

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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High Court Rejects Scottsboro Appeal

Secret Paris Meeting Decides for Early Liquidation of Comintern

Trotskyists To Be Annihilated Is Main Slogan

By Liston M. Oak
On April 21, 1937, there was an historic conference of the representatives of the 17 leading Communist Parties of the world, in Paris. Such conferences have displaced the Congress of the Comintern, which met every year or two until 1928, after which it was seven years before the Seventh Congress which threw Leninism overboard and adopted Menshevism as its guiding philosophy.

...Earl Browder—that "great and beloved leader" of the CPUSA who assures Roosevelt that "he has nothing to fear from the Communists"—was present at the Paris conference. I was in Barcelona at the time, and know that the representative of the American CP in Spain attended. Later Julian Gorkin, POUM leader now in a Spanish Stalinist jail, showed me a full report of the proceedings. (I presume Mike Gold will cite this fact to prove his charge that I am a spy!)

To Dissolve Comintern

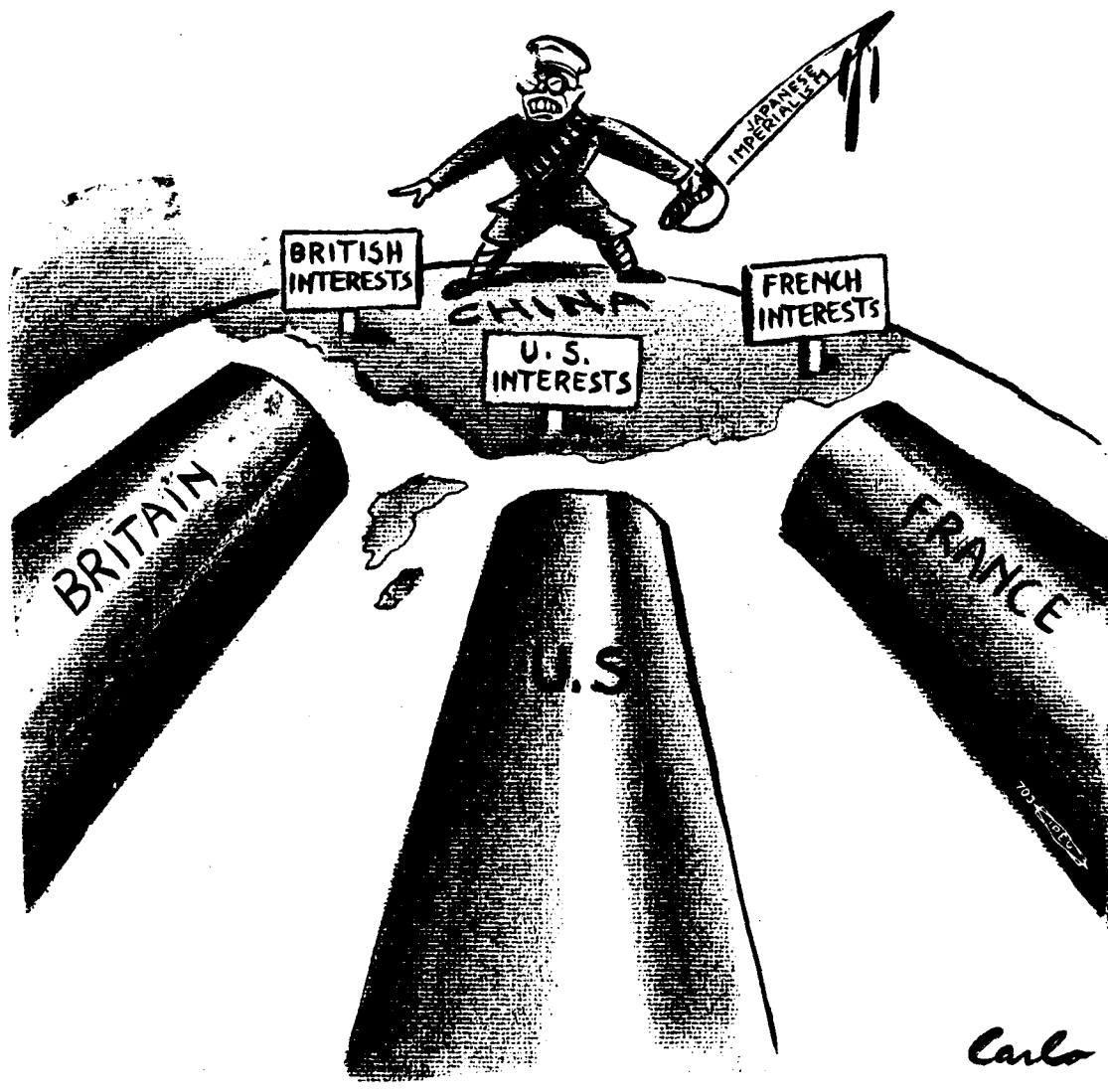
There were two main items on the agenda for discussion—or rather, for instruction from the Kremlin, for even among the big shots of the CP there is no longer any discussion, except on how to carry out orders. These two questions were:

1. The physical liquidation of the POUM and other revolutionary opposition to the Spanish People's Front, and the campaign against the "Trotskyite agents of fascism" internationally; and 2. The possible liquidation of the Comintern, and the necessity of finding a substitute for it as a weapon of the Soviet foreign office.

The secretaries of the 17 leading Communist Parties were in-

(Continued on page 3)

"Collective Security"



Convention Postponed for Wider Discussions

With the publication of the first issue of the internal bulletin this week an animated discussion in the ranks of the left wing socialist branches, in preparation for the national convention, got into full swing. The original plan for the convention—to draw an organizational balance of the expulsion campaign of the La Guardia socialists and their centrist lickspittles—has been broadened into a decision to put all the fundamental problems of the labor movement, national and international, on the agenda.

Owing to the additional time required to elaborate the main political resolutions on these basic questions, and in order to

provide adequate time for discussion by the membership, the convention, originally called for the last week in November, has been postponed until Friday, December 31 at Chicago.

The first internal discussion bulletin, comprising 70 mimeographed pages, is now being studied by the membership. It contains theses and countertheses and discussion articles from various points of view on the problems of the civil war in Spain. Other internal bulletins on American perspectives and revolutionary tasks, on the trade union question, on a basic declaration of revolutionary principles and on the Soviet Union

are to follow in rapid order. Provision is being made throughout the party for the full and free presentation of all points of view in the oral discussion at branch and membership meetings and for the representation of minorities in the convention on a proportional basis. Unlike the practices of the fraudulent "democracy" followed by Altman-Tyler & Co., who know no way of meeting argument and criticism but by "gag Laws" and expulsions, the discussion in our ranks is a real discussion and the democracy is a real democracy. By this method of internal democracy the collective opinion of the membership can be recorded

'Liberal' Black Ducks Opinion; Youth Faces 75 Year Sentence

The appeal of Haywood Patterson, leading defendant in the six and a half year old Scottsboro case, was rejected last Tuesday by a unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court.

The newest Associate Justice, Hugo L. Black, apparently disqualified himself from participating in the decision of the Court, according to the announcement made in the formal orders.

Faces 75-Year Term

Patterson, one of the nine young Negroes framed-up by the Alabama reactionaries and Negro-haters on the charge of rape, has been convicted on that charge four times, has been condemned three times to die, and is now under sentence to serve the barbaric term of seventy-five years in prison.

His appeal against the decision of the lower courts, whipped up to a frenzy of Negro-baiting, was based on having been deprived of the constitutional guarantee of due process of law, because he was refused permission to be tried in a Federal instead of a State court and because the jury was instructed by the judge to find him guilty even if he had not committed rape but had only "conspired" to do so.

That the Supreme Court should cover up the reactionary Southern bearers of "white supremacy", is not very surprising.

"Liberal" Black Ducks

Of considerable significance, however, is the position adopted by Justice Black, ex-Klansman, highly-touted "liberal" and self-asserted friend of the Jews and Negroes. He had an opportunity to express himself clearly against the loathsome frame-up. Black ducked the issue in order not to offend his Southern-cracker friends.

The Communist Party is doubly guilty, by virtue of its suppression in recent years of the mass protest movement, and the surrender of the case to the Tammany attorney, Leibowitz. It is high time to revive the mass movement.

Swiss Police Arrest Assassins Of Murdered G.P.U. Man, Reiss

Documents Reveal Tortures Used To Get Confessions from Innocent Victims of Moscow Purges and Framed-Up Trials

By Leon Trotsky

I have already described the assassination of Ignace Reiss, an important foreign agent of the G.P.U. and the Comintern, near Lausanne, Switzerland. The assassination was plotted by another G.P.U. agent stationed at Rome, Mrs. Gertrude Schildbach. The reason for the assassination: Disgusted by the Moscow trials, Ignace Reiss wrote a letter on July 17, 1937, to the Central Committee in Moscow, proclaiming his definite rupture with them. When I gave you this information, it must have seemed to the causal onlooker to

consists of unwarranted assertions impossible of proof. Now the whole matter has become public. On October 2, two of the assassins of Reiss were arrested in Paris. The Swiss police, which is not tied by diplomatic interests, seem to have done a good job. The police have established that the Chevrolet car in which Reiss was killed had been rented to a Swiss woman, Renata Steiner. She was immediately arrested and after several days questioning, she confessed to have been an agent of the G.P.U. for some years. She named all the members of the G.P.U. gang. Of the two arrested in Paris, one is a White Russian, Dmitry Smirensky, and the other a French photographer, Pierre Ducommet.

Assassins Arrested

The identities of others have been established. They are: a former White Russian officer, Kondratieff, and another White Russian, Pierre Schwarzenburg, and an enigmatic person named "Roasi." It is possible that as I relate this, they have already been arrested. Gertrude Schildbach is also being hunted by the police. In her hotel room a box of chocolates, which is now in the hands of the Swiss police, was found treated with strychnine. Even the French press is now forced to recognize that the assassination was committed on orders from Moscow.

The active utilization of White Guard officers has become a general method of the G.P.U. abroad. The White military organization is almost entirely in the hands of the G.P.U. The kidnapping of General Mueller was committed in order to replace him with General Skoblin, an old agent of the G.P.U., and in this way to have the free disposition of the whole Union of the White Army.

