

Workers
Of the World Unite!

SOCIALIST APPEAL

For the
Fourth International!

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Stalin Regime Desperate

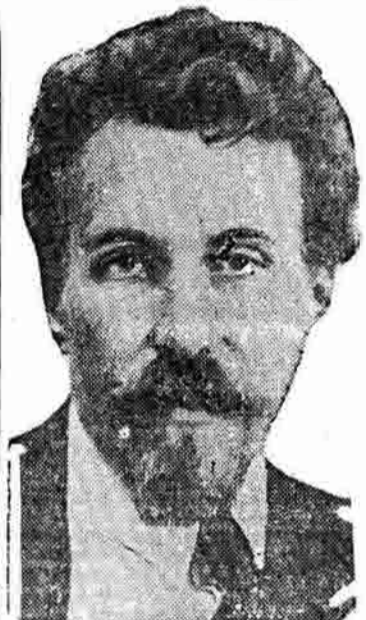
Safeguard The Asylum of Leon Trotsky!

Following hard in the footsteps of Lombardo Toledano, leader of the Mexican Confederation of Labor, Hernan Laborde, head of the Mexican Communist Party, has opened up an attack on Leon Trotsky. Laborde promises to "fight to have him expelled from Mexico at the opportune moment." He does not omit, of course, to link this promise with a warning "that Mexico is faced with the danger of a fascist uprising."

Toledano spoke as a stooge for Laborde, and Laborde speaks as a stooge for Stalin. The voice in both cases is the voice of the counter-revolutionary regime which is now railroading twenty-one Old Bolsheviks to their deaths on patently framed-up charges. Trotsky is beyond the immediate reach of Stalin's bloody hand, but killers hired by Stalin await an opportunity to shoot, knife or poison him. To facilitate their bloody task, they want to drive him from Mexico.

Organized labor must close its ranks against the foul Moscow regime and its international frame-up and murder plots. A blow at Leon Trotsky is a blow at the revolutionary workers' movement of which he is the outstanding representative and leader.

Protest! Stop the assassins in their tracks! Shield Leon Trotsky from the dark forces of the counter-revolution.



ALEXEI RYKOV

Trial Protest Sent By Mpls. Trade Unions

Midwest Organizations Wire Trotsky On Moscow Frame-up

Calling upon the Russian Government to adjourn the latest Moscow trial until a committee of labor and liberal leaders can arrive to attend the trial, a group of prominent Minneapolis labor leaders warned Ambassador Alexander Troyanovsky last week that "the decision handed down by the International Commission of Inquiry headed by John Dewey, characterizing as deliberate frame-ups the previous Moscow trials, is almost universally accepted by the American labor movement, and another trial under like conditions and without legal guarantees to the defendants will still further blacken the repute of Soviet justice."

The Signers

Among those signing the communication were: Farrell Dobbs, Secretary-Treasurer of the North Central District Drivers Council; Miles E. Dunne, editor of the Northwest Organizer; Henry Schultz, Assistant Business Manager of the Electrical Workers Union No. 292; James Bartlett, President of the Warehouse Workers Union Local No. 20316; John Jonasco, Business Representative of the Woodenware Workers Local 20418; Fred Diederick, President of Furniture Workers Local 1859; Bill Brown, President of General Drivers Union Local 544; Joe Lear, President of Private Chauffeurs Local 912; Harry De Boer, President of Bakery Drivers Local 289; Ed Palmquist, Chairman of Federal Workers Section Local 544; Ray Rainbolt, Business Representative of Ice Wagon Drivers Local 221; O. R. Votaw, Secretary-Treasurer of District 77 of the International Association of Machinists; Joseph Pease, Business Agent, District 77 of the International Association of Machinists; William J. Heigel, Business Agent of Electric Workers Local 292; Oscar Coover, Organizer, Electrical Workers Local 292; C. R. Simonson, member of the Joint Board of the Textile Workers Organization Committee, and Herman Husman, Business Representative of District 77, International Association of Machinists.

Ask Postponement

Addressed to Ambassador Troyanovsky at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, the communication asks him to "kindly inform your government that the undersigned trade unionists subscribe to the proposal already transmitted to you by Oswald Garrison Villard, John Haynes Holmes and other friends of the Soviet Union, calling upon the Russian Government to adjourn the latest Moscow trial until a committee of labor and liberal leaders arrive to attend the trial."

New Moscow Trial Shows Usual Flaws

Universal Ridicule Greeted Flood Of Fantastic 'Confessions' Extracted From The Former Leaders Of Russian Bolshevism

REAL EVIDENCE IS NON-EXISTENT

Oslo Official Refutes Testimony

OSLO, March 8.—From September, 1936, to December 19, the day he sailed for Mexico, Leon Trotsky was under the strictest police surveillance and could not possibly have communicated with his alleged co-plotters in Russia, the head of the Norwegian Passport Office told the newspaper Dagbladet today.

Every letter received by Trotsky or sent by him throughout that period went through the Passport Office, where copies were made, the bureau head said. Trotsky, living in a house with a squad of police guards, was completely isolated.

S. A. Bessonov, one of the defendants at the Trial of 21 in Moscow testified last week that he had written Trotsky in December, 1936, and had received a reply a few days later, destined for Krestinsky, also on trial.

From December 19 to January 10 Trotsky was aboard the tanker Kuth enroute to Mexico. The Dagbladet quoted the present Norwegian chief of police, who accompanied Trotsky, as affirming that the exile had not been permitted to use the ship's radio throughout the voyage.

The Trial of the Twenty-One, most monstrous of all the trials held in Moscow since the killing of S. M. Kirov in December 1934, is drawing to a close.

In the face of almost universal ridicule and disbelief expressed by both the capitalist and labor press throughout the world, the Prosecuting Attorney continues to drag the moral wrecks seated in the prisoners' dock through an orgy of carefully rehearsed "confessions," compounded of lies and self-debasement, and staged in the interests of preserving the shaky totalitarian regime of Stalin and Company.

They Stand Alone

Only the subsidized Stalinist press pretends to put faith in the trial which, more than any other that preceded it, is so obviously a frame-up, so obviously absurd and unbelievable in every important aspect.

With each day of testimony given by the defendants, it becomes increasingly apparent that the doomed prisoners are being forced to play the part of scapegoats for the crimes committed by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the past five or more years.

Even Bukharin, who has seemed to make an effort to resist the vicious bullying of Vyshinsky,

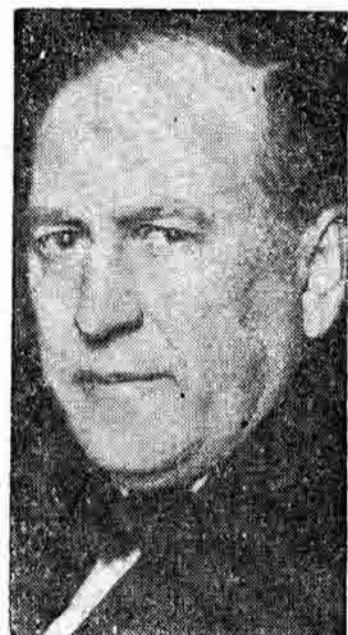
nevertheless "confirmed" the main line of the imaginative plot written by the G.P.U.

No Real Evidence

As for actual documents or material evidence to substantiate the charges, there were, as usual, none. All that was presented was the customary run of "confessions." And, again as usual, the "confessions" floundered upon the reef of facts.

Facts are notoriously stubborn things. Only within narrow limits can they be manipulated and shifted about for purposes of falsification. For this reason the

(Continued on Page 5)



CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY

House Group Adopts Huge Navy Budget

Original Figure Raised To New Record Peace-Time High

By the overwhelming majority of 20 to 3, the House of Representatives Naval Affairs Committee last week reported out favorably the Roosevelt-sponsored Naval Construction Bill, authorizing \$1,121,000,000 for additions to naval armament. This entire amount, raised during passage through the committee from the original sum of \$800,000,000, is over and above the billion dollars already provided for military and naval expenditures in the regular Federal budget.

Within a few days it is expected that the Bill will be sent to the floor of Congress by the Rules Committee, where it is quite possible that still further sums will be added to the staggering total through a series of amendments already projected.

Prepares World War

The world-imperialist scope of the naval activities which are foreseen emerged clearly from the wording of a special report signed by twenty-two of the twenty-six members of the Committee on Naval Affairs:

"The definition of fundamental naval policy of the United States.... provides for the preparation of the world."

(Continued on Page 5)

PACIFISTS RALLY TO DEAR OLD FLAG AT NEW YORK TALKFEST

Patriotic Fervor Rises At Hippodrome 'Anti-War' Meeting

With the blessings of the Socialist Party, the Lovestoneites and a conglomerate list of pacifist and pseudo-pacifist organizations, the recently launched "Keep America Out of War Committee" began its activities last Sunday with a mass meeting in the Hippodrome.

The motley crew of speakers, ranging from representatives of the so-called left, advanced a "strange jumble of defunct, isolationist, and pacifist ideas which, at very best, were but a vague reflection of the American League Against War and Fascism in its first rosetate days.

Patriotic Tone

Setting the thoroughly patriotic tone of the meeting, which had an attendance of about 4500, Chairman Oswald Garrison Villard declared that "it is up to us to exercise our right as American citizens to indicate our desires to Washington.... As loyal Americans we want nothing of foreign war.... The greatest things in the world are American Democracy and American Institutions.... These will be destroyed by war."

As spokesman for the Socialist Party, Norman Thomas was strangely lacking in even the diluted militancy which he has sometimes expressed on past oratorical occasions. Gone was the vibrant "only-socialism-can-end-war" note of his earlier speeches. In his broadcast address he thundered a stirring appeal for... "a Central Committee of all those who are opposed to war.... and a People's Congress in Washington to let the government (not our government, comrades Thomas?) know our stand. The wily Stalinist war-mongers will find it hard to take any issue with Thomas' "anti-war" proposals, they were so inept and so futile.

Retired General

Major General W. C. Rivers, that sterling foe of war and militarism who served for years in the army without anybody discovering that he wore pink pajamas, was the next speaker. Introduced by Villard as a man whose "pen and voice are at the side of the peace movement and his sword for the defense of his country," Peace-Lover Rivers addressed his remarks to the "friends of peace and preparedness." Lauding Roosevelt's definition of preparedness ("adequate national defense not only of coasts but of communities far away from the coast"), the speaker made it quite clear that his disagreements with the administration were purely technical.

"As a military practitioner, I know what America needs for her defense," Rivers boasted. To buttress his statements, he had just published an article in the Committee's magazine in which he pointed out that "I have no emotional complex against war—if any good is to be derived (from it), or if (it is) necessary for the defense of our land and of that part of the seas adjacent to our country—the Aleutians, Hawaii, Panama, and from the Caribbean to Maine."

Favors Japan

Rivers' program for peace as outlined in his speech, contains the following radical proposals: instead of expensive capital ships.... a series of small cruisers, submarines, mines, and a program for land defense. In closing, the worthy Major General made the trenchant observation that "the present situation is a substitute for principle."

SWP ANTI-WAR MEET MARCH 18

NEW YORK—A high point in the campaign which the Socialist Workers Party is conducting against the rapidly approaching imperialist world war will be reached here next Friday, March 18, at 8 p. m. when a mass meeting and anti-war rally will be held under party auspices at the Manhattan Plaza, 66 East 4th Street.

With especial appropriateness, the meeting will take place on the anniversary of the Paris Commune, history's first example of working-class rule.

Party speakers scheduled to address the meeting are Maurice Spector and James Burnham of the editorial board of the "New Internationalist," James Casey, former managing editor of the "Daily Worker," and Nathan Gould, national organizer of the Y.P.S.L.

tuated and may very well be the "bulwark against the Communization of Asia!"

The next speaker for peace, Dorothy Detzer, secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, stated in no uncertain terms her desire that "the will of the American people be expressed in action for.... stricter neutrality legislation." And, lest anybody be so misled as to mistake her for a pacifist, she hastened to add that "cautious pacifism isn't enough. We need the power and prestige of moral audacity." Whether Miss Detzer's "moral audacity" is to be translated, upon occasion, into the harsher and more forthright cruisers and submarines of Major-General Rivers, she neglected to make clear.

Echoing the remarks of the other speakers, Miss Detzer insisted vigorously that "since we live in democratic America, the government in Washington are the servants of the people. We must not forget this...." None of the other speakers did.

La Follette's "Differences"

There followed the main speaker of the evening, Senator Robert LaFollette, Jr., "glorious son of a glorious father," as Villard did not forget to point out. This new crusader for peace proceeded to outline his deep-going differences with the administration's military policy, which on further analysis turned out, surprisingly enough, to be also.... of a purely technical character. "The proper line of defense," he insisted, "has been described as extending from Alaska to the Virgin Islands and to the coast of Maine." But, don't you see, "experts and authorities are agreed that this country (come, come, Brother LaFollette—our country!) is adequately protected against any possible contingency."

But Senator LaFollette really thrilled his liberal audience when, in explaining his opposition to collective security, he declared: "It is at that moment (when depression hits the masses, during war-time), in a world full of revolutionary change that the real menace to our own form of democracy would arise."

The Pink Wolfe

Bertram D. Wolfe, speaking for the Lovestoneite war-haters, next stepped forward to cast a pinkish aura over the proceedings. As a representative of the "extreme left," he extended a warm hand of welcome to the pacifist organizations, adhering to the Committee. Scrupulously avoiding any mention of the dread class struggle or the

New York Soviet Consulate Picketed To Protest Trial

Trial of 21 Denounced: Fourth International Slogan Resounds

NEW YORK—For the first time in this country, official representatives of the U.S.R.R. were picketed, when nearly 100 members of the Socialist Workers Party protested the current Moscow frame-ups before the Soviet consulate on March 4. Bearing placards and shouting demands that the trials be postponed and the hounding of Leon Trotsky and the execution of Old Bolsheviks cease, the well organized surprise demonstration disturbed for half an hour the aristocratic quiet of East 61st Street where the consulate is located.

Such slogans as "Down with Stalinism! Long live Socialism! Long live the Fourth International!" echoed for the first time in this plutocratic quarter.

The only "incident" was the attempt of a patriotic lady to wrest the American flag from the pickets, on the ground that they had no right to carry that flag, as required by police regulations, beside the red flag at the head of the picket line.

Petition Handed to Consul

The demonstrators marched back to Fifth Ave. singing the "International," after leaving the following petition at the consulate:

"The trial of the 21 defendants headed by Bukharin, Rykov, and Rakovsky, now taking place before the military tribunal in Moscow, marks a new climax to the long series of crimes committed by the Stalin regime against the interest of the Soviet Union and the international working class. In total disregard of the most elementary dictates of truth and justice, the public trial itself was flung in the face of mankind against a nightmare background of police brutality and bureaucratic inquisition.

