

POWERS IN UNDECLARED AGAINST WAR U.S.S.R.

Another Squeezed Lemon For Stalin

AN EDITORIAL

The League of Nations has now proceeded to carry out the task for which it was originally created—to organize the international struggle against the workers and colonial peoples and against the Soviet Union.

Many people have wondered more than once, during the last ten years: why do the French and British empires continue to maintain this desiccated corpse of a League, which all the imperialists flout?

The answer is now at hand. The League serves its original purpose: war against the Soviet Union.

It is able to serve this purpose very effectively, thanks to Stalin. Workers all over the world were beginning to understand that the League was truly what Lenin called it: "a league of imperialist bandits." But five years ago Stalin took the Soviet Union into the League. He and his hirelings explained to the workers that the League had ceased to be a league of bandits, had transformed itself into an agency of peace. Stalin helped recapture for the League of Nations the trust and faith of millions of workers.

The League of Nations turns out to be another one of Stalin's "squeezed lemons"—a phrase made notorious twelve years ago, when Stalin boasted he would use Chiang Kai-shek until he had served his purpose and would then throw him away like a squeezed lemon. Instead Chiang Kai-shek used Stalin's support to massacre the Chinese revolution, then cast off Stalin.

So, too, the League of Nations. What it would not do, after months and even years of haggling, for Ethiopia, Spain, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, the League in a single day did for Finland. In a single day the "peace" machinery of the League was organized into war machinery against the Soviet Union. What is Stalin's explanation? His organ, Pravda, blandly announces: "The League of Nations has been turned from an instrument of peace into an instrument of war."

Stalin lies in order not to take the responsibility for his "squeezed lemon." From the day it was formed until today the League was and is what Lenin called it: a league of imperialist bandits. War against the Soviet Union was from the first and is now its fondest dream. Its war against Germany becomes more and more a business of hammering Germany until Hitler, or his successor, joins the anti-Soviet front. It is able to take this road thanks to Stalin's help; for five years Stalin was the tool of the League, scattering and confusing the workers of the world who are the only force really capable of defending the Soviet Union against the capitalist world.

One more terrible proof that Stalin is dragging the Soviet Union to destruction! One more—perhaps the last—warning to the international workingclass to get rid of this monstrous despot who knows how to organize only defeats of the working class. Either the workers will overthrow Stalin and regenerate the Soviet Union in the spirit which once moved it, the spirit of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917—or the Soviet Union will go down under the blows of the imperialists.

The Soviet Union must be saved! It can become again what it was in Lenin's time: drill ground of the world revolution! In spite of Stalin's depredations, the economic conquests of the October Revolution still remain, living proof that the workers can oust the capitalists and transform private property into state property, the necessary economic system for the road to socialism. That nationalized property is the Soviet Union. That is what we must defend against the capitalist world and against Stalin.

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

All year long we are fed pap from the pulpits and the press, on the screen and over the air waves. But it takes Christmas to place all this sham in its proper setting of sharply chiselled contrasts.

All the preachers and all the preachers' men bleat about peace and goodwill. But the gossamer web of their phrases fails to cover a single gaping wound in the bodies of men rent apart on the battlefields. It fails to cover the shattering frames of the cold and starving millions.

Every day of every year men, women, and children are nailed to the cross of war and greed and privation. And on this under the pathetic figure of one such crucified man the preachers try to tell us again that this is all in the order of things, that this is part of the divinely-ordained beauty and mystery of life, that after the cup of pain shall come the soothing draft of salvation in a world better than man can build.

And with that we're supposed to pull in our belts and go back to another 364 days of dying,

killing, starving—whichever our masters decree we shall do.

The capitalist system that still rules the world offers in the reality of things bloody war and mass starvation, dressing it up withinsel, rouging the lips of a death's head. You can't deal with carriers of deadly disease unless you drain out the swamps where they breed, and you can't do away with war and want unless you put an end to the capitalist order of things.