The arrested and the hunted are professional murderers in the service of the G.P.U. A series of crimes will be disclosed. Not without interest is the fact that in the bloody Chevrolet abandoned by he assassins on the road, the police found a new overcoat with a Madrid label. It seems very probable that the owner participated in the kidnapping and assassination of Andres Nin, Erwin Wolf, and other revolutionaries in Spain and was, as a high specialist in this work, urgently summoned by Schildbach to Switzerland.

Stalinist Press Silent

The European "communist" press, as for example the French *L'Humanite* and *Ce Soir*, seem to be totally paralyzed. They seem to have lost the use of their tongues: it is not easy for them

to write about the Trotskyite "terrorists."

In the next period we will thus have in Switzerland a trial of a G.P.U. gang, one of the most sensational trials of our time. I suppose that Mrs. Reiss, the widow of the assassinated, will appear before the court as a witness. There is no doubt that a powerful light will be thrown on the Moscow trials.

In connection with the assassination of Ignace Reiss and the discovery of his assassins, I disclose very important information coming for the most part from the papers of Reiss himself but also from other sources. It would be premature to make it all public at the present time but I can communicate some of it to you. I must warn the G.P.U. that new assassinations will not prevent this exposure, since the documents are at different points and in safe hands.

(1) You know that a part of my archives was stolen in November 1936 from a scientific institute in Paris. There is no doubt that the theft was committed by the G.P.U. in connection with the Moscow trial. Now it seems more than probable that one of the organizers of the theft was the arrested Smirensky. It appears that he was living in the house next to the one where my son, Leon Sedov, lived, with the purpose of having him under his close surveillance. I don't doubt that Smirensky and company were preparing to assassinate Leon Sedov, who is inscribed with red ink on the list of the G.P.U.

Denounced to Police

(2) On August 26, scarcely more than a week before the assassination of Reiss, the French police received an anonymous denunciation from Switzerland against Reiss, alleging him to be an international financial swindler. All the names under which he lived in Europe were indicated and these names were known only to the G.P.U., which fabricated false passports for him. On an international scale the denunciation of political adversaries to foreign police with false accusations is one of the preferred methods of the G.P.U.

(3) The G.P.U. thus denounced as an agent of the Gestapo an old German revolutionary Grylewicz, now an emigre in Czechoslovakia. The affair was directed by Yezhov, the new chief of the G.P.U. Slutsky, the representative of the G.P.U. in France, expressed many times his indignation at the slowness of the Czechoslovakian police. Finally, Slutsky and his collaborators succeeded in securing the arrest of Grylewicz, but after several months of imprisonment the authorities gave Grylewicz his freedom because the denunciation proved to be false.

This same Slutsky, in the presence of witnesses, described the questioning of Mrachkovsky, a famous general of the civil war and one of the defendants shot in August 1936, as having lasted ninety hours without interruption. This was one of the methods of extracting confessions.

Challenges Fischer

The search of the police in the home of Rakovsky (former head of the Ukrainian government, member of the Central Committee, ambassador to London and to Paris) lasted eighteen hours without food or rest for the sixty-seven year old man. The wife of Rakovsky tried to serve him tea. The G.P.U. opposed this on the pretext that she might poison him. It was the preparation of Rakovsky for the first questioning. The story is well known by Mr. Louis Fischer, the semi-official Soviet spokesman. I am wondering if he will try to deny it.

The G.P.U. has an order from Stalin to organize Trotskyist trials abroad at any price in order to confirm before world public opinion at least a part of the accusations in the Moscow trials. The most important agents are engaged in this work. Tremendous sums of money are being spent for this purpose, especially in Spain, France, Mexico, United States, but also in Czechoslovakia and Austria. I hope to give you more detailed information about this in the

near future.

The G.P.U. made and is making all efforts to stage a Rykov-Bukharin trial in order to counteract hostile public opinion with new confessions. In May, Rykov, the former head of the Soviet government, and Bukharin, the former head of the Comintern, were brought from prison to a meeting of the Central Committee of the party. They refused to confess to alleged treason, terrorism, and so on. Stalin shouted out, "Back to prison with them! Let them defend themselves there!" A series of

provisional confessions of the alleged members of the right opposition (Rykov-Bukharin) are aimed to break down the two most important defendants and to oblige them to play their role according to the script of the G.P.U. in a new trial.

A characteristic detail concerning Gertrude Schildbach, who organized the assassination of Reiss: She remains a German citizen born in Alsace. She asked for a substantial sum of money from the G.P.U. in order to become a French citizen. She received the money but she never took corresponding steps before the French authorities.

That is enough for today. Other things not less important will follow. In spite of our sufficiently turbulent times, the question of the activities of the G.P.U. gang merits, I believe, some attention. October 19, 1937.

Group Denounce The Kidnapping Of Wolf, Rein

Men and women prominent in American liberal and labor circles issued a statement today, protesting the abduction of Erwin Wolf, well-known labor journalist and former secretary of Leon Trotsky, by Stalin's G. P. U. in Spain. The statement, signed by such outstanding figures as James T. Farrell, Ernest Sutherland Bates, Anita Brenner, L o r i n e Pruette among others, directs its protest to the Catalanian Generalidad, the Valencian Government, Ambassador De Los Rios and the Czechoslovakian Ambassador.

Hit Rein Abduction

It protests not only the action taken against Wolf, but the similar action taken by the G.P.U. in the case of Mark Rein, correspondent of the Copenhagen *Sozialdemokraten* and son of the Russian Menshevik leader, Raphael Abramovich, a member of the Executive Committee of the Second International.

Wolf, a Czechoslovakian citi-

zen, was in Spain as the representative of the *London News Chronicle*. He was Trotsky's secretary at the time of Piatakov's alleged airplane trip to see Trotsky, when the latter was in Norway. Wolf published many statements since the second Moscow trial (the trial of Radek, Piatakov) regarding this trip in the course of his testimony and was an important witness in the investigation of the charges against Trotsky. The motives of the abduction are thus quite obvious.

Rein, in his capacity as editor of *Sozialdemokraten*, had made sensational relations concerning the activities of the Stalinists in Spain and in the Soviet Union. The source of his information, it appears, was someone high in the councils of the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R.

Demand Investigation

"As supporters of the Spanish workers and peasants in their fight against fascism", the statement concludes, "and as friends of democratic rights, we, authors, fellow-journalists, including members of the American Newspaper Guild, protest against the secret seizure of Erwin Wolf and Mark Rein, demand that the Czechoslovakian Consul and the Spanish governmental authorities immediately investigate their whereabouts, and accord to these foreign journalists sympathetic to the struggle against Fascism, all the necessary legal guarantees for their personal safety. We hold the officials of the Spanish government responsible for their security."

The full list of signers to date, follows: Ernest Sutherland Bates, Anita Brenner, James P. Cannon, James Casey, Eleanor Clark, Max Eastman, James T. Farrell, Charles Yale Harrison, Sidney Hook, Eugene Lyons, Dwight MacDonald, Felix Morrow, George Novack, Liston M. Oak, Arthur Pincus, Lorine Pruette, Meyer Schapiro, Clara G. Stillman, Carlo Tresca and B. J. Widick.

An Emergency

forces us to make this urgent appeal for funds. The whole program of revolutionary socialism in the United States is being seriously handicapped by the fact that the *Socialist Appeal* has not yet been in a position to finance its own expansion. Now it is not only a matter of expansion—but ordinary weekly printing and overhead expenses which must be paid.

You do not want the *Appeal* delayed. You know as well as we do how important it is to get the *Appeal* out on time each week.

So far because of the help of a handful of comrades, we have been able to publish on time. But these few comrades cannot continue to bear the burden and unless all comrades and sympathizers make a special effort to get subscriptions and contributions at once, there may be a sad story to tell in this column next week.

We plead—beg—demand—insist that you help before it is too late. Use the blank and send it in with your new subscription or donation and don't delay.

Socialist Appeal

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Words Out Of the Past Which the Stalinists Want to Forget

"It is difficult to forecast the lineup in the next imperialist war. But it is very probable that such a war would start either as an attack upon the Soviet Union or, as Stalin said, would be rapidly transferred into a united attack of the imperialists against the U.S.S.R.

"But whatever the exact circumstances in which the hostilities would begin, the French Communist Party would continue to wage its relentless and unceasing struggle against French capitalism and their own imperialists. It would raise Lenin's slogan of turning imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war. A Soviet France would be the best and only genuine ally of the Soviet Union.

"At the moment the immediate interests of French imperialism require friendly relations with the Soviet Union. But the defense of the Soviet Union ultimately depends upon the efforts of the interna-

tional working class. The hindering and crippling of the war machinery of all capitalist governments is among the most important tasks confronting the world proletariat. The fight against the war preparations of the imperialists is an integral part of the fight against capitalism, and if pushed with sufficient force, can assure the establishment of Soviet power before the outbreak of an imperialist slaughter. The anti-war struggle by its very nature is a defense of the Soviet Union and an advancement of the struggles of the working class against capitalism. It should be emphasized that under all circumstances the main task of the working class is the overthrow of the capitalists of its own country. The struggle in this direction makes for peace, the defense of the Soviet Union, and the furtherance of the interests of the international proletariat." *Daily Worker*, April 3, 1935. Reprinted in the *Daily Worker*, May 11, 1935.)

Secret Paris Meet Plans To Wipe Out Comintern

News from France and Spain indicates that "progress" is being made toward organic unity of Communist and Socialist Parties. No basic differences on political principles divide them; the Socialists are only concerned by the question of control. Many of them object to domination from Moscow; many demand greater national autonomy and more party democracy; and many are honest and decent enough to abhor Stalinist GPU methods of terrorism.

Thorez and Cachin join with Blum and Chautemps in outlawing sit-down strikes and in demanding the suspension of the 40-hour-week law, so as to ensure capitalist recovery and prosperity without which the People's Front cannot survive.

Likewise in Spain, Pasionaria and Diaz and Hernandez join with Prieto and Negrin and Azana in the repressive drive against all revolutionary organizations—against even the left social democratic wing of the UGT and SP led by the reformist Caballero.

Does the approach to organic unity, and the unity in action already achieved, foreshadow the capture of the Second International by the Third? Does it mean the eventual liquidation of the Comintern? The revolutionary principles upon which the Comintern was founded are long since liquidated so far as it is concerned. Will this ideological liquidation be followed by organizational dissolution?

(Continued from page 1)
formed that the time had come to stop half-way measures against the "Trotskyite bandits and uncontrollable extremists"; they must be ruthlessly smashed as an obstacle to People's Frontism and the foreign policy of the Kremlin; they were also informed that if British, French and American imperialism demanded, as the price of a military alliance against Germany, Italy and Japan, that the Comintern be eliminated from the international arena, that must be done.