"We, the revolutionary workers of New York, record our protest along with that of the overwhelming majority of men throughout the world, against this inhuman and unprecedented frame-up. Standing unalterably as we do for the defense of the Soviet Union against its enemies, and for the triumph of world socialism, we demand an end to these methods and practices whose only result can be to serve the forces of black reaction and to besmirch in men's minds the very ideal of socialism itself.

Demand Postponement

"We demand the postponement of the present trial to permit the

Yezhov 'Favored' For Nobel Peace Prize!

In a Moscow dispatch to the Daily Worker (March 8, 1938), Sender Garlin writes: "When the Nobel Commission meets next year to determine the winner of the Peace Prize for 1938, it would be well for them to bear in mind the name of Nikolai Yezhov, People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Soviet Union."

We add the suggestion that if this nomination is accepted by the Nobel Commission, it consider such posthumous but no less worthy nominations as Bluebeard, Jack the Ripper, Fu Manchu, Alphonse ("Scarface") Capone, Arthur ("Dutch Schultz") Flegenheimer, and Dracula. We further suggest that at the ceremonial presentation of the prize to Yezhov (if he wins), cyanide of potassium cocktails be served, with carbolic acid for a chaser.

SHACHTMAN TALKS ON TRIALS TO 800

More than 800 workers packed Manhattan Plaza last Friday night at a mass meeting called by the Socialist Workers Party to protest the new Moscow frame-up, the Trial of 21.

Max Shachtman, editor of the Socialist Appeal, gave an extended review of the past trials. He also subjected the evidence given so far in the present trial to a withering analysis. Shachtman read from documents in the Moscow Pravda of 13 years ago to explode the charge that Bukharin "plotted to assassinate Lenin" in 1918. He also discussed at length the relations that existed between Germany and the Soviet Union after 1921.

presence within the court room of authentic representatives of international labor with full and free rights of examination and cross-examination of all defendants and witnesses.

"We demand an end to the international hounding and persecution by the agents of the G.P.U. of Leon Trotsky and his family. We demand an end to the frame-up and murder of the heroes of the October Revolution and the founders of the first Workers' State.

"We call upon you to transmit this document at once to your government.

"Ernest Rice McKinney, Secy. Socialist Workers Party, Local New York."

Widick Begins Labor Tour At Boston, Lynn

Finds Comrades Active In New England Key Unions

"The Boston and Lynn branches are coming along in fine shape and both are certainly putting the steam on in the anti-war campaign," B.J. Widick, Socialist Workers Party labor secretary, writes of the first leg of his tour.

"A four hour meeting with the district trade union committee began my activities in the New England area. Our comrades are very active in key unions in Lynn, and the Boston unionists are functioning well.

"The internal party meetings in Lynn and Boston were very well attended and the discussion which took place over my report on how the party functions in the war crisis showed that our party is cognizant of the serious and difficult tasks before it.

"Sixty steel workers attended a meeting at Worcester where I spoke on the lessons of the Crucible steel strike.

"A party branch is being formed there.

"About 40 comrades attended the district trade union conference held in Boston last Sunday.

"Chief problems discussed were the shoe workers strike in Lynn, in which our people are involved, and the question of Labor's Non-Partisan League.

"The Foodworkers union in Lynn had its first social while I happened to be there. Over 600 were present, and believe it or not, the labor secretary was one of the guests of honor!

"Boston increased its bundle of Appeals, after selling 30 of them at outside meetings.

"Seventy-five people were at the Sunday night lecture, on will the C.I.O. and A.F.L. unite? That concluded the trip to New England."

N. Y. Painters Get Taste of Stalinism

Weinstock Imports C. P. Gangsterism To Gag Militants

NEW YORK—Praising the murderous methods of Stalin in destroying the "Trotskyites", Louis Weinstock, Secretary-Treasurer of the New York District of the Painters Union, speaking to a regular meeting on February 25, called for the use of similar means against all who dare oppose the Stalinist regime within the Painters Union.

Weinstock reported on his recent visit to the Soviet Union and devoted most of the meeting to defending the frame-up Moscow trials and the bloody purges. At the conclusion of the tirade, in which he labelled every honest militant and progressive unionist as a "counter-revolutionist", the chairman ruled that questions and discussion were out of order.

Vigorous Protests

Only the vigorous protests of a large section of the 450 members present forced the chairman to allow questions to be put to Weinstock. Faced with a demand from the floor to debate the whole question, Weinstock attempted the old Stalinist dodge of "refusing to debate with a counter-revolutionist".

This ruse, so successful among the puppets of the Communist Party, produced a roar of indignation from the union members. Weinstock then offered to debate if formally asked by the local. As the Stalinists have acquired control of Local 51, the offer was an empty gesture.

Riot Prevented

Throughout the question period Weinstock's supporters tried to create a disturbance, thus to enable the chairman to adjourn the meeting. The determination of the progressives not to be provoked prevented an open riot from breaking out.

Rioting, as a tactic to prevent democratic expression at union meetings, is becoming common in the Painters Union. At a recent meeting of Local 848, where the opposition to the Stalinists was becoming strong, deliberate and planned assault was used against the progressives.

When a member rose on a point of order to protest the voting of non-members, furnished by the Stalinists for the occasion, the speaker and his friends were attacked with knives, bats and

Goshen Rubber Workers Kill Fake Union Move

GOSHEN, Ind. — Countering the management's attempt to build a company union at the Mogul Rubber Company, Local 161 of the United Rubber Workers brought production to a standstill on February 25 in a three-day strike which brought an agreement granting recognition of the local as sole bargaining agency, seniority rights, substantial wage increases, and recognition of a shop committee.

Previously a notorious open-shop town, Goshen has in the last six months given rise to an organized labor movement which now embraces over 750 workers in the C.I.O. and about 400 in the A.F.L. The Mogul victory brings the number of C.I.O. agreements in this town of 12,000 population up to four.

Coming on the heels of a lock-out of woodworkers in December which was turned into a union victory, the quick and satisfactory Mogul settlement is expected to spur the organizing movement considerably, and to encourage unionization in many of the small sweatshops located here.

Fighting Platform Unfolded by Geller

Anti-War Stand Stressed By S.W.P. Candidate In St. Paul

ST. PAUL — The Socialist Workers Party of St. Paul is running an active campaign in the municipal elections soon to be held here with Jules Geller, militant member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and youth organizer for the S.W.P., as its independent candidate for mayor.

In its recently issued campaign platform the S.W.P. declares that McDonough, member of the Young Democrats who has been endorsed by the Farmer-Labor Association for the post of mayor, is unacceptable to any class-conscious workers' organization because of his acknowledged capitalist connections and program. McDonough has never been, and is not now, a member of the F.L.P. On the contrary, he was opposed by the Labor Progressive Association in the 1936 campaign, and an independent candidate was run against him in that election.

Critical Support

In calling upon the workers of St. Paul to vote for the five Labor-Progressive councilman candidates, together with the Labor-Progressive controller, the S. W. P. platform explains that "having to depend upon the organized workers at the polls, and due to some measure of discipline within the Farmer-Labor Association, the above candidates if elected will under pressure occasionally act in the interest of the masses, and keep the most reactionary forces from office."

However, the platform continues, "the S.W.P. can be responsible only for members of its own organization, that is, for Socialists who accept the revolutionary program and are disciplined fighters in the every day struggles of the toilers. Thus we accept no responsibility for those elected on the F. L. P. ticket."

Anti-War Fight

According to the platform, the paramount question for the workers, which overshadows even the most important local issues, is the fight against war. In this connection the S.W.P. urges all workers of St. Paul to vote for Geller as a protest against the war budget, the jingoistic spirit now in process of creation by the government, Wall Street, and the Communist Party, and as a token of their determination to fight to the last ditch for all those workers' rights which are endangered by the war-mongers.

While reiterating its stand for "the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist class," and its conviction that "only the establishment in America of a Workers and Farmers government, and the establishment of like governments throughout the world, can do away with the evils which are a necessary part of capitalism: war, unemployment, wage slavery, fascism, etc.," the S.W.P. has elaborated a series of immediate demands. These include demands for unrestricted workers' civil rights, for further organization of the unorganized, for militancy and unity in the labor movement, for higher relief standards and the transference of all war funds to the unemployed, and for an extensive housing project.

ANTI-WAR MASS-MEETING March 18 - 8 P. M. MANHATTAN PLAZA 66 E. 4th St.

Stalinist Moves Against Defense of Beal Crumble

Socialist Party Bares Falsity of Lawrence Letter Effort

The attempts of the Stalinists to disrupt and smash the movement for the defense of Fred E. Beal, leader of the 1929 textile strike in Gastonia, North Carolina, who is now in jail and facing a 20-year term, are breaking down.

Beal is in disfavor with the Stalinists because after a period spent in the Soviet Union he became an opponent of the Stalin regime. Although he was arrested, framed-up and sentenced by the southern Bourbon court while working for the Communist Party—facts which the Stalinists cannot and do not deny—they want him incarcerated.

Liars Exposed

In the campaign against Beal and the Non-Partisan Committee which is fighting for his freedom, the Daily Worker printed on February 24 a letter signed by a group of alleged Socialists in Lawrence, Mass. (Beal's native town) attacking the class-war prisoner as a fascist.

The Socialist Appeal, in its last issue, showed that the signers of this letter are not Socialists at all. Now comes Roy E. Burt, executive secretary of the Socialist Party, to back us up. In a letter addressed to the Non-Partisan Committee on February 28, Burt writes:

"We have made inquiry and find that there is only one of the signers of that letter who can lay claim to being a member of the Socialist Party. If you will note, in the letter there is no claim that they are Socialists. Rather that claim is made by the Daily Worker, in line with their usual policy of falsification and misrepresentation."

Any comment would be superfluous.

Handicapped Form New Trade Union

Old Organization Found Utterly Incapable Of Struggle

NEW YORK—A new organization, the United Handicapped Workers of America, created to embrace workers who to one degree or another suffer from physical handicaps and disabilities, has entered the fighting field of the militant labor movement. The program of the new organization and its plan of campaign were unfolded at its first public meeting held recently in Damazek's Manor, 12 St. Mark's Place.

In a circular calling for enrollments, Harry Friedman, provisional secretary, proclaims the new body "a fighting democratic organization . . . formed to fight for jobs for all handicapped workers."

League Degenerates

While frankly admitting that the organization has entered the field against the League of Physically Handicapped the circular denies that it is pursuing a policy of dual unionism, pointing out that the League, which did good work for its members in the past, has become a bureaucratically-controlled body utterly incapable of advancing the interests of its members.

The League, says the circular, is tied through its leadership to "a political party" (not specified) and this leadership is placing the interests of that party before the interests of the handicapped. "Since the program of the political party called for making friends with the administration which has been slashing the W.P.A. payrolls, the leadership of the League . . . refused to fight the administration and instead called for a fight against the so-called reactionaries."

"This is the policy which has reduced the League to a handful, results at every meeting in a spectacle of 6 or 7 delegations being elected to take up problems with the administration, while the 6 or 7 delegations at the previous meeting come back with reports of one failure after another."

Plight of Handicapped

Pointed questions are asked in the circular: "How many times have you been turned away from a job because of your handicap? How many years of training have you received only to find yourself denied the right to use this training? How do you feel about being forced to be dependent upon your family for support? What future do you face?"

"For years the handicapped have been asking themselves

Roosevelt Price Policy Shows Economic Drop

By DAVE COWLES

The Roosevelt statement asking increased prices which was printed in the New York Times of February 9, 1938, emphasized anew the following facts: American capitalism is on the decline and needs government aid to make profits. The continued existence of capitalism means the destruction of the living standards of the workers, farmers, and middle class.

No matter what its intentions, the politics of liberalism and reform work only to maintain capitalism. The latest addition to the mountain of evidence showing the bankruptcy of reform politics is the price policy of the "liberal" Roosevelt, composed and signed by such progressives as Secretary of Labor Perkins and Secretary of Agriculture Wallace.

Not All To Rise

The policy is that "in the present situation a moderate rise in the general price level is desirable." However, this does not mean that all prices should rise.

The graph which accompanies the statement shows that some prices which are under monopoly controls are almost as high as they were in 1929, while others have fallen far below.

The rise which it proposes "must be confined to classes of commodities whose prices are too low. These include most of the raw materials and finished products which are produced and sold under highly competitive conditions."

The reasons given for the policy are that it "will promote a balanced expansion in production. Our goal is a constantly increasing national income through increasing production and employment. This is the way to increase the real income of consumers."

Sharp Depression

What is the "present situation"? It is one of depression whose sharpness is unprecedented in American economic history, causing wide-spread unemployment and falling wages. In a statement issued last week the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that in the three months between October 15 and January 15, 2,800,000 workers lost their jobs. The usual fall in employment in the same period is about one-fourth as much.

Wages, as usual, fell far faster than employment, being driven down by the employers who took advantage of the depression to launch a concerted drive on the labor movement. In the period mid-December to mid-January, employment fell almost seven per cent compared to the usual drop of only two per cent. But the drop in wages was twice as sharp as in employment. The result was a drop of more than one-eighth in the purchasing power of the workers in one month.

Part of Permanent Crisis

The "present situation" is part of the permanent crisis of capitalism which is disinheriting the workers from production and employment, and cutting them off from wages, and the purchasing power that wages give them. For instance, the years 1923-1925 were only the beginning of the prosperity period 1923-1929 and the number of workers looking for jobs then was millions less than now.

But the number of jobs which private industry gave then was almost twenty percent more than now. The continuing crisis of capitalism will cut production still further, cut employment still further, and amidst an increasing population that needs increasing purchasing power if it is to maintain its standard of living, will cut wages and purchasing power.

Effect of Falling Wages

The connection between falling wages and Roosevelt's price policy is this: Falling wages mean

these questions and the answer continues to be—flop-houses, begging in the streets, run-arounds from one charitable organization to another, continued discrimination in private industry, inability to lead a normal married life because of insufficient financial means, inability to secure crutches, braces and other orthopedic appliances, while each one struggles along upon the small allowance doled out to them by their parents.

"The handicapped have learned through experience that the betterment of their conditions has been secured through organization and militant action. It is only because no organization exists today which is carrying on a militant organized fight for security for the handicapped that the United Handicapped Workers of America has been formed."

that the workers have less money with which to buy food and clothing. If the quantity produced remains the same, the competition between producers whose sales depend directly upon the consumers will drive prices down. Although the graph hides it, the fact is evident in the Survey of Current Business that those prices have fallen most which depend primarily upon the purchasing power of the workers. The commodities which have remained almost unchanged are building materials, metals and metal products, and other goods which are sold to producers.

