orbit; second, taking a further preparatory step on the road towards

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Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

In speculating over the precise significance of the new Franco-British pact with Turkey it is well to remember once more that pacts these days are not everything they seem. Few chapters in recent tangled diplomatic history have been more thoroughly befogged than the negotiations which have now resulted in an apparent breakdown of Russo-Turkish talks and the conclusion of an Anglo-Franco-Turkish pact of mutual assistance. Not even the newspapers, which have a glib explanation for everything, seem to be able to decide who won and who lost in this rather important skirmish on the diplomatic front.

Out of the many obscurities of the situation, nevertheless, a few salient facts emerge quite clearly. Stalin was trying to use the negotiations with Turkey as a form of insurance against future eventualities. He first of all wanted to be sure that through the closing of the Dardanelles his Black Sea trade with Germany would not be affected. He also—and this was even more important—wanted to make sure of immobilizing Turkey when the time comes for carrying up the Balkans again—especially Rumania. In these aims he has apparently failed for the time being. In this respect the outcome of the Turkish talks must be taken together with the obvious toning down of the demands made up on Finland as a check on the Kremlin's diplomatic blitzkrieg.

But this is by no means the final word. In the pact signed by Turkey with Britain and France there is a little clause that may turn out to be the joker in the deck. It is agreed that in no circumstances will Turkey go to war with Russia. This leaves pretty much as before a big question mark next to Turkey's name in the war lineup. Events—and not this pact—will tell what Turkey will actually do when the Hitler-Stalin partnership goes to work in its own peculiar way in southeastern Europe.

There is another version also of these same events. Stalin is depicted as having been virtually ready to join Turkey and, indirectly, Britain and France, in guaranteeing the status quo in the Balkans. At the last minute Hitler is said to have served peremptory demands on his Kremlin ally, with the result that Stalin introduced fresh claims upon Turkey in the conversations with Saracoglu which Turkey, under Anglo-French pressure, refused to accept.

In London a good deal of effort is being extended to put this face on things, to make it appear for Hitler's benefit that Stalin has actually been trying to put over a back-door double-cross on his German ally and may still do so. This is not because the British desire to win Stalin over to their side against Hitler. It is because they are hoping still to win Hitler over against Stalin by breaking the Moscow-Berlin axis.

But either eventually still is a ways off, for both with respect to northern Europe and the Balkans, both Germany and Russia still have too much to gain by working together to sacrifice it by beginning, prematurely, to pull apart.

Cast Your Anti-War Vote for Shachtman and Paine!

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J. L. LEWIS OPENS DRIVE IN CIO TO "CLEAN HOUSE" OF STALINISTS

Defense to Appeal Mpls. Trial Convictions

Time-Worn "Conspiracy" Formula Used to Frame WPA Prisoners

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 20.—The Roosevelt administration won the first round in its persecution of the W P A strikers here.

Five out of eight defendants in the first WPA trial were found guilty in Judge Joyce's Federal court Tuesday morning. A second trial, of four defendants, is now under way. A third trial, involving 25 other defendants, begins October 30. A total of 193 strikers have been indicted so far.

Under Woodrum Law
All are being tried under a provision of the Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law, making it a crime to "interfere with" or "intimidate" WPA project workers. The five convicted Tuesday were Carl Pembie, Myron Phillips, Richard Connell, Ben Palmer and Leslie Wachter. They were found guilty of "intimidation," in an altercation on a project, although unrefuted testimony established that a fascist on the job, Philip Slaughter, had attacked the strikers with a knife.

Danger to Labor
Four of them were also found guilty of "conspiracy" to interfere with WPA workers. In his charge to the jury, Judge Joyce practically ordered the jurors to find the defendants guilty on this count by his broad definition of conspiracy. The use of this conspiracy charge by the Federal government is seen here as the gravest danger to all organized labor. It represents a revival, at this late date, of a juridical formula long discredited as a deliberate device employed against the labor movement when judges and employers could not prove overt acts. In English common law, any "conspiracy" was per se illegal. This formula was dug up and applied to organized labor first in the 1880's and enabled prosecutors and judges to prosecute unions even though the authorities could point to no acts committed by the union men. The mere organization of a union, for example, was called a conspiracy. Strenuous struggles by organized labor over many decades finally forced the conspiracy (Continued on Page 2)

In The Fight Against War!