Soviet Russia, since Stalin has eliminated all opposition from the left by mass executions and imprisonment, is ready if necessary, to pay the final price for military aid, for "collective security", for an entente with all "good", "peaceful, democratic, progressive" capitalist powers against the bad, war-like, aggressive fascist powers threatening the USSR.

But the Stalinist bureaucracy will not readily surrender a powerful weapon—one which no other nation possesses—an international apparatus with influence out of all proportion to its numerical strength capable of aiding the ruling class in each democratic country in mobilizing the masses for war. An alternative must be found in case the British Tories refuse to shake the hand of friendship proffered by Stalin. As long as there is any danger, real or imaginary, that the Comintern may change its line again and take another leap to the left, even the liberal capitalists hesitate to align themselves with Russia.

This alternative is the capture of the Second International. Failing that, the organization of a People's Front International.

In line with this perspective, negotiations were pushed more energetically for organic unity of the French, Spanish and Italian CP and SP. In China the CP re-entered the Kuomintang which it had characterized for a decade as a "counter-revolutionary, fascist organization, an agency of Japanese imperialism". Mao Tse-tung again clasps hands with Chiang Kai-shek, called a "fascist

butcher" for his mass execution of Chinese workers and peasants at Canton and Shanghai in 1937; Chiang Kai-shek who for ten years has led armies against the Chinese Soviets instead of resisting the encroachments of Japanese imperialism. The Chinese Soviets have been liquidated and the Red Army is part of the "People's Army"; the CP has pledged itself not to carry on any revolutionary activity whatever, just as Earl Browder has made a similar pledge to Roosevelt in more cautious language. Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek, Browder and Roosevelt, the Red Virgin Pasionaria and Azana, are comrades and pals—or at least the "Communists" seek such friendship.

The Chinese People's Front, which failed so disastrously in 1927, is resuscitated—why? Browder and Gannes and Pollit and Strachey advise American and British imperialists to take advantage of the generous offer extended by Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek—that those nations which help China in her hour of need and win her friendship will be given concessions—markets, resources—to develop. Stalinists are on their knees before the capitalist class of the democratic countries, begging for aid for Soviet Russia, assuring them they need fear no revolution in China, in Spain, in France, in the U. S. A. or anywhere, assuring the British and French imperialists that the Spanish People's Front is the best defender of their interests in Spain against the threat of German and Italian imperialism, and against the threat of proletarian revolution. Why this disgraceful spectacle?

Drive Towards War

The answer is simple, but the Comintern has so long enjoyed a reputation as a revolutionary organization, has so long posed as the inheritor of the traditions of Marx and Lenin, that it is difficult for many comrades to believe that its degeneration has gone so deep. It is hard for many

revolutionists to accept the established fact—the Comintern is nothing whatever today but the instrument of the Stalinist bureaucracy misruling the USSR. This ruling caste of Russia has the jitters. It has staked everything upon forming an alliance with the democratic capitalist powers against Germany, Italy and Japan, and hopes for the only action that the Stalinists believe can stop these aggressive, "have-not" powers seeking re-division of the world—war. WAR.

Thus the Third International repeats the betrayal of the Second International in 1914. The acid test of every revolutionist is his attitude on war. The test proves that the Stalinists are not "against your 'own' imperialist government", that they do not seek to turn imperialist war into civil war. The patriotism of the social-democrats in 1914 and since is mild compared with the social patriotism of the Stalinists with their "twentieth-century Americanism", their nationalism in Spain and France and China. In every country they drape the flag—and not the red flag—about them and shout for collective action, for sanctions, for measures which they know full well will lead to war—in defense of the status quo, in defense of their own capitalist governments against the fascist menace, in defense of the national interests of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Logic of a Policy

The political line of the old internationals converge. Stalinists and social democrats may argue about details but that doesn't stop them from reaching an accord—and always on a social-democratic, reformist, opportunist program, far to the right of the left wing of the Second International. This complete capitulation to a political philosophy that has been proven utterly bankrupt, that led in a series of European countries, with the aid of "third period" ultra-leftist Stalinism, straight to fascist triumph,—this surrender, I say, is amazing.

Roy Burt 'Lifts' Minnesota's Charters; Left Has Membership

By Arthur Hopkins

MINNEAPOLIS.—Roy E. Burt, national secretary of the Socialist Party (Right wing) skulked into the Twin Cities on October 11 to investigate the party situation, and as a result of his findings, Locals Austin, St. Paul, and Minneapolis, comprising a membership of over 200 left wing socialists, have had their charters revoked. During his brief stay here Burt failed to meet with the State Executive Committee, which had informed Burt that it was ready to meet with the him at the St. Paul headquarters to discuss the Minnesota situation. While the State Committee awaited Burt, he was meeting with six people, two of whom being Appealites, and one not a party member. At this small meeting plans were laid for the expulsion of the revolutionists in Minnesota.

Ask "Loyalty Oath"

Letters have been sent all comrades in the affected Locals apprising them of the revocation of the three Local charters for "giving aid and support to a group dual to the Socialist Party." The letter goes on to state that "members of the Local are informed that they stand suspended and expelled under the decision of the National Executive Committee, but any member who so desires to disavow his relationship with a dual organization may, upon application and subject to regulations laid down by the N.E.C., be transferred as members at large and so maintain continuous membership in the Socialist Party."

Norman Thomas, leader of the expulsionists, has been in Minnesota, speaking in Bemidji before the Northern Minnesota

Educational Association, but like Burt, he has found no time to devote to the revolutionaries in this state. However, he found time, between whirlwind campaigns to convert liberals and dilettantes to become as "liberal" as himself and his group, to issue a statement to the capitalist press which reads: "Under the leadership of James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman of New York and Vincent R. Dunne of Minneapolis, followers of Trotsky have split off from the Socialist Party and have announced their intention of founding a new American Trotskyist party in Chicago this November." The statement reads further that "party locals in St. Paul, Austin and Minneapolis had been ousted and all officers dismissed," Herman Erickson of Minneapolis is appointed state representative of the party, and "moves to form a new state unit will be made in December." Erickson is well known as a non activist.

Members Solid

This act of the National Executive Committee in attempting to disorganize one of the banner state organizations of the Party, a section firmly grounded in the trade union movement of the state, which was one of the twelve state organizations which completed its campaign quota in the 1936 presidential race, is of the same criminal nature which finds this group of liquidators first flirting with the class collaborationists, social patriots and liberal bourgeoisie and ultimately embracing them.

But it is the inescapable logic, the inevitable consequence, of Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration flowing from the futile effort to build "socialism in one country", and that country a backward agricultural country; the destruction of inner party democracy and of the left opposition, the disastrous defeats during two decades suffered by the working class, the ascendancy of a clique in the USSR devoted basically to its own perpetuation and the defense of its interests—these factors only can explain the most terrible betrayal in history, accompanied by shocking atrocities against revolutionists.

The present line, the Stalinists claim, is not a new line, but an application of the old line to new conditions. In a sense that is true. The Soviet Union went into the League of Nations; its collaboration with imperialist powers in the Non-Intervention Committee, its alliance with Czecho-Slovakia

and France and fascist Turkey, its People's Front policy and its defense of the status quo, are all logical steps from its abandonment of Lenin's position that the League of Nations is, and by its very nature has to be, "a league of imperialist brigands".

If today Russia is tied hand and foot to Anglo-French Imperialism, if Russia is a planet moving in the orbit of the British Empire, if today the American C.P. endorses the candidates of capitalist parties and the Spanish and French and Chinese parties enter into class collaboration governments, it is not surprising. Stalinism could lead nowhere else.

The demise of the Third International will cause no heartaches among revolutionists. It will only remove the greatest barrier to the formation of a new International—and thousands of sincere revolutionists still deluded by Stalinism will join in this historic task.

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is pending.

Tell Me Who Your Friends Are

There is an old saw: "Tell me who your friends
are and I'll tell you who you are."

The Communist Party and the Thomas-Tyler
wing of the Socialist Party are both supporting
the Little Flower, LaGuardia—one of them brazenly
and shamelessly, the other cravenly and
shamefacedly. La Guardia in turn supports that
eminent guardian of people's liberties, George U.
Harvey.

The candidate of the American Labor Party for
Mayor is the same La Guardia. But to even things
up, La Guardia endorses that paladin of labor's
rights, advertising tycoon and admirer of Mus-
solini, Bruce Barton, for Congressman in the 17th
District, who is running against the A. L. P. can-
didate, George Backer, the distinguished proletarian
who is a millionaire real estate man on
the side.

All these Knights of the People's Front in New
York acclaim the chief weed in the garden of the
Little Flower, Thomas E. Dewey, Jr. Here indeed
in the People's choice. More than that, he is the
beloved of the labor chieftains. That is why the
Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union contributed
\$5,000 to his campaign. The same amount was
contributed to Dewey by the International Ladies
Garment Workers Union. We do not know how
much Browder has chipped in, but to judge by
his enthusiasm for comrade Dewey, he couldn't
have been tight-fisted about it. They are all the
friends of Dewey, who is a friend of La Guardia,
who is a friend of Harvey, who is a friend of the
rubber-hose and the lamp-post.

But Dewey has other friends, no less enthusias-
tic, no less generous. John D. Rockefeller 2nd has
given him \$2,500. Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rocke-
feller, Jr. kicked in with \$2,500 a piece. Nelson
A. Rockefeller (same tribe), who hasn't been
doing so well lately, gave only \$1,500, which is
certainly a hell of a paltry contribution for a
People's Fronter to make. It may be safely as-
sumed that if old man Rockefeller were still alive,
the campaign fund would have been enriched by
another dime. Mrs. Daniel Guggenheim, of the
Guggenheims, only gave Dewey \$1,000, but that
was evened out by Harry F. Guggenheim's \$2,500.
John Hay Whitney, of the Whitneys, who runs a
People's Front brokerage at 2 Wall Street, raised
the ante with a trifle of \$1,000, which was im-
mediately doubled by C. V. Whitney who runs
an exclusive People's Front Penthouse for Popular
Politicians at 230 Park Avenue (not to be con-
fused with the Wall Street Whitney).

The party and the candidates that are good
enough for the Rockefeller and the Guggenheims
(to say absolutely nothing about the Whitneys,
the William Nelson Cromwells, the Thomas D.
Thachers, the Harry Payne Bingham and other
Lumpen-millionaires), may be good enough for
the Twentieth-Century Americans on 13th Street.