The reasons for high prices here are: first, there are powerful monopolies in these products which limit production and competition; second, whatever is produced goes to producers who must buy capital goods if they are to make profits, and who are better able to pay. The high priced commodities do not have to compete for the vanishing wages of the workers.

Raising Basic Prices

Roosevelt's price policy is intended to raise the prices of the very commodities which the workers must buy to balance these upward to the level of monopoly prices. The effects upon their living standards will be disastrous. Those who are employed are getting less wages. But the drop in the cost of living has been insignificant and real wages have fallen. Raising prices as Roosevelt would do, will increase the cost of living further, and cut real wages even more. This is bad enough for those who have jobs. It will be far worse for those who are unemployed and on relief, who not only have little or no money income, but who will have to pay more for the little food and clothing that they do get. While wages are dropping, unemployment increasing by the millions, and relief decreasing, Roosevelt's policy would raise prices and starve profits out of the hides of the workers.

Roosevelt and his aides admit that their price policy will cut the living standards immediately. However, they try to spread the illusion that it will also bring "business recovery" in the future, of course, and without any specific dates given. "The average family will benefit from the business recovery which a balanced price structure will foster. Increased employment and more continuous income should much more than offset any increase in the cost of living."

Recovery In Profits

The price policy will not bring "business recovery" but recovery in profits. Keeping prices up while wages are falling will raise profits in the consumption goods industries temporarily. However, less goods will be sold at the higher price, production of consumption goods will be cut down, and the outcome will be less, not "in-

creased employment," and less, not "more continuous income." The consumption goods industries will need less machinery and plant equipment, they will reduce their demand for capital goods, and steel, machinery, lumber, transportation equipment, in fact all the capital goods industries which are the basis of any sustained prosperity will produce less, employ less and disburse less wages. A deep depression will grow deeper, because of Roosevelt's price policy.

Would Have Lowered Prices

Had Roosevelt really wanted to bring economic recovery, he would have lowered prices, not raised them. He would have balanced the high monopoly prices downward to the low prices, and he would have lowered both down faster than the falling wages. This would have increased the purchasing power of the great masses, increased their purchasing of consumption goods, increased the demand of the consumption goods industries for capital goods and set the country on the road to "business recovery."

Recovery could be stimulated still further by widespread decreases in the number of hours of work—without cutting pay of course. And this would give increased movement, would give "more continuous income" and mass purchasing power. These would bring abundance and increase the standard of living; would bring economic recovery. Roosevelt's policy is to save profits—and this means to destroy abundance and economic recovery.

Actions Louder Than Words

Roosevelt and his aides may repeat as often as they like that their "is not a policy of restriction; it is a policy of abundance." Their actions speak louder than their words. Their agricultural policy is one of restricting production. Their industrial policy is one of raising prices, cutting consumption, and cutting production. All their actions belie their words, and their words are mere smokescreens to hide their actions.

The decline of capitalism is shown in this: whereas in its progressive state, profits for capitalists and low-price abundance went hand in hand, today conditions have changed. Abundance and low prices cannot exist alongside of profits. Either capitalism will destroy the workers in order to save profits or the workers destroy capitalism to save abundance. Roosevelt's price policies, like all his major policies, are those of capitalism—aimed to destroy abundance in order to save profits. They are at once evidence of the decline of American capitalism and the effectiveness of "reform" policies as an instrument of capitalism against the workers.

Akron Rubber Workers Ask Parley To Settle Friction Due To Lay-offs

AKRON—Locals of the Goodyear, Firestone, Goodrich, General, and Seiberling rubber companies last week sent their respective managements a proposal for a joint meeting to "adjust matters between management and labor to the end that amicable cooperation shall take the place of the friction that now exists."

Meanwhile appeals of Goodyear and Firestone locals are pending with the Labor Relations Board, the Goodyear protest being based upon discrimination in the laying off of union men, and the Firestone appeal demanding an election for collective bargaining rights.

Plant Conditions

The actions were hastened by the conditions inside the plants. At Goodyear, in certain divisions where a fifteen-minute lunch period, formerly figured within the six-hour shift, has been placed outside the shift, the company has begun its campaign for the eight-hour day. Protests of the union were sharply rebuffed.

Layoffs continue, reaching men with 10, 15, 20, and in some cases even more years of service. Because of the large inventories and the demoralization induced by the layoffs the companies are able to take a granite stand.

Another factor which has buttressed their position is that even though the profits of last year were double that of 1936, the

companies automatically stand to receive what financial magazines estimate to be a fifty per cent increase in profits through a writedown of crude rubber stocks induced by an international cut in the price of crude rubber.

While disorganization exists locally, the C.I.O. forces in Ohio began to dig in through a state convention last week-end.

Local Graft Uncovered

At the same time, the rottenness of the whole capitalist system has been uncovered here in the revelation of official corruption throughout the state government and administrative machine in the classic foulness, arrogance, and crudity of the Tweed era. Nothing is lacking; the shakedown, nepotism, graft, padded accounts, favoritism, the whole gamut of capitalist corruption. Revealed through the inner contradictions in the state legislature, the whole putrescent anatomy of capitalist government is being bared for every worker to see and profit from. It is plain that the doom of government Davey, "labor's friend" (ah, yesterday!) is sealed.

Let every worker profit and not campaign for a new "labor's friend," but throw his energies into the Socialist Workers Party, which aims not to remove a man and leave the system, but to abolish the system itself.

OLD SOCIALIST VIEWS CONVENTION OF S. W. P.

Found Source of Inspiration In New Year Gathering Of Militants At Chicago

By GEORGE M. WHITESIDE

To a "native socialist" who had known no political home in the past other than the Socialist Party, the recent Left Wing convention in Chicago which launched the Socialist Workers Party was both an inspiration and an education. Especially was this true in the case of one, like the writer, whose actual experience within the S.P. had been confined almost wholly to a state organization completely dominated by a sterile and confused hodgepodge of petty bourgeois-liberal-reformist ideology.

The reaction of one who had spent years in the S.P. struggling for a Marxist program and a revolutionary party can best be described, perhaps, by contrasting the S.W.P. convention's entire "tone" of intense seriousness, realistic approach, and revolutionary determination with the atmosphere of muddled helplessness and political cowardice that pervaded the S.P. convention in March, 1937. At the last S.P. convention in March, one felt as if he were riding behind a six or eight-horse team, with all of them pulling stubbornly in different directions. On the other hand at the S.W.P. convention there was no confused and divided allegiance, no running around after this, that, and the other panacea in the vain hope of discovering some "easy road" to socialism.

Know What They Want

Here was a group of capable, hard-headed and practical revolutionists, firmly united almost to a man in knowing exactly what they wanted and how to go about getting it, and who, without minimizing in the least the obstacles in the way, were nevertheless determined to build a Marxist party and movement powerful enough to insure the victory of the proletarian revolution. It was universally recognized that each of the manifold problems of the socialist movement must be posed squarely, analyzed concretely, and attacked vigorously with the method and weapons of revolutionary Marxism.

Whereas the political cowardice of the S.P. had caused its convention to avoid completely any consideration of either the Spanish or the Russian questions, and in fact to dodge every international aspect of the movement, the convention of the S.W.P. courageously faced not only these supremely important questions but almost every other problem of the working class, both national and international. The conviction of the delegates that a genuine socialist movement is, and can only be, an international one was conclusively demonstrated when affiliation with the Fourth International was voted without a single dissenting voice. The fact is, of course, that every delegate was aware in advance that the new party could not do otherwise if it were to establish itself as a truly revolutionary organization.

It is extremely difficult to convey to a "native socialist" who has always lived in the "all-inclusive" party of Thomas & Co. a clear understanding of the almost complete solidarity and feeling of "oneness" that pervaded the convention of the S.W.P. Unless he was himself at the convention, his thoughts are apt

to fly first of all to the C.P. with its horde of servile camp-followers, blind devotees and sycophantic yes-men.

A few days ago the writer spoke to a friend, a former member of the S.P., of the unity and spirit of solidarity that characterized the S.W.P. convention. The friend inquired seriously: "But isn't this theoretical agreement and general conformity a bad sign, an unhealthy condition?" This will probably seem a simple question to most of us but, because many prospective members have had only the S.P. and C.P. from which to judge, I believe it is one that we will increasingly need to meet.

My own answer was that "party unity" may be either a healthy or unhealthy condition, depending wholly upon how it is established. Unhealthy, certainly, if the decrees are simply handed down from the top and accepted by a docile and uncritical membership; but the most healthy condition imaginable when the unity is arrived at by the free and open discussion of an intelligent, alert and aggressive membership to whom revolutionary principles mean much more than a blind devotion to any Messiah, revolutionary or otherwise.

No Rubber Stamp

And, to any serious observer, it was evident that this S.W.P. convention was in no sense a "rubber-stamp," a gathering of mere yes-men assembled for the purpose of having a few, "leaders" tell them what to do and how to do it. The common bond that firmly cemented the delegates, from the "party tops" to the rank-and-file, was their mutual allegiance to the principles and program of revolutionary Marxism, an independently arrived-at conviction that only such program and principles provide a base upon which a revolutionary party can be built and from which the capitalist system can be overthrown.

In spite of the rumors, slanders, distortions and misrepresentations which had been continuously dinned into our ears by the Thomases, Tylers and McDowells of the Socialist Party, and which could hardly help creating in the minds of many of us a feeling of distrust and suspicion toward the "terrible Trotskyites," the realistic "native socialist" learned at the convention (if he had not before) just how much reliance should be placed in these lurid "arguments." As a result, even as his faith in his former "leaders" sank still lower, his respect for the Trotskyites generally, and the Trotskyite leaders in particular, increased.

Vigilant Rank-and-File

We found, not a dictatorial and bureaucratic clique running the movement in its own interests, but a vigilant and capable rank-and-file itself issuing orders and directives to its democratically elected leaders. And though as a matter of course the leaders were permitted wide authority and freedom of action within the limits of convention decisions, it was unmistakable that the members reserved to themselves, as the real "dictators" of the new party, both the unquestioned right and the obligation of holding these leaders strictly accountable for their political activity and the conduct of party affairs.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before six o'clock Monday evening.

MINNEAPOLIS

SOCIALIST PUBLIC FORUM Mar. 12: ALLEN B. DUNN, "Will the A.F.L. and C.I.O. Unite?" Mar. 20: GRACE CARLSON, "What Will Happen to the Workers in the Next War?" Mar. 27: PETER MORROW, "Is America Blue for Revolution?" Sundays, 3 P.M., Socialist Workers Party Hall, 629 Second Ave. North. Admission 10 cents.

BOSTON

PUBLIC FORUM, SUNDAYS, at 8 P.M., Workers Center, 36 La Grange Street. Mar. 12: DON CARSON, "Wage Slaves and Cannon Fodder—Our Educational System." Mar. 20: ANTONIETTE KONIGTOW, "Is Stalinism Practical?"

NEW YORK

PARIS COMMUNE ANNIVERSARY Celebrated at the Bero Duck Lobby, Lyceum, 114th St. and 52nd Street, Brooklyn, Sat. Mar. 12, 8:30 P.M. MAX SHACHTMAN, speaker for the evening. Dancing, Rest and Refreshments.

EARFUL, EYEFUL, MOUTHFUL, Toothful, Armful, Social, at Washington Heights Branch, at Washington Avenue (at 132 Street), Mar. 19. Admission 25 cents.

WHICH ROAD TO WORLD PEACE? MAX SHACHTMAN speaks at the Frontier Discussion Group meeting, Coopers' Cafeteria, 54 Irving Place, Friday, Mar. 11, 8 P.M. promptly.

LOUIS (LINN) RESTAURANT Home Cooking, Hungarian Style SPECIAL LUNCHEON 35c REGULAR DINNER 50c SUPPER 55c 207 East 14th Street Between 2nd and 3rd Avenues, New York City Gramercy 5-9761

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO THE SOCIALIST APPEAL ANTI-WAR MASS-MEETING March 18 - 8 P. M. MANHATTAN PLAZA 66 E. 4th St. CHICAGO

PROTEST STALIN'S PURGE, Mass meeting, Capital Building, 159 N. State Street, Sunday, Mar. 13, at 2:30 P.M. ALBERT GOLDMAN and QUENTIN O'BRIEN, speakers.

WANT ADS WANTED: OFFICE FURNITURE for the SOCIALIST APPEAL—Desks, Shelves, Typewriter-table, Filing Cabinets, Address Socialist Appeal, 116 University Pl., N.Y.C.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL Monthly Marxist Magazine — SUBSCRIBE NOW! —

The Trials, Democracy and Communism

Among all the criminal and tragic results of the Moscow trials, there is perhaps none graver than the doubt which they cast in the mind of the masses everywhere upon the whole meaning and ideal of socialism and communism.

How all of the vultures pounce upon this new trial to exploit it in such a way as to extend and deepen this doubt! How all the weaklings, the cowards, the tired radicals, the sweet and treacherous liberals, find comfort in using the trial as an excuse for their own capitulation to reaction!

The liberal New York Post sums up for them, well understanding the jewel which Stalin has handed them. On the day of the opening of the trial, its leading editorial was headed: "The Moral Bankruptcy of Bolshevism." The Post, of course, does not care in the least how many revolutionists Stalin kills off. It cares, however, a great deal for the chance to utilize what Stalin does to attack the whole conception of communism.

Find a Defense for "Democracy"

The editorial draws its pious lesson: "The Russian experience will help Americans to stick to the liberal way, to set their faces firmly against all 'isms', against all short-cuts to Utopia." Every day it repeats its "lesson." "Every dispatch from Russia deepens and broadens our American love of our wise old democratic system . . ."

In the Post's columns, the disillusioned social-democrat, Eugene Lyons, backs up the editors: "Disgusting moral putrescence is the inevitable end-product of the theory on which the Bolshevik seizure of power rested from the beginning. . ."

The same theme echoes and re-echoes throughout the press, from reformists to the New York Times. They are not slow at following up a lead, these well-skilled hypocrites.

It is "democracy" vs. "dictatorship", they tell us. And what is this "democracy" which they put up as the only alternative to Stalinist dictatorship?

Their "democracy" is, of course, only the polite word for the tyranny, exploitation, unemployment, starvation, insecurity, wars of capitalism. Their "advice" is simply to bow down to imperialism; that is, to bow down to perpetual exploitation, to ever increasing social misery, to the wars and the fascism in which alone imperialism can eventuate.

These Are NOT The Methods of Communism!

They lie and deceive, these moralistic hypocrites. They tell us the same lie that Stalin tells us—that he is the heir to Lenin and the representative of the communist revolution. We hurl back that lie and that deception, from whatever mouth it comes.

The trials are the direct negation of everything for which Bolshevism, Communism, stands and struggles. The methods of the trials are the contradiction of the methods of the Bolsheviks. The answer, the only possible answer to the trials, is the reassertion of the aims and methods of Lenin, of Trotsky, of the October Revolution.