Socialist Appeal

Official Organ Socialist Workers Party, New York Campaign Edition

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, 118 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK CITY

VOTE FOR THE ONLY ANTI-WAR CANDIDATES IN N. Y. ELECTION

This Is YOUR Program!

Platform of the Socialist Workers Party

The Socialist Workers Party has no interests separate and apart from those of labor. Today, when the world is on the brink of war, the Socialist Workers Party is the ONLY party that fights against capitalist war—a war to redivide the world markets and profits. It is in the forefront of the struggle against Fascism. It has a concrete program which alone can immediately help labor.

The Socialist Workers Party is running two candidates for the office of Comptroller in New York City: Max Schachtman in the borough of Bronx, George Lyman Paine in the borough of Manhattan.

Vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party because:

1. Put an End to Capitalist War!

Roosevelt and the Democrats have scrapped all the progressive legislation they promised the Forgotten Man in 1932. From relief for the unemployed has been laid on the chopping block. Roosevelt himself slashed the budget out of relief appropriations.

Roosevelt promised a NEW DEAL. He handed out a WAR DEAL.

New Roosevelt and all his supporters are working overtime to shove the Forgotten Man into the Unknown Soldier.

Under capitalism the youth has no future except that of becoming cannon fodder.

Roosevelt is dumping four billion dollars a year into the most costly war machine in history.

The first World War cost more than 300 billion dollars—enough money to provide an income of \$1,000 a year for 12 years to 15 million unemployed! The Second World War will cost many times that staggering amount.

Labor has no more to gain from the war that is now raging than from the last one. The last World War cost more than 12 million lives. You and yours may be among the many times 12 million who will be slaughtered in the next world war. The flower of our youth will come back—those who do come back— from "Over There" shell-shocked, gassed, mutilated.

Why not use the war funds to end unemployment and hunger?

Why not?

That Roosevelt and all his friends oppose even the right of the people to VOTE whether or not this country shall enter the war.

Together with Congress, Roosevelt is so anxious for war that he refuses to permit a referendum vote of the people on the question.

If the people are to face bayonets and bullets and to pay the colossal cost of war, they are fit to decide whether they shall die on foreign battlefields!

ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED!

TAKE THE WAR-MAKING POWER AWAY FROM CONGRESS—LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE!

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Max Schachtman, S.W.P. Candidate For Council for the Bronx



George Lyman Paine, S.W.P. Candidate For Council for Manhattan



Fight War Plans In Campaign

The campaign to elect Max Schachtman and George Lyman Paine on the ballot in the New York General Election is going to be the top with thousands of signatures collected in addition to those required by the election law.

As the campaign gets underway, it is already becoming more apparent that the program of the Socialist Workers Party offered in the New York primary is the only one in this campaign which will actually benefit the workers.

The above is a reproduction of the front page of the special four-page New York Election Issue of the Socialist Appeal which was this week published by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party. The Election Issue contains the New York election program, statements by Schachtman and Paine as well as other material.

Union Puts the Lie to Phoney Charges Made by Auto Moguls

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) DETROIT, Oct. 20.—The Chrysler Corporation is covering its vicious speed-up by a barrage of words. But all of Herman Weckler's (corporation vice-president) spouting can't hide the facts: the workers have been locked out of the factories because they couldn't stand a speed of production that broke their backs and shattered their nerves. Weckler's straw bosses fired men because they couldn't keep up with the pace. And now Weckler charges "slowdowns!" Refuse to Mediate That the Chrysler Corporation has no publicly justifiable case now becomes clear as daylight (Continued on Page 3)

NOTICE! There will be an important membership meeting of Local New York this Sunday, October 22. All members of the SWP and YPSL are instructed to be at Beethoven Hall, 5th Street between 2nd and 3rd Aves., at 3 p. m. sharp. Let the People Vote on War! (Continued on Page 2)

Strikes First Blow by Removing CP Clique From Strategic Posts

Lewis Crusade Spells End of the Stalinist Union-Wreckers in CIO—Conflict Breaks On Choice of Allied or Hitler-Stalin War Camp