But that's just what makes these parties and
candidates no good at all for the working class.
Let the workers of New York show their class
solidarity at the elections by writing in the name
of James P. Cannon, the revolutionary socialist
candidate for mayor.

Bela Kun in Prison

It is now established by the official Stalinist
press that Bela Kun, chairman of the Council of
People's Commissars of the short-lived Hungarian
Soviet Republic, has been arrested and imprisoned.

The formal charges, on the basis of which he
was arrested, are, if we are to believe the ap-
parently authenticated (and in any case, undeni-
ed) press dispatches quoting the official state-
ment in the Communist International magazine,
perfectly monstrous.

"The magazine said," reports the United Press
from Moscow on October 20, "Kun was charged
with Trotskyist activities which undermined the
popular front in Hungary. Such charges," adds
the report casually, "usually mean the death
penalty."

If we assume for a moment that Bela Kun—
known for anything but a critical attitude to-
wards the Stalin regime and its policies—did op-
pose the People's Front line, then what a horri-

fyng commentary it is on the police regime pre-
vailing in the Third International that opposition
to a political line should be answered by im-
prisonment! In Lenin's time, Kun was in real and
very active, open opposition to the Comintern
policy on more than one occasion; and not Kun
alone. Whoever would then have brought a warden
or a firing squad to answer the opponents with,
would have been driven out of the revolutionary
movement with a bullwhip, or sent to an asylum.
"Nous avons change tout cela," Stalin says now—
we have changed all that.—We have no political
arguments for our critics, but we do have the G.
P. U., the police the executioner.

For Bela Kun, a revolutionist can hold no brief.
He was in the forefront of that blackguard crew
headed by Stalin who, since 1923, worked sys-
tematically to drive the knife deeper into the
heart of the Russian revolution and the Com-
munist International. While the genuine prolet-
arian revolutionists were being slandered, ex-
pelled, imprisoned, framed-up, deported and shot,
he never opened his lips save to yell louder than
his neighbor for the blood of the "Trotskyists".

Only, it is not for his crimes that the police
regime has arrested and imprisoned him; other-
wise, Stalin and Yezhov would head the list of
the arrested. Kun's arrest is but a link in the
chain with which Stalin is strangling the world
revolutionary movement.

As will be seen elsewhere in this issue, the order
has come from the Kremlin to prepare the official
dissolution of the Comintern. Sinking deeper into
the swamp of his own creation, Stalin must every
day give a new gage of his respectability, of his
hostility to revolution, to the world bourgeoisie.
To the capitalist class, Bela Kun has for a long
time symbolized the "subversive agitator," speed-
ing conspiratively from one land to another, light-
ing the flames of insurrection. Wherever the
the class struggle raged fiercely, the frightened
reptile press reported that the "Hungarian dic-
tator, Bela Kun" was on the scene.

Now, Stalin, who has murdered all the old Rus-
sian revolutionists in order to prove how little the
bourgeoisie need fear him, is saying to his im-
perialist allies: "You are afraid of such people as
Kun, just because of his old reputation for making
trouble for you? Well, you need be afraid no
longer. And Kun is not the last of non-Russian
communists I intend taking care of."

This is how the Genghis Khan of the Kremlin
keeps adding to those dreadful crimes for which
he shall yet render an accounting to a re-awak-
ened world proletariat.

The Government of Defeat

The fall of Gijon at the hands of the Fascists
tragically serves to underscore the real nature
of the People's Front regime in Spain.

The main argument used by its partisans
against the struggle for proletarian power in
Spain has been that a "democratic People's Front
regime" would be a government of victory against
Fascism. Naive souls drew solace from the
thought that if we did not have a working class
in power, at least the Fascists would be defeated.

But with its vacillation, its toleration of treason,
its vicious suppression of proletarian organiza-
tions, the People's Front has accumulated nothing
but defeats—inevitable consequence of its course.

Early in September 1936, Irun fell, for lack of
ammunition supplied by the government. In the
middle of that month, fell San Sebastian, surren-
dered intact by the traitorous chiefs of the de-
fense. In the month that followed, Franco was
allowed to march straight east from Badajoz,
through Talavera de la Reina, to Toledo, and then
to the very gates of Madrid. On February 10,
1937, Malaga was lost, betrayed by socialist min-
ister Prieto, who deprived it of the navy, and by
under-secretary of war Asensio, only now openly
denounced as a traitor. On June 19, Bilbao was
surrendered intact, despite the heroic insistence
of the revolutionary militiamen that only ruins
be left for the Fascists.

The famous June "offensive" on the Aragon
Front, left without artillery or airplanes, was
used to wipe out the anarchists and the POUM,
and the collectivized farms. The much-touted July
offensive on the Madrid front proved to be a
fiasco. The great victories of the People's Front
are two: the destruction of the famous Aragon
Council (the collectives of the peasants) by the
Stalinist Lister Brigade, and the employment of
10,000 Assault Guards in punitive expeditions
throughout Catalonia against the anarchist and
POUM workers and peasants in June and July.

The People's Front government, like class col-
laboration in general, is equivalent to surrender,
capitulation, treachery, defeat. Victory is pos-
sible only by the most widespread mobilization of
the proletariat and peasantry—on a working class
line, with working class methods, with working
class objectives.

Roosevelt Regime Is Main Prop of Brazil Oligarchy

By Bernard Ross

For the second time since the November 1935 rebellion, the
Vargas government in Brazil has decreed a "state of siege". It
means the re-establishment of the death penalty, the annulment of
home inviolability, a strict military censorship not only of the press
but of the private mails, and the removal of legislative, judicial
and gubernatorial immunity. The government justifies such drastic
action by maintaining that a
"vast communist plot" fabricated
with the aid of Moscow gold is
afoot.

The Imperialist Hand

What lies behind the action of
Vargas? Does a communist plot
really exist? Unfortunately, ge-
nuine communist activities and
ideas play an insignificant role
in Brazil today. It is not threat-
ening "communist" activities that
determined Vargas' action but
the sinister forces of interna-
tional imperialist rivalries jockey-
ing for positions. The govern-
ment decree has as its fundamen-
tal purpose the perpetuation of
American imperialist hegemony.

As a fresh imperialist carnage
becomes more imminent with
each passing day, Yankee imperi-
alism exerts greater efforts to
assure its economic hegemony in
the western hemisphere so that
in the coming war Latin-Ameri-
ca's immeasurable resources will
be at Wall Street's disposal. Ar-
mando de Salles Oliveira, ex-
governor of Sao Paulo, is the
candidate of British imperialism
which dominates the economic
life of that state, holding in its
hands the coffee plantations,
railroads and the tramway and
electric power industries. Ostensi-
bly being used against commun-
ism, the state of siege, by pro-
hibiting any criticism of the
government, will be used to ham-
per and intimidate the Oliveira
opposition. That opposition pre-
tends to stand for more "demo-
cracy" but it should not be for-
gotten that when Vargas carried
through his coup in 1930 against
the British puppet, Washington
Luis, the former employed the
same liberal terminology in his
efforts to win popular support.

Since 1930, Brazil has been
living through one of the most
dictatorial periods of its post-
revolution history. Vargas has
ruthlessly suppressed every de-
mocratic, anti-imperialist mani-
festation of the Brazilian people,
in the revolutions of October
1931 and July 1932. The greatest
mass explosion against Vargas,
the November 1935 rebellion, was
drowned in a sea of blood.

Brazil is the most backward of
all the Latin-American nations,
with feudalism supreme. Coffee,
the economic foundation of Bra-
zilian economy, accounting for 70

per cent. of the national income,
is controlled by a handful of
opulent feudal "fazendeiros".
The clearest expression of Bra-
zil's economic backwardness lies
in the fact that in spite of its
larger land surface it only has
17,000 miles of railroads to the
250,000 of the United States.

Labor Conditions

The economic condition of the
rural and industrial workers is
pathetic. According to Brazilian
labor office statistics the
average daily wage of the rural
worker is 10 cents. (American)
and that of the industrial work-
er is 70 cents. The cultural state
of the poverty-stricken Brazilian
masses is equally deplorable, with
over two-thirds of the 47,000,000
population illiterate. Public health
reflecting the economic misery of
the people, is at a wretched level
with tuberculosis and venereal
diseases the highest in Latin-
America.

What has been the attitude of
Roosevelt, the great "humanitar-
ian" and "lover of democracy"
owards the dictatorial govern-
ment of Vargas? The administra-
tion, hypocritically designating
the western hemisphere as a
"bulwark of democracy", has
been giving its unwavering sup-
port to Vargas. Do we not recall
how Roosevelt lauded Vargas one
year ago at Rio de Janeiro? The
support of the Roosevelt govern-
ment has not been purely moral.
A few months ago Washington
rejuvenated tottering Brazilian
finances by setting aside 100
million dollars for the stabiliza-
tion of that country's currency.
And just a week ago, an agree-
ment was signed to rent out to
Brazil six warships.

An unholy alliance exists be-
tween Yankee imperialism and the
Brazilian feudal satraps, support-
ed by an impotent national
bourgeoisie, and it is this alliance
which retards the economic, po-
litical and cultural development
of Brazil. This alliance is res-
ponsible for the black reign of
terror which since 1935 has cast
17,000 political opponents into
concentration camps and media-
eval dungeons.

All revolutionists, every anti-
imperialist, must raise their
voices in protest against the
present reign of terror in Brazil.

20th ANNIVERSARY

The Socialist Party of New
York (Left wing) and the Young
People's Socialist League will
hold a 20th Anniversary Russian
Revolution meeting at the Irving
Plaza, Irving Place and 15th St.,
on Monday, November 8, 1937, at
8 p. m. Admission will be 25
cents and prominent speakers
will address the audience. Re-
serve the date!

N. Y. MEMBERS!

The New York local, in addi-
tion to regular discussion at the
weekly branch meetings, has ar-
ranged also for three weekly
general membership meetings to
discuss the convention problems.
The first of these general mem-
bership meetings will be held at
Irving Plaza, 15th Street and

Irving Place, Sunday, October
31, at 1 P. M.

"CHALLENGE" OUT

The second issue of the Chal-
lenge of Youth is now off the
press! Brimming with news,
cuts, features, and articles, it
represents a new high in a revo-
lutionary youth paper, an organ
with which we can reach the
young workers in offices, shops,
and factories throughout the
country.