The answer of the Post and Lyons is to doom mankind forever to enslavement. The never-ending shame of the supporters of Stalinism is to give their answer a new plausibility.

Our answer to the Post and to Lyons, as to Stalin, is to proclaim again the great and deathless ideal of the socialist revolution and the communist society which alone can and will fulfill the needs and aspirations of mankind.

The Trials and the Defense of the U.S.S.R.

In the midst of the horror aroused by the newest and most frightful of the Moscow Trials, revolutionists will not overlook its ominous significance as a symptom of the terrible danger in which the Soviet Union now finds itself. In its turn, the trial itself adds immeasurably to that danger.

How the trial greases the ways for imperialism! What arguments does Stalin give to the imperialist bandits, hungrily looking toward the vast territories and riches of the Soviet Union as potential fields for exploitation!

War Would Be Crusade

The trial makes it possible for the propagandists of imperialism to picture a war against the Soviet Union as a crusade to wipe out a vicious and incredibly depraved tyranny, as a holy war for the "deliverance" of the Soviet people. Already this argument is being carefully prepared in the bourgeois press throughout the world.

The system of the trials is being pictured to the minds of the masses as inseparable from the Soviet Union itself.

In this work, the propagandists of imperialism are ably seconded by the "friends" of the Soviet Union, who, defending the system of the trials, likewise picture them as inseparable from the Soviet Union itself.

Result of "Realism"

Here, then, is another of the results of the "hard-headed Stalinist realism", so much praised by the lovers of the status quo as against the "utopian dreams" of the revolutionists. Stalin's methods, isolating the Soviet Union diplomatically, ever more gravely weakening its internal economic and social structure, at the same time are shattering the moral basis for the defense of the Soviet Union by the masses in-

From the beginning, the revolutionary Marxists have said that the defense of the conquests of the October Revolution must rest fundamentally upon the international working class and upon the extension of the socialist revolution. Only the revolutionary workers can be relied upon to defend the Soviet regime and the social and economic relations established by the Revolution.

Basis For Advance

Stalinism is the destroyer of the revolution, and its regime the vilest despotism in all recorded history. But so mighty were the social conquests of the revolution that even Stalinism has not yet succeeded in wiping them out. The economic and social relations still stand, ready to make possible a great leap forward toward socialism once Stalinism is overthrown and the workers themselves again in control of their own society.

In the face of the trials, all the more imperiously and ardently because of the trials, the revolutionists throughout the world defend the remaining conquests of the revolution against any and all of their enemies. They have not and will not turn over that defense to imperialism.

"Deliverance" To Slavery

The "deliverance" proposed by imperialism is the deliverance of the Soviet people into the clutches of capitalist exploitation, into the hopeless slavery of the frenzied search for profits in the decaying capitalist order.

Let this new trial not turn us aside but be a clarion summons: for the unyielding, uncompromising revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union—against the traitors who stage this unbelievable trial, and against imperialism whose only interest in the trial is in the use to which it can be put toward the final destruction

MOSCOW TRIAL SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

Socialist Appeal

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Stalin Directs Blows At Revolution Itself; Trial Testimony Crumbles At First Touch

Trials Arouse Protests From Labor Abroad

European Socialist Press Rejects Charges As Totally False

The organized international labor movement has rejected the Moscow charges and "confessions" as false from beginning to end. Protests against the impending judicial murder of the last surviving Old Bolsheviks have gone to Moscow from many quarters.

On March 1 the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions wired a protest to Moscow. Recalling that the previous trials had left world opinion completely unconvinced of their veracity, the telegram stated: "We consider it our duty once more to call the attention of the Soviet Government to the prejudice caused by these trials and executions to the cause of the workers of the world."

Leaders Sign

The telegram was signed by Sir Walter Citrine, president of the I.F.T.U., Walter Schevenels, its secretary-general, Louis de Broucker, head of the Second International, and Friedrich Adler, its secretary.

In Paris on March 3, le Populaire, Socialist Party organ, described the confessions as "pure lies" and the indictment as a "romantic tale." The Permanent Administrative Committee of the Socialist Party unanimously adopted a resolution to the same effect. The paper also published a denial by Theodore Dan, Russian Menshevik leader, who was implicated by the "confessions" as a German agent. He called the indictment an "odious document."

"Medieval Sorcery"

The Swedish Social-Democratic organ, the Soziedemokraten, on the same day denounced the "medieval sorcery" of the Moscow trials and recalled Prosecutor Vishinsky's White Guard background. The head of the Swedish Confederation of Labor gave an interview expressing the same views.

Attempt To Break Trotsky Defense Committee Fails

In another abortive attempt to disintegrate the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky which has been the principal agency in spreading the truth about the Moscow trials, the Daily Worker has spent a great deal of money on long distance telephone calls trying to induce Committee members to resign.

The Stalinist spokesmen are telling the Committee members a story to the effect that the Committee, without authorization, signed their names to an appeal to the United States government to send representatives to the present trial. This story has no basis in fact.

The only statement issued by the Committee, upon authorization of its Executive Board, was an appeal to American workers and friends of the Russian people to save the lives of the 21 defendants, and condemning the new trial as a frame-up, on the basis of the report of the International Commission of Inquiry.

A New York newspaper transferred some of the names from the Committee's letterhead to an excerpt from this press release, which was issued without signature.

Organizers of October



DIEGO RIVERA

Trotsky Reviews Elements of New Trial; Cites Efforts To Gag Him

The following are the first of the daily statements issued to the press by Leon Trotsky in Coyoacan in connection with the new Moscow trial.

By Leon Trotsky

During February of last year at the time of the second Moscow trial (Piatakov-Radek) which was supposed to correct the had impression of the first trial (Zinoviev-Kamenev), I stated in the press: "Stalin resembles a man who tries to satisfy his thirst with salt water. He will be forced to stage further judicial frame-ups one after the other."

The third Moscow trial has been prepared during a more protracted period and, one must think, more elaborately than the previous ones. The international preparation has been going on during the past few weeks before the eyes of the whole world. The notorious article of Stalin (Feb. 14) about international revolution, striking many with its suddenness, has as its objective the creation of a more favorable atmosphere within the ranks of the working class for the future trial. Stalin wished to tell the workers that if he is shooting the whole revolutionary generation, it is exclusively in the interests of the international revolution. His article does not have any other purpose.

Sedoff's Death Second Step

The death of my son, Leon Sedoff, which continues to remain wrapped in mystery should, until proved to the contrary, be considered as the second act of preparation for the trial; it was necessary at no matter what cost to force into silence an informed and courageous accuser.

The third act in the preparation was the attempt of Mr. Lombardo Toledano, Laborde, and other Mexican agents of Stalin to force me into silence on the eve of the third trial just as the Norwegian government forced me into silence after the first trial (August, 1936). Such are the main ingredients of the preparation!

The accusation against the 21 defendants is once again published only four days before the trial in order to take public opinion unawares and to hinder the timely delivery of refutations from abroad.

More Important Than Last One

The present trial far surpasses the trial of Radek-Piatakov in the importance of the accused and approaches the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial. In the list of the accused there are no fewer than seven former members of the Central Committee of the party, including Krestinsky, Bukharin, Rykov, former member of the Political Bureau, i.e., the in-

terests of the central organ of the Soviet government.

After the death of Lenin, Rykov was the official head of the government for more than five years. From 1918 Bukharin was the editor of the central organ of the party, "Pravda", and from 1926 the official head of the Communist International. Later, after his fall into disfavor, he became the editor of "Izvestia". Rakovsky was the head of the Ukrainian government and later ambassador to London and Paris. Krestinsky, the predecessor of Stalin as secretary of the Central Committee of the party, was afterward ambassador to Berlin for several years. For almost all of the last ten years Yagoda stood at the head of the G.P.U. as Stalin's most trusted henchman and cooked up the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial in its entirety. In the list of the accused there are no fewer than six former members of the Central government.

Stalin Alone Unaccused

Of the nine people who were members of the Political Bureau during Lenin's lifetime, i.e., actual rulers of the fate of the U.S.S.R. there remains only one unaccused, Stalin. All the others have been declared agents of foreign states, and in addition the accusations revert back to 1928 and even to 1918. The Russian White emigres have more than once accused Lenin, myself, and all the other Bolshevik leaders of having achieved the October Revolution at the orders of the German General Staff. At the present time Stalin is trying fully to confirm this accusation.

According to their political tendencies, those of the accused who are known to me, fall into three groups: (a) Bukharin and Rykov, former leaders of the Right Opposition; the third leader of this group, Tomsky, former president of the Soviet Trade Unions, was last year harassed to suicide. From 1923 the Right Opposition found itself in irreconcilable struggle against the Left Opposition, the so-called Trotskyists. Rykov, Bukharin and Tomsky, shoulder to shoulder with Stalin, carried on the whole campaign of destroying the Left Opposition. (b) The second group is composed of those accused who during a certain time actually belonged to the Left Opposition. Such were Krestinsky, Rosengoltz, who, however, had already gone over to Stalin by 1927, and Rakovsky who returned to the government camp four years ago. (c) The third group insofar as I know it consists either of active Stalinists or non-political specialists.

The Case of Pletnyev

The name of Professor Pletnyev sheds a singular light upon the whole trial. Last year he was arrested on a charge of sexual delinquency. The whole So-

ly. Now Pletnyev has been thrown into a trial of . . . the political opposition. One of the following hypotheses may account for this: either the accusations of sexual delinquency were advanced against him only in order to extort the necessary "confessions" from him; or Pletnyev is actually guilty of sadism but hopes to earn mercy through "confessions" directed against the Opposition. We shall, perhaps, have the opportunity to verify this hypothesis during the trial.

How could Stalin come to this provocation against world public opinion? The answer to this natural question is composed of four elements: (1) Stalin is contemptuous of public opinion. (2) He does not read the foreign press. (3) The agents of the Comintern in all countries report to him only his "victories" over public opinion. (4) Informed people do not dare to reveal the truth to Stalin. Thus he has unconsciously become a victim of his own politics. He is forced to drink salt water in order to quench his thirst.

February 28, 1938.

Eight Ministers

Yesterday I stated that there were no fewer than seven former members of the central Soviet government sitting on the defendants' bench. Today after more precise study of the names I see that among the accused, not counting the author of these lines, there are eight former Soviet ministers including the former head of the government, Rykov.

Bukharin, devoid of administrative capacity, never became a staff member of the government, but as a member of the Political Bureau and as the head of the Communist International from the time of Zinoviev's fall into disfavor (1926), he occupied a position considerably higher than that of a minister. All these people, it seems, strived for nothing, except the humiliation and the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R.!

Kirov Once More

Apart from the other crimes, about which we will speak in the future, the new defendants are also accused of the murder of Kirov. I recall that Kirov, a Leningrad agent of Stalin, was killed on December 1, 1934, by Nikolae, a young Communist unknown to anyone, apparently on personal grounds, and in any case, as was evident even from the Soviet accounts, with the direct participation of G.P.U. agents. Immediately after the murder of Kirov, 104 "White Guards", who had supposedly come from abroad in order to commit terrorist acts, were shot without trial.

Although the names of the 104 were not published, it is known that among them were Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Polish Oppositionist members of the Commu-

IS FORCED TO NEW EXTREMES BY CRISIS

Krestinsky "Repudiation" Throws Glaring Light On Methods of G.P.U.; Documentary Evidence Entirely Absent

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Words seem to lose all force and meaning when it comes to describe the latest horror visited upon the Soviet Union and the international labor movement by the Stalinist murder-machine. The Trial of the 21 seems to call less for a political analyst or an historian than for an alienist or expert in psychopathology. Yet, for all its apparent lunacy and ghastliness, there is method in it—clumsy, stupid, dastardly method, but method nevertheless.

1. The trial is calculated to allay the seething discontent of the Soviet masses by finding scapegoats for the ruinous effects of the policy followed by the Stalinist regime itself. The bureaucracy wants to escape the responsibility for the crimes it has committed by shifting the blame for all evils upon the defendants and their alleged accomplices.

Finding Scapegoats

In the days of Czarism, the reaction sought to duck the blows of the angry and dissatisfied masses by whipping up a pogrom spirit against the Jews who, according to the Black-Hundred gangs, were really responsible for all the sufferings of the people. Under the Stalinist despotism, the place of the Jews is taken by real or fancied Trotskyists, Bukharinists, Zinovievists, Mensheviks, Fascist spies, and in general by anybody and everybody save the ruling clique itself. Under Nicholas the Bloody, the scapegoat Jew was accused of ritual murder and drinking the blood of good Christians. Under Stalin the Bloody, the scapegoat "Trotskyists" are accused of spilling the blood of good Bolsheviks. The system and its aims are identical.

This fact pierces through the very text of the official indictment itself.

Are wages poor? Are they paid irregularly? Are taxes burdensome? Are bank-savings just another means of squeezing down the living standards of the masses? Is the standard of ruble a horrible legal fiction that leaves deep scars on the purchasing power of the people? These realities, which can no longer be concealed or denied, which were the inevitable product of the policy followed by Stalin's government—have they resulted in widespread discontent among the Soviet population, a discontent which threatens the very foundations of the bureaucracy's power?

Grinko and the Ruble

The answer to all these questions is an emphatic YES! Who is to be held responsible? The Stalinist regime? No; it has a scapegoat that must suffer for its crimes. The former Commissar of Finance, Grinko, is made to assert that he and his "accomplices" worked " . . . to weaken the Soviet ruble, to weaken the financial power of the U.S.S.R., to dislocate Soviet economy, cause dissatisfaction among the population with the financial policy of the Soviet Government, dissatisfaction with taxes, with bad savings bank

service, with delays in payment of wages, etc., for the purpose of causing wide, organized discontentment with the Soviet Government. . . ."

Are the masses deprived of such elementary necessities as sugar and butter and eggs? Are the peasants without industrial products for long periods of time? Are state funds embezzled by bureaucrats whose personal lives are one long orgy? Are the consumers despoiled and swindled?

Again the answer is, YES! And it is not the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" who have invented these stories because they refuse to believe in the monstrous official lie about an idyllic "socialism" which all the Stalinist sheets from Pravda to the Daily Worker continue to say exists. It is from Vyshinsky's indictment that these facts are drawn and for which it tries to make the scapegoats responsible. It is not the regime, you see, but the hapless defendants who

" . . . dislocated planning in such commodities as sugar, butter, eggs, tobacco, etc.; deliberately delayed dispatch of goods to the villages, muddled accounts; and thus facilitated stealing and squandering of State resources and encouraged the cheating and robbing of consumers."