By GEORGE CLARKE

John L. Lewis' announcement that the CIO will clean house of "Communists" means in simple English the beginning of the end of Stalinist power in the American union movement. The authoritative story of Louis Stark in the *N. Y. Times* (Oct. 17), reporting the coup of John L. Lewis in the Executive Board tersely states the plan:

"John L. Lewis is determined to rid the Congress of Industrial Organizations of all Communist influence in the next year, according to reports here today concerning the crusade which he set in motion at the meeting of the Executive committee which followed the close of the CIO convention in San Francisco."

Stark goes on to report the replacing of the Executive Committee of forty-two as the policy-making power within the CIO by a board of eight. The Executive Committee of forty-two members was heavy with Stalinist supporters, half or more of whom being members or fellow-travelers of the Communist Party. The new board of eight is composed of individuals openly known to be anti-Stalinists. Harry Bridges was left off the board and his power as Regional Director of the West Coast curtailed to include only the State of California. Just an entree to the main course still to be served.

Stalinists Done For
The "crusade" will now begin in earnest. Lewis' long experience in slugging his opposition out of business in the United Mine Workers can very well serve as a preview of the events to come in the CIO. In every International Union, city and state CIO Council, in every local union the Stalinist union officials will feel the mailed fist of the generalissimo of the CIO. They will either renounce their former affiliations and scurry like rats for cover—as most of them will—or fight themselves on the outside looking in. Where they make any attempt at organized resistance, their charters will speedily find themselves in the wastebasket, or the officials and bureaucrats placed on war-time rations without benefit of the fat CIO subsidies.

The calamity is upon the Stalinists. There is neither retreat or escape for them. They are finished in the CIO. **Union-Wreckers**
What has brought them to this sorry pass? Why has Lewis suddenly brought his long-standing alliance with the union-wreckers to an abrupt termination? Ever since the inception of the CIO revolutionists, radicals and progressives have warned day in, day out of the disastrous effects Stalinism would have on the most promising union movement to arise in this country for decades. These predictions and these warnings were confirmed every inch of the way. Stalinist infiltration into the SWOC helped weaken the eventually lost "Little Steel" strike. Stalinist operatives almost devitalized the great auto workers union by a debilitating faction struggle. Stalinist bur-

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FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED FOR WATSON DEFENSE!

Rallying to the aid of one of the first victims of war-time persecution, American militants, in a living demonstration of international solidarity, formed this week the Watson Defense Fund in behalf of Frank Watson, English-Canadian worker arrested on the streets of Toronto Sept. 15 by the Dominion police for his outspoken denunciation of the imperialist war. The American Labor Aid, initiator of the Defense Fund, had been approached with appeals

from members of Canadian labor organizations to assist them in the struggle for Watson's liberation. Despite the war-time dictatorship that exists in the Dominion, making extremely difficult the distribution of propaganda calling upon Canadian workers to support the struggle for Watson's freedom, many individuals and members of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, the Fourth Internationalist Socialist Workers League and other labor organizations have already been active in the Watson Defense Committee. A Call to Arms Mary Green, National Secretary of the American Labor Aid, commenting on the arrest of the Canadian militant, stated, "The Watson case is the first example on our continent of the effects of the present war upon the rights and liberties of the people on whose behalf it is supposedly waged. It is a danger signal to the workers and genuine fighters for liberty throughout America. It is a call

to arms in the defense of civil liberties in order to move about, rights during the difficult period of a democracy which confiscates the land of Kenya farmers and arrested one week after Can-forces them into wage labor at a declaration of war upon starvation rates. The British Germany, Watson, speaking in Empire," Watson continued, "is Toronto from the platform of democracy but a ragbag of the Socialist Workers League, territories stolen from other declared, "We are being asked people during the last 200 to fight for a democracy which years." forces women to work at nine cents a day in the coal mines of Canada to resist and oppose a India, which compels the New-ear in which they have nothing gro workers of South Africa to gain and everything to lose, live in a pestilential ghetto and Watson exclaimed, "Workers, to carry as many as eleven (Continued on Page 3)