We appeal to the party mem-
bers for subscriptions in line
with our new special offer, a
cloth-bound copy of "Behind the
Moscow Trials" by Max Shacht-
man which will be given absolute-
ly free with every year's subscrip-
tion. In each branch throughout
the country we expect party
members to subscribe

Stalin on His Own Frame-Ups

The Real Prosecuting Attorney Finally Presents Another Explanation of the Moscow Trials with Arguments That Do Not Discredit Those Fighting Against the Despotism Of the Bureaucracy, but Which Are a Merciless Indictment of the Political Regime of the Bureaucracy Itself

By Leon Trotsky

With his habitual boastful cynicism Hitler gives away the secret of his political strategy. He writes: "A great leader's genius also consists in the fact that he always depicts even the most widely divergent adversaries as belonging to the same category, because an inkling as to the difference between the enemies very readily becomes for weak and unstable characters a source of doubt as to their own correctness." (Mein Kampf). This principle is diametrically opposed to the principle of Marxist politics as well as scientific knowledge in general, for science begins by articulating, counterposing and laying bare not only fundamental

al differences but also transitional nuances. Marxism in particular has always opposed the treatment of all political opponents as "a single reactionary mass". The difference between Marxist and Fascist agitation is the difference between scientific education and demagogic hypnosis. In its method, Stalinist politics, which received its most finished expression in the judicial frame-ups, coincides completely with Hitler's prescription, while in its sweep it leaves Hitler far behind. Anyone who refuse to bow before the Moscow ruling clique is henceforth a representative of "a single Fascist mass."

Stalin Finally Comes Forward to Explain Away The Moscow Trials

During the Moscow trials Stalin withdrew demonstratively to the side-lines. It was even reported that he left for the Caucasus. This is wholly in harmony with his style of procedure. Vyshinsky and Pravda received their instructions from behind the scenes. However, the miscarriage of the trials in the eyes of world public opinion, and the growth of alarm and doubt within the U.S.S.R. forced Stalin to come out into the open. On March 3, at a plenary session of the Central Committee, he delivered a speech, which after painstaking correction was published in Pravda. It is beyond human prowess to speak of the theoretical level of this speech. It is beyond not only theory but also politics in any serious sense of the term. It is nothing more than a fiat on the utilization of frame-ups already perpetrated and the preparation of new ones.

Stalin begins with a definition of Trotskyism: "From a political tendency in the working class, which it was seven to eight years ago, Trotskyism has become transformed into an avowed and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and assassins..." The author of this definition has forgotten, however, that "seven to eight years ago" he raised the very same accusation against Trotskyism as he is doing today, only in a more cautious

Accusations That Discredit the Regime and Not Those Who Fight It

"The principal method of Trotskyite work nowadays," continues Stalin, "is not an open and honest propaganda of its views among the working class but the camouflage of its views... a perfidious tramping in the mud of its own views." Already ten years ago, those who were initiated avoided looking at each other when Stalin used to indict his opponents on the grounds of a lack of "sincerity" and "honesty"! In those days the sublime principles of morality were being grafted by Yagoda... Stalin refrains, however, from explaining how "open" propaganda could be carried on in a country where criticism of the "Fuehrer" is punished far more beastially than in Fascist Germany. The urgent need to hide from the G.P.U. and carry on propaganda secretly compromised the revolutionists but rather the Bonapartist regime.

On the other hand, Stalin likewise refrains from explaining how it is possible to "trample one's views in the mud" and at the same time inspire thousands of

form. As early as the latter part of 1927, the G.P.U. linked Trotskyists—lesser known ones, to be sure—with White Guards and foreign agents. My exile abroad was officially motivated by the alleged fact that I was engaged in preparations for an armed uprising. It is also true that Stalin did not then dare to make public the fantastic decision of the G.P.U. Already in 1929, to justify the shooting of Blumkin, Silov and Rabinovich, Pravda printed reports of train wrecks organized by Trotskyists. In 1930 a number of exiled oppositionists were charged with espionage because they were corresponding with me. In 1930-1932, the G.P.U. made several attempts to extort from Oppositionists, again little known ones, "voluntary confessions" of preparing terrorist attempts. Documents pertaining to these early and rough sketches of future amalgams were presented by me to the American Commission of Inquiry. However, the thing is that seven to eight years ago Stalin had not as yet smashed the resistance of the party or even of the bureaucratic tops and was therefore compelled to confine himself to intrigues, poisonous slanders, arrests, exiles and occasional "experimental" shootings. Thus he gradually educated his agents—and himself. For it is a mistake to think that this man was born an accomplished Cain.

people to sacrifice their lives for the sake of these views. The speech together with its author rests completely on the plane of the reactionary press which has always insisted that Stalin's struggle against "Trotskyism" was of a spurious nature; that in reality we were mutually bound by a secret conspiracy against the capitalist order, and that my exile abroad was merely a cloak to cover our collaboration. Indeed, is it not really true that Stalin executed Trotskyists and seeks to trample their views "in the mud" in order better to hide his complete solidarity with them?

The orator exposes himself most glaringly on the question of the program of the Opposition. He says: "You will recall that in the 1936 trial, Kamenev and Zinoviev flatly denied having any kind of political platform.... There can be no doubt that they both lied in denying that they had a platform." In point of fact they had a platform. It was the "platform of the restoration of capitalism." The word "cynicism" has far too

innocent and patriarchal a ring to be applied to this moralist, who compelled his victims to give obviously false testimony, murdered them on an obviously false accusation, and then proclaimed

Why the Prosecution Completely Changed the Charges in the Indictment

The point is that at the first trial in January 1935, Zinoviev together with all the other defendants confessed, according to the official reports, that he and his friends had been guided in their activity by a "secret intention to restore the capitalist regime". That is how the goal of the alleged "Trotskyites" was then formulated in the indictment. Does this mean that the accused told the truth at the time? But sad to say, no one would believe his officially established "truth". That is why in preparing the second Zinoviev-Kamenev trial (August, 1936) they decided to discard the program of restoration of capitalism as something too absurd, and to boil the whole matter down to "a lust for power." A philistine would be more readily inclined to believe this. The new indictment was made to read that it was "established beyond doubt that the only motive for organizing the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc was their striving to seize power at all costs...." The existence of any kind of special "platform" among the Trotskyists was at the time denied by the State Prosecutor himself. The especial degeneracy of the Trotskyists consisted precisely in this fact! It is immaterial whether the hapless defendants had lied or not. The Stalinist judiciary itself had established "beyond doubt" that the "only

as liars not Yagoda, Vyshinsky and himself but Zinoviev and Kamenev whom they had shot. But it is precisely here that the master of frame-ups allows himself to be caught red-handed.

motive" of the Trotskyists was "their striving to seize power." For the sake of this they allegedly resorted to terror.

But this new version, on the basis of which Zinoviev, Kamenev et al, were shot, did not produce the expected results. Neither workers nor peasants had any special cause to rail against "Trotskyites" for wanting to seize power. In any case, the "Trotskyists" could not prove worse than the ruling clique. In order to terrify the population, they found it necessary to add that the Trotskyists wanted to return the land to the landlords and the factories to the capitalists. Moreover, the bare accusation of terrorism in the absence of terrorist acts placed too great restrictions on future possibilities of annihilating adversaries of the regime. To widen the circle of the accused it became necessary to include sabotage, wrecking and espionage in the case. But sabotage and espionage could be invested with even a semblance of meaning only by establishing a connection between the Trotskyists and the enemies of the U.S.S.R. Neither Germany nor Japan, however, would give Trotskyists support solely for the sake of their "lust for power." Nothing else remained therefore but to order a new group of defendants to return to the program of "restoration of capitalism."

Stalin Sets the Pace and the Comintern Follows All His Zig-Zags

This supplementary frame-up is so instructive that it is worth while dwelling on it. Any literate person, by equipping himself with a file of any of the Comintern newspapers, could without difficulty trace three stages in the evolution of the accusation. A Hegelian triad of frame-up sui generis, with its thesis, antithesis, and synthesis! In the period after January 1935, the hirelings of Moscow the world over ascribed to the executed chairman of the Comintern, on the basis of his own "confession", a program of restoration of capitalism. Pravda, the private organ of Stalin, set the pace. But upon command issued by Pravda itself, the press of the Comintern jumped from the thesis over to the anti-thesis and during the trial of the sixteen, in August 1936, branded the Trotskyists as murderers, bereft of any kind of program. Pravda and the Comintern kept to this new version for only about a month, up to September 12. The

zig-zags of the Comintern only reflected the gyrations of Vyshinsky who, in his turn, aligned himself in accordance with Stalin's successive orders.

The pattern of the final "synthesized" indictment was suggested by Radek, unwittingly. On August 21, 1936 his article against the "Trotskyite-Zinovievite Fascist Gang" appeared. The hapless author set himself the task of digging between himself and the defendants as deep a moat as possible. In his attempt to draw from the alleged "crimes" the most fearsome internal and international consequences, Radek had the following to say about the defendants, especially myself: "They know that... by undermining the confidence in the Stalin leadership they bring... only grist to the mill of German, Japanese, Polish and all other kinds of Fascism. All the more so are they aware that the assassination of the gifted leader of the Soviet peoples, Stalin, implies working directly for a war...."

Radek Fails to Foresee

Later on, Radek went one step farther along the same road. He wrote: "It is not a question of destroying ambitious men who stooped to the greatest of crimes. It is a question of destroying agents of Fascism, prepared to set ablaze the conflagration of war and facilitate victory for Fascism even if to receive from its hands only a wraith of power." These lines constitute not a

tember 12, i.e., three weeks after Radek's article, Pravda unexpectedly proclaimed in an editorial that the defendants had "tried to hide the true goal of their struggle. They circulated the story that they had no program. In reality, they did have a program. It is the program of battering down socialism and restoring capitalism." Pravda, of course, did not offer the slightest fact to corroborate these words. What facts could there have been!

Thus, the new program of the defendants was not arrived at on the basis of documents, facts or confessions of the accused, nor even of the logical deductions of the prosecution. No, it was established by a pronouncement from Stalin over Vyshinsky's head, after the execution of the accused. Evidence? That was to be supplied after the event by the G.P.U. in the sole obtainable guise—the guise of "voluntary confessions". Vyshinsky immediately proceeded to execute the latest instruction: to alter Radek's formulation from the hysterical into the juridical, from the pathetic into the criminal. But the new schema—and this Radek did not foresee!—was applied by Vyshinsky not to the sixteen defendants (Zinoviev et al.)—they were no longer among the living—but to the seventeen defendants, and therewith the author of the schema, Radek, proved one of the first victims.