Stalin's National Policy

Is there growing discontent among the numerous non-Russian peoples who make up the Soviet Union and who are rebelling against the bureaucratic centralism of the Moscow authorities, who are slowly contemptuous of the cultural and political aspirations of the Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, Uzbeks and others, and of their rights to autonomy guaranteed by the Bolshevik Revolution and the Soviet Constitution? Of course there is!

Who is responsible for the situation? The same Stalin whom Lenin, outraged and infuriated, denounced as far back as 1927 for his "out-and-out Great Russian nationalist campaign" against the Georgians and particularly against the Georgian Bolsheviks, like Mdivani and Okudzhava, whom Lenin ardently defended and whom Stalin now lists as "Georgian bourgeois nationalists" (he executed them and their friends last year, after a secret trial).

How does the regime answer the sentiments and grievances of the nationalities? By terrorizing them; by the scarcely concealed declaration that they are identical with a fascist plot to dismember the Soviet Union.

2. Bankruptcy Abroad

2. The trial is calculated to serve the new oscillation in Soviet foreign policy and to distract attention from and cover up the calamitous bankruptcy of the Stalin-Litvinov course of the past three years. Abandoning the class line and reliance on the

upon the pernicious illusion of a bloc of the "democracies" and the League of Nations against the "fascist aggressors". All his hopes were staked upon cementing an alliance with France, England and the United States against Germany and Japan.

'Stalin Renders Commendable Service to Fascism'--Mussolini

tional labor movement—Stalin has learned that neither England, France nor the United States is concerned for a moment with the ideals of "democracy" or with the defense of the Soviet Union. Like Germany and Italy and Japan, they are concerned exclusively with the preservation and expansion of their imperialist position. The "democratic" bloc in Europe, headed by England, is now obviously in a state of dissolution, or more accurately, of reorientation. Instead of establishing unity with Russia against the fascist states, England is moving rapidly towards a Four-Power Pact (England, Italy, France and Germany, supported by Poland), which excludes the Soviet Union, isolates her and is, primarily, directed at her.

Why England Comes In
The recent events in Europe are the background for the timing of the Trial of the 21 to open up when it did. It is the same events which cause Stalin to introduce England, the British Intelligence Service, and "English spies" for the first time in any of the frame-up trials that have been held since the death of

Kirov. Hitherto, only Germany and Japan have been mentioned. Now that Stalin's hopes for an English alliance have been dashed, the trained and well-rehearsed defendants are made to enact the role of "British spies", just as in the previous trials they starred as spies of Hitler and the Mikado.
On the same grounds, France is not mentioned at all, for the simple reason that Stalin still hopes that the Franco-Soviet Pact will be strengthened. Yet, in the 1931 trial of the "Mensheviks," the defendants were depicted as the agents of the French General Staff!

Why America Does Not
The alleged foreign relations of the victims of Stalin's frame-ups have no reference to any reality whatsoever except that of Stalin's own diplomatic policy and its vicissitudes. If, for example, there are no "American spies" among the defendants today, it is only because Stalin still hopes for an alliance with the United States against Japan. Should those hopes go the way of previous hopes with regard to Germany and then with Eng-

3. Documentary Evidence Lacking

3. The present trial has in common with all the preceding trials their most characteristic feature: the complete lack of material evidence to substantiate the countless crimes with which the defendants are charged.
The phenomenon is without precedent, from any point of view. Unlike the international spy organizations to which the defendants at the various trials have allegedly belonged, the famous terrorist organization of the Russian Social Revolutionists, which functioned to wipe out odious representatives of Czarism, never counted more than a couple of dozen persons engaged in conspiratorial work. At the height of its activity and influence, it rose to thirty members! Yet, despite the greatest precautions, they left numerous traces of their work—letters, passwords, documents, telegrams—which fell into the hands of the Czarist police (which was not distinguished by its intelligence or efficiency) and were later used against arrested terrorists.
Thousands Involved
In the present case, however, there are not a mere ten or twenty or thirty persons involved in a conspiracy. There are literally thousands! The activity of all of them goes back to 1932 and 1928; some of them began, we are told, as early as 1926; still others in 1921; and some (Bukharin and Trotsky!) in 1918, right after the revolution. The

indictment included among the conspirators—the underground anti-Soviet groups of Trotskyists, Rights, Zinovievists, Mensheviks, Social-Revolutionists, bourgeois Nationalists of the Ukraine, White Russia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Central Asiatic Republics." In addition, the Governments of Germany, Japan, Italy, Poland, and England, and their combined Intelligence Services.
Yet, with all these thousands of persons involved, and despite all their years of activity, the G.P.U. and the Prosecutor's Office are unable to produce a single incriminating document, not a sliver of significant evidence!

Little To Show
Human credulity, human imagination, no matter how far they are stretched, simply cannot bridge the gap between such voluminous and widespread activity, and such perfectly flawless conspiratorial efficiency! For them, they would have to bridge the even wider gap between such miraculous, unearthly efficiency in concealment and smooth functioning, and the almost total lack of results produced by the work, for 10, 15 and 20 years, of 100, 500, 1,000, 2,000 and more persons.
And remember that these singularly unsuccessful plotters had at their disposal, on various occasions and for long periods of time, the entire machinery of

4. The 'Repudiation' By Krestinsky

4. The testimony of Krestinsky stands, in its most important aspect, in a class by itself. Krestinsky repudiated his previous confession, made in the notorious "preliminary investigation," a confession which formed a key-stone in the structure of the Prosecutor's indictment. In none of the "terrorist" trials has anything like this occurred; the reluctant and half-defiant admissions of Smirnov in the August 1936 trial come closest to Krestinsky's outright self-repudiation. In no other case, however, has a defendant thrown the least suspicion upon the validity of these secret examinations during which the self-damning admissions are dictated to the prospective public victims of the frame-up.
It matters not at all, in our opinion, whether Krestinsky's sensational statement on the first day of the trial, was merely a piece of stage-play arranged by the Prosecutor, with the advance plan of a counter-repudiation the next day, or a genuine attempt by Krestinsky to break through the dreadful conspiracy of silence surrounding what goes on in the cells of the G.P.U. For even if it was deliberately planned by the Prosecutor, it had an effect entirely different from the one intended.
"Deliberately Perverted"
In explaining his denial in open court of the statement attributed to him in the records of the pre-

liminary inquisition, Krestinsky declared: "I deliberately perverted my evidence to the prosecutor in the preliminary investigation because I did not believe that if I talked as I am talking now it would get to the ears of our country's rulers."
Now, it is quite true that on the following day Krestinsky repudiated his repudiation. But no counter-recantation can destroy the enormous significance of his statement during the first session of the court. It is a statement which stands on its own feet, regardless of the motive that animated its maker or the Prosecutor. And it throws a glaring light on what goes on in the "preliminary investigation" and how the confessions are extorted.
Would Never Have Appeared
For what was Krestinsky saying in his sensational statement? That if he had not agreed, prior to the public trial, to sign the "confession" written for him by his police-tormenters, he would never have been allowed to appear in open court to make any kind of statement. That the only possibility left him to tell the truth to the workers of the Soviet Union ("our country's rulers"), was to acquiesce in the lies he was forced to sign before being permitted to come into court.
What we have always surmised is thus given unexpected confirmation. The hundreds and even thousands whose executions are

land, it is a foregone conclusion that the next trial will have its quota of confessions by the defendants that they were paid by and worked for the United States Military Intelligence Service.
Not One Will Remain
With Rykov, Bukharin, Rakovsky, Rosengoltz and Krestinsky gone, there will remain apart from Trotsky and Stalin—not a single leader of the Bolshevik Revolution, scarcely a single member of the Central Committee of the Party that functioned in Lenin's lifetime, only one or two members of the Soviet Government from 1917 to 1924, and not a single member of the Political Bureau of Lenin's day—Not one!

The head of the Bonapartist counter-revolution in Russia is consumed with fear and desperation. He knows that behind the obligatory adulation of all who surround him, is a fierce hatred. He knows his unpopularity with the masses. He hopes to safeguard himself against being overthrown by making himself indispensable in the eyes of the Soviet public.
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British, Italian, German, Japanese and Polish governments, as well as of the Red Army, the G.P.U., and an endless number of other Soviet Commissariats and governmental institutions. Why should any ruling group put such men to death? What should it have to fear from such a self-avowed crew of wretched and luckless incompetents?
If, as usual, there is no material evidence, there are, as usual, the zealously repeated confessions. They differ from those made before only in that they are more fantastic, less credible. Faizulla Khodzhaev confesses that he had "not an oral nor a written but a silent agreement with Trotsky". This most—how shall we put it?—unusual kind of agreement is solemnly and unquestioningly recorded by the Prosecutor and the Court. Not written, and not oral; just a silent agreement.
And how, pray, even under "socialism," is a silent agreement arrived at between two persons separated by such a trifle as several thousand miles? By a wink or a nod? By ectoplasmic emanations from the two bodies involved, meeting silently at some intermediate neutral point? By means of equally silent mental telepathy? By means of a Ouija board in Khodzhaev's harem? Or perhaps through the medium of Prosecutor Vyshinsky's instructions, not so silently given within the walls of a G.P.U. prison cell?

announced, who disappear totally from sight, without being brought to trial, are the men and women who could not be broken to the point where they agreed to anything and everything. And, conversely, only those are allowed into a public courtroom about whom the G.P.U. is quite sure, whom they have reduced to the level of moral wrecks, putty in the hands of the Prosecutor.
A Night In Jail
The repudiation was retracted? Yes. But we agree here with the statement by Dr. John Dewey that the retraction only confirmed and did not weaken the repudiation. It is not difficult to visualize the unspeakable hours that Krestinsky must have spent with the G.P.U. during the night between the first and second days of the trial. What monstrous pressure must have been exerted upon him during that time to force him to retract his first, highly revelatory declaration! What horrendous threats must have been made about the punishment of his nearest ones—hostages held by the police—to cause a man who had made such a clear-cut, meaning statement, to withdraw it the very next day. Wittingly or not, Krestinsky has thrown ten thousand times more light on the "mystery" of confessions than have all the muddled disquisitions on Dostoievsky and the "Russian soul" by the learned Slavologist, Mr. Walter Duranty.

famous calumny of the Russian Revolution, borrowed from the arsenal of the White Guard counter-revolution in which Prosecutor Vyshinsky was so active during the first years after the Bolshevik victory, and charge that the Revolution itself was organized and led by German spies?
According to the new charges, the terrorist plans of Bukharin and Trotsky began in 1918. In 1921 Trotsky was already secret-

Rome Dictator Thanks Stalin For Purge Of Last Old Bolsheviks

Romulo Mussolini addressed to Joseph Stalin last week the felicitations of one butcher to another. He wrote in his own paper, Popolo d'Italia that Stalin "had become a Fascist" and, in effect, that Stalin was doing more than any other to destroy the truth of the workers of the world by the Communist Movement.
For cutting down thousands of revolutionists as "Fascist spies," Stalin has won the gratitude of the Fascist dictator Mussolini. Let those who still think they can believe in the monstrous frame-up-terror system of Stalin, who think they can ignore the heavy blows the Stalin terror is dealing the whole revolutionary movement, ponder the brutal irony in the words of Mussolini:

"Stalin does not resort to castor oil to punish Communist leaders who are so stupid or criminal as still to believe in Communism, Stalin is unable to understand the subtle irony involved in the laxative system of castor oil. He makes a clean sweep by means of systems which were born in the steppes of Genghis Khan... STALIN RENDERS A COMMENDABLE SERVICE TO FASCISM."
It would be wrong, however, to imagine that Stalin, Vyshinsky and Co. will draw up short before such an accusation. Not at all! Outrageous as it seems, incredible even, it is dead certain that on the road of abandoning all the principles and ideals of the Russian Revolution, Stalin will finally repudiate the very revolution itself as the product of "concealed enemies of the people." That is the inexorable, logical end of his course.
Incredible, we say? Nothing is incredible for the unrestrained madmen who rule the totalitarian Stalinist regime. For already in this trial, according to the reports of the trial, Vyshinsky said "that he suspected Rakovsky not only of having been a British agent after the World War but of having been connected with the German secret service during the war" (N. Y. Post, March 5, 1938).

While Vyshinsky was in the ranks of the White Guards fighting the Bolshevik power in the Ukraine, Rakovsky was organizing and leading the revolution in the Ukraine, establishing the Ukrainian Soviet Republic of which he was the first Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. If Vyshinsky's assertion means anything—and it has a deeper significance than most people will ascribe to it—it means that the Ukrainian proletarian revolution and the Soviet Republic it established were the result of instructions carried out by Rakovsky as an agent-in-espionage of the German Kaiser and the Imperial General Staff!

Relations With Germany
As for the "reasonable relations" between Trotsky, Krestinsky and Rosengoltz with the German Intelligence Service and general Staff officers, Von Seeckt and Hasse, there is of course an element of truth in the story, as Trotsky has already explained in the press, an element which is maliciously distorted into its opposite by the experts in falsification.
Not Trotsky and not Krestinsky, but the entire Soviet Government had very close relations with the German General Staff for several years after 1921-1922. These relations were entirely official, and quite secret, at least at that time. They were known, it goes without saying, by Lenin as well as by Trotsky, by Stalin as well as by the then Ambassador to Germany, Krestinsky.

After Rapallo
After the signing of the friendly Rapallo Treaty between Germany and Russia, cautiously friendly relations were established between the German and Russian Army commands. This, too, has not been a secret for more than ten years.
Early in December 1926, the Manchester Guardian published a sensational (and substantially true) story about the secret establishment on Russian soil of German hand-grenade plants, which clandestinely shipped munitions to Germany in violation of the military clauses of the Versailles Treaty. The story was not only not officially denied by the Soviet Government, but was confirmed immediately thereafter on the floor of the German Reichstag.
Scheidemann's Confirmation
"In the negotiations with the firm of Junkers (airplane manufacturers) on March 15, 1922, in the Reichswehr Ministry," said former Chancellor Phillip Scheidemann, for example, "there participated among others, General Hasse. The signing of the contracts (with Russia) followed with false names, just as the officers who traveled to and from Russia made their voyages with forged passports." (Reichstag Minutes, 252nd Session, 1925.)
The Moscow Pravda took the Guardian revelations quite coolly: "We are not privy to the secrets

of our military authorities and we do not know whether or not these reports correspond to the reality. If we assume that they are not lies, then they have, in themselves, no significance." (Dec. 16, 1926.)
Zetkin's Speech
The foreign political line of the Soviet Union and the line of the Comintern were then anxiously in favor of a close alliance not only between the General Staffs of the two armies, but of the armies themselves. In her speech in the Locarno Pact, which threat-

ened to weaken the ties between Russia and Germany, the Communist spokesman in the Reichstag, Klara Zetkin, argued: "Germany's future rests upon a close community of interests with the Soviet Union, in economic, political and if needs be also military respects... I even believe, contrary to Mr. Deputy Wels, that it is not so hopeless as he imagines, for cooperation to follow, under certain circumstances, between the Reichswehr and the Red Army people." (Reichstag Minutes, 127th Session, 1926.)
Along this line, there is no

doubt at all that more than one quiet conversation took place in Berlin and in Moscow between Soviet and German representatives, political and military. All this is old stuff, fairly well known. And this is all there is or ever was to the charge of Krestinsky's or any other Soviet leader's "espionage" relations with Germany, or with Generals von Seeckt and Hasse, in 1921-1922 and the years following. Anything more is simply the putrid product of a diseased and vindictive police-brain.