The same people, the same newspapers, politicians, preachers, writers, radio commentators, who fill the Christmas air with their dripping phrases about peace on earth are preparing to sweep the working men and women of this country into the holocaust of war.

But if we are to take the idea of peace on earth seriously, we've got to work with might and main to prevent them from doing so, and we'll do this by thrusting them from the seats of power and setting out to build a new kind of world.

STALINIST HOLD SLIPPING IN CIO UNIONS

Brophy Joins Witch Hunt; South Bend Demands Ouster

By GEORGE CLARKE

The Stalinists have been walking a tight-rope in the unions since the Hitler-Stalin pact. We said that in the SOCIALIST APPEAL two months ago on the occasion of Lewis' announcement of the CIO purge. In the last two weeks several prominent Stalinist performers have fallen off the tight rope and into the net of the official bureaucracy.

First is the case of John Brophy. A few days ago Brophy turned up at a convention of the CIO United Retail and Wholesale Employees in Detroit and denounced the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany in the same breath. Speaking as a representative of John L. Lewis, he said:

"We condemn the brutality of a Nazi Germany on the march and we condemn a Soviet Union turned imperialistic."

Brophy's Record

Brophy was one of the leading Stalinist caucus engineers in the top circles of the C. I. O. The job of replacing good progressive organizers with incompetent and bureaucratic Stalinist agents was one of his special assignments. The defense of Communist party dictatorships in the CIO unions against the revolt of the rank and file was another little duty he performed. It was Brophy who engineered the appointment of Harry Bridges as west coast CIO regional director which resulted in driving out the progressive Sailors Union, splitting the labor movement there wide open and plunging it into the most violent internecine struggle.

Brophy's defection is a major blow for the Stalinists. For the progressive rank and file, however it can only mean the weakening of the Kremlin bureaucracy and the strengthening of the Roosevelt-Lewis bureaucracy. Brophy, as his jingo statement indicates, will be no less faithful in the service of Lewis than he was in the service of the Stalinists.

South Bend Sours on C. P.

The second defection is that of the South Bend CIO Industrial Union Council. A resolution was presented by the Studebaker Local 5, United Automobile Workers of America, and unanimously carried by the Council on Dec. 6, denouncing Stalin's invasion of Finland, urging that the Communist Party be removed from the ballot in state, county and Federal elections and prohibiting any "known member of the communist party from holding office in any St. Joseph county CIO local or any CIO affiliate which may exist in said county."

The chickens are coming home to roost—with a vengeance. South Bend was a stronghold of the Stalinists almost since the inception of the CIO. The Studebaker local was considered their private property. Now in the mass revulsion and disgust with Stalinism, the movement is catapulted in a reactionary direction. Beginning with justified indignation against Stalin's criminal methods in Finland, the resolution concludes, however, with a denunciation of the Soviet Union in the same words as the reactionary capitalist press: "the ideological brothers of the maniac Hitler and his crew of gangsters who now rule Germany . . . a policy of unlimited aggression and imperialistic methods." And finally the resolution reaches the reactionary conclusion of the Dies Committee: outlaw the Communist party.

Stalinism waged a war against militants and progressives in the trade unions. Its methods and policies fed the most reactionary barrage. But we warn the progressives not to hop from the Stalinist frying pan into the reactionary fire.

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Why Doesn't Their Charity Begin At Home?



WPA Strikers' Enemies Lead 'Finland Day' In Minneapolis

Harrington Evasive in Answers To Queries on Frameup Trial

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 17—Col. F. C. Harrington, head of the WPA, was here this week for a two-day conference with WPA officials and businessmen. The colonel talked glibly about every topic under the sun except the ONE topic that the workers of Minneapolis are interested in: the conviction of 33 WPA workers and the pending trials of the others—162 in all were indicted—for the "crime" of joining the nationwide WPA strike last July.

When reporters queried him for an opinion on the mass prosecutions, Harrington said: "We don't consider we have anything to do with that. That is fully in the hands of the Department of Justice." It certainly is—that's where Harrington and his chief, Roosevelt, put it.