A Sinister Reality

A nightmare? No, this is the reality. The chief defendants in the new trial resemble those pious collaborators of the Inquisition who went about zealously digging graves, making coffins and preparing maledictory epitaphs for others and then discovered that the Inquisitor intended to enter their own names into the text of the epitaphs and to measure the coffins for them. Once this procedure was concluded, Stalin emerged from the shadow and in the character of an infallible judge issued a declaration about Zinoviev and Kamenev: "They both lied." Nothing more sinister has yet been conceived by human fancy!

(Concluded in the next issue))

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West Coast Seamen to Continue Struggle for Militancy, Autonomy

By Glen Trimble

(Concluded from last issue)

So long as Executive Council's quarrel with the CIO was one over workers the A. F. of L. had failed to organize, the average unionist sided with the CIO or at least forced a hands-off policy on his officials. Today the CIO campaign is of direct and immediate concern. Every established union is confronted with an ultimatum to go CIO or face a campaign to split away sections of its membership.

This is the real root of the Teamsters-Longshoremen "beef." The Bridges CIO is actively working to bore from within and break off sections of the Teamsters Union. Teamster leadership here is largely of the reactionary old line A. F. of L. type. They take care of the boys and themselves and know nothing and care less about class solidarity. Nevertheless the Teamsters are solidly organized, have relatively good scales and conditions. A split can only serve to break down these conditions. The answer of the leadership to CIO raiding is counter-attack on the CIO and the membership back up their leaders. This was demonstrated by a solid turnout on the San Francisco waterfront. Longshoremen walked through teamster picket lines; teamsters called the "truce" with the frank threat that longshoremen would find their precedent followed when teamster respect for longshore picket lines was asked.

This threat is no idle one, for teamsters can virtually make or break a maritime strike, and with the continuation of the present provocative Bridges policy the reactionary teamster officials are almost certain to win membership support for the latter alternative. The Sailors' Union was wise in taking a neutral position in this ugly squabble, but it is equally plain that unless the CIO abandons its present policy the Sailors and the entire labor movement will be victimized by increasing civil war.

The case of the Sailors' Union and the Maritime Federation of the Pacific is the most flagrant, yet typical, example of CIO policy reversal. The CIO long ago recognized that the Federation was pivotal both because of principled agreement and outstanding prestige and strength. Their original attitude was consistent with their generally correct policy. The waterfront and seagoing workers were to maintain economic unity with the general labor movement. They were to undertake national organization unifying East and West Coasts, the Gulf and Great Lakes. Any possibility of creating a dual union situation in the maritime industry was to be avoided. Autonomy, rank and file control and and West Coast conditions were the only possible basis for the National organization. As the one real organized force, the West Coast Seamen were to take the initiative in national organization of the sea going workers and their amalgamation into an industrial union. These terms were definitely and repeatedly stated by John L. Lewis and other responsible CIO leaders.

In rapid succession these terms were violated. John Brophy at the Maritime Federation Conven-

tion in Portland attempted to stampede the delegates into an affiliation vote. The question was referred to a referendum vote of the unions composing the Federation. Brophy's answer to questions revealed a curious hedging on questions of autonomy and democratic control. Immediately after the convention Lewis showed his real hand by arbitrarily appointing a Maritime Executive which gave no representation whatever to the S. U. P., one lone representative to the seafaring crafts and a clear majority to the Bridges-Stalinist crew who had been defeated on every major issue at the convention of the federation. To clinch the matter Marvin Rathborne, Bridges' stooge and chairman of Lewis' committee, emerged from its first session to announce that any West Coast unions which refused to accept its program would be immediately reorganized.

The CIO program was not organization of the unorganized East, Gulf and Lakes but "reorganization" of the solidly organized West Coast. This could only mean a CIO blessing for the Stalinists' consistent policy of trying to oust all independent progressive leaders on the West Coast. If any doubt were left it was dispelled by Bridges' appointment as West Coast CIO Director. The Sailors and Firemen immediately voted to destroy the affiliation ballots because the conditions had been misrepresented and were now the reverse of those originally advanced.

Stalinists Seek Control

The refusal of the seamen to buy a pig in a poke has brought a strong fire from the Stalinists and they have made repeated attempts to pack and capture the Sailors', Firemen and Cooks and Steward locals. Completely unsuccessful with the Sailors and with the Portland, Seattle and San Pedro branches of the other unions, they have been able by liberal use of longshore permit men and beached Stalinist ex-seamen to hold the San Francisco headquarters of the Firemen and the Cooks. Though the unity of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific has proven the only weapon to defeat the shipowners, its majority is not under the Stalinist thumb, so a deliberate campaign is under way to undermine and wreck it with a Stalinized CIO as alternative!

The Sailors' decisions on affiliation and amalgamation are likely to prove effective answers to these maneuvers. The demand for a public and open reply from both CIO and A. F. of L. on affiliation terms forces both to show their hands. The Sailors are plain-spoken in their own statement addressed to Lewis and Green and printed in the West Coast Sailor. It reads in part:

Sailors Reply

"The question of national affiliation, as far as the Sailors' Union of the Pacific is concerned, is a practical question.

"As an organization of seamen we are interested in uniting the seamen in one strong National Seamen's Union, organized under a structure most beneficial to the seamen.

"Past experience has proven that as far as the seamen are

concerned this must be on an industrial basis; by that we mean that the various seamen's divisions, for instance, sailors, firemen, etc., must be organized in a National Organization which will guarantee the rank and file membership control of their union from the bottom up—and not from a top executive board or top committee, which never has and never will work out for the best interests of the seamen. This was proven in the case of the ISU; and is again being attempted on the East Coast by the NMU.

"Would you be willing to consider the following:

(In the letter to the A. F. of L.: Wind up the affairs of the defunct ISU completely and cancel its charter.)

1. Offer the SUP a national charter covering the unlicensed personnel, the offer to embody these guarantees:

a. Complete autonomy in the determination of policies, and the conduct of its own business.

b. Absolute control of funds, property, without possibility of confiscation by anyone.

c. The right to negotiate and

sign its own agreements.

d. The rights of the membership to referendum votes on the question of calling strikes; both on and off.

e. The right of the membership to determine the name of the National Organization.

f. A guarantee that we will not be assessed for any political purpose.

g. The right to elect our officials on referendum vote.

h. We are told that there is grave danger of the "check-off" system of deducting dues, assessments, fines, etc., from the sailors' pay by the shipowners who turn them over to a Top Committee of some seafaring Union. In other words, that the Shipowners would act as financial secretaries for the Unions, under this system. We would expect a guarantee that such a system would not be attempted in the seafaring Unions."

Decision is Sound

The effect of this decision is to put the major questions of progressive trade union principle ahead of the tactical one of affiliation. This is sound and genuine progressivism. It provides a real basis for democratic decision by seamen on all coasts.

In the meantime the SUP is cooperating with the seagoing Firemen and Cooks in an aggressive drive toward completing industrial organization on the West Coast by amalgamating the three crafts. Success in this will provide a nucleus for rallying the entire Maritime Federation of the Pacific and, in turn, the seamen nationally to a progressive program and for solid, industrial organization.

N.Y. Election Drive Notes

In a straw vote of City College students, James P. Cannon, Socialist Party, Left Wing) candidate for mayor showed surprising strength by running Mahoney a close third. The vote was LaGuardia, 1,320; Mahoney, 72; Cannon, 62. Incidentally, Norman Thomas, the surreptitious candidate of the conscience-stricken Clarityites, got 15 votes.

Election day this year will witness not only the close of one of New York's filthiest election campaigns but also the culmination of the biggest People's Front yet on a municipal scale. La Guardia expressed this when, in a fit of enthusiasm, he declared, "In 1937 I'll be elected, supported by the greatest combination of groups ever seen in American politics—conservatives, liberals, standpatters, progressives." He forgot to add fascists, "social-communists".

Norman Thomas, in a generous mood last week, passed out some compliments to the head of the People's Front ticket. He remarked that "the Mayor's action were often better than his words" and that the LaGuardia administration had made some "real progress in honesty." Since the S.P. expelled the revolutionary socialists it seems to have adopted new political standards.

Thomas also took exception to his being quoted in the press as having said that the ALP was still the tail of a kite. He said, "I held that view of it in 1936 but not of it in 1937." We have to disagree with Norman. The ALP's tail this year has branched out so that now it follows both the Republican and Democratic kites. The C.P. and S.P. also have their little tails attach-

ed to the ALP's double tail. That makes quite a procession of tails.

The ALP can't understand why labor-loving Senator Wagner should take the stump for labor-hating Judge Mahoney. Despite the fact that the Senator has been severely taken to task for this indiscretion, it seems almost certain that the ALP will support him when he runs for re-election next year.

Senator Wagner blasted the "insinuating whisper" that relief might be cut if Mahoney were elected. Said the Senator, "That fiction is inconceivable to anyone who knows—as I know—how Jeremiah Mahoney's heart beats in sympathy with the needy, how it quickens at the thought of civic improvement." That ought to bring in the votes.

For the first time in history the Citizens' Union, an influential capitalist "good government" outfit, gave its qualification to a CP candidate. The individual in question is Isidore Begun whom the Citizens' Union praised as "a man of moderation." That shows a keen political insight of which we didn't think the CU capable.

The S.P. certainly drove a hard bargain with the ALP. In exchange for withdrawing the S.P. candidate for Mayor and for Borough President of the Bronx as well as several assembly candidates (to say nothing of giving up its very soul), the ALP merely "endorsed" one or two S.P. candidates for City Council. Since Councilmen are elected by a preferential vote and the ALP has its own candidates, the endorsement mean practically nothing.

Bill's Column

N. Y. Election Campaign

"It's the same old issue—Good Government vs. Bad"—LaGuardia's campaign slogan. Yes, the same old—but in larger buckets. "Laidler has gathered around him a group of progressive and forward looking men"—Socialist Call, Election Issue. Heading the "progressive" and "forward-looking" group are Paul Blanchard, a renegade who deserted the S.P. for the flesh pots of City Hall four years ago and John Haynes Holmes, who was expelled from the S.P. for attacking the Debs Column in the capitalist press and for an "informal" letter to the State Department in Washington. Laidler, "the distinguished graduate of an undistinguished college," is certainly in good company! John D. Rockefeller donates \$1,000, stained with the blood of Ludlow, to LaGuardia's campaign fund. People's Front, yes, and such fine pipples—it's a pleasure!