6. The 'Plot' Against Lenin In 1918

6. No less foul is the charge that four months after the revolution, that is, in March 1918, "Bukharin and his group of so-called Left Communists and Trotsky and his group, jointly with the Left Social Revolutionists," plotted to overturn the Soviet government by murdering Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov.
How does it happen that such staunch Stalinists as A. Bubnov, V. Yakovlev, Bela Kun, Alexandra Kollontay, the late Kuibyshev, M. N. Pokrovsky, A. Soltz, J. Unschlicht and numerous others, who never "deviated" from Stalin in the fight against "Trotskyism," and all of whom were in Bukharin's "group of so-called Left Communists"—never in these past 19 years told Stalin of the plot they had organized in March 1918 to assassinate him and Lenin and Sverdlov? And E. Yaroslavsky, "the famous Bolshevik leader and theoretician," as the Daily Worker calls him, who was also in Bukharin's group in 1918, and who is now cabling his execrations upon the defendants to the New York Stalinist press—how does it happen that he continued to conceal the plot from Stalin for the past 19 years? And if he has finally made it public, what exactly was his part in the "murder plot"?

Leadership Knew
The essential point is that the entire party leadership knew about the episode! On December 15, 1923, Stalin wrote in Pravda: "Never, I believe, did inner-party strife among the Bolsheviks reach such bitterness as during that period, in the period of the Brest Peace. It is well known (!!), for example, that the Left Communists, who were at that time in a separate faction, reached such a point of bitterness that they seriously discussed replacing the then existing Council of People's Commissars with a new Council among the ranks of the Left Communists. A number of present oppositionists, comrades Preobrazhensky, Piatakov, Stukov and others, were among the faction of Left Communists."

Now, if all this was "well known" as early as 1923—at the very least—why is it now presented with the air of horror-at-crime? Why, after knowing all this, did Stalin have Bukharin elected editor of Pravda? Why did he put him in Zinoviev's place as chairman of the Communist International in 1926? (And why, by the way, if he knew that Rykov was a counter-revolutionist since 1905, as this renegade creature Yaroslavsky now writes in the Daily Worker, did he have him elected to take Lenin's place in the government when Lenin died?)
On January 3, 1924, nine ex-Left Communists, including Radek, Piatakov and Pokrovsky, commenting on Stalin's article, elaborated as follows:

"A second incident occurred which was likewise absolutely without any significance. Comrade Radek walked into the office of the Commissar for Communications, the Left S.R. Proshyan, in order to have some resolution of the Left Communists sent out by radio. Proshyan laughingly said to comrade Radek: 'All you do is write resolutions. Wouldn't it be simpler to place Lenin under arrest for 24 hours, declare war against the Germans and then again unanimously re-elect comrade Lenin as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars?' What Proshyan then said came naturally down to the following: Lenin, as a revolutionist, when placed in a position of having to wage a defense against the advancing Germans, would curse us and you (You, meaning the Left Communists) in every way, but nevertheless he would lead a defensive struggle better than anyone else. Once again, this 'offer' was not only not rejected by the Left Communists, but likewise not even discussed, because it was an absolutely anecdotal and ludicrous fantasy of Proshyan's."
"Oddly enough, it should be pointed out that as far back as 1918, prior to the insurrection of the Left S.R.'s, when, after Proshyan's death, Lenin was writing an obituary of the latter, comrade Radek told comrade Lenin about this incident and the latter roared with laughter over this plan."

No Need To Tell
The answer to these questions is that the ex-Left Communists did not need to tell Stalin about the "plot." He knew all about it and said so as far back as 1923. Lenin did not need to be told either, for he knew about it at an even earlier date. The "plot" is not news! All there ever was to know about it, has been known to a fairly wide public for some fifteen years.
The first to make known publicly the story already known in leading Russian party circles, was Bukharin himself, in an address to a party meeting in the Krasno-Pressensk district of Moscow in 1923. It was in the period of the first struggle against "Trotskyism" and Bukharin sought to emphasize the danger of factionalism by pointing to the extremes to which his group was impelled during the inner-party struggle over the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace in 1918. He reported that the Left Social Revolutionists who were then members of the Council of People's Commissars and, like him, opposed to the signing of the Brest Peace, had approached the Left Communists, jokingly, with the proposal to put Lenin under arrest for 24 hours, launch the revolutionary war against Germany, thus confront Lenin with the accomplished fact, and then re-elect him unanimously as chairman of the Council. It goes without saying that nothing ever came of this "proposal," for even assuming

Radek, Piatakov Speak
"During the sessions of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet which were held in the Tauride Palace, while Lenin was making a report on Brest, a Left Social Revolutionist, Kamkov, approached Piatakov and Bukharin. In the course of the conversation, which not only did not bear the character of any kind of official negotiations but did not even have the character of a business-like preliminary probing of the ground on both sides, Kamkov, among other things, half-jokingly said: 'Well, what will you do if you attain the majority in the party? After all, Lenin will leave you and then you and we shall have to make up a new Council of People's Commissars. I think that, in that case, we shall have to elect Piatakov as Chairman of the Council.'....
"The proposal of the Left S.R. was not only never rejected with indignation but it was never rejected at all, inasmuch as it was never discussed at all, for there was no proposal from the Left S.R.'s to the Left Communists....

And in the same issue of Pravda, Bukharin, while chiding the signers of the above letter, nevertheless wrote that "the letter of the comrades confirms in essence what I said."
No Plot At All
That is the whole story, made public more than 14 years ago! The entire party membership, at least those who read Pravda, knew about the "plot." Stalin tried to make a hypocritically solemn face over it; Lenin had roared with laughter about it, and afterwards wrote a tender and respectful memorial article on the occasion of the death of Proshyan, the main "instigator" of the "murder plot," who had, by the way, actually (and not fictitiously) taken part in the armed uprising of the Social Revolutionists against the Soviet power in July, 1918.
Whether the episode merits solemnity or uproarious laughter, is of course a matter of temperament or political judgment. But in any case, the reality has no more relation to the Stalin-Vyshinsky dime novel "murder plot" of 1938, than let us say, the grumblings of Hugh S. Johnson and Raymond Moley against the New Deal have to a plot to assassinate Roosevelt, Farley and Tickers.

What Charges Mean
If the charges are true, it means that there is so much terror and intimidation in the party and the government, such a complete absence of any democracy, that everybody who thinks or believes differently from Stalin dares not say so openly, in a normal way, as was the case in Lenin's time, but must needs resort to official hypocrisy of "agreement" with the "line" and actual clandestine work against it. It is Stalin who says so!
If the charges are true, it means that the "socialism" established by Stalin is so horrible and repugnant that all the men who devoted themselves for twenty, thirty, forty and fifty years to the cause of socialism, have decided to renounce it in favor of fascism. By Stalin's implicit confession, it is under his regime that virtually all the old Bolshevik leaders of any significance, and hundreds of the later generation, preferred to work for the Gestapo and the British Intelligence Service rather than to work for Stalin. We always believed that once the proletariat was on the highroad to socialism—to say nothing of having attain-

Cannot Be Believed
But we cannot believe them, and we do not. We believe only what is so tragically evident. The bloodstained tyrant of the Kremlin is driving a knife through the prostrate body of the Russian Revolution. He is befouling the very name of socialism.
Then we shall redouble our work to restore to socialism its fair name, to that socialism and its ideals which mean not only plenty and peace, but also freedom! Not even the gory hand of the Stalinist reaction can stay us in our march.

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Trotsky Reviews Trials

(Continued from Preceding Page)
ningrad "centre" of the Zinoviev group was accused of the murder of Kirov and 13 men were shot. After this, the "Zinoviev-Trotskyist Centre" was accused of the same crime and sixteen people were shot, not counting those shot during the G.P.U. investigation. In January of last year the "Parallel Trotskyist Centre" (Radek, Piatakov and others) was accused of the murder of Kirov, and 13 of the accused were shot. Finally, we now learn that the Right Opposition (Rykov, Bukharin) was likewise occupied with plotting the murder of this same Kirov. Thus all the leaders of the Bolshevik Party, people of great political and revolutionary experience, with names known to the whole world, during a number of years constructed "main," "united" and "parallel" terroristic centres and each of these centres plotted the murder of one and the same secondary Stalinist agent, Kirov, whose name became known only thanks to the trials.
According to the new charges, the terrorist plans of Bukharin and Trotsky began in 1918. In 1921 Trotsky was already secret-

ly plotting with a foreign power (Germany?). The most important of the new defendants were members of the Central Committee of the Party and government and daily met the "victims" marked by them. Moreover, Trotsky held in his hands the unlimited means provided by a military apparatus. And the result? The victim of this infernal conspiratorial activity beginning with 1918 proves to be no more than the same Kirov who was killed in turn by the White Guards, Leningrad Zinovievists, the United Centre, the Trotskyists, and finally the Bukharinists.
Having cut themselves loose from every responsibility, the totalitarian leaders have cut themselves loose from the elementary laws of common sense. The Moscow trials strike one as grandiose nonsense, as the delirium of a lunatic armed with enormous power. It would be no exaggeration to say that this part of the accusation is saturated with the spirit of totalitarian idiocy. We will show in the future that the accusation is no more meritorious in all its other parts.

7. The Trial of the 21 is an obscene, hideous frame-up, a mockery of justice and of the human mind, a brutal blow struck at socialism and the labor movement. It was conceived by a terror-stricken bureaucracy which hopes that the bones of its victims will prop up its tottering rule. The pistol shots of the executioner will ring like the death-knell of the irretrievably doomed Bonapartist clique, for its days are numbered.
Even if the mind of man could assume for a moment that the defendants are guilty, it would be acknowledging the fact that the trials and the accusations are the most murderous possible indictment of the Stalin regime itself. For the trials organized by Stalin are his real confession of guilt!
If the charges are true, it means that collaboration with Stalin is impossible by actual test. For, virtually every person who has ever sought to work together with him, from Trotsky to Zinoviev to Bukharin to Yagoda and Yenukidze and Rudzutak, including thousands of others, have ended up by wanting to murder him. It is Stalin who says so! What is there so unmentionably frightful about Stalin's rule that turns all who

associate with him into assassins?
What Charges Mean
If the charges are true, it means that there is so much terror and intimidation in the party and the government, such a complete absence of any democracy, that everybody who thinks or believes differently from Stalin dares not say so openly, in a normal way, as was the case in Lenin's time, but must needs resort to official hypocrisy of "agreement" with the "line" and actual clandestine work against it. It is Stalin who says so!
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5. Soviet Relations With Reich

5. One of the main points in the indictment charges the defendants in general, and Trotsky, Krestinsky and Rosengoltz in particular, with having been German spies since 1921! What timidity! Why, Kerensky, and with him thousands of anti-Bolsheviks, White Guards, Hearst, writers and their similars, long

In fact, Kerensky and Co. made the same charge as far back as the middle of 1917, and even had forged documents to prove that Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Lunacharsky and other Bolshevik leaders, were agents of Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany.
Why does the Prosecution date its charge back only to 1921?

famous calumny of the Russian Revolution, borrowed from the arsenal of the White Guard counter-revolution in which Prosecutor Vyshinsky was so active during the first years after the Bolshevik victory, and charge that the Revolution itself was organized and led by German spies?
According to the new charges, the terrorist plans of Bukharin and Trotsky began in 1918. In 1921 Trotsky was already secret-

Pacifists Rally To Dear Old Stars and Stripes

(Continued from page 1)

nection between the revolutionary struggle against capitalism and the struggle against war—subjects which were strictly taboo at the meeting.—Wolfe managed to appease his strange bed-fellows with an appeal for a broad united front of all those who accept the illusive minimum program.

As a sort of afterthought, and at a safe distance from the broadcasting microphones, Wolfe casually pointed out in an off-hand manner, that really, after all, he is an internationalist and it is up to the "working class to lead the struggle against war."

Whose Blood? Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, waxed eloquent in his thunderous denunciation of collective security, or "international company unionism" as he called it.

The Committee, as part of its onslaught upon the war-makers, plans to reintroduce the Ludlow Amendment and to blossom out into a national organization, as well as to distribute its magazine extensively, so that Major General Rivers' reassurances about the adequacy of our national defense will be made available to all lovers of peace.

Some of the original sponsors of the Committee, however, have already begun to evince a waning of enthusiasm for the whole affair. The debates about the "best" technical methods of defending "our" country, the eloquent reaffirmations of loyalty and love of "our" country, the appeals to "experts" and "authorities" on national defense, the innumerable compliments to the "sincerity" and "good motives" of our government heads (although, to be sure, they sometimes make "technical" errors)—all this puffed-up patriotism jarred on the ears of those listeners who had expected to see a real anti-war campaign launched at the meeting.

Will Crumble To Bits It was clear that this much-heralded Committee can hardly

STALINISM and BOLSHEVISM by Leon TROTSKY Pioneer Publishers 100 Fifth Avenue New York, N. Y.

Drive... your theory with facts. How often have you been answered, "But that's only your theory. Can you prove it?" There is no need to rely on generalizations. The following books on the war question are packed with dynamite. M-Day: The Day America Mobilizes for War Rose M. Stein (\$2.50) \$98 The War in Outline — Lidell Hart \$2.00 Europe in Arms — Lidell Hart \$2.50 A military expert writes a history of the last war and describes the armaments race of today. Why We Fought — C. Hartley Grattan (\$3.50) \$98 Here are dates, facts, figures, backed with documentary evidence that shatter the myth about the "war to make the world safe for democracy." The Coming World War — T. H. Wintringham (\$2.50) \$98 How a supporter of the Communist Party of England saw the line-up of imperialist forces before the line changed. Introduction by John Strachey. Zero Hour — Richard Freund \$2.50 An excellent summation of the currents and cross currents of European imperialism today as they stand on the brink of war.

LABOR BOOK SHOP 28 East 12th Street, N. Y. C.

'Meetings' With Leon Trotsky Bungled Again

Stalin's Regime Going Through Crisis, Trial Shows

(Continued from page 1)

Moscow trials scrupulously avoid mentioning names, giving exact dates, concretizing circumstances of time and place. Vyshinsky's tortuous route, as he skirts carefully around anything remotely resembling a fact, is all the more striking in the present trial. The secret is simple: the bunglers of the G.P.U. are incapable of falsifying even the most insignificant detail of Trotsky's activities and movements, recorded as they are down to the tiniest trifle.