Harrington got off a lot of hypocritical statements about what the War Deal has done for the unemployed. But he also let slip a few interesting facts. He admitted that the 18-months layoff clause, one of the chief measures which provoked the WPA strike, would be "seriously debated" in the next session of Congress. Of the 750,000 men and women laid off WPA under that clause, less than 20 percent have gotten back on WPA, the colonel admitted.

Anti-Laborites "Help" Finland

The Minneapolis Citizens Alliance gang—the union-busters who pressed for the prosecution of the WPA strikers and who are at this very moment fighting tooth and nail against providing relief to the army of the unemployed here—are busy these days providing relief—for Finland! Enemy No. 1 of organized labor, Governor Stassen, has proclaimed a "Finland Day". Mayor Leach, whose police are this very week being used as strikebreakers against the Puffer-Hubbard furniture strikers; J. D. Holtzman, merchant, Republican leader, friend of the Nazis, who has

been appointed Minnesota chairman of the Finnish Relief Fund; J. G. Byam, president of the Minnesota National Bank, vice president of the First National Bank and treasurer of the Finnish Fund; B. F. Andreen, anti-labor former department commander of the American Legion; Mrs. John Dalrymple, fashionable anti-laborite; Charles Bolles Rogers of the Van Dusen Harrington grain firm, heading the program committee for the Finnish Fund—these and all sorts of doctors and lawyers who have never been known in the history of this city to support ONE liberal cause, are out collecting relief for Finland.

Trotsky Statement On Dies Backing Down

Mr. Dies' declaration December 12 on the reasons for his dropping the plan to have Trotsky come to the United States is absolutely false. Dies claims that he "failed to receive assurances from Mexico that Trotsky would be permitted to return to Mexico." Nobody is obliged to furnish such assurances to Mr. Dies, who is neither the President of the United States, nor the Secretary of State, nor a consular official. The United States consul in Mexico was given full assurances in written form by the Secretaria de Gobernacion of Mexico that I may freely go to the United States and return to this country. Dies' attempt to unload the responsibility for his change of mind upon the Mexican government is completely disloyal.

I was invited on October 12 by the Committee to appear before it at Austin, Texas, on November 12. I immediately requested two collaborators from the United States to help me locate the necessary documents, quotations, dates, to translate them into English, and so on, because I considered the role and duty of a witness in a case of such importance as very serious.

On November 2, the representative of the Committee, J. B. Matthews, informed my attorney, Mr. Goldman, that the hearings had been postponed to December between the tenth and fifteenth, but assured him at the same time that my appearance was assured "one hundred percent." Mr. Goldman, in full agreement with me, explained to Mr. Matthews, the Chief Investigator of the Committee, that my political aims of course had nothing in common with the reactionary political aims of Mr. Dies, that the only thing I could promise was to speak the truth. I am afraid that this was the reason why Mr. Dies dropped his plan. If I wished to give this a severe but authoritative characterization, I would call it a "sordid procedure."

Mr. Dies says that he may send an investigator to Mexico to "take Trotsky's statement." But I never invited his representative to Mexico, irrespective as to whether or not he presented me with an assurance that he would be permitted to return to the United States. I agreed only to make a public deposition before a Committee of the House of Representatives with the full possibility of elucidating all obscure questions through cross-examination. If Mr. Dies wishes my opinions in written form only, he can read my books.

L. TROTSKY

December 12, 1939
Coyoacan, D.F.

League, Allied Council, U. S. Backing Finland

Undeclared War to Be Fought by Lending Money, Arms, Planes to the Finns

Swiftly putting teeth into last week's action of the League of Nations against the Soviet Union, the Allied Supreme War Council, in a three-hour session Tuesday, decided—in the words of the Associated Press—"to give all moral and material aid possible to Finland without weakening its own war with Germany."

The decision means virtually war against the Soviet Union except that, as with so many of the wars in the last two decades, it is not officially declared.