'Counter-revolutionists'

Bela Kun joins the long list. "Stalin," Trotsky predicts, "will yet be shot as a Trotskyist." Antonov-Ovseyenko recalled from Spain to head the Commissariat of Justice found that commissariat ready to behead him. Trotsky is "happy to be back in America." You're telling me!

"If you hear of a communist advocating force and violence, mark him down as a stool pigeon"—Browder. Well, well! What a lot of stool pigeons were knocking around in the "Third Period" days of "battling for the streets."

"Oh say can you see by Browder's new light, 'What so proudly we hailed, 'In the third period's last gleaming."

Antidotes for Reformism

The best antidote for Alfred Baker Lewis' and Browder's belly-crawling testimony before the Massachusetts Legislative Committee, can be found in Gene Debs Canton, Ohio, speech delivered in the midst of the 1918 war hysteria. Said Debs, "It is extremely dangerous to exercise the constitutional right of free speech in a country fighting to make the world free for democracy. I would rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than a sycophant and coward in the streets. They tell us that we live in a free, great republic; that our institutions are democratic; that we are a free self-governing people. That is too much even for a joke." But not too much for such jokers as Browder and Lewis.

Questions

To Al Hamilton, Secretary of the Thomas-Tyler Youth: "Is the YCL a 'rival' organization to the Yipsels or to the American Legion?"

To Norman Thomas: "Do you think that 'my good friend Dr. Laidler' plus renegade Blanchard plus informer Holmes will build Socialism in our time?"

To F.D.R.: "Do you recall your campaign speech on 'returning prosperity'?" "We planned it just like this." Did you also plan the present Hooverish days?

Contrast

"Thru democracy to socialism"—communist election campaign slogan. "The road to socialism lies thru the proletarian dictatorship"—Lenin's slogan.

'France for the French!' Is Now Stalinist Call

By Charles Orr

There once was a time when the cry of the French fascists, "La France aux Français" (France for the French) was vigorously contested by the cry of the revolutionary Parisian workers, "Les soviets partout" (Soviets everywhere). That was before the People's Front. With the signing of the People's Front pact the more revolutionary slogans of the Communist Party, to which adhere the elite of revolutionary France, the Paris workers, were immediately hushed up in order not to injure their compact with the Radicals and various anti-fascist and anti-clerical allies. But still, no one thought that, while the workers settled into a mood of bewildered discontent, the leaders of their "vanguard" party would actually take up the fascist slogans of "La France aux Français", etc.

Showing True Colors

Many people, to whom the People's Front was only a temporary plot of the C.P. to lure the middle class into a revolution by the back door, find these latest extremes inexplicable. But for the Marxists, who have watched the record of the Communist Party and the People's Front in Loyalist Spain, this last painful development is only logical. It was precisely in such a revolutionary situation as Spain, where political parties and organizations show their true colors most clearly, that the People's Front broke down to the point of excluding and oppressing its revolutionary elements—and the "new type of democracy" to be introduced by it is rapidly approaching the most repressive toriyism.

In France the test has not yet been put to the C.P., but each day it moves further to the right. Towards the end of September a big yellow poster, announcing a speech by Marcel Thorez, "the young Communist chief", begins with this super-patriotic slogan, "France for the French" and calls all Frenchmen to the defense of their country which is being threatened by dirty foreigners—who put bombs in the headquarters of steel magnates, who steal submarines and who kidnap White Russian generals. (This is completely in line with the government campaign against foreigners which is heartily endorsed by the fascists and reactionaries as a way of cleaning the country of the thousands of German, Italian, Polish, Balkan and Spanish political refugees.) Another big C.P. poster appearing the first week in October screams, "Enough! For a long time now our country has been the theatre of aggressions and provocations..."

"The French want to work in peace and conserve their liberties,

the sacred heritage of our fathers. The French intend to remain the masters of their own house. They intend to take care of their own business between themselves and give themselves whatever reforms may be fitting. To keep the peace, liberty and independence of France, the Republic must do away with this shady army of provocateurs..." The poster ends with the logans: "Long live the the union of the French nation!"

Living Costs High

The extraordinary rise in prices, which has long since wiped out the gains of the workers from their June, 1936 strikes and the Popular Front social laws, is embarrassing the Communists, as the most ardent supporters of the Front. They recently felt called upon to bring out a poster on this subject. It proclaims, in part: "Everything is going up!"

"Bread which was 1.80 f. a kilo, has gone to 2.60 f.—Milk, which was 1.20 f. a kilo, has gone to 1.80 f.—Butter, which was 16.00 f. a kilo, has gone to 25.00 f.—"

Sugar, which was 3.50 f. a kilo, has gone to 4.60 f.

"Other food products, clothing, shoes, transportation, postal rates, all are going up.... Who is responsible for the High Cost of Living?" Follows an attack on the "big capitalists" who attack the franc, the "powerful trusts" who "decree the rise in prices to increase their already exaggerated profits" and the "large, all powerful food handling companies—the Maggi & Co.—who collect milk, butter etc. at prices insufficient for the producers in order to sell them at exaggerated prices to the consumers, thus realizing scandalous profits." (Note the bait to the small shop keepers).

"The rise of prices can be stopped by putting a quick end to capitalist oligarchs...., by submitting the trusts to the control and effective watch of the state in order to reduce their monstrous profits, by limiting the profits of the great food companies."

And the climax to this expose, which does not even do credit to a reformist, is another parody of "Frenchmen, Unite!"

P.S. The CP recently brought out a special paper, "Le Conscriit" written for the conscripts in the army. The front page is adorned with words and music to a song entitled, "La Belle France". Among the other counsels addressed to the "soldier of France" we find the command: "No illegal work!... Do not edit clandestine papers. Fight to get the papers of the Popular Front admitted into the barracks."!!! A comment on Popular Frontist illusions of changing the nature of the capitalist state. "Attitude toward the under-officers: Do not hold them responsible for everything that goes wrong. They are only executive agents." Other articles describe the glorious history of the French army, explain how "the Communist deputies defend the soldiers (the under-officers and officers, it explains below) in the Chamber," and give other songs to sing while marching and working.

Bucks County Local With Left Wing After Hearing Cannon Debate Felix and Sandwick

By John F. Dwyer

QUAKERTOWN, Pa.—Local Bucks County, Pa., comprising the branches in South Langhorne, Quakertown, and Perkasie, issued a call for all groups of the Socialist Party to come and present their point of view at a county membership meeting on Sunday October 24. The Secretary of the Local, comrade Nicely, received an acceptance from the Appeal group. Jack Altman wrote back that since there was no Appeal group within the party that it was impossible for him to speak, and asked that his expenses be paid if he came. Clarity did not even reply.

When the meeting started, David Felix of Philadelphia asked for permission to address the group as a representative of the National Office of the Socialist Party, present only to investigate the situation in the Local. He was given the floor and after a windy attack on the Appeal group, declared that since there were members of an "enemy party" present he could not discuss matters concerning the inner life of the S.P. He declared that Local Bucks County was acting in violation of the rulings of the N.E.C. by even listening to Appeal speakers. The chairman of the meeting, comrade Ruth, who has been in the Socialist Party since 1905, declared that as long as he had come to hear the different points of view he was going to hear them and he did not care if the

National Office approved or not.

Calling upon Charles Sandwick, Clarity alternate to the NEC, to speak his piece, the meeting was opened. Sandwick, in a replica of Felix's speech declared that it was not his intention to speak on the internal situation. Felix and Sandwick then slid out of the meeting.

The entire audience remained seated and comrade James Cannon was given the floor for the Appeal group. In a brilliant talk Cannon reviewed the past year in the S.P. and the role of the Appeal group in crystallizing the revolutionary elements within the S.P.

During Cannon's talk Sandwick had sneaked back to his seat and now asked and was given, the floor to speak for the "Socialist Party". His talk was a distortion of the facts of the case as was shown by comrade Cannon who tore every argument presented by Sandwick to shreds.

A discussion followed in which questions were asked of both speakers of such a nature as to demonstrate again Sandwick's inability to make a clear defense of his position. Although no action was taken at the meeting it was clear that the revolutionists of Bucks County will not stand for the violation of the best S.P. traditions and convention decisions. They will support the convention Call of the left wing in Chicago in November.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The Coming Elections in Russia

The official date for the first election under Stalin's Constitution has been finally set for Sunday, December 12. The electoral campaign was officially opened on October 11. The ruling clique is uneasy, if not panic-stricken, by the newly aroused political activity among the masses, and is mobilizing its forces on an unprecedented scale against any unpleasant surprises. The press, especially Pravda, has been concentrating for weeks on the elections, issuing one "alarm signal" after another.

Says Pravda: "Only a political blockhead can suppose that the election campaign, as well as preparations for it, will go by without rabid attempts on the part of the enemies of Soviet power to cause injury and do dirt to our Fatherland." (September 18, 1937).

This theme is constantly harped on, with especial stress on the rural population as the source of greatest danger. Thus on October 8, Pravda editorializes: "Elections to the Supreme Soviet constitution the continuation of the struggle with the class enemy, who will not let the opportunity slip to befuddle the most backward section of the collective farmers, and lead them astray."

For the first time in many moons, the press refers not only to the "Trotskyist-Bukharinist agents of Fascism" and bourgeois nationalists, but also to the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionists as enemies to guard against and "root out". Column after column is devoted to admonitions to agitators that it is essential for them to keep their ears sharply cocked as to what is being said and what is being complained of — and immediately to inform the authorities.

Komsomolskaya Pravda for October 5 asserts that reports from the provinces provide ample proof that, as the elections draw closer, "with every passing day, the hostile elements are mobilizing, often skulking behind a mask of loyalty and devotion to the Soviet power." The enemies, it asserts, resort largely to the weapon of "poisonous rumors, slander and gossip, anti-Soviet anecdotes, jokes and quips" calculated to undermine confidence in the government. To combat this "flood", all the teachers of primary and secondary schools—900,000 in number—have been mobilized by a special decision of the party and the Komsomol. Each teacher is expected to send in a written pledge of the work he or she binds himself or herself to do before the elections to combat these "anti-governmental rumors, anecdotes, etc."