Besides, the frame-up artists have already had their fingers burned: the Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen was found to exist only in the fond memories of pre-war Baedeker browsers; the plane which allegedly conveyed Pyatak to Oslo was revealed as no more substantial than the traditional witch's broomstick; Romm's meeting with Trotsky in the Bois de Bologne appeared as a telepathic miracle, since Trotsky was at the time in question hundreds of miles away from the post so unhappily named.

Cautions On Hotels

The defendant Bessonov reveals that he met Trotsky in Paris: "At the end of July, 1934, I arrived in Paris by a morning train and left there by train during the day. The entire conversation took place in one of the hotels," etc. Why does Vyshinsky forget to question the defendant about the exact day, the precise name of the hotel, Trotsky's appearance, the circumstances of the meeting, etc., etc.? Because the flimsy fabrication cannot stand the light of day.

Actually, Trotsky was forced by the campaign in the reactionary and fascist press after his

"discovery" in Barbizon in April, 1934, to leave the vicinity of Paris. His household was constantly on the move because of this drive to expel him. From April, 1934, until his departure for Oslo, Trotsky was away from Paris, under the close surveillance of the police, living under circumstances which would have made a casual trip to Paris, much less to a hotel, for the sake of meeting a Bessonov, foolhardiness worthy only of a child. The affidavits and documents in the possession of the Dewey Commission amply confirm these statements. Bessonov was no more fortunate in his conspiratorial arrangements than the luckless Romm; his conversations with Trotsky were exclusively of a telepathic nature, in a supernatural realm "Confesses"



NICHOLAS KRESTINSKY

which permits us no attitude other than awed reverence. But there were letters, too, you see. To be sure, they somehow fail to be produced—not even a

fragment, a scrap, an envelope flap—but they nevertheless bulk large in the stories of all defendants. After all, it's a hell of a conspiracy that doesn't involve astronomical quantities of conspiratorial letters, because the telepathic contacts sometimes break down in bad atmospheric conditions.

So it turns out that Bessonov received a letter "written in December, 1935, by Krestinsky to Trotsky." This letter, Bessonov confesses, "was passed on by me. In a few days I received a reply from Trotsky." Just as simple as that.

Unfortunately there are complications. In December, 1936, Trotsky was under strict internment by the Norwegian police, as he had been for some months previous. He could receive no visitors, no mail, no newspapers. He and his wife were imprisoned in an isolated little house, occupying two rooms while the watchful police occupied the other four and formed an impenetrable cordon around the house. Friends who came to Oslo to see Trotsky could not get near him. Trotsky could not even get the manuscript of his book, 'The Revolution Betrayed,' through the iron police ring.

Expelled From Norway

And then, with no let-up of police cautiousness, Trotsky and his wife were unceremoniously expelled from the country on December 19, and embarked on a tanker, bound for Mexico. Under these circumstances, it would be a revealing insight into conspiratorial techniques if Vyshinsky would uncover the precise means whereby the letters were transmitted.

But he is apparently more than satisfied with his witness' confession: after all, it is established that there was a letter. Let the Trotskyite carpers bellow their petty protests! These men are conspirators, they are capable of

Victim of Stalin



A. P. ROSENGOLTZ

anything, even spiriting letters through police cordons and sending replies from mid-ocean by Trotskyite pigeons. A plague on picaresque details! A prosecutor before the bar of Soviet justice cannot stoop to counter-revolutionary cross-examination. It is established: there was a letter...

The most terrible blunder, however, comes with the ill-fated Merano incident. "Trotsky came to Merano (Italy)," Krestinsky blithely admits, "about October 10 (1933) together with Sedov. Trotsky came, he told me, under an assumed French passport and came by the route stated by Bessonov, that is, through the Franco-Italian frontier and not through Switzerland and Germany."

Covering Blunders

In preparing this trial, Yezhov evidently attempted to rectify past blunders by thumbing through The Case of Leon Trotsky, but the G.P.U. unfortunately has no training-school in which to educate its agents in the use of source-books. As Trotsky explained to the Dewey Commission, he went to the Pyrenees on October 9, 1933, to a village called Bagneres-de-Bigorre.

Harry Gannes begins to chortle in the Daily Worker: this, you see, "brought him near to the Franco-Italian border." But these over-eager gentlemen forgot to read further in the Dewey Report, or even, for that matter, to check on their geography. Trotsky's trip, naturally, brought him close to the Franco-Spanish border—to reach Merano, he would still have had to traverse southern France and cross the Italian border.

Further, although Trotsky naturally used an assumed name during his stay in France, and also changed his appearance (which fact is offered by Gannes as proof conclusive that the Merano meeting took place), he was under constant surveillance by the Surete National, and his every move was recorded in the police archives in Paris.

Funniest of All

But funniest of all is the fact that while it is about 450 miles, as the crow flies, from Paris to Merano, it is more than 600 miles from Bagneres to Merano. Why anybody should first go to Bagneres in the Pyrenees in order to get closer to Merano—only Gannes knows!

Why does Vyshinsky make no move toward getting these records from the French police (and why didn't he demand them to clinch Romm's story)? He does not dare! He relies upon the silence of the French ally to assure Stalin's bloody frame-up! Why are no questions asked about the exact name under which Trotsky traveled, the means whereby the false passport was obtained? Furthermore, the French police, while respecting Trotsky's incognito, nevertheless exerted strict control over his every move. When he moved from the Pyrenees to Barbizon, by agreement with the police, he had constantly to telephone to the central authorities during the trip. Agents were continually on watch.

Why, Oh Why?

Why, then, is Vyshinsky not interested in learning by what remarkable devices Trotsky succeeded in disappearing from the police for over twenty-four hours, without rousing the slightest suspicion? Where are the exact dates, places, addresses, names of hotels and schedules of trains, descriptions of people and meetings? The coarse texture of the frame-up crumbles at the first critical touch, and the picture revealed is not pleasant.

For our part, we insist: every honest person must demand with us that the records of the Surete National be revealed to the public, to cast their glaring light upon this as well as previous trials. Every honest person must shrink in horror at the brutal disregard of the elementary dictates of justice and humane procedure which enables Vyshinsky to gloss

SOVIET UNION NOTES

French Socialists Break Silence On Trials; What the Records Say About Deaths Of Gorky and Others By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Sidelights on the Latest Moscow Frame-Up

Le Populaire, the official organ of the French Socialist Party, has finally broken the cowardly silence it has up to now maintained over the Moscow frame-ups. Recent issues have carried articles by Leon Blum and Theodore Dan (the latter, a Russian Menshevik leader, "implicated" by the defendants in the "plot") condemning the trial of Bukharin, Rykhov et al. The silence in the past was motivated by "diplomatic considerations." Now that the Second International itself is being framed by Stalin, and, far more important, now that the Franco-Soviet pact is about to be scrapped by the French imperialists, Blum and Co. no longer find it expedient to keep mum.

Stalin's indictment charges that the "left" Communists not only conspired with the Left Social Revolutionaries in 1918 to arrest Lenin and overthrow the then Council of People's Commissars, but also that they were "fully informed of the preparations for the murder of Mirbach and the July insurrection." Among the leaders of the "left" Communists in 1918, were: E. Yaroslavsky, Alexandra Kollantai and the deceased Valerian V. Kuibyshev. If the "left" Communists were guilty as Stalin claims, Yaroslavsky and Kollantai should have been among those "indicted." Yaroslavsky is very much alive, but instead of being in the prisoners' dock, he is busy writing vile attacks against his former associates. Kollantai has been reported en route to Shanghai. It is true, Kuibyshev is dead, but Stalin does not scruple to place dead men on trial. It now serves Stalin's purposes to exhume Kuibyshev's corpse not as that of a "counter-revolutionist" but of a spotless Bolshevik, alleged to have been murdered by the "plotters."

The "Murder" of Gorky

Among those implicated in the "murders" of Menzhinsky, Kuibyshev and Gorky (and Gorky's son) are three physicians: I. Ietnev, Kazakov, and Levin. The case against a fourth physician Vinogradov was "dropped in view of his demise." The Soviet press follows the custom of printing a report signed by physicians whenever a Soviet dignitary dies. A study of the files of Pravda reveals the following facts:

- 1) No such medical report was printed when Menzhinsky died. 2) Kuibyshev's death certificate was signed by 11 people, among them Dr. Levin. The report states that an autopsy was performed. Findings: heart failure. We append the signatories to this report, of whom only one man, Dr. Levin, is up on trial: Prof. A. A. Abrikosov, G. Kaminsky (People's Commissar of Health), I. Khodorovsky (head of Kremlin hospitals), Y. Levinson (deputy chief physician), M. Krol (head of the Kremlin clinic), B. Kogen (Krol's deputy), A. Serebrov (head of G.P.U. Health Dept.), Dr. L. Levin, F. Abrikosova (Prof. Abrikosov's assistant), Dr. Volkov, Dr. Lezhava. (Pravda, Jan. 26, 1935.) 3) Gorky's death certificate was signed by seven people, including Ietnev and Levin. The others (not on trial) were: G. Kaminsky (People's Commissar of Health), I. Khodorovsky, Prof. G. Lang, M. Konchalovsky, and A. Speransky. All of them were present at an autopsy performed by Prof. N. V. Davydovsky, and all of them signed the report of the autopsy: death due to tubercular lung condition. (Pravda, June 19, 1936.) The announcement of Gorky's death was preceded in the press by the publication of a bulletin on his health, which appeared in Pravda on June 7 and was signed by I. Khodorovsky, Prof. G. Lang and Dr. L. Levin.

Appeal Army

The second week of the Appeal drive has ended with some locals producing results while others lag. Figures speak for themselves and here they are:

Table with columns: Location, New Subscriptions, Total New Subs. Includes entries for New York City, St. Louis, Chicago, Newark, Los Angeles, Paterson, Detroit, Jersey City, New Castle, Hartford.

Bundle orders look better: Local — Lit. Agent — Increase Newark, N. J., R. Negin 20 Chicago, Ill., Karl Shier 25 Rochester, N.Y., Chas. Hess 5 Boston, Mass., T. Leonard 15 Pittsburgh, Pa., Irving Oklin 10 Clayton, Mo., Viola Graves 10 Philadelphia, Pa., Sol Thomas 5 London, Eng., Mildred Kahn 24

Total increase in bundles 114 This shows a modest beginning but we have word from locals all over the country that the drive is just beginning to get under way. Karl Shier of Chicago, Ill., writes: "San Francisco and Minneapolis have challenged us." Unless they do some tall hustling, a surprise but a jumping off place they're going to have a hard time

nosing out Karl Shier, Chicago's literature agent. And Newark, New Jersey, comes through with: "We're forced to get more of the current issue. Thus our perspective of 2 weeks ago of building up our 100 Appeals each week is rudely shattered; an example of uneven development. We've had to jump from 100 to 115. Make it 125 next week." At long last the Appeal is getting enthusiastic comment from those who have been clamoring for a mass paper.

Hildegard Smith in Hutchinson, Kansas says, "What do I think of the Appeal?" "Thought you knew that, since I've expressed my enthusiasm in the past. I do think that it is getting better right along especially since the first of the year.... We need a daily paper." And from Herbert Martin in East Chicago, Indiana: "Let me congratulate the staff of the Appeal for the great work you are now doing. At last we have a real workers' paper. Every issue for the last six weeks has been an improvement over the previous one...." You're surprised at the 6-page edition that you have in your hands now. Get behind this drive and a 6-page paper will not be a surprise but a jumping off place for a national daily.

Socialist Appeal 116 University Place New York City I enclose \$..... for which please send me the Socialist Appeal. One year—(\$2.00); Six Months—(\$1.00). I enclose \$..... as my contribution toward building the Socialist Appeal. Name Address City

over the most flimsy story and finism must protest with every utilize lack of precision as ounce of his strength at Moscow's confirmation of guilt. Every monstrous perversion of justice, cere person uncorrupted by Sta-Let us demand the facts!

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Advance Information!

"Revelations at the Moscow trial regarding plots by alleged Trotskyists to undermine China's resistance to Japan were predicted here today by the Chinese Communist daily Hsin Hua Jih Pao.

Last week we exposed the frame-up machinations of Stalin's G.P.U. directed toward the discreditment and extermination of the revolutionists organized in the Communist League of China, Chinese section of the Fourth International.

On March 5, the day after receipt of the Hankow dispatch (which was dated March 4) the contours of Stalin's frame-up of the Chinese Fourth Internationalists began to emerge in the totalitarian courtroom in Moscow.

Yes, dear children, it is all so perfectly clear: The government of imperialist Japan being unable as you all know, to create its own "incidents" in China, was obliged to turn to Trotsky and the Chinese Trotskyites.

Mr. Kerensky Comes To Town Mr. Alexander F. Kerensky has come to town for a speaking tour. The former Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Russia before the Bolshevik Revolution, is very indignant and morally outraged.

March New International Appears

The March issue of the New International has just come off the press. Included among its contents is a review entitled "The New Line-up in Europe and the Soviet Union" by the editors, an article on "The Crisis and the Bankruptcy of the Liberals" by Dave Cowles, and an article on "The Model Democratic Republic of Czechoslovakia" by W. Keller.

Mr. Kerensky Comes To Town Mr. Alexander F. Kerensky has come to town for a speaking tour. The former Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Russia before the Bolshevik Revolution, is very indignant and morally outraged.

Kerensky, will hardly condemn Stalin only in order to exchange him for the man and the system that were kicked into oblivion by the revolutionary masses of Russia in November 1917.

For it was under Kerensky that the first big frame-up a la Stalin was launched against the Bolsheviks. It was Kerensky who sought to besmirch and exterminate the party of Lenin and Trotsky by bringing the latter to trial on the charge of being German spies.

There is no tragedy, it is said, without its humor. The Kerensky visit has its humor, too. It is supplied, morbidly, by his whilom admirer and present-day hireling of the Kremlin despot, Mr. M. J. Olgin.

"After the (Petrograd Bolshevik) demonstration, he (Kerensky) wrote in a radiogram broadcast 'To All': 'It has been established definitely that the disorders in Petrograd were organized with the participation of German government agents...'

Kerensky's radiogram of 1917 sounds word for word like an excerpt from the Vyshinsky announcement of a new trial against the "Trotskyist agents of fascism." Actually, Stalin is simply plagiarizing the terms and methods of the bourgeois reaction, and its frame-up system, as exemplified in his time by Mr. Kerensky.

The choice between Kerensky and Stalin is the choice between the wreckage of a politician trying to drag himself out of history's garbage can and a politician, still at the top, but destined just as surely for the discard.