The day before the Allied move, the United States left the stage of propaganda and "relief" and went on to direct war moves against the Soviet Union, with the announcement by Charles Edison, Acting Secretary of the U. S. Navy, that more than forty of the latest and speediest fighting planes; built for the navy, were being released immediately to Finland.

HOW THEY FIGHT HITLERISM IN A DEMOCRACY

(Union News Service)

TORONTO, Dec. 9—C. H. Millard, Canadian secretary of the CIO, was arrested here Dec. 6 by Ontario Provincial Police on charges based on Section 39B of the "Defense of Canada" regulations, which were adopted when Canada declared war.

Millard is charged with making statements "prejudicial to recruiting" during the CIO Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union organizing campaign in Timmins, Ontario's gold mining center.

Section 39B declares that: "No person shall by word of mouth spread reports or make statements, false or otherwise, intended or likely to prejudice the recruiting, training, discipline or administration of any of His Majesty's Forces."

That these planes were but the first shipment of arms with others to follow was indicated when Edison pointed out that because neither the Soviet Union nor Finland has declared war, the Neutrality Act provisions do not apply and therefore Finland can purchase arms here on credit. A "moral embargo" on the shipment of arms to the Soviet Union has been "requested" of manufacturers by Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

Sending Troops Planned

The undeclared war was already indicated last week, after the League of Nations expelled the Soviet Union and urged its members to come to the aid of Finland, when the Associated Press reported from Geneva that "in high diplomatic quarters here it was suggested that foreign troops now idling in the allied armies may become fighting volunteers for the Finns. The idea of an International Brigade for Finland . . . began to leak out of the League corridor conversations. . . Military experts said that the French were eager to find a wide open battleground and that the Baltic states and Western Russia might be viewed in Paris and London as the longest but easiest way around Germany's Siegfried Line."

Even before the League action, the authoritative New York Times editorially declared:

"Events are now moving with great speed. . . and setting in motion forces which, before they are spent, may radically change the whole nature of the war in Europe."

Among the "indignant democracies" coming to Finland's aid are Mussolini's Italy—not content with "student demonstrations" for Finland, it has sent already fifty bombers—Franco's Spain and Fascist Portugal.

The unexpected difficulties which the Red Army is experiencing in its invasion of Finland, ascribed by military experts to the disorganization of the Red Army by the loss of its leading personnel as a result of Stalin's purges, have enormously encouraged the swift development of the anti-Soviet moves.

With "poor little Finland" as a pretext, and immeasurably aided by Stalin's cynical and obviously false alibis for the invasion, the imperialists have moved against the Soviet Union with a brazen boldness which scarcely would have seemed possible a month ago.

This move of the imperialists was however, projected long before they found a pretext. At one stage or another of this war, it has been clear for years, the imperialists would attempt to forcibly smash the Soviet Union's monopoly of foreign trade and open to capitalist exploitation this area, closed to the capitalist world by the Russian Revolution.

SEEK AID FOR FINNS, NONE FOR RELIEFERS

Toledo Has Special Day for "Poor Little Finland"

TOLEDO, Ohio, Dec. 17—According to Governor Bricker, the Toledo-Cleveland relief crisis has been satisfactorily solved. The relief situation "is now in good shape," he told reporters in New York on the 15th.

Two days later the Toledo Times carried a story which completely refuted the governor. "Ninety-five families are facing immediate eviction from their homes because of nonpayment of rent." These are only the first victims, more are to come. For to the horrors of no relief have been added no payment of rent for relief clients. No, the relief situation is not solved, but on the contrary grows more acute daily.

For "lack of funds" the schools have been closed for a period of six weeks. To "solve" this problem, the Toledo Real Estate Board has proposed to cut away from the schools all the "frills"—by which they mean the kindergartens, health service, art, music, subject supervision, sick leaves for school employees, instruction in home economics and industrial arts, etc.

In the face of this atrocious situation, Mayor Roy C. Start, with the sanction of both the city council and the "substantial business elements", has issued a high-pressured plea for funds for . . . "poor little Finland!"