Over and above this, there has been an unmistakable growth in influence of the priests. The organ of the trade unions, Trud, has been reporting for months the growth of religious tendencies even among miners and factory workers, especially in the Don Basin. Responsible for it are, of course, the Trotskyists, who "have penetrated into the Atheist Alliance to undermine the anti-religious front" (Trud, August 27).

The apparatus is banking a great deal on the co-operation of the "non-party Bolsheviks", the entire new labor aristocracy, the Stakhanovists, the badge and decoration wearers, the various office and record holders, especially "the rural intelligentsia, chairmen of kolkhozes, brigade leaders, tractor and combine operators, etc." And yet Pravda reports that "preparation for elections in the villages are unsatisfactory."

The fear of oral propaganda, great as it is, is overshadowed by the ruling clique's panic lest its press fail it in the emergency. The ruthless purge of the newspaper editorial staffs was calculated to guard precisely against this contingency. The havoc this has created seeps through the editorials of Pravda. "It is an absolutely intolerable fact that a great number of regional newspapers are without editors" (Pravda, Oct. 5). Not only does Pravda warn constantly that the newspapers, especially the regional ones, are "not prepared for the campaign"—incidentally the trade unions have been especially under fire and their central organ Trud, it is charged "has printed almost nothing about the elections during the entire month of September"—but it keeps harping on the fact that "among the personnel or regional editorial boards hostile elements are still thriving who utilize the sloppiness and illiteracy of the editors to carry on anti-party anti-Soviet propaganda." (Oct. 5). "Many editors of regional, provincial and autonomous republican papers have not passed the test of loyalty" (September 17). In fact Pravda goes so far as to charge that the Soviet press nationally is being utilized as a tribune for the propagation of anti-Soviet agitation in the guise of "exposing enemy ideas", in the guise of deliberate "typographical errors", "slips of the pen", "awkward formulations", etc. Says Pravda, "Among the basic methods of enemy work in the press is, above all, the propagation of enemy ideas under the guise of condemning them" (October 5).

Everything indicates that repressions, far from decreasing during the electoral campaign under the "most democratic constitution in the world", will become intensified.

The Purges Continue

Pravda for Oct. 3 verifies the rumored arrest of Vareikis, secretary of the Far East party district. Together with him, the entire editorial board of the Pacific Star was likewise arrested.

The Cost of Living in France

The cost of living is sky-rocketing. Taking the prices for 30 staple commodities as 100 for the year 1914, the prices in July of this year rose to 600, in August to 613, in September to 640. Unemployment, which has been dropping slowly, is again on the increase. The figures for the week of October 2 indicate a rise of more than 2,000 unemployed, for a total of 370,512. Strikes, illegal under the Popular Front regime, are beginning to flare up again.

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Arrest of 3 Loyalist Generals Shows Treason in People's Front Regimes

Stalinist Pogrom Against POUM Intensified to Cover Betrayal of Northern Front by Basque Bourgeoisie in the Valencia Government

By Felix Morrow

A few hours after the fall of Gijon, the Negrin government announced the forthcoming trial of three generals for treason leading to the fall of Malaga. Thereby hangs a tale.

Malaga fell on February 8. Immediately the CNT presented proofs that the defense had been directly, deliberately betrayed.

The first move of the bourgeois-Stalinist bloc was to attempt to make the CNT the scapegoat. Francisco Maroto, anarchist military leader, was arrested and not released for over a month.

The CNT had the goods, however, and as a result, on February 21, Under-Secretary of war General Jose Asensio, his chief of staff, Cabrera, and Colonel Villalba whom Asensio had sent to Malaga on the eve of its fall were imprisoned awaiting trial. The Caballero cabinet soon gave way to Negrin. Now, nearly six months after the Negrin cabinet came in, a trial is again announced.

Reason For Trial

Why such a trial should be spotlighted now, is quite clear. A series of open betrayals has wiped out the northern front. The masses demand action against the traitors. But a trial of those associated with the fall of Bilbao, Santander, Reinosa, Gijon, would lead directly to the doors of the present government. Desperately seeking a way out of this predicament, the government turns to the Malaga affair, which happened during Caballero's ministry.

Certainly, it would be possible in such a trial to compromise Caballero's Ministry of War. The CNT can testify that twice, in October and November, delegations vainly urged Caballero to strengthen the defense of Malaga. The Stalinist, Colonel Romero, can tell the story of fascist air attacks at will because no anti-aircraft guns were provided. Asensio's subsequent refusal to supply arms to Malaga and his appointment of the traitor Villalba—who had been previously arrested by CNT troops on the Aragon front as a fascist—certainly reflect on his superior, Caballero. In a carefully managed trial, the government might make Caballero the scapegoat and thus seek to turn attention away from the northern betrayals and the cold and plain fact that in six months the government has provided only defeats.

Nevertheless, I predict that, if the trial is held at all, it will be a secret one, on the pretext that military secrets are involved. For if the CNT militiamen go on the witness stand and are not muzzled either by the judges or by the CNT leaders "in the name of unity", they can add a number of highly embarrassing facts leading straight to the doors of the present cabinet.

Prieto and Navy

Above all, they can point to Prieto, then as now head of the navy. Malaga is the nearest port to Franco's communications lines with Morocco. It was the obvious place for the loyalist fleet to be, and the Italians and Moors could then never have taken Malaga.

But—as the Italian anarchists, Camillo Berneri, in a letter attacking the collaboration of the CNT with the bourgeoisie, pointed out—Prieto's deliberate disuse of the fleet was part of bourgeois-Stalinist policy of Anglo-French orientation. "The great democracies" feared that a loyalist clash in the Mediterranean would hurt their imperialist interests, and therefore persuaded Prieto to hang up the navy at Cartagena for the duration of the war!

Furthermore, in December a decree had established the Supreme War Council, in which the bourgeois-Stalinist bloc had a majority as against the CNT-UGT ministers. Where was the Council while Malaga was being betrayed?

Furthermore, such a trial would have to air the story of Antonio Guerra, Stalinist delegate in the Malaga Military Command. His whereabouts, had remained a mystery until a fierce controversy between the Stalinist and CNT leaders provoked the latter (CNT Boletin, Valencia, August 26, 1937) to remind the C.P. that Guerra had stayed behind with the fascists. Moreover, the Stalinist, War Commissar Bolivar, had been with Villalba at the Commander's Headquarters and had deserted with him, two days before the city fell—the undoubted betrayal for which Villalba is to be tried. These are but a few of the facts which make extremely doubtful a real court airing.

POUM Trial Fiasco

The POUM leadership has been

in jail since June 16. Why are they not tried, even under the *ex post facto* decree of June 23 which provides secret trials? After four months, the Stalinists are still trying to sweat someone into a confession. To cover up this fiasco, and to provide the atmosphere for shooting them without trial, stories continue to appear about "new discoveries" of POUM-Franco plots. The Daily Worker's latest (October 25) from Valencia reports that an assassination-sabotage-espionage plot "was frustrated by the arrest last night of a gang of Franco spies, including leaders and members of the POUM, the Catalan Government announced to the press last night." All that's false in Joe North's story is:

1. Not the Catalanian government, but the police chief of Barcelona, announced the arrests. This distinction has this significance: The police chief is a direct appointee of Valencia, which under the Catalan autonomy statute's provision, took over control of public order in Catalonia on May 5 and despite the lapse of six months still keeps that control, thus wiping out any real Catalan autonomy. Furthermore, the director-general of police for all Spain is the Stalinist, Moron, and his Barcelona chief is the Stalinist, Burillo. Burillo is beloved of the masses, notably for being an ex-member of the Spanish Monarchical Union and for having, as chief of operations at Toledo, surrendered intact to the fascists the important munitions factory there.

2. The very much pro-People's Front Madrid bureau of the New York Times, which avidly repeats most Stalinist slanders, makes no mention of POUM members in the arrests (October 24 issue).

3. All the POUM leaders of Barcelona are dead, jailed or—very few—have fled from the country.

Laugh at Charges

4. Apart from the Stalinists, the Catalan government is constituted by President Companys and his Esquerra colleagues, who have publicly protested against the slander that the POUM leaders are Franco agents. Companys sent the head of the Commissariat of Propaganda, Jaime Miravittles to intervene in Va-

lencia on behalf of Nin. When the Stalinists showed him the alleged documentary proof—references to "N" in a "document"—Miravittles burst out laughing, by his own account, and declared that nobody would take it seriously. As a matter of fact, only the Stalinists reiterate the preposterous charge against the POUM leaders. Even Prieto told the ILP French delegation that he did not believe the POUM leaders had any relations with fascists. The liberal bourgeoisie and the right wing socialists are prepared to prosecute the POUM as "insurrectionaries", i.e., as revolutionists! The Stalinists cannot be as honest as Prieto, and must transform the revolutionists into fascists!

Bureaucracy Adopts Barbaric Penal Code to Punish Smallest Offenses in Russia

By Victor Serge

Barbarism. Is there a word more correct to characterize this frightful social back-sliding? Judge for yourself.

Tass, the official newspaper agency, announces from Moscow that long terms at forced labor have been re-established by decree for the "wreckers". This type of penalty was abolished at the beginning of the revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat made remarkable advances in the field of labor legislation even in the very midst of the civil war. The Council of People's Commissars, presided over by Lenin, decreed that that the longest penalty depriving a defendant of his liberty shall not extend beyond five years. The absurd and degrading inhumanity of perpetual or quasi-perpetual penalties in civilized society, was thus abolished. Later on, the maximum penalty was increased to ten years. Beginning with October 3, it has been extended to twenty-five years!

Dispatches on the same day apprise us that the Siberian authorities, in order to combat "hoodlumism", have decided to institute the death penalty for

this crime and that as a result, some 35, in two groups, have been shot. Crimes ascribed to "hoodlums" or hooligans, are regarded in every other country as minor offenses usually punished with short jail sentences or fines. From the social point of view, they are due to a lack of education, or improper supervision of adolescents, alcoholism and poverty.

Soviet penal law is thus becoming the most inhuman in existence. It is the only penal law in the world which applies the death penalty to minors, the death penalty for theft, the death penalty for crossing the frontier without a passport; the obligatory deportation of the families of those condemned to heavy sentences; imprisonment for inverts.

KARAKHAN

From a personal source I have been informed with certainty that Karakhan, who was one of the first Soviet diplomats, serving as ambassador in China and in Turkey, has been shot. Previously, it had been ascertained that he had disappeared. My informants are categorical on this subject.

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