Nailed Again

In the last issue of the Appeal we devoted considerable space to a critical analysis of the new "Keep America out of War" movement, started by the Lovestonites and the Altman-Thomas Socialists, and officially launched last Sunday at a mass meeting in the Hippodrome.

We pointed out, too, that no one representing the revolutionary position of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists) was asked to participate in the March 6 meeting and that the suggestion of one committee member to invite an S.W.P. speaker for the meeting was vigorously rejected.

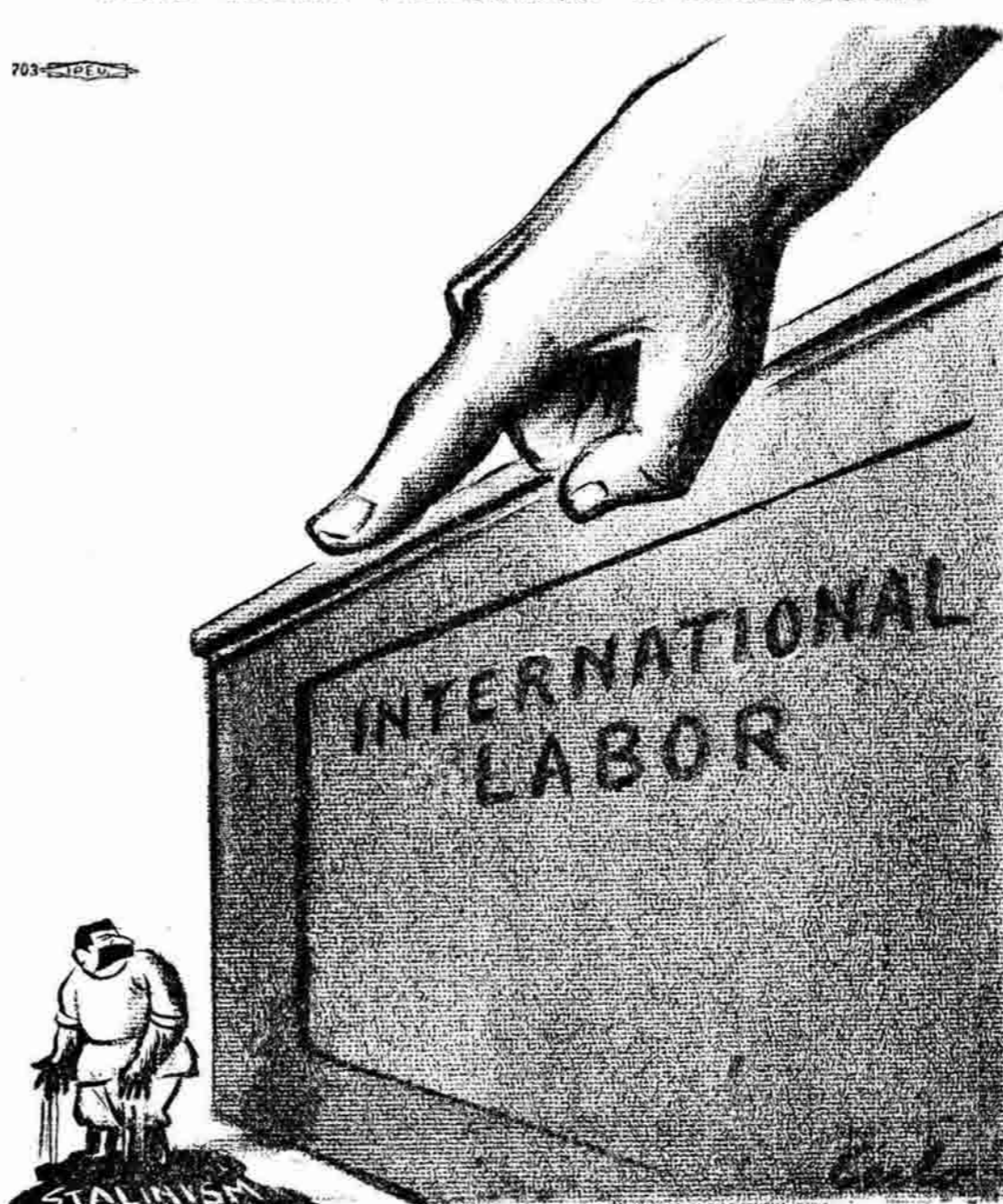
Orson Welles, Broadway actor, was apparently one of those signed up without being consulted. Up goes the Stalinist Daily Worker on March 4, the day following the appearance of the Socialist Appeal, with the charge that Welles "accuses the Trotskyist Committee of the March 6 Anti-War Meeting, to be held in the Hippodrome, of forging his name to a letter sent to Broadway actors, producers and playwrights, calling upon them to attend this meeting."

Which is just the sort of thing one has to expect from the long-practised forgers of the Daily Worker, who take their orders from the world's greatest forger in Moscow!

This splendid issue of the monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism is on sale at the office of the New International, 116 University Place, New York City, and all branches of the Socialist Workers Party.

VANGUARD GROUP LECTURE FORUM Sunday, March 13, 8:30 P.M. Speaker: SAM WEINER Subject: The Program of Libertarian Communism Vanguard Hall 22 West 17th Street, N. Y. C.

The Real Moscow Defendant



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Editor, Socialist Appeal: Your tactless treatment of the Partisan Review (see Socialist Appeal, December 5, 1937) was not well calculated to win the Partisan Review over to our political position.

Marxism is a guide to act which prevails over other cultural disciplines because its aid is indispensable to the creative imagination. Reciprocally the great imagination guides political action.

By failing to review the body of the magazine from this general standpoint, the Appeal was negligent. Furthermore, the review was anonymous, and thus partaking of the character of an editorial, involves our Party in a statement of general policy towards workers in the arts and sciences.

It is a bad statement of a bad policy, indistinguishable from Stalinist policy except where it is even more opportunistic. You said: "A revolutionary organ should be open to the best productions of living literature, regardless of the political views of their authors."

Stalinist Depths? Above all, I protest your confusion or identification of the influence of political science on literature or of political events on writers, with the influence of political machines upon literature.

political science. The attitude of your reviewer towards literature is the authoritarian attitude under which bureaucratic despotism grows. Uncorrected it would reduce us to Stalin-like depths.

OUR REPLY

Our December 4 article on the Partisan Review has evoked rejoinders from its editors and several comrades who believe that the interests of revolutionary culture are best served if its practitioners remain independent of revolutionary politics, either in theory or in practice.

The Partisan Review's protest that "the Appeal, by equating difference with independence, lands us in pure aestheticism," is entirely unjust. We criticized the Partisan Review, not for indifference towards politics in general, but for an indefensible indifference towards revolutionary labor politics.

Present Program

The editors partially acknowledge the cogency of our argument by presenting their political position. "Our program," they write, "is the program of Marxism, which in general terms means being for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist society, for a workers' government, and for international socialism."

This program represents a step forward from their previous total silence on the subject. But these admirable ideas, which coincide with our own, remain suspended, like Mabomet's coffin, between heaven and earth. Having explicitly rejected the ideas and organizations of the Second and Third Internationals, will the editors of the Partisan Review, who remind us that Marxism is not only a theory but a guide to action, descend still further from their mist-wrapped Olympian heights and tell their readers, clearly and candidly, what they think of the ideas and organization of the Fourth International?

Comrade Wheelwright's main contention that literature must be kept wholly free from the influence of "political machines" is, in our opinion, a dangerous and false half-truth. All departments of contemporary culture have to be cleansed of false ideas and pernicious influences. On the other hand, they must be kept open for the introduction of the fertilizing and fruitifying ideas

of Marxism, if they are to progress.

Many intellectuals in their revulsion against Stalinism entertain the notion that the interests of revolutionary culture and revolutionary politics are fundamentally incompatible and antagonistic, and that a revolutionary socialist party must bight all i touches. In these ideas they resemble, in their own sphere of activity, those anarcho-syndicalists who resent and reject in principle the "interference," i.e. the activity, of revolutionary socialists in the trade-unions.

Such ideas and attitudes have nothing in common with Marxism. Just as we combat the reactionary prejudice that the ideas and activities of revolutionary socialists injure the advancement of the interests of the organized workers, so we deny that they must necessarily harm the most sensitive interests of culture. On the contrary we hold that they are not discordant in principle and can be harmonized in practice.

To Socialists

The following letter, addressed by Norman Gilbert to members of the Socialist Party in Pennsylvania, speaks for itself. Having no real forces of their own in the State, the Altman-Thomas-Zam clique are apparently seeking to buttress their feebleness by claiming that Gilbert, a well-known militant, is in their camp.

To Members of the Pennsylvania Socialist Party: Dear Comrades: It has just been brought to my attention that a paper is being circulated by certain members of the Socialist Party, wherein over my signature I am represented as endorsing the Altman-Thomas-Zam clique and retaining membership in their party.

I want at this time to make it perfectly clear to every one concerned that when the above-mentioned clique rode rough-shod over every principle of party democracy, violating the party constitution, expelling those members who upheld it, thereby preparing the way for a shameless and disgraceful betrayal of the party into the camp of Waldman-Browder-Wall Street and support of LaGuardia in the New York elections, I switched my support to those comrades who upheld the time-honored position of "No Compromise, No Political Trading."

I am now the proud bearer of a membership card in the newly formed Socialist Workers Party, the only party that is carrying out the program of Marx and Engels. In my locality (Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton), the S. P. does not even have functioning branches.

Hippodrome Meeting

An Editorial

In an editorial statement last week, "How Not to Fight War," we pointed out the futility, and worse, of the dangerous course embodied in the Thomas-Lovestone-pacifist movement which they call "Keep America Out of War."

The Hippodrome mass meeting of this movement on March 6, completely confirmed our analysis. The two chief speakers whose addresses went over the radio, Senator LaFollette and Major-General Wm. C. Rivers, supplemented by Homer Martin, symbolized the meeting and set the tone for it. And the tone of the meeting, as described in the report elsewhere on these pages, was patriotism.

The working class is patriotic—to its own class and its own class interests. Patriotism to the "fatherland," when it is owned and controlled by the capitalist class, is a crime against the working class, the betrayal of its interests. The working class can be patriotic to its country only when it has a country, which means, simply, when it has taken over power and rules the nation.

The most extreme, and consequently the most consistent expression of capitalist patriotism was Major-General Rivers' speech. At bottom, it was the most logical expression of that pacifism which characterizes the whole Thomas-Lovestone movement. Rivers made it perfectly clear that he differs from the outspoken war-jugglers and big-navy people only on technical grounds. They believe more armaments are needed for "defense"—and what bandit state ever went to war for any other reason except "defense"? General Rivers believes that the present armaments level of the United States is high enough for "defense." Defense of what? Of the 48 United States and of... America's imperialist position throughout the world. If this gentleman is a qualified spokesman for the "Keep America Out of War" Committee, the latter should by all means invite the Republican Party minority of the House Naval Affairs Committee, who also oppose the Roosevelt naval program.

Homer Martin, who has been exploiting the genuinely anti-war sentiments of the auto workers, shouted his readiness to shed the last drop of his blood in "defense" of the United States against "invasion." Again we ask: What imperialist state ever went to war without claiming "defense from invasion"?

Martin and Rivers, each in his own way, are imbuing the masses with the reactionary spirit of capitalist patriotism. That is the essence of the matter. Basically, that is the essence of middle class pacifism, which always played such a lamentable and treacherous role the minute imperialist war actually broke out.

The fact that the Lovestoneite representative at the meeting was in this pacifist mudhole with both feet, only emphasizes the perfidious role of the Lovestone group. It supplies the "radical" coloration for a fundamentally patriotic gathering and movement. As for Norman Thomas, his part in this sorry affair is best summed up in the fact that he led the applause for the new Messiah of the "anti-war" movement, LaFollette.

The Hippodrome meeting only serves to emphasize again that an anti-war movement divorced from the working class struggle against capitalism—the system at the root of imperialist war—is a snare and a delusion.

A united movement of the working class against the war danger is proper and necessary, but it is a movement doomed in advance if it stands on the foundation of capitalist patriotism and its middle class pacifist defenders.

Shachman Heard At ILGWU Group

NEW YORK. — A capacity meeting of members of Local 69 (Dress Pressers) of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union listened intently on March 1 to a lecture by Max Shachman, editor of the Socialist Appeal, on "Dictatorship and Democracy," after the chairman of the local had exposed efforts made by the "democratic" Stalinists to dissuade members from attending.

Shachman made his presentation so lucidly and forcefully that no one left until after the speaker had replied to the numerous questions from the floor. Many were the expressions: "Best lecture we've had."

This response was evoked by the apt presentation of the records of the capitalist powers, democratic and dictatorial, and their systems of alliances; the experiences of the unionists themselves during the last world war; and pertinent analogies demonstrating the shallowness and falsity of the arguments of the Stalinists and social-democrats.

The many questions put by social-democratic workers gave Shachman further opportunity to show, on the basis of the workers' own experiences in the union and in strikes, and their experience with their leadership, that the Socialist Workers Party is the only true defender of the Russian Revolution and of revolutionary working-class internationalism in this country.

of Gene Debs.

I am now the proud bearer of a membership card in the newly formed Socialist Workers Party, the only party that is carrying out the program of Marx and Engels. In my locality (Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton), the S. P. does not even have functioning branches.

MARXIST SCHOOL

The Third International, founded nineteen years ago this month, is the subject of critical analysis at the Marxist School every Wednesday evening, at 8:45 P. M. On March 23, Joseph Carter, will consider the background and proceedings of the Third Congress of the International, 1921. This will be followed at succeeding sessions by a study of the later congresses, the development of the struggle of "Stalinism versus Trotskyism"; the politics of the Brandler-Lovestone group; the forces and prospects for the Fourth International.

On Wednesday evenings, at 7:00 P. M., Bill Morgan, labor secretary, Local New York, Socialist Workers Party, conducts the course in "Problems of the Trade Union Movement." Other courses include: Elementary Socialism, Hal Draper, Monday 7:00 P. M.; Marxian Economics, John G. Wright, Tuesday 7:00 P. M.; Principles of Revolutionary Socialism, Maurice Spector, 8:45 P. M.

Admission for individual sessions for any course is twenty-five cents. Classes are held at 116 University Place, New York City.

WANTED

Back Numbers of the Appeal Vol. 1 - No. 5 Vol. 1 - No. 9 Comrades having copies of these issues which they do not need or which they are prepared to donate, please send them in immediately. They are needed to complete the office files.

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO THE SOCIALIST APPEAL Allentown, Pa.,

March 18, 1938 8 P.M.

NEW YORK ANTI-WAR MEETING

On the Anniversary of the Paris Commune

Manhattan Plaza 66 E. 4 St.